

# THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. XLVII

OCTOBER, 1957

NO. 4

أَمْ عَلَى قُلُوبٍ أَقْفَالُهَا

“THE HINGE AND THE LOCK”

Only the breadth of the door is between them but they exist for contrary purposes, the one to secure it for closing, the other to turn it for opening. A recent notice outside the famous Badshahi Mosque in Lahore draws the attention of worshippers, as well as of visitors at the adjacent tomb of Iqbāl, to the fact that mosques should be frequented with intelligence. It quotes in four languages, Hindi, Urdu, Arabic and English, the question of Surah xlvii.24: “Will they not reflect seriously on the Qurʾān, or do their hearts have locks upon them?” Then the notice adds rather quaintly in English: “Locks are keyed by thinking.”

It is not, however, all locks that thought alone can open. For thought is sometimes its own prisoner in so far as it moves only in familiar lines. Francis Bacon in the 17th century in his famous *Advancement of Learning* analyzed the habits by which men cast their thoughts into comfortable patterns until familiarity hardens into prejudice and the hinge of mental hospitality submits to the lock of fixity and complacency. It may be that the Quranic passage quoted has this danger in mind for it speaks of “hearts and *their* locks” as if to suggest that to each particular group of men are their characteristic prejudices, their own native inabilities to apprehend, as these have been shaped by the very form of their convictions and assurance. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that men tend to be spiritually impervious to truth by virtue of their very persuasions about it. The lock has immobilised the hinge. The passion to keep conviction secure within may mean that we keep truth unrecognised without.

There are certainly Christian forms of this situation. It was,

after all, to a church that the classic words were addressed: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock..." (Rev. iii.20.) Here was a community of Christian belief which none the less had in a crucial sense excluded Christ Himself. He Who was in name and in fact their Lord was at the same time a suppliant at their gate — a would-be guest at the door of an abode of which He was by right the Master. Is there not something sobering in this realisation that Christ may be an alien in the very place where He is supposedly at home, that welcome and unwelcome may be strangely intermingled?

It was often so in the days of the Gospel record. The hinge opened to many of the appeals of Jesus: but in the face of His "hard sayings" the locks were turned. "Many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him." (S. John. vi.66.) The progress of the truth itself was the victory of the hinge over the lock, the final acceptance of the realities that had once been uncongenial. How the principles of exclusion and of inclusion strive together in the pages of the New Testament history! "Blessed is He that cometh in the Name of the Lord:" a thousand welcomes to the liberating Messiah Whose initiative and genius would break the yoke of Rome. But "cursed is he that hangeth upon a tree:" a thousand cries against a Messiah crucified, Whose longsuffering and grace would break the yoke of evil. Such were the locks, strong and heavy, upon the heart and mind of Saul of Tarsus en route for Damascus. He indeed personified the antagonism which had nothing but scorn for Jesus as the Christ.

But the very point of repulsion was poised on restless strivings of misgiving, on the evidences of a power beyond the range of law and the reach of self-righteousness. On the hinge of a new experience the unlocked door turned with eager hospitality to the significance of the Crucified. In the years that followed the meaning of that personal revolution was translated into institutional fact in the self-awareness of the Church. There were stubborn locks against the Gen-

tiles — at best no place of admission except through the doorway of the synagogue, until under the disturbing instigation of the Holy Spirit the door of exclusion became a door of access.

“Entertaining strangers” is always a proper characteristic of the Christian mind. The burning idea of Wilberforce that the Christian understanding of God in Christ meant the inalienable dignity of every man and thus the radical and intolerable iniquity of slavery and thus in turn the consuming obligation of liberation, was a strange and unwelcome notion to multitudes of well meaning people in his time. Assessing their duty to ideas in terms of how familiar they were, their locks, for a painful generation, overcame their hinges.

“Are there locks upon our hearts?” Are we adequately susceptible, in our thinking and our relationships, to the content and inward force of the non-Christian other? In particular do we erect the abiding and unmistakable uniqueness of Christ — and thus of Christianity — into an unChristlike and therefore unChristian inattention and depreciation? Since Christianity is by definition “good news” it would seem fair to say that there must be a capacity for hospitality in its custodians. We are the servants of the faith with a universal invitation. Surely its openness to discovery by men requires an openness to all men on the part of us its servants. The whole Christian relation in this generation to the renascent faiths of ardently self-responsible nations must be one of the fullest and wisest hospitality of mind to their heritage and their hopes. For are not we ourselves the guests of God in Christ?

By such a relationship, patiently pursued, the Christian faith will most properly deserve the attention and the audience of non-Christian men. For these, too, have their characteristic locks, their attitudes of implicit and unexamined rejection of the Christ. Nor are their locks readily “keyed by thinking,” since thought is not active in a world of traditionalism and indifference. So much of Christian meaning,

not least in the Islamic world, goes by default because a variety of presuppositions bar the door. God is too great for the dimension of sacrifice: redemption is superfluous because God's forgiveness is effortless and easy, as are all His works: the prohibition of *Shirk* means, in effect, the exclusion of the Divine possibility of Incarnation: in any event, the notion of salvation is disproved by the manifest unsavedness of, not least, the Christian world. These, and more, are the "locks upon the hearts," strong with their own assurance and by the fact that few are seriously looking for the key.

Yet at all these points of traditional Islamic exclusion of Christian meanings there is a hinge on which understanding can turn. The antithetical nature of many Muslim-Christian doctrines, sharp as it is, arises from considerations that hold within themselves the possibility of successful explanation. Some of the Islamic reasons for rejecting items of Christian belief are in fact Christian in their nature, though invoked to resist what, on a true understanding, Christianity never taught. The Christian doctrine of God is disallowed on the ground of a pluralism of which it is not guilty. The Christian doctrine of Christ is vetoed in an appeal against a *Shirk* in which the doctrine is not involved. Or, put conversely, the Muslim concern to preserve the unapproachableness of God's greatness can find rest in the Christian confidence that by virtue of His invincible love, there is none like unto Him. The Islamic passion to resist the idolatrous alienation of the Divine sovereignty has nothing to fear, save perhaps a great new dimension, from the Christian conviction that God has taken that sovereignty into His own hands and showed that its deepest meaning is condescension and compassion. God, in Christ, is not less great than Muslims want Him to be, only differently greater.

So many of the rich meanings of Christianity thus dwell at the very same points where Muslim misgiving is most aroused. This is the measure of our mutual obligations. Hospitality and inhospitality, in theology as in homes, make their contrasted decisions at the same point — at the door. Where we exclude is precisely where we must invite.

## ASPECTS OF SHĪ‘AH HISTORY

The Shī‘ah, or the partisans of ‘Alī, began as a political faction but could not remain so for any length of time. In Islam, politics tend to take on religious character. The successful religious reformer invariably becomes a ruler. When the discontented Arab elements bitterly criticised ‘Uthmān’s policy and the warriors were dissatisfied, the Saba’iyyah, or the adherents of Ibn Saba’, furnished the Shī‘ite movement with a theological basis. He instigated the hostility of the people of Baṣrah, Kūfa, the Ḥijāz and Egypt and the agitation of Abū Dharr, the famous Companion of the Prophet, who then began to call upon the rich to pity the poor and vigorously attacked ‘Uthmān’s policy. The interests of the people in the Arab provinces were political though based on religious speculations.

It must be pointed out that Ibn Saba’ inspired Shī‘ism and that Abū Dharr laid the foundation of hostility to ‘Uthmān ultimately leading to his murder, the election of ‘Alī and the birth of a powerful ‘Alīd party. Ibn Saba’ developed his Shī‘ite doctrines during and after the caliphate of ‘Alī. Some of Ibn Saba’'s adherents came to ‘Alī and said: "Thou art he!" ‘Alī asked them: "Who is he?" and they answered: "Thou art Allāh." ‘Alī was so enraged that he gave orders that a fire should be kindled and they should be burned. While they were being thrown into the fire, they cried out: "Now we feel certain that he is Allāh, for no one but Allāh punishes by fire." <sup>1</sup>

As a result of his extravagant doctrines, Ibn Saba’ was banished to Madā’in (Ctesiphon), <sup>2</sup> but ‘Alī’s measure did not eliminate Ibn Saba’'s belief in ‘Alī’s cause. After ‘Alī’s death, the Saba’iyyah believed in the *ghaibah* (concealment), in the *raj‘a*, i.e. ‘Alī’s return, and in the *tawaqquf*, i.e. the waiting of ‘Alī’s return, and his possession of Divine Attributes. Those who believed in ‘Alī’s return added that he was in the clouds, that his voice was heard, that his whip was in the lightning, and that he would appear again and fill the earth with justice as it had been filled with iniquity. <sup>3</sup>

When Ibn Saba’ was told that ‘Alī had died, he said: "Even if you had brought us his brains seventy times, <sup>4</sup> we would not be convinced of his death. He will surely not die until he has filled the earth with justice after it has been filled with iniquity." <sup>5</sup>

Thus the Saba’ites furnished the Shī‘ite movement with a theological basis. The massacre of Ḥusain, followed by Al-Mukhtār’s rebellion, supplied the indispensable element of enthusiasm. Only a few years

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Al-Fiṣal*, vol. IV, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal*, vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Al-Shahrastānī, vol. II, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> According to another account of Ibn Ḥazm, in seventy bags (ṣurra); the words "bag" and time (marra) differ very slightly in Arabic orthography

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, vol. IV, p. 180.

after the death of Ḥusain his grave at Karbalā<sup>3</sup> was already a place of pilgrimage for the Shi'ites who wept and prayed God to forgive them for having deserted the Prophet's grandson in his hour in need. They were therefore called the penitents (Al-Tawwābūn). The free Arabs of Kūfa promised to devote their souls and property to avenge Ḥusain's murder by killing his murderers and establishing justice by appointing as caliph a member of the house of the Prophet. They accepted Sulaimān ibn Ṣurad as leader, composed verses in which they lamented Ḥusain, and called on the people to avenge his death. The Penitents assembled, marched to 'Ayn al-Warda where many people from Baṣrah and Madā'in (Ctesiphon) joined them. Here they engaged in battle against 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ziyād, the Umayyad governor of Kūfa who defeated the Shi'ites, killed their leader, and forced the defeated troops to retreat.<sup>6</sup>

In 66 A.H. the ambitious Mukhtār appeared in politics. He had long participated in the activities of the political parties, and had been associated with the Umayyads and later with Ibn al-Zubayr in the hope of a ministerial appointment. He found encouragement from Ibn al-Zubayr who lacked confidence in him and returned to Kūfa. Here he joined the Shi'ites, and utilized the Shi'ite rebellion to further his aims against Ibn al-Zubayr and the Umayyads. He formed the Kaysāniyyah sect which promulgated the right of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah, son of 'Alī, to the caliphate (after the death of his brother, Ḥusain), and thus weakened the cause of Ibn al-Zubayr.

Neither the endeavours of Ibn al-Zubayr nor those of Al-Mukhtār won the sympathy of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah. Besides their cardinal doctrine, which recognised the *imāmah* (guide, leadership) of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah after 'Alī, the Kaysāniyyah exaggerated the supernatural knowledge of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah who was, according to them, fully acquainted with all sciences (mystic knowledge).<sup>7</sup> On the position of the imām according to the doctrines of the Saba'iyyah and the Kaysāniyyah, Van Vloten says; "The Saba'iyyah considered their imām to be divine by nature; while the Kaysāniyyah gave him obedience as a superior being possessed of supernatural knowledge."<sup>8</sup>

The Kaysāniyyah<sup>9</sup> believed in the *Badā'*,<sup>10</sup> or mutability of Divine will, in the *tanāsukh al-arwāḥ*, i.e. the transmigration of souls, and the *raj'a*, i.e. the return of Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah. They believed that Ḥasan,

<sup>6</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, vol. IV, pp. 73-9.

<sup>7</sup> Van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination Arabe, le Chi'itisme*, etc., p. 41, adopted from Van Gelder, *Mokhtar*, p. 82 et. seq. See Al-Shahrestāni, *Al-Milal*, vol. II, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>9</sup> This word is most probably related to Kaysān, the *mawlā* (client) of the Banū Bajila tribe and chief of Al-Mukhtār's bodyguard. Ibn Ḥazm (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 72. Dīnawarī, *Al-Akhhbār al-Tiwāl*, p. 297).

<sup>10</sup> This belief is supposed to have been invented by Al-Mukhtār, Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, p. 36. Al-Shahrestāni, vol. I, p. 198.

Ḥusain and Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah were prophets. They also considered that obedience to a certain man abrogated the necessity of adhering to the divine law (such as belief in the Day of Judgment), since they could learn from this man all the fundamental tenets of the religious law of the Muslim faith, i.e. fasting, prayers, pilgrimage, etc.<sup>11</sup>

However, Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah denied these beliefs. When he was informed of the Kaysāniyyah doctrines which implied that the house of the Prophet possessed mystic knowledge, he said: "By God! We have not inherited from the Prophet anything except what lies between these two covers (the Qur'ān), yea and this paper attached to the sheath of my sword."<sup>12</sup>

A party of the Kaysāniyyah denied Ibn al-Ḥanafīyyah's death, and believed that he was hidden in the Raḍwā Mountains,<sup>13</sup> whence he would one day return. This belief found poetic expression through Shī'ite poets, such as Kuthayyir ʿAzza and Al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, and became through them specifically Kaysānic.<sup>14</sup>

Thus the poet Kuthayyir († 105/723) says:

"Four complete are the Imāms of Quraysh, the lords of Right:  
ʿAlī and his three good sons, each of them a shining light.

Once was faithful and devout; Karbalāʾ hid one from sight;  
One, until with waving flags his horsemen he shall lead to fight  
Dwells on Mount Raḍwā, concealed: honey he drinks and water  
bright.<sup>15</sup>

The remainder of the Penitents' army, or the Shī'ites, and the Ma-wālī (clients), constituted the majority of the population of Kūfa, and were predominantly Persian in race and language, enlisted themselves under the banner of Al-Mukhtār. He drove Ibn al-Zubayr's governor out of Kūfa, sent Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar at the head of an army to fight Ibn Ziyād who was killed, with many Syrian chiefs, and his army defeated.

Since the murder of Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī in the famous battle of Karbalāʾ (61 A.H.), the ʿAlīds had not forgotten their right to the caliphate. Indeed it became their primary concern. In order to achieve their end, they attempted to gain their right by every possible means. Whenever they found an opportunity before them, they seized it; if they found themselves weak and incapable of challenging their opponents, they bided their time and became contented with the title of *Imāmah* or the leadership of the Muslim community, and their relation

<sup>11</sup> Shahrastānī, vol. I, p. 196.

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vol. V, p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.

<sup>14</sup> Friedlaender, "Heterodoxies of the Shī'ites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 29, p. 35. See my *Al-Fātimīyyūn fī Miṣr*, pp. 34-38.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Aghānī, vol. VIII, p. 32, trans. by Prof. Nicholson, *Literary Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 216.

to the Prophet. They preferred to live peacefully and engaged themselves in trade and religion rather than politics and war.

Only on a few occasions were the Shī'ites able to appear under Zaid son of ʿAlī, to whom the Zaidiyyah branch of the Shī'ite sect traces its origin. They called themselves "The Partisans of Justice and Divine Unity" (Ahl al-ʿAdl wa'l-Tauḥīd).

In 122 A.H. (740 A.D.), Zaid rebelled against the Umayyad caliph, who was said to have driven him out of his audience chamber for propagating the cause in the caliphate. Zaid's adherents swore allegiance to him implying their determination to fight the Umayyad caliph. When Zaid was engaged in combat with the Umayyad army, the Zaidites asked him: "We support you against your enemies for expressing your opinion of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar who did injustice to your grandfather, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib." Zaid gave a reply which his followers considered unsatisfactory. He said that he had nothing to say against these caliphs and that he had heard his father (ʿAlī ibn Ḥusain) speak well of them. He added that he rebelled against the Umayyads because they murdered his grandfather, Ḥusain, attacked Medina, and fired on the Sacred House in Mecca. Consequently, many of Zaid's adherents broke away from him and declared Jaʿfar al-Šādiq to be their legitimate Imām. They left Zaid with a small party at the head of which he fought until he was killed in 122 A.H. ((740 A.D.).<sup>16</sup>

Those who deserted Zaid received the name of Al-Rāfiḍah (Deserters or Violators).<sup>17</sup> "The general use of the word," says Friedlaender,<sup>18</sup> "is probably the outcome of a more hostile attitude against the Shī'ites, and is consistently applied by certain writers to all the sects of the Shī'ites."

On his death, the Zaidiyyah broke up into several sections. A group of them remained loyal to the memory of Zaid and fought under his son Yaḥyā in Khurāsān in 25 A.H. (743 A.D.). However, he was killed in the same year.<sup>19</sup>

The Shī'ites are divided into three groups according to their beliefs:

1. Extremists (Ghāliyah) who exaggerated ʿAlī's virtues, such as the Saba'iyyah.

2. Deserters (Rāfiḍah), i.e., those who broke away from Zaid.

3. The Zaidites who maintained their adherence to Zaid.<sup>20</sup>

In 98 A.H. (716 A.D.), an advent occurred which was significant in the history of the Shī'ites. The right of the leadership of the Muslim community (*imāmah*) was transferred from the house of ʿAlī to the

<sup>16</sup> Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. II, pp. 181, 183.

<sup>17</sup> Ṭabarī, ed. De Goeje, II, 1699, 1700.

<sup>18</sup> *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 29, 137 et. seq.

<sup>19</sup> Ṭabarī, ed. De Goeje, II, 1770-1774.

<sup>20</sup> The Zaidiyyah were divided into eight groups who exaggerated the Shī'ite beliefs. Nūbakhtī, *Kitāb Firaq al-Shī'ah*, pp. 19, 49, 50-51. Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. II, p. 183.

house of ‘Abbās by Abū Hāshim, son of Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, the leader of the ‘Alid branch of the Kaysāniyyah. This can be called the Kaysāniyyah heritage.

The Umayyad caliph Sulaimān summoned Abū Hāshim and treated him with great hospitality and affection. At the same time, however, he planned his murder in fear that he might propagate his own cause. He ordered him to be poisoned while on way to Ḥumayma, a small village in the Sarāt region, south of the Dead Sea, where the ‘Abbāsīd Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī lived. It was said that when Abū Hāshim felt that his death was imminent, he went to Muḥammad and transferred to him the right to the leadership of the Muslims. He also delivered to him messages to convey to his agent (chief propagandist or *dā‘i*) in Kūfa and to the other missionaries. He also instructed him that the propaganda should begin at the close of the year 100 A.H. (718 A.D.), and that on Muḥammad’s death his right should pass to his son Ibrāhīm.<sup>21</sup>

Thus the right of the *Imāmah* was transferred to the ‘Abbāsīds. It might occur to us to ask: Why did Abū Hāshim overlook the members of his house from the ‘Alīds and transfer his right to his ‘Abbāsīd cousin? In order to answer this question, we must go back a little in history. Since the Prophet’s death, the Muslims had not nominated anyone for the caliphate from the house of Hāshim, that is, the ‘Alīds and the ‘Abbāsīds, except ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and his sons after him. Attention was not directed towards ‘Abbās, the Prophet’s uncle, after his death, because he was not among the first to embrace Islam. Therefore, neither he, nor any of his sons, were nominated for the caliphate.<sup>22</sup> It was said that Abū Sufyān, the father of Mu‘āwiyah, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, came to ‘Abbās after allegiance had been sworn to the first caliph, Abū Bakr, and said to him: “Stretch out thine hand that I may swear allegiance to thee in the endeavour to secure sovereignty for thee.” But ‘Abbās did not consent.

The relations in the house of Hāshim, between ‘Alīds and ‘Abbāsīds, were friendly, and they both united against their common enemy, the Umayyads, until the right of the Muslim leadership passed from the ‘Alīds to the ‘Abbāsīds by virtue of Abū Hāshim’s request.

Towards the end of the first century of the Hijrah era, propaganda was, as we have seen, spread in the name of the members of the house of Muḥammad. The ‘Alīds did not interfere, but let matters run smoothly until they were able to form a strong party through inter-marriage. They acquired the favour of the people of Medina who showed them respect and willingness to support them and adhere to their cause.

The propaganda was then spread in the name of the chosen one of

<sup>21</sup> Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbīh* (ed. De Goeje), p. 338.

<sup>22</sup> See my *Al-Fāṭimiyyūn fi Miṣr*, pp. 38-39.

the Prophet's family. The people did not know whether their ruler to be was an ʿAbbāsīd or an ʿAlīd. When the ʿAbbāsīds succeeded in ascending the throne of the caliphate and set their rule on the ruins of that of the Umayyads, this did not meet with the approval of the ʿAlīds, although they were all the sons of Hāshim. They realised that the ʿAbbāsīds had betrayed them, in acquiring the caliphate and excluding those who had greater claim to it. Thus the ʿAlīds considered them enemies and looked upon them as they used to look upon the Umayyads before, and, continued secretly to agitate for their right to the caliphate.

Muḥammad, the Pure Soul, was the first of the ʿAlīds who looked forward to the caliphate. He refrained from swearing allegiance to Al-Saffāḥ while his brother Abū Jaʿfar was spreading his cause in the Ḥijāz. In 145 A.H. (762 A.D.) Muḥammad found that his appearance was necessary. His adherents, among his relatives and others, had spread his cause so that the people acknowledged his leadership in Mecca and Medina and gave him the title of Commander of the Faithful (Amīr al-Muʾminīn).

Muḥammad thought that all the people agreed to support him and that they were strongly inclined to him because they believed in his virtues, nobility and leadership. The legal opinion of the great juriconsult Abū Ḥanīfah, the founder of one of the Hanafite schools, and that of Mālik, founder of the Mālikī school, helped him to renounce his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsīd caliph Al-Manṣūr. Mālik is reported to have said to the inhabitants of Medina: "You were compelled to take the oath; he who gives an oath under duress is not bound."<sup>23</sup>

Muḥammad sent his brother Ibrāhīm to Baṣrah to advocate his cause. He captured the government house and defeated the troops of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph. He was supported by the juriconsults of Baṣrah and other men of high rank. The Muʿtazilite party enlisted under his banner. He was able to rally the inhabitants of Wāsiṭ, Ahwāz and Persia to his cause.<sup>24</sup>

The caliph Al-Manṣūr entrusted his uncle ʿĪsā ibn Mūsā with the task of fighting Muḥammad and his brother Ibrāhīm. ʿĪsā marched to Medina to fight against Muḥammad, and the two sacred cities, Mecca and Medina, fell into his hands. Muḥammad was shocked to see the huge army of his enemy, and was upset to find that most of his soldiers had dispersed and deserted him. He doubted his strength and hesitated to challenge his foe. He sought the advice of his companions: Would he fight them in Medina as the Prophet had already fought the oppression parties (Aḥzāb), or would he go out to another Arab country where he could get a more favourable chance to fight against them? Some recommended that he should move to Egypt, because he

<sup>23</sup> Ṭabarī, vol. IX, p. 206.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 251.

would find more adequate resources there than he could find in Medina<sup>25</sup> Others strongly objected to this idea and insisted that he must remain in Medina. Muḥammad found it necessary to follow those who recommended that he stay in Medina. Despair beset him, especially when he found that the fervour of those of his army who favoured a move to Egypt had dissipated. Realising that his reliance on them was worthless, he remained in a small party to fight ʿĪsā and his troops. He was killed, his head cut off and sent to the ʿAbbāsīd general (Ramaḍān 14, 145/762 A.D.).<sup>26</sup>

The first scene of this episode came to an end. The sole purpose of the ʿAbbāsīd caliph, Al-Manṣūr, was the suppression of his rival Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh (Muḥammad's brother) in Irāq. This rival's power became more formidable, his armies greatly increased until they numbered one hundred thousand men. He captured such important areas as Baṣrah and Ahwāz. Al-Manṣūr realised the danger and the suppression of Ibrāhīm's revolt became his chief concern. He refused to take off his clothes until he had suppressed the ʿAlīds in the Ḥijāz and Irāq.<sup>27</sup>

Al-Manṣūr entrusted the struggle against Ibrāhīm to his uncle ʿĪsā. In Bākhmrā, lying between Kūfa and Wāsiṭ, war was waged between the two armies, until Ibrāhīm's army was defeated. Many of his men retreated though he himself stood firm with a small party of his followers. But finally he was struck down by an arrow and killed, his head also being sent to the ʿAbbāsīd general ʿĪsā (145 A.H., 762 A.D.).<sup>28</sup>

These calamities befell not only Muḥammad the Pure Soul and his brother Ibrāhīm. The former had already sent some members of his house to advocate the cause of his leadership in the Muslim territories. He had despatched his son ʿAbd Allāh to Khurāsān, then to Sind where he was killed. His other son Ḥasan whom he had sent to the Yemen was imprisoned and met his fate in goal. His brother Mūsā went to Mesopotamia; his brother Yahyā to Rayy and Ṭabaristān; his brother Idrīs went to the Farther Maghrib (North Africa). His son, Muḥammad, met in Egypt the same fate as his father, and thus, the ʿAlīd movement was considerably weakened.

The ʿAlīds continued, however, to hope for the caliphate, although they had become so weak that the ʿAbbāsīd caliph had nothing to fear from them. He was content to keep a close eye on their chief leaders in Baghdad, the capital of his empire, and give instructions to his governor of Medina to keep strict control over them. Thus they lay low in hope of a favourable chance to attack the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate again.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, vol. IX, p. 218.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, pp. 219-220.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 255.

<sup>28</sup> Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vol. II, p. 338.

In Al-Hādī's reign the 'Alids revolted under the leadership of Ḥusain ibn 'Alī<sup>29</sup> who claimed the caliphate in Medina (169 A.H., 785 A.D.) as a result of this caliph's injustice to them. They broke the gates of prisons and swore allegiance to Ḥusain as their caliph. But the 'Alid army was soon defeated by the 'Abbāsīd forces in the valley of Fakh, six miles far from Mecca, and Ḥusain was killed. However, this battle was so violent that it was said: "There was no calamity more violent and more grievous than (the battle of) Fakh." This battle manifested itself in the abundant poems composed in lament for the 'Alids who were killed in it.<sup>30</sup>

An 'Alid poet composed a poem in which he mourned the martyr of Fakh and other members of the 'Alid house:

"I will weep over Ḥusain with wailing, and Ḥasan likewise,  
And shed tears too over Ibn 'Atikah whom they have buried with-  
out shroud

In Fakh they were left in the morning, not in their dwelling place.  
They were honoured people who neither from rashness nor coward-  
dice were agitated.

They have washed humiliation from themselves as one washes  
dirt from clothes.

Men sought guidance of their grandfather, and to them people  
are indebted for their favours."<sup>31</sup>

The battle had important effects on the history of the early 'Abbāsīd period thanks to the escape of two other 'Alids. These were Yaḥyā ibn 'Abd Allāh who fled to the region of the Daylam, south of the Caspian Sea, and his brother Idrīs, who escaped to the Farther Maghrib (Morocco).

Hārūn al-Rashīd, however, attempted to attract the 'Alids to his side by releasing many of them in Baghdad. However, they did not abandon their claim that they were more worthy of the caliphate, and believed that it was their duty to fight for it. The cause of the 'Alid Yaḥyā, the brother of Muḥammad the Pure Soul and Ibrāhīm, became so formidable in the Daylam Province as to threaten the security of the 'Abbāsīd empire. The suppression of Yaḥyā's revolt became Hārūn al-Rashīd's chief concern and he set about the task of eliminating the rebels. The Barmacid Al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā was invested with the governorship of Jurjān, Ṭabaristān and Rayy, and was despatched with fifty thousand strong men to fight against the 'Alid threat. Al-Faḍl adopted a cleverer policy. He warned Yaḥyā, but also played on his desires by expressing the caliph's good wishes and sincere intentions towards him, so that he was finally able to convince him to relinquish his claim and sue for peace. However, Yaḥyā demanded a pledge

<sup>29</sup> Son of Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan ibn 'Alī.

<sup>30</sup> Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vol. II, p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

written in the caliph's own handwriting and confirmed by the judges, the doctors of the canon law and the chief members of the ruling house, who would serve as witnesses in this case. To this demand Hārūn al-Rashīd responded. The pledge was sent to Yaḥyā together with the caliph's presents. Yaḥyā returned in the company of the Barmacid Al-Faḍl to Baghdad where he was received by the caliph with courtesy and hospitality. Not long after this, Al-Rashīd discovered that Yaḥyā was continuing his activities in secrecy and calling upon the people to adhere to his cause. Therefore, Al-Rashīd referred the case to his jurisconsults who differed in their opinions. Some maintained that the pledge was given legal and binding. Others held the opposite view. However, Hārūn cancelled his pledge and ordered Yaḥyā to be killed.<sup>32</sup>

Yaḥyā's brother, Idrīs, also fled to Egypt after the great battle of Fakh, then to the Farther Maghrib where the Berbers enlisted under his banner (172 A.H., 788 A.D.). The caliph Al-Rashīd, finding that it was impossible to suppress his movement by force of arms, planned to achieve this end by intrigue. He sent to Idrīs a clever schemer, ordering him to express indignation against the ʿAbbāsids and their rule. He thus quickly became one of the closest favourites of Idrīs, and was able to plot his death by poison (177 A.H., 793 A.D.). There being no son to succeed him, Idrīs' supporters waited for one of his slave girls to give birth to a son whom they named Idrīs, and then swore allegiance to him as their caliph. This Idrīs II became the founder of the Idrīsīd dynasty in the Farther Maghrib.

When the Farther Maghrib was lost to the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate, Hārūn al-Rashīd became fearful of the ʿAlīd party. He inflicted severe punishment on every one who was accused of supporting them. Slanderers and envious people, even among the ʿAlīds themselves, took this chance to calumniate members of their house at Al-Rashīd's court. Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar became the special victim of these slanderers. Those who were jealous of him found the way to stir Al-Rashīd's fear of the ʿAlīds, insinuating that people were bringing one-fifth of their wealth to Mūsā, in the belief that he was virtual Muslim leader (imām). They added that Mūsā intended to revolt against the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate. When Al-Rashīd went on pilgrimage to Medina, he seized Mūsā, ordered him to be brought to Baghdad, where he was imprisoned and secretly killed. A group of witnesses were brought in to see his body and testify that he died a natural death.<sup>33</sup>

It must be pointed out that the slander of some members of the ʿAlīd house indicates that dissension had arisen among them. The main cause of dissension was over the belief of the Imāmate Party that the leader of the community (imām) should acquire his leadership through

<sup>32</sup> Fakhri, pp. 176-177.

<sup>33</sup> Fakhri, p. 178.

the rules of primogeniture. The fact that a group had departed from this rule after the death of Ja'far al-Şādiq, the sixth Imām in 148 A.H. (765 A.D.) split the Imāmiyyah into two sections:

1. The Imāmiyyah, afterwards called the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah (Twelvers), believed in the leadership of Ja'far, who was, according to them, the seventh Imām, and then his succeeding Imāms up to the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad al-Muntaẓar (The Expected) who disappeared in 260 A.H. (873-874 A.D.). His adherents, chiefly in Iraq and northern Persia, believe that he will appear and fill the earth with justice as it is now filled with iniquity. Hence he was called The Expected Imām (Al-Imām Al-Muntaẓar) and The Master of the Time (Şāḥib Al-Zamān).

2. The Sab'iyyah (The Seveners) maintain the leadership of Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far, because he was the eldest son of his father, and transferred the leadership to his son Muḥammad, who is, according to them, the seventh Imām. Hence they were named The Sab'iyyah, or The Seveners, to distinguish them from the other section, the Twelvers. The efforts of the Seveners, or Ismā'īlīs, to establish a caliphate of their own in Syria were suppressed,<sup>34</sup> and their leaders were forced to conceal themselves in order to escape the oppression of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. They found in North Africa a more favourable place for further activity because of its remoteness from the central authority in Baghdad. The backwardness of the Berbers and their inability to assimilate the Muslim civilisation and the feeling of resentment against their governors, who overburdened them with taxes, also assisted the cause of the Seveners. This state of affairs led to the appearance of the leader of the Seveners, in the person of 'Ubaid Allāh the Mahdī (The Guided) who founded the Fāṭimid caliphate in Ifriqiyyah in 296 A.H. (909 A.D.).<sup>35</sup>

The dissension we have noted between the various 'Alīd groups on the one hand and the 'Abbāsīds on the other was no less bitter between the imāmāte of the Twelvers and that of the Seveners. Mūsā al-Qāẓim was sharply opposed by members of his own house, and met his fate in 183 A.H. (799 A.D.) at the age of fifty-four. His tomb is still visited in the important quarter of Karkh in the western side of Baghdad which has become the centre of the Shī'ites who are the adherents of Mūsā.

The naming of 'Alī al-Riḍā, the eighth Imām of the 'Alīd group of the Twelvers, as his successor in 201 A.H. (816 A.D.);<sup>36</sup> the adoption of the green colour familiar to the 'Alīds instead of the 'Abbāsīd black colour; and the marriage of Al-Riḍā's daughter in the next year—all combined to stir the indignation of the 'Abbāsīds against

<sup>34</sup> Maqrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. II, pp. 390-397. *Al-Fāṭimiyyūn fī Miṣr*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>35</sup> See my *Al-Fāṭimiyyūn fī Miṣr*, pp. 50-61.

<sup>36</sup> Browne (*Literary Hist. of Persia*, vol. I, p. 284) mentions that this incident occurred in 211 A.H., which is evidently incorrect.

their caliph Al-Ma'mūn. Perhaps Al-Ma'mūn himself was convinced that Al-Riḍā was more worthy of the caliphate than the house of ʿAbbās. Or it may be that his religious feelings inspired a political project aimed at gaining the fealty of the Khurāsānids (who were whole-heartedly inclined to the Shī'ite doctrines). Influenced by Persian tendencies derived from his mother and his wife who were both Persians, and influenced also by Shī'ite doctrines from his childhood, Al-Ma'mūn fell in with the ideas of his Persian vizier, Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl, who was bent on the transfer of the caliphate from the house of ʿAbbās to the house of ʿAlī.<sup>37</sup>

Al-Ma'mūn's policy aroused the anger of his ʿAbbāsids subjects who called for his deposition and swore allegiance to his paternal uncle, Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī. Ḥasan ibn Sahl, Al-Ma'mūn's governor of Iraq, could not suppress or check the uprising of Ibrāhīm, who remained caliph in Baghdad for two years. When Al-Ma'mūn became aware of the critical situation in Baghdad, he decided to act. He eliminated one difficulty by secretly poisoning the eighth ʿAlīd Imām, Al-Rida, and instigated the assassination of Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl.<sup>38</sup>

When Al-Ma'mūn arrived at Baghdad in 204 A.H. (819 A.D.), its people crowded the roads and gave him a warm welcome. His paternal uncle Ibrāhīm fled away and remained in concealment. In 210 A.H. he was pardoned by Al-Ma'mūn and was received in his court, where he recited poems in the caliph's praise. He was one of the greatest poets of the time.

Al-Ma'mūn treated the ʿAlīds kindly and leniently. Yet some of them revolted against him, among them Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who rebelled in Mecca and accepted allegiance as Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ma'mūn despatched an army which defeated him and took him captive. Later he was pardoned.<sup>39</sup> Among other ʿAlīds who revolted against Al-Ma'mūn was Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm in Egypt. He proclaimed himself after having heard of the death of his brother, Muḥammad and the inhabitants of Mecca, Medina, Kūfa, Rayy, Qazwīn, Ṭabaristan and the Daylam swore allegiance to him, while the people of Baṣrah and Ahwāz sent him messages in which they persuaded him to come into the open. When Al-Ma'mūn received the news of his revolt he ordered his governor of Egypt to watch Al-Qāsim. He returned to the Ḥijāz and thence to Tihāma, where he concealed himself among the Bedouin until his activities came to an end in the reign of Al-Ma'mūn's successor, Al-Mu'taṣim in 220 A.H. (835 A.D.).

Shī'ite and Sunni sources unanimously agree that Al-Ma'mūn showed great sympathy towards the ʿAlīds and believed that the caliphate had been wrested from them. This opinion is justified by Al-

<sup>37</sup> Ṭabari, vol. X, p. 43.

<sup>38</sup> Ṭabari, vol. X, pp. 270-271.

<sup>39</sup> Fakhri, p. 201.

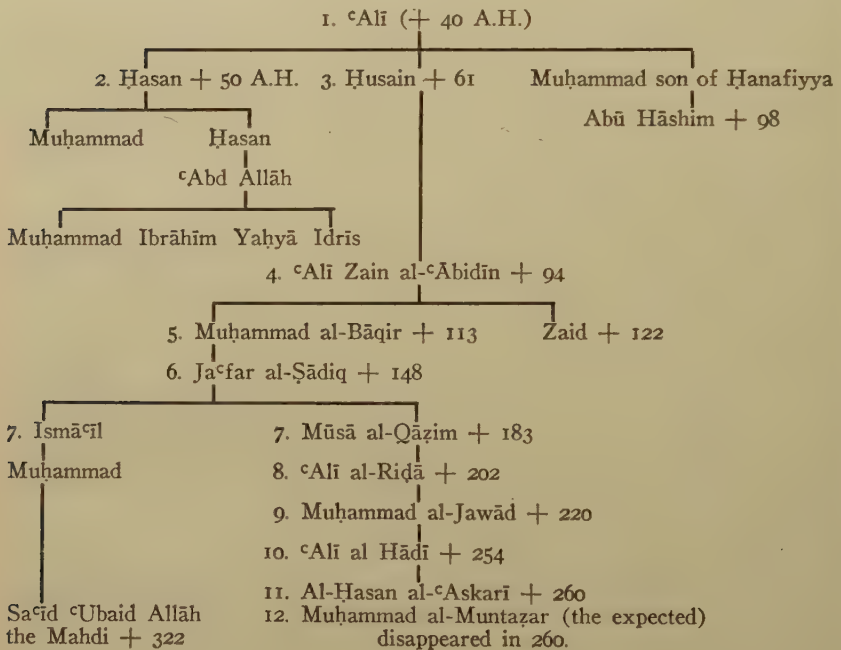
Ma'mūn's testament to his brother Al-Mu'ṭaṣim before his death which runs thus: "These are your cousins, the sons of the Commander of the Faithful 'Alī, son of Abū Ṭālib, may God confer His grace on them. Treat them kindly and do well in taking them as your companions, pass over the sins of those among them who offend and receive kindly those of them who do well. Do not neglect their yearly grants, since for many reasons they well deserve their rights."

Al Ma'mūn continued his lenient policy towards the 'Alīds until 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad revolted against him in the Yemen in 207 A.H. (822 A.D.). Though the latter was pardoned on his defeat, the caliph forbade the 'Alīds entry to his palace and compelled them to wear black.

*Cairo, Egypt*

HASSAN IBRAHIM HASSAN

SHĪ'AH GENEALOGY



## CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY AND THE QUR'ĀN

The two vitally important subjects about which Muslims and Christians differ are Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Divine Trinity. What the Muslims believe about these two subjects forms the stumbling-block that prevents the Muslims from considering Christianity as a reasonable religion. It is a necessary service for missionaries to Muslims to remove these objections that Muslims have to the fundamental Christian doctrines about Christ and the Trinity.

The first difficulty that the Muslims have with Christian belief concerns Christ as the Son of God.

It is the 112th chapter of the Qur'ān, one of the shortest of the 114 Surahs, which Muslims believe is their strongest and most definite denial of the deity of Christ. The Surah reads: "Say: 'It, the fact, is, Allah is One, The Eternal God. He did not beget. He was not begotten. There was no one meet, sufficient, for Him.'"

The latest translation of the Qur'ān is that of N. A. Dawood, published in 1956 in the Penguin Classics. His translation of that Surah is entirely correct in meaning. It reads: "Say: 'Allah is One, the Eternal God. He begot none, nor was He begotten. None is equal to Him.'" The emphasis of this 112th Chapter is on the Oneness of God which is and always has been the teaching also of the Bible and all Christian Churches and their Creeds.

It is a lexical fact as Aristotle pointed out that the word 'One' is used in more than one sense. The term 'One' is used in an arithmetical or numeral or mathematical sense, to indicate oneness of quantity. The word is also used to express simplicity of essence. For instance, a drop of water may be "one" numerically without being one or single in its essence, as its formula  $H_2O$  indicates. Or a human being is one individual without being one or simple in his nature.

Muslim scholars also know about the multiple uses or meanings of the word 'one' in the Arabic language. For instance the great lexicographer, the Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Zabīdī in his commentary *Iṭḥāf al-Sādah*, on the *Iḥyā' Ulūm al-Dīn* of Al-Ghazālī, mentions Al-Ash'arī's statement on the various meanings of the term *wāḥid* or 'one'. He also states that Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī lists six meanings of the term, five of which he quotes in his Commentary.

The numerical or mathematical use of the word 'one' is the one and only sense of the term as it was used by Muḥammad in referring to Allah and is the only meaning of the term all the times it is used in that connection in the Qur'ān. Muḥammad preached against idolatry and taught that Allah was the one and only God that ever existed or ever will exist. That is also the teaching of the Bible both in the Old and the New Testaments. Jesus taught what the Old Testament taught: "Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God is One Lord." The third verse of the 112th Surah says, "He, God, did not beget; He was not begotten."

It is permissible to give an explanation of that statement. Commentaries on the Qurʾān, interpreting the words and verses of the Qurʾān, are many and varied. The explanation here suggested will not be rejected as wrong or untrue by Muslims or Christians. That statement means God did not beget in any physical sense; He did not beget as human beings beget, or as the gods of the pagan Greeks and Romans beget gods and goddesses. Muslims and Christians both believe that God did not beget by any physical, sexual, act. Similarly, it may be said, Jesus Christ the Son of God, was not begotten in any physical, human manner and most certainly, He did not become a second God. The term 'begotten' is used in the New Testament with reference to the Son of God. Indeed, the verse of the whole Bible most loved by most Christians says that "God gave His only begotten Son," but no Christian thinks that the word 'begotten' is to be taken in any human or natural or literal sense. The Bible deals with spiritual subjects, but must use human terminology to describe spiritual relationships. The human terms, 'Father', 'Son', 'begotten' and the like must be taken as figurative and metaphysical, rather than as natural and literal when used in relationship to the Deity.

The Arabs also use the words *abū*, 'father' and *ibn*, 'son', in figurative senses. For instance, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq was Muḥammad's most sincere and devoted friend, the father of his favorite wife and his first successor or *khalīfah*. The first part of his name, Abū Bakr, means: "The father of a camel's foal," but nobody ever took the term in its literal meaning. Similarly, the Arabic language uses the term *ibn*, 'son' figurative as well as literally. For instance, *ibn al-sabīl* means literally "the son of the road," but a road does not have a son, so all Arabic-speaking people know that the term means a 'traveler,' or a 'wayfarer.'

The fourth verse of this *Sūrat al-Ikhlās*, "The Chapter of Pure Devotion," says: "There was no one suitable, meet, for Him." Just as the Bible and the Qurʾān speak about the special creation of Eve because there was no one meet for Adam, among all the animals that God created, so there never was a female companion, (*Ṣāhibah* is the word used by the Qurʾān's greatest commentator, Al-Baiḍāwī) suitable for God. The term 'Father' is never used about God in the Bible or in Christian literature in any literal, physical or human sense. 'The Fatherhood of God' is never used in any sexual but always in a figurative sense. Muslims, as well as Christians, will acknowledge this, but Muslims dislike its use.

So with these explanations and interpretations of the 112th chapter of the Qurʾān, it would be proper and right for Christians to recite that Surah along with Muslims. It will also be proper and right for Muslims to recognize as valid the way that Christians may understand those meanings of the Surah and accept them as their own. If anyone, Muslim or Christian, needs to be convinced that there are famous and respected Muslim theologians who thought and taught that the New

Testament and those who believe in the New Testament use and accept the words 'God the Father', 'God the Son' and 'begot' and 'begotten' with physical, human and natural sexual senses, all he needs to do is to read one book by the Muslim theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah of Damascus of the 14th Century. (*Ency. of Islam*, II, 392 f.) The book is called *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārā min al-Yahūd wa'l-Naṣārā* (Guide for the Jews and Christians who are Perplexed). The Arabic library at the Hartford Seminary Foundation has an excellent MS of the work, copied in A.H. 722, A.D. 1377, a score of years after the author's death. The library also contains two different printed editions of the book published in Cairo in 1322 and 1323, about fifty years ago. Another edition was published in Cairo ten years later. These facts tell us that completely incorrect information about Christian doctrine is still published and read by Muslims and prevents them from considering Christianity to be a reasonable religion. Rather according to Ibn al-Qayyim, it is utterly unworthy of acceptance by anybody.

As a corollary to this discussion, the whole subject of the use of our Christian terms and phraseology in missionary work for Muslims is one that needs examination, clarification and action. This subject is, indeed, discussed in Dr. Harry G. Dorman's published dissertation, *Toward Understanding Islam*, (New York, 1948). One definite suggestion is that, in talking with Muslims, or writing for them, the term, 'The Word of God,' should be used when referring to Jesus Christ and that the phrase 'The Son of God' should be used only after its non-physical sense has been mentioned and explained.

It is well known that the Qur'ān says nothing definite about what God is in His Essence or Being or Subsistence. In the Qur'ān there are many adjectival nouns and phrases that describe God's attributes and acts, but none that define or specify what He is in Himself. What every church school child is taught and every reader of the Gospel of St. John soon learns, namely that God is Spirit, is not stated in the Qur'ān and is not taught in mosques, Muslim theological schools or religious books. The Qur'ān records that once Muḥammad was asked: "What is spirit?" The commentaries on the Qur'ān generally say it was Jews who questioned him, but they may have been Christians. His reply, as reported in the Qur'ān, was: "Say: 'The spirit is a matter pertaining to my Lord and ye are brought but little knowledge.'" (xvii. 87). Certain it is that nowhere does the Qur'ān say God is Spirit. Only in heterodox Islam and especially in Sufism, is spirit (*rūh*) associated in any essential relationship with God. (See article NAFS in the *Shorter Ency. of Islam*, or the October 1943 volume of *The Moslem World* for the doctrine of the Soul and Spirit in Islam).

An Egyptian minister's sermon topic was "Not Alone" and in it he used a most astounding illustration. He said, an old lady, left alone in her home, was visited by neighbours who sympathized with her because of her loneliness. "But," she told them, "I am not all by myself.

I have with me God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit. We are four and I am not alone." The omission of the word "Persons" could easily have led any Muslim to infer that three gods were with her. A friend reports that when he and his wife were in Old Jerusalem he visited the Ethiopian (i.e. Abyssinian) Chapel on the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He was admiring the paintings of their famous Saints, but was intrigued by a painting of three old gentlemen side by side and so like one another as to be indistinguishable. "I was trying," he said, "to remember if there were any tales of triplets who became Saints in their Calendar, but when I asked the priest in charge, he said that was the Holy Trinity."

It can easily be that Muḥammad had heard the Christians of his time describe the Holy Trinity in such terms as one Divine Father and one Divine Son and one Divine Spirit, adding up to three divinities. Indeed, it may be true that Muḥammad had good reason to think that there were Christians in his day in Arabia whose veneration of Mary the Mother of Jesus made her the third person of the Holy Trinity. Simple addition of one plus one plus one (1 1 1) gives three gods as in the picture in the Abyssinian Chapel on the roof of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Jesus said: "The Father and I are One" (S. John x. 1: 30). The Father is not the Son and the Holy Spirit is not either the Father or the Son, but the Three Divine Persons are One God, not three deities. It may perhaps be permissible to symbolize the Trinity in Unity, the Triune Deity, in this way: three connected one above another unite to form a single one.

But the best and most effective way to present to Muslims and others the Divine Trinity is by explaining the meaning of Spirit. Untutored orthodox Muslims follow the teaching of theologians who limit their own beliefs to the strictest literal interpretation of the Qurʾān. To them the term 'spirit' is applicable only to created beings such as angels, satans, and all the kinds of *jinn* or demons. Mankind also have spirits in their bodies. Their spirits are intangible but material, too light, fine, thin and tenuous, like air or vapor, to be seen, but having both weight and power. The human spirit, they believe, exists in man like sap in the leaves of trees, and like sap, is a substance which is both material and corporeal.

Another and different view of what spirit is came into Islam when Greek literature and Christian culture were absorbed into Muslim society. Many of the conquered inhabitants of Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Iran were Christians. Some translated Greek and Syriac books of science and philosophy into Arabic. They introduced into Islam their own early religious customs and ideas. The Arabs are not normally philosophically minded. There has been only one Arab philosopher. Yaʿqūb al-Kindī is called "the Philosopher of the Arabs" because he translated Hellenic and Greek philosophical works into Arabic, not because he produced any original works or any philosophical system

of his own. There has never been any great indigenous Arabian mystical society. People of Arabian descent have become mystics and have founded Sūfī or Muslim mystical orders. Indeed, Islam's greatest mystic, Al-Shaikh al-Akbar, is named Ibn ʿArabī, the son of an Arab (d. 1240). He was born at Murcia in Spain. But the Arab mind normally operates in concrete and practical terms, rather than with abstract, immaterial and spiritual ideas. That is the reason why the word *rūh*, spirit, and *nafs*, soul, in the Qur'ān and strictly Quranic theology, are beings that are concrete rather than non-physical, corporeal rather than immaterial, tangible and visible, rather than what we call non-sensuous realities.

Now, spiritual realities do not and cannot be expected to follow the laws of physical, material realities. They do not resemble things that can be seen and touched, that increase and decrease, that live, grow and die. Rather, a spirit is like knowledge, truth, love, which, though intangible not material, not corporeal, have their own kind of reality. For instance, knowledge is real. It has conceptual reality. Some people have a particular bit of knowledge and some do not have that knowledge. One may become acquainted with a particular item of knowledge not known before and it will remain with him or he may lose, that is, forget, it. Someone may hear or read the statement that sometimes ten and ten are not twenty but are nineteen. At first he may consider the statement to be not true knowledge but rather a false statement, without any factual basis. But when it is explained that in retail business transactions a dealer will be told that the list price of an article is 1.00 or 100.00, and that he will receive discounts of ten and ten, he knows that the first discount reduces the price to him to ninety and the second discount applies to the ninety and amounts to nine, so that the price he pays is eighty one. This is called the successive discount or discount series and is taught in books on Business Arithmetic, but is not a bit of common knowledge. Yet it is knowledge that is true and valid. Ten and ten are not always twenty but in some cases are nineteen.

That same fact will illustrate another law about knowledge in which it does not follow the laws of material, physical things. Things may be separated into parts; they may disintegrate, change and go out of existence as they previously were. An orange, for instance, may be separated into its liths, its sections, which may be given away and consumed. It is no longer retained, nor does it remain as it was. But knowledge is not like that. If students are told something they did not know before, as, perhaps, this fact that sometimes ten and ten are nineteen, they receive new knowledge but the teacher is not therefore deprived of it.

The laws of knowledge are not like the laws of the material, physical world. Similarly the laws of spirit are not like those of bodies and material things. God, said Jesus Christ, is Spirit. He taught that God

is One. He also said, I and the Father are One. It means that the Father is the Divine Spiritual Reality. Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son or Word of the Father, is also that same Divine Spiritual Reality and, as Jesus Christ taught in the Gospels, the Holy Spirit is also that same Eternal Spiritual Reality that Christians call God.

Christians do not say, "God is the Father," or "God is the Son or the Word," or "God is the Holy Spirit." Rather in the Christian doctrine it is proper to say: "The Heavenly Father is God." The Gospel of St. John says: "The Word was God." The Christian Church teaches that the Holy Spirit is God. It never has taught that the Father is a god and the Son is a god, meaning, a second god, and the Holy Spirit or Mary is a deity, to add up to three gods. The laws, rules, or realities of the spirit are not like the rules of the things of the material world.

Now, it is splendid that the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān does contain the idea that there is an Existent One who is not corporeal, not material, not visible, not tangible, but nevertheless the Possessor of life, knowledge, power, justice, truth, mercy and unnumbered other attributes all in infinite measure, from all eternity to all eternity. The Possessor of these immaterial, these spiritual, realities, Muḥammad said, was Allah, whose name the Arabs knew, but whom they did not worship or serve. The Qur<sup>2</sup>ān does not say, and Muḥammad did not teach, that Allah was Spirit or a Spirit or the Divine Spirit. But just as he rejected the belief of the Arabs that stones or wood or idols were gods worthy of worship, and believed that only Allah was God, so also Muḥammad rejected the idea of the Christians that Allah could be a father and have a son whose mother was Mary, all three of them divine. More than 2,000 times the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān mentions Allah as God and so the religion of Allah spread in Arabia and elsewhere. It abolished all idolatry from that land and also the worship and service of the One Divine Spiritual Reality of the Christians because some believed that the terms 'Father' and 'Son' had human-like meanings.

In the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān Allah is frequently called *Al-Ḥaqq*. It is well worth while to read the article on *Al-Ḥaqq* in the *Ency. of Islam*, by Professor D. B. Macdonald. The word *ḥaqq* has three connotations: in the realm of metaphysics it means 'the real.' Allah is pre-eminently The Real One. In the realm of logic, or rational thought, *al-ḥaqq* means The Truth. Allah is pre-eminently The True One. In the realm of ethics and morals, *al-ḥaqq* means 'what is right and good.' Allah is pre-eminently 'The Right One.' These are all intangible, immaterial, incorporeal terms. Allah is the infinite and eternal true, right and good metaphysical, that is, intangible and unseen, Reality. The Muslims believe that Allah is the One and only Divine, infinite and eternal true, right and good Reality.

Christians believe that God, the Heavenly Father, is the Divine Spiritual Reality who brings into being and cares for all that exists. They also believe that God the Son or Word, is the Divine Spiritual

Entity that expresses the Love and concern for the eternal welfare of man in the way most readily understood by mankind. Further, Christians believe that God the Holy Spirit is the Divine Spiritual Reality whose activity enables mankind to do what is right and good.

Muslims need especially prepared explanations to help them to understand what the Bible teaches and what Christians believe about how and why the Eternal Word or Son of God, the Second Personality of the Divine Reality, assumed also His human nature, humbling Himself to be born of Mary, His mother. It should always be noted that the Gospel of St. Luke most carefully states that it was the Holy Spirit, the Third Personality of the Trinity, rather than the First, who secured Mary's willingness to become a mother and caused her conception. Nothing physical or natural on the part of any male being was involved.

The Why of the Incarnation has an 11th century and still widely accepted explanation in Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo* which has been translated into Arabic as *Li-mādhā tajassada'l-Masīh*. But a full Christology in modern terms especially addressed to Muslims is certainly needed. The Qur'ān's statement about the conception of Jesus is just as free from human connotations as is that of the Gospels. The statement is: "whenever He (Allah) specially decrees something He says to it only: 'Be' and it is," (Surah xix. 35). The Quranic doctrine of the conception of Jesus is that it was an act of creation. It is essential that Muslims learn that the term "Son of God" refers to his generation in eternity, not to his human nature.

Finally, changes in terminology may be suggested in presenting the Trinity to the Muslim mind. Our conventional theological vocabulary uses the word Person for each of the Divine Beings. This is a word that has corporeal, physical, concrete, human connotations. Would not the abstract term 'personality' preserve better the immaterial ideas associated with God? Also the word 'generate' does not necessarily have the exclusively sexual associations of the word 'begot'.

A statement of Christian Theology about God for Muslim thinkers could say: God is the one and only Divine, eternal and infinite Spirit with Unity of Essence in a Trinity of Personalities as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, perfect in wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, truth and love. A Muslim theological student could express the Quranic doctrine of God for Christians in these terms: Allah is the one and only eternal and infinite Transcendent(al) Being possessing in Himself absolute Reality Truth and Right, with essential attributes of life, power, knowledge, will, sight, hearing and speech and unnumbered other attributes expressed in His Most Beautiful Names.

Neither statement is a complete theology for either religion but both are declarations of monotheisms which encourage sympathetic rather than unfriendly consideration.

# ISLAM AND THE CHURCH IN MALAYA.

## HISTORY OF ISLAM IN MALAYA

The history of the coming of Islam is obscure: modern Malay piety ascribes it to Arab missionaries from Mecca, but this reads a later situation back into history. Western historians have had to depend on scraps of tradition and meagre archeological evidence. The result is that the current view, based on the theories of Dutch orientalists, is not altogether adequate.

The real situation seems to have been as follows. From the earliest times there have been Arab traders in the Indian Ocean. When China was strong and settled, trade passing through the Straits of Malacca increased and was secure, and in these periods Arab colonies were formed. The rise of Islam was contemporary with the Tang dynasty, and trade contact was established via the Straits between Arabia and China. Under the Sung, Arab traders frequented Kedah and other parts of the Indies. These early contacts, however, did not lead to political or religious activity amongst the local peoples.

Under the Mongols, however, there was a considerable influx of Muslims into China, and the increase of trade by the sea route to India and the Middle East brought new Muslim contacts to Sumatra, through the influence of Chinese Muslim envoys. At the same time, there was a great increase of Muslim influence in South India. Trader-missionaries from this area secured a hearing in North Sumatra, and about 1280, the little state of Samudra-Pasai became the first country in the Malay region to adopt Islam as its official religion. This priority gave North Sumatra a prominent position in Malayan Islam which it has retained until the present day. Samudra-Pasai is gone, but nearby Aceh has succeeded to her rôle and is famous for her mystics, her religious learning and for the bigotry of her Muslim population.

The province of Gujarat in western India became Muslim by conquest in 1297, and was a part of the Delhi Sultanate till 1401. In the 14th century it began to take active part in trade with the East Indies through the port of Cambay. From 1401 to 1572 it was a prosperous independent Sultanate, managing to capture the major share of the East Indian trade, particularly with the great mart of Malacca.

The Dutch historians claim that Malayan Islam originated from Gujarat. But this seems a misreading of the facts, as the Gujarati traders were for the most part Ismā'īlī Bohras, and not Sunnī Shāfi'ites as the Malays are. Moreover, at the date of the conversion of Samudra-Pasai, Gujarat was still governed by Hindus, and the only Muslims there at that time were the Shī'ah Bohras and Khojas and a few Sunnī Arabs. The Gujarati influence in Malaya was over trade and material culture. It was their shipping, however, which brought traders and

adventurers, scholars, mystics and missionaries from India, Persia and other parts of the Middle East.

Islam appears to have gained a foothold in Malaya by the end of the 14th century, as a Malay inscription, the earliest which survives in the Arabic script, dating from 1389, or possibly earlier, records the promulgation of certain Muslim laws in Trengganu. The real advance, however, was made with the establishment of the great trading state of Malacca about 1400.

Malacca's hey-day (1400-1511) is contemporaneous with the period of Gujarati power, and both existed on the profits of Far Eastern trade, just as does Singapore today. Both Malacca and Gujarat grew prosperous on the policy of Muslim monopoly of ocean trade. Malacca was further favoured by the enlightened foreign policy of the Ming dynasty in China, which encouraged overseas trade with the lands of the South, under the guise of giving protection to those states in exchange for periodical tribute.

At its establishment, Malacca was a Hindu state, the successor of Hindu Singapore, which in its turn had been a late offshoot of the empire of Sri Vijaya in Sumatra. An alliance between Parameswara, the first ruler of Malacca (about 1410?), with the house of Samudra-Pasai, was sealed by his marriage to a Pasai princess and his adoption of her religion.

Under his immediate successors, there seems to have a reaction, but Islam was permanently established by the 1440's when Sultān Muzaffar Shāh gained his throne after a struggle, and embarked on a policy of expansion in the name of Islam. He and his successors gained control of the greater part of the Malay Peninsula, as well as the riverine states of East Sumatra. This gave Malacca control of the Straits and enabled her to monopolize East Indian trade, bringing her much wealth, and influence over the surrounding territories. Contacts between Javanese and Malays in Malacca, and the activities of Malays and Gujaratis in the East part of Java began the dissemination there of the Muslim faith, and the process continued, both in Malaya itself and in the East Indian islands, even after the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511.

Although Malacca was the principal seat of Malay power, it does not seem to have become to any extent the source of a new Islamic learning and culture. The Malays accepted Islam, but for a long time Malacca still looked to Pasai for guidance in religious matters, and sometimes referred to her theologians for the solution of religious problems. Indian teachers had influence as Ṣūfī mystics, and their tendency to pantheism was an element significant in Malay Islam. These men were patronized by royalty as well as by the common people. But at this time Persia had the greatest prestige as the source of Muslim learning and culture. The Malays followed the Shāfi'ī school. So too did the rulers of the Persian empire of the Timurids (1380-1502).

Timur himself was a great patron of Shāfi'ī theologians. These teachers wielded considerable influence as orthodox doctors in the Malay world.

Many changes came about in the 16th century. The supremacy of Malacca ended in 1511 with the Portuguese conquest. Malay leadership fell in part to Acheh in Sumatra, and Johore in the Peninsula. In the meanwhile, in Persia, the Mongol Timurids had fallen, and a national revival under the Safavid dynasty came into being. These new Persian rulers were Shī'ahs. Thus Persia could no longer be looked to as a source orthodox learning for Malay Sunnis. The gap was filled by the Ḥaḍramaut Sayyids of the South Arabian coast, who came as traders and religious teachers, and gained great prestige. Connections with India were still maintained, now also with the Sultanates of the Deccan, and this Indian influence is much in evidence in the Malay literature which has survived from those days. But as years went by, stronger links were forged with Arabia, including Mecca, and with Egypt.

This last came about in various ways. An important Ṣūfī movement, the Shaṭṭāriyyah Ṭarīqah, which had originated in India, gained favour in Arabia, especially in Medina, and from there spread to Sumatra, Malay and Java. The increasing influence of Arab teachers and the growth in popularity of the pilgrimage strengthened Malay ties with Arabia. In the course of time Malayan Islam has tended to lose its Indian and pantheistic tinge, and to approximate more and more to orthodox forms. This is witnessed by the decline of the Shaṭṭāriyyah and the popularity of Qadariyyah mysticism in part of the Malayan region. However, the part that the organized mystical orders played in this area has always been a somewhat minor one.

The education of religious leaders followed the universal pattern, the syllabus being based on the study of the Arabic language and mediaeval scholastic theology in Arabic. Competence in Arabic was evidently not easily obtained, and from the 18th century onwards a number of translations and digests of standard Arabic works have been made in Malay.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF MALAYAN ISLAM

The Islamization of Malaya continued after the Portuguese conquest. The Malay identifies race with religion, and religion and custom with his ruler. The adoption of Islam by the Malay princes meant, therefore, that in the course of time the whole race became Muslim. But the process was in some ways superficial. Older animistic and Hindu elements survive. There is a lack of fanaticism in the Malay; but he is tenacious of his Islam, seeing in it a bastion against the encroachments of other races.

Unorthodox elements in Malayan Islam are due partly to the survival of earlier ideas, and partly to the importation of Indian pecu-

liarities. Pantheistic mysticism, which is anathema to the orthodox, came from India and was popular especially in North Sumatra and Java. Shi'ah elements appear in the old literature, or survive in some customs, such as the Muḥarram processions in some places. The ceremonies of marriage and many of the customs of the Malay royalty preserve Hindu rituals almost intact.

In the matter of religious law, the Malays (in common with the South Indians and Ḥaḍramaut Arabs) follow the Shāfi'ī School, but everywhere Islamic law is modified by the ʿadat or customary law. In Negeri Sembilan, some matriarchal customs survive. Nowhere is it customary that women should be secluded or veiled.

The position of the Sultān in the Malays' scheme of things, though no doubt in accord with Islamic concepts, derives from the Hindu idea of the god-king, and to this day the Malay's veneration for his ruler is a factor of political significance.

The fact that Islam penetrated peacefully, and without great resources, into the Malay world, and the inability of Malayan Islam to create an empire, have meant that there is a lack of a Muslim culture of strongly indigenous character. Architectural achievement has been meagre. The Malay mosque with its square pent-roofs closely resembles those of the Malabar coast. Malay literature is wholly derivative and romantic, and is not (with one or two worthy exceptions) strongly representative of the Malay's own experience of life. Works of art are of a minor order. What there is is pleasing, but it is almost confined to embroidery, gold, silverware, weaving and the making of kris.

#### MODERN DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYAN ISLAM

The modern period may perhaps be said to have begun with the steamship, which brought not only new influences from the west, but also increased opportunities for making the pilgrimage to Mecca. A large number of pilgrims come from Malaya and Indonesia, especially when the price of rubber is high enough to provide means for making the voyage. There is a considerable Indonesian community in Mecca, which deals with the pilgrim traffic, and engages in Islamic studies and their translation and publication in Malay. It is from returned pilgrims that most of the various religious revivals, both pious and fanatical, have sprung. Malay religious students are sent either to Mecca or to Al-Azhar university in Cairo for theological studies. The year 1955 saw the opening of a new Muslim Theological College, the first of its kind, in Klang. Some of the staff of this institution have been engaged from Al Azhar.

The religious courts have limited jurisdiction over marriage, divorce and inheritance, the enforcement of religious obligations and the administration of trusts and charitable funds. Recently the power of the

Qādis has been extended to cover cases of inheritance up to \$ 300 instead of the former \$ 100. The courts can enforce the fast by imposing fines on offenders for non-observance. They claim jurisdiction not only over Malays, but also over resident foreign Muslims, but it is doubtful whether this has any legislative sanction.

The problem of divorce has led to two points of view. The reformists take the Qurʾān as an implicit admonition to monogamy, on the ground that polygamy is only allowable if all the wives are given equal treatment, an obligation beyond human powers to attain. This interpretation of the text is not admitted by the conservatives, who regard any departure from traditional exegesis or entrenched custom as a veiled attack on religion. Nevertheless, the feminist movement is gathering momentum, and demands greater security for married women than they have enjoyed hitherto.

Modernism has made greater progress in Indonesia than in Malaya. This can be seen by contrasting Indonesian with Peninsular Malay literature. Indonesia has abandoned the Arabic script, even for theological works, and in secular literature looks beyond the bounds of Islam for inspiration — to the old Hinduized culture of Java, to the works of Rabrindranath Tagore, to the French rationalists and the writings of Marx. In Malaya, the Arabic script has held its own, and literature tends to keep to a more orthodox line. Hence Indonesia and Peninsular Malay have gone their separate ways. The identification of the Malay language and script with Malay national consciousness has prevented it from becoming an instrument of national unity on a supra-racial basis in Malaya.

#### FOREIGN MUSLIMS IN MALAYA

Islam was brought to Malaya from India, and a continuous connexion has been maintained since the time Islam was first established in Malaya. But the greater numbers are immigrants of more recent origin, being part of the general influx of traders in the 19th and 20th centuries. Indians form the biggest non-Malay Muslim group in the country. They include:

- (1) *Tamil Muslims* (mainly from Nagur, in the Tanjore District) : mostly shopkeepers, dealing in groceries, cloth, books etc.
- (2) *Malayali Muslims* (from Ponnani and other parts of the Malabar Coast). Many of these are restaurant-keepers. Both the Tamil and Malayali Muslims are Shāfiʿī, as are the Malays.
- (3) *Gujarati Muslims*. These are mostly Bohras (Ismāʿīlī Shīʿahs) from Bombay, and are dealers in cloth.
- (4) *Panjabi Muslims*. A few business men, watchmen and peons.

In Singapore and elsewhere there are about four thousand *Arab Sayyids*, from the Ḥaḍramaut and Aden. They are also Shāfiʿī, traders and religious teachers. From the earliest days there were a few Chinese

Muslims who were traders in the ports of the Southern Seas. Nowadays there are a few Chinese Muslims, most of whom have adopted their religion in marrying Malay women. The children of these unions tend to become absorbed into the Malay community.

Indian Muslims are much more vociferous on behalf of Islam than the Malays are, and during the Hertogh Riots in 1950, it was Indian leaders who stirred up the Malays. The custody and later the marriage of a Dutch Roman Catholic girl, who had been brought up by a Malay amah in Java during the Japanese Occupation to be a Muslim, stirred Malay feelings. The way the case was dealt with made it appear to be an attack by a Christian government on the Muslim marriage law.

#### CHRISTIANITY IN MALAYA

Christianity was introduced into Malacca after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511. Albuquerque's policy was to destroy the power of all Muslims, to favour other races, and to encourage the spread of Christianity by the marriage of Portuguese with local women, mostly Chinese, who were obliged to accept baptism. His severity and cruelty confirmed Malay resistance to the Christian faith. From that day to this, hardly any Malay converts have been made. Islam was identified with racial loyalty and a convert to Christianity would be looked on as a renegade.

In the East Indies, the Dutch engaged in some Christian missions, and the Malay version of St. Matthew's Gospel of 1629 was the first translation of Scripture into any modern oriental language. But in Malacca, they seem not to have done any mission work, and with their departure, all trace of the Dutch Reformed Church has disappeared.

In British times, the East India Company began by providing chaplaincies for their own people. The first Protestant mission in Malaya was that of the London Missionary Society, from 1815 to 1847. A base at Malacca was established as the first stage towards a mission to China, but some Malay work was also attempted. In 1818, the Anglo-Chinese College was opened in Malacca under William Milne, who, with the help of Munshī 'Abdullāh, revised the Malay Bible, and 'Abdullāh, the half-Tamil, half-Malay Muslim writes sympathetically of Milne and the other missionaries in his autobiography.

B. P. Keasberry, an American Missionary of the L.M.S. worked among the Malays in 1840, but when the L.M.S. closed its work in the country he continued as an independent missionary till 1875. The Methodist Episcopal Church began its work in Malaya in 1884, and soon had a Malay project, under the leadership of W. H. Shellabear, a fine Malay scholar who worked chiefly through literature — Bible translations, hymns, gospel stories in verse, tracts and Christian books. His work has been continued by other Methodist workers, but always on a limited scale.

The main themes of government policy have been the maintenance of law and order and the promotion of trade and capital development, with as little interference as possible with existing institutions. It refrained from intervening in religious affairs, and in so doing appeared to give special favour to Islam. The famous clause in the treaties with the Malay Sultāns, by which they agreed to accept British Residents, whose advice had to be followed in all matters except Malay religion and custom, has been frequently, but erroneously, taken to mean that Christian missions to Malays are forbidden. The misunderstanding is common not only amongst British administrators, but also amongst the Malays themselves.

The clause refers to government intervention, and not to the work of missionaries independently engaged in evangelistic work. The obstacles to missions to Malays are real, but they are of a political rather than a legal character.

A legal consultant expressed the following view in 1953:

"I am of the opinion that there is no explicit legal obstacle or objection to a mission to Malays in any part of the Peninsula, but the constitutional and political atmosphere is everywhere unfavourable, broadly for the same reasons, though they may operate somewhat less strongly in Singapore than in the Malay States."

The Government is extremely sensitive about any activity which might lead to religious disturbance, and has been confirmed in its attitude by the Malay riots in Singapore in December 1950, alluded to above.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from these political problems, there is the traditional Muslim opposition to Christian expression. Yet bitterness and bigotry are foreign to the Malay nature, which is neither sufficiently speculative, nor well informed to enter eagerly into religious controversy.

There is a good deal of genuine friendship between the British and the Malays on the basis of toleration and the avoidance of religious issues. Some Christian workers, particularly in schools, oppose active Christian missions to Malays on the ground that the existing goodwill may be sacrificed thereby. Many Malays have been educated in Christian schools on the understanding that no attempt would be made to influence them to change their religion; Malay parents are appreciative of the discipline of Christian schools, and in the case of girls, the alternative in many cases would be no education at all.

There is the question of missionary priorities. The Churches are fully absorbed in work amongst other groups: e.g. chaplaincy work amongst Europeans and others, and missions to Indians and Chinese.

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<sup>1</sup> In August 1957, Malaya achieved independence within the British Commonwealth. Under the new Constitution the State will be secular but Islam will be the official religion. Freedom is guaranteed to other religions for the practice and propagation of their faith.

These provide an unlimited challenge to Christian endeavour, and the response among them is encouraging and progressive. Hence missionary Churches with limited resources of men and money have concentrated on what is evidently the most fruitful field. The Churches themselves are unprepared. They have more or less accepted the idea that Malays are not to be evangelized, and thus have ceased to think about the subject. The scheme of Church life and fellowship seems not to envisage a place for the Malay. Nor are the Churches motivated by the universality of their obligations. They also lack trained leaders equipped to deal with Malays, should the opportunity arise. The work needs specialists, trained in language, Muslim theology and Malay culture, free from other ties, but maintaining a liaison with the Church at large so as to be able to bring the Malay enquirer into a vital relationship with the body of Christ.

The Malay who is contemplating becoming a Christian has his own difficulties to face. To the Malay mind, race is identified with religion. Hence a Malay who become Christian ceases to be reckoned a Malay by his fellows, and is thus outcast and isolated. Pressure and sometimes violence are used to recover the convert for Islam. A Christian Malay is faced with the practical impossibility of finding a Malay partner in marriage.

Thus the situation has never been, and is still not yet, favourable to unrestricted evangelization of Malays, but it is possible to prepare the ground by study and planning, so as to be ready for any opportunity which may arise. The present-day Malay has many perplexities to face in his political and social life, and anything that the Churches could do, not to take advantage of the situation, but rather to help in his thinking and facing these problems would be a gain. On the Christian side, a new attitude between the various races of Malays is needed, in which understanding and love, rather than seeking of racial advantage, would control and inspire.

Under the outward appearance of Muslim solidarity, there is much heart-searching on the part of the Malays on social and religious questions. Malayan Islam is scholastic and static in spirit, and fails to provide the spiritual and moral help in facing the perplexities of the modern world. Family life has in many cases broken down, and there is a general feeling of insecurity.

The Malay, as others, is appreciative of the advantages of education, to which he pins perhaps too ready a faith, as the cure for all ills. Nevertheless, here is an acutely felt need, which might provide a point of sympathetic contact in any Christian relationship. The limitations of the present situation are clear, but the following are suggested as a basis of what might be attempted. In the first place a sympathetic academic study of Islam, particularly in its Malayan manifestation. Secondly, the production of Christian literature in Malay, of an explanatory, rather than polemic nature. The Methodist Mission has

undertaken such work, and this might be extended. Much Indonesian material exists, but it would need some adaptation to make it suitable for Malaya. Thirdly, the training of Christian conscience in Malaya. The Churches must wrestle with their responsibilities towards the Malays, and make provision to welcome them and bring them into Church life if they respond to Christian teaching. Pamphlets on Islam in Malaya and the Christian approach should be produced for the guidance of Christian workers and congregations.

Finally, existing resources of Indonesian literature should be brought into action. Training facilities for workers amongst Muslims in Java, India and the Middle East may be enlisted. Christian leaders of Indonesian race (Javanese, Minihassans, Ambonese, Bataks, Filipinos) should be sought out to help the work in Malaya.

Without the Malays, the Church of this land must ever wear an immigrant and foreign aspect; without the Malays, the Church cannot claim to be true to its universal message; without the Malays, we are only partially serving the ideal of the unity of all men in Christ. The Church is like the broken bread upon the mountains, and our prayer should be like that of the early Christians that as the fragments of corn were brought together and became one, "so thy Church may be gathered together from the ends of the earth into God's Kingdom."

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- This last contains extensive and invaluable references to Malay-Muslim literature.

# THE LANGUAGE OF MUSLIM DEVOTION IV. PETITION AND GREETING

## TRADITIONAL PETITIONS: DU<sup>Ā</sup> MA<sup>ṬHŪ</sup>

The Muslim prayer-rite is primarily one of praise and adoration, yet there is a recognised place for a petition at the end of the second *rak'ah*, before the final *salām*. This is not among the obligatory *arkān* (bases) of the rite and may be a later addition growing out of human need. In Judaism there was just such an opportunity for free prayer.<sup>1</sup>

We may perhaps see in S. Luke i, 10 such an occasion for private prayer in the public service of the Temple before the blessing.

The absence of any obligatory form for this petition-space in the Muslim prayer-rite gives a freedom that might be richly used. It was an important and interesting innovation when in 1940 the then King of Egypt appealed by radio to Muslims everywhere to unite in prayer for peace at the end of the sunset prayer-rite on the eve of Mid-Sha<sup>ḥ</sup>bān.

We believe that nothing would more contribute to a revival of petitionary prayer in Islam than that the masses, accustomed to use all their lives long the one or two of the *ad'iyah* taught them in childhood, should be taught by their leaders some of the wealth of petitions available, and be trained to vary this part of the prayer-rite with the variation of temporal and spiritual needs.

## ṢALĀT-AL-ISTIKHĀRAH

There is one use of the prayer-rite which is purely petitionary, *ṣalāt-al-Istikhārah*, a prayer for guidance, when two *rak'ahs extra* to the regular performance, may be said with intention and followed by the worshipper's petition.

A famous use of this custom was that by Saladin in 1192. He was in great perplexity as to whether to defend Jerusalem against the expected attack of the Crusaders. He longed to do so, but his amīrs dreaded being boxed up in a walled city. Bahā<sup>ṭ</sup>al-Dīn tells us that he had resort to *ṣalāt-al-Istikhārah* as follows. He performed the ablution, gave alms secretly, then, between the *ādhān* and the *iqāmah* in the mosque Al-Aqṣā, performed two private *rak'ahs* and made his request with tears.

Next day spies reported discord in the Crusaders' camp as to the attack on Jerusalem which did not take place.

## THE PLACE OF PETITION IN THE PRAYER-LIFE

A few of the prayer-manuals show that refinement of some of the Ṣūfī saints which tends rather to look down on *du'ā* as seeking some-

<sup>1</sup> "Tachanun ist im ältesten Gottesdienste das Privatgebet, das nach Vollendung der öffentlichen Gebete der einzelne in stiller Andacht verrichtete." (Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, p. 14.)

thing from God rather than God Himself. An extreme case extends this even to the giving of thanks: "He preferred *dhikr* to *shukr* because invocation means being busied with Him, while thanksgiving means being busied with His grace." (*Sawāmi<sup>c</sup>-al-Baiyinat*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, p. 29.)

A Christian, with the teaching and example of Christ before him, cannot endorse the effort to degrade petition and thanksgiving, a refinement which would make a dichotomy between his life in God and his life in this world, united by the Incarnation.

Nor is this attitude that of most of the prayer-manuals which are better represented by the following: "My Lord, I pray to Thee with the petition of one whose petition was never made to any other. I hope in Thee with the hope of one whose hope never had any other for its goal. My Lord, how can I refrain from turning my longing gaze towards Thy grace, while I, in this creation of Thine am only one of Thy babes." (*Al-munājāt-al-Injīliyyat-al-Kubrā*, <sup>c</sup>Alī Zain al-<sup>c</sup>Ābidin.) "My God, Thou hast satisfied our hunger and quenched our thirst, now give us the strengthening benefit of that nourishment. Thou hast provided for us and increased Thy gifts and made them good to us, now give us yet more." (*Al-Wird-al-Shāfi*, Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, p. 70.)

The teaching of the Qur<sup>ān</sup> is clear, whether implicit in the complete naturalness with which the prophets make petition for earthly as well as heavenly good, or explicit in such texts as the following, constantly quoted in the prayer-manuals: "Call upon Me and I will answer you." (Surah xl.60.) "My Lord would not care for you but for your calling on Him." (Surah xxv.77.)

The latter is explained as follows in one of the manuals: "That is to say, your only power with Him is your cry to Him in difficulties. And it is said to mean: 'I did not create you from any need in Me for you, save that you should call upon Me and I should answer you, and you should seek My forgiveness and I should forgive you.'" (*Majmū<sup>c</sup>at-al-Wird-al-<sup>c</sup>Āmm.*, p. 99.)<sup>2</sup>

Of traditions, the following are favourites: "The Prophet said: 'Nothing is more honourable in God's eyes than petition.' 'Petition is the most honourable part of worship, and he who asks not incurs God's anger.' 'Petition is the weapon of the believer and the pillar of the faith and the light of heaven and earth.'" — (Ibid. p. 99, 100.)

#### AD<sup>c</sup>IYAH MA<sup>ṭ</sup>THŪRAH

The child learning to perform the prayer-rite is told that it is a *sunnah* (rule of behaviour) that in the last *jalsah* (*qu<sup>ū</sup>d*) of his last *rak<sup>ʿ</sup>ah* he shall say a *du<sup>ʿ</sup>ā ma<sup>ṭ</sup>thūr*. (*Durūs-al-Dīn-al-Islāmī*, p. 115).

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Exodus Rabba* xxi, 55. Why did God bring Israel into the extremity of danger at the Red Sea before saving him? Because He longed to hear Israel's prayer.

It is customary at this point to teach children either one of the prayers attributed to the Prophet (*ad'iyah nabāwīyyah* or one of the *ad'iyah ma'thūrah* prayers handed down from the saints in tradition, or one of the petitions found in the Qur'ān, such as the last verses of Surah ii. Perhaps the prayer most commonly taught is: "*Rabbanā a'tina fī-l-dunyā ḥasanatan.*" "Grant us, O Lord, good things in this world and good things in the next, and save us from the torment of the fire."

In the teaching of young children the prayer may stop here or it may continue: "O God, I take refuge with Thee from the torment of the grave and from the torment of the fire and from the seduction of life and of death and from the seduction of Anti-Christ" (Al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl).

It is regrettable that the prayer thus taught to a child too often remains with him through his life as an invariable use, and he remains unaware of the admirable freedom of this part of the rite, or of the whole body of the *ad'iyah ma'thūrah*.

Many of these might be quoted. Here it will suffice to give one more example from the manuals, because of its dependence on the Lord's Prayer.

"Our Lord Allāh, which art in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name. Thy command is in heaven and earth. As Thy mercy is in heaven so appoint us mercy on earth. And forgive us our sins and errors, Thou Lord of the good." (Al Ṭayyibiyah.)

(Abū Dawūd i, 101: Al-Ṭabarānī: Al-Hākim: *Mishkāt al-Masābīḥ: Kitāb-al-Janā'iz.*) This is said to be a word powerful against sickness uttered by the Prophet. (*Al Wird-al-Shāfi*, Yūsuf al-Nabhānī, p. 33.)

#### THE PRAYER OF LIGHT

This traditional prayer appears here and there in the manuals. It is referred (under slightly variant forms) by "weak" traditions to the Prophet, either as what he said when the *mu'adhdhin* called to the morning prayer (*Adhkār-al-Nawawī*, p. 16) or as what he said after the night prayers and before the dawn broke (Al-Tirmidhī from Ibn 'Abbās). Other books refer it to *Al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* of Al Suyūṭī. The Shī'ah breviary gives it to 'Ālī Zai'n al-'Ābidīn.

We quote it in a full form as it appears in the margin of *Dalā'il al-Khairāt-mā'l-Aḥzāb.*) "O God, appoint for me light in my heart and light in my tomb and light before me and light behind me; light on my right hand and light on my left; light above me and light below me; light in my sight and light in my perception; light in my countenance and light in my flesh; light in my blood and light in my bones. Increase to me light, and give me light, and appoint for me light, and give me more light, give me more light, give me more light' "

Other prayers of light, often beautiful, have sometimes a touch of magic about them. They are often protective in the sense that the peti-

tioner begs to be so filled with awful Divine light that, like Moses when his countenance shone, he will strike awe into beholders and so be defended from his foes. This is one of the recurring notes of the prayers of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (d. 561/1166.) We give a version which appears in *Ḥizb-al-qasam* attributed to him, as it is repeated with an additional final sentence by Al-Būnī (d. 622/1225.) Did he import it from Al-Jilānī, or what is its source? "Lord, plunge me into the sea of the Light of Thy Majesty that I may come forth with the shining of that majesty upon my face, from which the envious eyes of jinn or man will glance off harmlessly, unable to throw the dart of malicious envy. And screen me from them with the veil of light that has light for its inner essence and fire for its outer showing. I ask Thee by Thy Name of Light and by Thy Countenance that is Light, O Light of Light, to veil me in the Light of Thy Name in a veil of protection against all my own shortcomings, inward or outward, for Thou art the Light of all and dost illuminate all with Thy Light." (*Sharḥ-Ism-illāh-al-Aʿzam*, Aḥmad al-Būnī.)

A more inward prayer of light is this of Aḥmad al-Tijānī: "O Light of Light who dost illumine the obscurity of non-being with the effulgence of Thy Light, make Thy Light the lamp of my subconscious being and of my mind and my soul and spirit and heart and body and all of me and each part of me, till I shall be only light and flooded with the Light of Thy Unity." (*Aurād Aḥmad al-Tijānī*, p. 139.)

#### THE OLD AGE PRAYER

This lovely prayer, again, appears in both Sunnī and Shīʿah manuals from ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī onwards. It is traditional, Al-Ṭabarānī quoting it as the prayer of an Arab whom the Prophet overheard in passing: "O Lord, may the end of my life be the best of it, may my closing acts be my best acts, and make the best of my days the day when I shall meet Thee." (*Riyād al-Jannah*, Yūsuf al-Nabānī, p. 92.)

#### THE BEGGAR AT THE DOOR: AL-SĀʿIL BI-L-BĀB

The metaphor is a general one, almost inevitable in any religion that knows a God at whose door men may knock. It runs through Jewish and Christian prayer, but in Muslim prayer it is so much at home and so significant that a chapter might be given to it.

#### HUMAN DOORS TO GOD

There is a development, we think not true to the broad, main stream of Muslim thought (yet understandable to those who know the comfort of a voice saying: "I am the door" — S. John x, 9) which regards spiritual leaders as the door to God.

In the dervish orders the sheikh is his disciple's way to God: "Without the link there would be nothing linked. For the sheikh is the

door of God, and there is no access to God save through His door. Therefore Sidī Muṣṭafā-al-Bakrī said: 'Haunt the door of the Master and thou shalt be through this a chosen friend:...' He haunted the thresholds and stood at the door like a doorkeeper. For all who travel arrive, and he who haunts the threshold enters. And Rābi<sup>c</sup>ah-al-<sup>c</sup>Adawiyah said: 'Cleave to the door if thou desirest access.'" (*Al-Silsilat-al Dhahabiyyah*, pp. 5, 7.)

Outside the special teaching of the orders, Muḥammad is sometimes referred to in prayer as God's door: "He who is Thy very door itself. Bless the Door of Love." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*. M. <sup>c</sup>Uthmān al-Mīrghanī, p. 58.)

Sometimes men are spoken of as clients at Muḥammad's door: "Servants of his door ... cleaving close to Him, spending themselves in his path." *Salāt Sidī Muṣṭafā-al-Bakrī* (printed with *Bashā'ir-al-Khairāt*, p. 26.) "If all doors are barred, Oh Banner of Guidance, then thy door, O Lord of Mediation, is my goal. How can my confidence in thy door be seen to be a disappointment? (*Manhal-al-Shifā* (no author given) in *Kitāb Laṭīf*, Tunis.) "At the door of the Best of Creation my purpose has stationed me, from my knowledge that the Chosen One is generous in succour. I come, bringing no knowledge and no piety, rather all is defilement, my Lord, with me." (*Aurād wa Aḥzāb*, Aḥmad al-Tijānī, p. 148.)

#### GOD'S DOORS

For the wide consciousness of Islam, however, the suppliant stands at the door of God Himself. Ask a villager in Arab lands where he is going, and if he does not wish to say, he will reply, *alā bāb Illāh*, for every place may be so described. God has many doors. Most of our prayers knock at "the door of His bounty:" "Open to me the door of Thy generosity which Thou dost never close to Thy dear ones and Thy generosity which Thou dost never close to Thy dear ones and Thy purified." (<sup>c</sup>Alī Zain al-<sup>c</sup>Ābidīn. *Du<sup>c</sup>ā<sup>c</sup>-fi-Shakwā*. *Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 65.)

The prayer attributed to Muḥammad on entering the mosque is: "Open to me the doors of Thy mercy." (*Al-Hīrz-al-Manī<sup>c</sup>*, p. 99.)

It may be compared with: "Open to us the door of compassion," in the preparation for the Liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Characteristic of lands, where *ṣabr* is so great and so well-practised a virtue, is the thought of the door of patience: "Endow me with patience, for patience is the greatest of Thy doors. For Thou hast said, and Thy word is truth: 'They that endure ... to them is the reward of the abode, the gardens of Eden shall they enter.... And the angels will enter to them by every door.... Peace be to you through what you have endured, how excellent then is the reward of the abode.'" (*Mu-nājāt-<sup>c</sup>Aḥimāh*. Anon. In *Majmū<sup>c</sup>at-al-Aurād*. The Qur<sup>ān</sup> quotation is from Surah xiii.22.) "As the patient camel when made to kneel

on stones tries to kneel, so the believer stands at his Lord's door patient with Him over his misfortunes." (*Hizb-al-Hifz*, 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jilānī.)

THE RICH MAN'S DOOR

Most of the prayers of the door seem to be built on the picture of a rich man's house with a courtyard where travellers alight, and a door thronged by beggars. To the first, openhanded hospitality is shown, to the second openhanded generosity. "For Thou art the Generous One at whose door stand the beggars, Thou, wider in glorious generosity than all to whom the hands of poor clients are outstretched." (*Hizb-al-Taḍarrūʿ*, Ahmad al-Tijānī.) "I take up my station at Thy door, the poor expectant one." (*Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 150.) "Night and morning finds me at one of the doors of Thy bestowal, a beggar, beseeching." (*Duʿāʾ* for Monday. *ibid.* p. 317.) "Thy little slave is at Thy door, Thy poor one is in Thy courtyard. Thy beggar is in Thy courtyard, Thy destitute one is in Thy courtyard." Traditional prayer of 'Alī-Zain al-ʿĀbidīn when he made a prostration in his cell. *ibid.*, 1.330.) "We, Thy destitute, weak and poor servants are standing at the threshold of the courtyard of Thy Majesty." (*Hizbu fawātiḥ al-baṣāʾir*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.)

The Muslim worshipper is trained in so awful a sense of the infinite, distant majesty of God, ever present yet ever distant in the solitude of His incomparability, that he will not, when thinking theologically, urge upon his Lord any standards of human behaviour. It is all the more touching to note that so deep-rooted is his sense of the duty of host to guest that he is unable to think of a God who is not bound by the great standards of eastern hospitality. In prayers which picture travellers, short of provisions, arriving at the great house, the worshipper speaks to God in the assurance that He would be ashamed that any failure in Divine hospitality should be attributed to Him: "O Best of those besought, Oh most glorious of those sought, Thy servants the Arabs when a fugitive seeks shelter at the ropes of their tents will shelter him. And Thou, Creator of the Arabs and the non-Arabs, at Thy door I seek shelter, in Thy courtyard I alight." (*Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 101.)

"O be generous in Thy kindness, my God, to one whose travel-provision is small; penniless at Thy door, O Thou Friend. His sin is a great sin, do Thou forgive that great sin. Lo, he is stranger, a sinner, a miserable slave." (*Qaṣīdat Sīdī Abī Bakr-al-Siddīq*, *Majmūʿal-Qaṣāʾid wa l-adʿiyah*, p. 52.)

"Thou who givest to a slave when he asks of Thee, and when he hopes for what is in Thy house sendest it to him, and when he approaches Thee dost draw him nearer, My God, who ever came seeking Thy hospitality without Thy giving it to him? Who ever halted his camel at Thy door hoping for Thy liberality, without Thy bringing

him in? Is it seemly that I should return from Thy door driven away with contumely when I know no other lord than Thou whose quality is beneficence?" (*Munājāt ʿaẓīmah*, [no author given] *Majmuʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 447).

As with the traveller, so with the beggar. It is beneath the dignity of the rich house that the crowd of beggars at the door shall not receive their bounty: "Far be it from Thee to send off with reproaches the beggar from Thy door, when Thou art the Generous King". (*Ḥizbun ʿaẓīm li-l-Ṭarīqat-al-ʿashshāqīyyah*.)

"Thy generosity is wider, Thy glory greater than that a poor man could stretch out his hands asking Thee to pour down pardon and be turned away ashamed." (*Ḥizb-al-Taḍarruʿ*, Aḥmad al-Tijānī.) "My Lord, I stand a beggar at one of the doors of Thy bestowal, turning away from the exposure of my case to others. It is not consonant with the lovely bestowals of grace to turn away a heartbroken beggar, a needy one hoping for Thy generosity." (*Al-Munājāt-al-Injīliyyat-al-Kubrā. Al-Ṣaḥīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah*, p. 196.)

In the *Ghauthiyyah* this conviction is turned into a saying of the Lord Himself: "He said to me: 'O succour of the Almighty, if a thirsty one came to thee in a day of burning heat and thou didst own cold water for which thou hadst no use, wert thou to refuse him thou wouldst be of all misers the most miserly. Then how can I refuse them My mercy when I have set My seal to My Name of 'the Most Merciful of them that show mercy?'" (*Al-Ghauthiyyah*, ʿAbd-al-Qādir al-Jilānī.)

#### DESTITUTION

Into these prayers of the beggar at the door the Muslim soul has poured all its sense of sin and destitution and of hopelessness in all other than He: "Lo I Thy servant am at Thy door; Thine abject one at Thy door; Thy captive at Thy door; Thy destitute one at Thy door; Thy client at Thy door, O Lord of the Worlds. A weary one is at Thy door, O Thou Helper of them that seek for help. Thine anxious one is at Thy door, O Thou who dost lift away the care of all the careworn. And I Thy rebel, O Thou who seekest for penitents Thy rebel who acknowledges his fault is at Thy door. O Thou who forgivest sinners, one who confesses his sin is at Thy door. O most Merciful of the merciful, he who has erred is at Thy door. O Lord of the worlds, he who has wronged is at Thy door. The lowly, fearful one is at Thy door... Have mercy upon me, my Lord."

(What is the source of this moving prayer found in *Ḥizb-al-Wasīlah* attributed to ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, and in *Ḥizb-al-Maghṇā* attributed to Aḥmad al-Tijānī, and elsewhere in the manuals?)

"I have naught but my destitution to plead for me with Thee. And in my poverty I put forward that destitution as my plea. I have no power save to knock at Thy door, and if I be turned away, at what

door shall I knock? Or on whom shall I call, crying his name, if Thy generosity is refused to Thy destitute one? Far be it from Thy generosity to drive the disobedient one to despair! Generosity is more freehanded, graces wider, than that. In lowly wretchedness I have come to Thy door, knowing that degradation there finds help. In full abandon I put my trust in Thee, stretching out my hands to Thee, a pleading beggar." (*Munājāt-al-Imām-al-Shāfi'i.*)

"My God in my very riches I am poor, how great then my destitution when I am poor! My God, I am ignorant in my very knowledge, how shall I not be crassly ignorant in my ignorance! My God, from me comes what accords with blame, but from Thee comes what accords with generosity. My God, Thou didst show Thyself kindly and compassionate to me before my evil deeds were done. Wilt Thou then deprive me of Thy kindness and compassion after those deeds?

O God, how near Thou art to me, and how far am I from Thee!" (*Ṣalawāt Nājiyyah, Abū-l-Muwāhib.*)

#### THE EVER-OPEN DOOR

These moving prayers which the Christian penitent can share with his Muslim brother, show an underlying sense that this door stands open when all other doors are closed against the sinner. "Thy door is open to the beggar ... all means have failed Thy servant and all doors are locked against him." (*Al-Hizb-al-kabīr, Qādiriyyah.*)

"Thou who dost open when the busy doors of kings are locked." (*Hizb-al-alif-al-qā'im, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.*)

"His door never closes and the beggar is never turned away" (*Mukhtaṣar ad'iyat-Ramaḍān.*)

#### NIGHT COMMUNION

The most haunting of Muslim night prayers is from one to whom the door has been opened: "My God and my Lord, eyes are at rest, stars are setting, hushed are the movements of birds in their nests, of monsters in the deep. And Thou art the Just who knowest no change, the Equity that swerveth not, the Everlasting that passeth not away. The doors of kings are locked, watched by their bodyguards; but Thy door is open to him who calls on Thee. My Lord, each lover is now alone with his beloved, and Thou art for me the Beloved."<sup>3</sup> (*Ṭahārat-al-Qulūb, p. 150.*)

<sup>3</sup> What is the origin of this prayer which appears, with slight variations, here and there in Muslim worship? It is given as the nightly prayer on the roof, of Rābi'ah (Margaret Smith, *Rābi'ah the Mystic* p. 27). Al-Shaṭṭanaufī in *Bahjah*, attributes it, in a full and picturesque form to "a prophet of Israel." In Shī'ah worship it is traced with an *isnād* to 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and by a picturesque tradition from Ibn Ṭawūs al-Yamānī, as a prayer that he heard 'Alī saying with tears as he made his ṭawwāf of the Ka'bah one night from the *ashā*<sup>2</sup> till the *saḥr* (*Al-Ṣahīfat-al-Sajjādiyyah* pp. 120-123). In this form the "Kings" are specified as Banu 'Umayya.

## THE ELEMENT OF GREETING

TAḤIYYAH SALĀM MALĀ'IKAH

Twice during the prayer-rite occurs a moment of greeting. The first, known as the *taḥiyyah* or the *taḥiyyāt lillāh*, occurs when the worshipper is in the sitting position at the end of the second rak'ah. The greeting that he then says is: "Salutations and blessings and ascriptions of goodness belong to God. Peace be to Thee, O Prophet, and the mercy of God and His blessings. Peace be to us and to the righteous worshippers of God."<sup>4</sup> Although this only became obligatory in the set prayers under Al-Shāfi'ī, (it has been thought by some to be a beautiful Islamization of former heathen greetings to idols), there is a final and two-fold greeting which is primitive. This latter corresponds with the prayer of peace at the end of the Jewish *amīda* when, after a brief silence for personal prayer, the two-fold prayer is said: "May there be great peace from heaven and life for us and for all Israel, and say ye Amen. He who maketh peace in His high places, may He make peace for us and for all Israel, and say ye Amen." In Islam the final peace-greeting is known as the *salām*: The best form of the peace-greeting is that the worshipper shall say turning to the right: "Peace be to you and the mercy of God" and turning to the left: "Peace be to you and the mercy of God."

These words end the prayer-rite. The worshipper makes his intention to withdraw from the rite and then: "It is incumbent on the worshipper to say when he has finished the prayer-rite: 'Thou O God art peace and from Thee is peace and to Thee peace returns.' (Some here add: "Greet us then, O our Lord with peace, and bring us to Paradise to Thine abode, the dwelling place of peace.") (*Adhkār al-Nawawī*, p. 34. *Majmū'a-al-Aurād-al-Kabīr*, p. 21.)

"Thou O God art peace and from Thee is peace and to Thee it returns" is one of the richest sentences in Muslim worship, carrying us far beyond the idea of a spoken greeting given and returned. Some would explain it as meaning: "Thou O God art peace, in the sense that Thy Name is Peace" (Surah lix.23). Others think of the spiritual quality of peace rather than of one of the Names of God. In either case the twofold flow of peace suggests an experience of worship akin to what is explained (from the Christian point of view) in the following words: "Without Him was not anything made that was made (S. John i.3). The whole created universe is a manifestation of the Son, that is of that side of God which is turned towards us and which alone we see... But the Son eternally loves the Father, consequently there is in Him a continual response of the universe to the source of all being. The stream that flows out from the Throne is ever returning whence

<sup>4</sup> There are very slightly variant forms of this, all with traditions behind them. "Ascriptions of goodness, *ṭayyibāt*, are related perhaps to the *Tūbā* of the Beatitudes in the Sermon on the Mount.

it came. Practical devotion therefore consists in entering into the stream, identifying ourselves with the perfect sacrifice of the Son to the Father which we plead in the Eucharist, and thus going home to God in and 'through Jesus Christ our Lord'. 'All things are returning to unity in him through whom they took their origin, even our Lord Jesus Christ.'" (W. K. Lowther Clarke in *Liturgy and Worship*, p. 7.)

The Muslim prayer of peace is attributed to the Prophet: "The Apostle of God used to say when he finished the prayer-rite: 'I ask forgiveness of God' (three times) and he said: 'O God Thou art peace and peace is from Thee. Blessed be Thou the Majestic the Revered.'" (*Al-Kalim-al-Ṭayyib*, p. 44, Muslim, Aḥmad.)

These greetings of peace in the prayer-rite will be seen to embrace the thought of God's greeting, of greeting the Prophet, of the greeting of all believers, and of the greeting of the angels.

#### GOD'S GREETING

The phrases: "Salutations belong to God" and "Greet us, O Lord with peace," rich as they are in spiritual possibilities are not much developed in the manuals. Muslim thought about the joys of the saints in Paradise has included among them a greeting, from God to His Saints, based on Surah xxxvi.58, perhaps like the "Well done good and faithful servant" of the Gospel parable. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī in his *ʿaqidah* sees the Divine *taḥiyyah* as given to the soul of the believer, or perhaps of the mystic only, immediately after death. Of that soul he says: "When it is snatched away to its Lord at its departure from the body, His beginning with it is the greeting." *Majmūʿ ʿaḥzāb wa awrād*, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī.

Others would believe that in this prayer we dare to ask God's greeting for the believers yet on earth, to whom it must come like the kiss of peace to the sinful prodigal in another Gospel parable. It is probable that the Hebrew worshippers of old, when they sang "The Lord shall bless His people with peace," thought of that "blessing" as a salutation of peace. In any case Muslim worshippers rightly feel that these phrases lift the whole prayer of greeting from earth to heaven: "The worshipper when (in the *taḥiyyah*) he begins with the supernal world is permitted to enter the sanctuary of the Living Deathless One and to have the solace of intimate converse." (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ*, Al-Suyūṭī, p. 41.)

#### THE GREETING OF THE PROPHET

The sentence just quoted continues: "And he (the worshipper) is aware that this privilege is his through the Prophet of Mercy, and he turns, and lo the Beloved (Prophet) is present, and he goes toward him with the greeting: 'Peace to thee O Prophet.'" (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*)

So the universal "Salve Muḥammad" ascends: "Peace be to Thee

O Prophet, and the Mercy of God and His blessings." It is an offering of love to Muḥammad from his people, sometimes, as here in the prayer-rite addressed directly to him, but often in other devotions sent to him, as it were, by way of God. "O God, bring to the spirit of our Lord Muḥammad a greeting and a *salām* from me." (*Dalā-ʿil al-Khairāt*, p. 41.) "Greet him with the special greeting which Thou dost reserve for him." (*Ṣalāt in Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, p. 40 (Abū-Ḥasan al-Shādhili.) "Greet him and the Family and the Companions with the *salām* of a lover to his loved ones." (*Ḥizb-al-Najāt*, ʿAlī Wafā. In *Majmūʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 171.)

That this greeting sent by way of heaven is felt to be a real communion with the Prophet is shown by the following: "O God cause our *salām* to reach him and cause a *salām* from him to return to us." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. ʿUthmān al-Mirghani, p. 51.) "And it has come down to us that some of the saints used to hear him reply to the *salām* in the prayer-rite." (*Faḥ-al-Karīm-al-Khāliq*, ʿAlī al-Makkī, p. 12.)

The greatest *salām* of a Muslim's lifetime is that which he utters before the Prophet's tomb at Medina. Directions for this by Al-Suyūṭī, who died in 911/1505, show the greatness of the moment and may be compared with those of the modern guidebook issued for Egyptian pilgrims.

"When he enters the Prophet's mosque it is preferable that he shall offer a prayer of two prostrations in the "Garden" (the pillared space west of the tomb). Then he shall approach the Noble Tomb in the direction of its *qiblah* and stand in front of it four cubits from the head of the Tomb, in such a way that the lamp is above his head and the nail in the wall of the noble enclosure is facing the lamp (it is a silver nail driven into red marble); and he who is facing the nail is confronting the face of the Prophet.

Let him stand gazing down at the lower part of the Tomb enclosure opposite to him, his eyes abased, in the station of awe, lowliness and reverence. Then let him say:

"Peace to Thee, Thou Joy of God's creation! Peace to Thee, Thou beloved of God! Peace to Thee, Thou Lord of the divine messengers! Peace to Thee, Thou seal of the Prophets! Peace to Thee, Thou leader of the Festal Band! Peace to Thee, Thou Bearer of glad tidings! Peace to Thee, Thou Warner! Peace to Thee and to the Pure Ones, people of thy house! Peace to Thee and to Thy pure wives, mothers of the faithful! Peace to Thee and to all Thy Companions! Peace to Thee and to all the Prophets and Apostles and to all the righteous worshippers of God!" (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ*, p. 111 f.)

To-day's guidebook says: "Then let him turn to the Noble Tomb in silence and reverence and humility and deep regard, calling to mind the greatness of the Prophet and that he is alive in his Tomb, the hearer of his prayer, and let him greet him saying with a subdued voice: 'Peace be to Thee, O Apostle of God! Peace be to Thee, O Beloved of God! Peace be to Thee O Best of God's creation! Peace be to Thee, O *Imām* of the pious! Peace to be Thee, O mercy of the universe!' " (*Dalīl-al-Ḥajj*, Muḥammad Ḥasanain Makhluṭ, p. 58), (for the four Sunni rites, the directions in the Shīʿah guide books are practically the same.)

Shīʿah worshippers, if the pilgrimage to Karbalā<sup>3</sup> is not possible,

will climb on to a high rock or a house-top and give the greeting of peace in the direction of Karbalā<sup>2</sup>.

"He is alive in his tomb," says the guide-book of the Prophet, and there is among Muslim worshippers a strong sense of living presence in the tomb at Medina, backed by many a vision and many a tale of sounds heard issuing from the sepulchre. That the *spirit* of Muḥammad is in the heavenly places (and is for many of his people a focal point of the universe) all Muslims will agree. A common form of the *salām* seems to point to the separation of spirit and body: "Peace be upon him and upon them (the Family), upon their spirits and their bodies." (*Du<sup>ā</sup> bain Raka<sup>āt</sup> nawāfil yaum al-Juma<sup>h</sup>*) (Shī<sup>ah</sup>). Yet they cannot think of the body in the tomb as dead. "His body is sanctified, rendered august, purified, illuminated in the House and the sanctuary." (*Durūd Tāj*, p. 2.)

For all men a dim life within the tomb is envisaged, the life of the *nafs* without the spirit. For sinners a life of anguish, constriction and loneliness, relieved by God's mercy for those who are His. Even for the Prophet, then, there is a life within the tomb as well as the heavenly life, though the nature of this and its relationship to his heavenly life is not made clear in the manuals. Many prayers envisage greetings sent to him at Medina as being there received. Sometimes this is thought of as through a momentary return of the spirit to the body. "Our sending of the Greeting, the peace, to him from our country to Medina the enlightened, if it is not possible for us to be there face to face, is by way of our saying a greeting to him in our own city which will reach him, as many traditions and recorded sayings tell us. He said: 'No one greets me without God returning my spirit to me so that I may reply to his greeting.'" <sup>5</sup> (*Faḥ-al-Karīm-al-Khāliq*, 'Alī al-Makkī.)

But in the daily prayer-rite the majority of worshippers picture their *salām* as reaching the Prophet's spirit in the heavenly world, and for many it is brought to him by the ministry of angels.

"God has angels wandering over the earth who bring to me the *salām* of my community." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. 'Uthmān al-Mirghanī, p. 61.) "It is related that the Prophet said: No one will greet me after my death without his greeting being brought to me by Gabriel, who will say: 'Muhammad, So and So, the son of So and So greets you with peace.' and I shall say: 'And peace be unto him and the mercy of God and His blessings.'" (*Faḥ-al-Karīm-al-Khāliq*, 'Alī al-Makkī, p. 12.)

The question of the Prophet's appearance simultaneously to believers in different places, and his simultaneous answers to innumerable greetings is thus dealt with: "I reply that this is a thing transcending com-

<sup>5</sup> (Tradition from Abu Dāwūd, *Shifa* 269.) M. 'Uthmān al-Mirghanī explains the return of the spirit to the body as the return of the power of utterance. "For he is ever living and his spirit is never separated from him." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, p. 48.)

mon rules 'As the sun is in the midst of the heavens, yet enlightens the lands to the East and West' — That answers the question to a nicety. And if our lord 'Azrā'il (the angel of death) seizes at one moment a hundred thousand souls, the seizing of one is no deterrent to his seizing another, while all the time he is busied in the worship of his Lord, how much more is this possible to our Prophet, the origin of all existence." (*Al-Faḥ-al-Rabbāni*, M. ibn 'Abdallāh al-Ṭaṣfāwī, p. 13.)

THE GREETING OF ALL BELIEVERS

The *salām* is a right of every Muslim, living or dead<sup>6</sup> absent or present, and it is the greeting of the people of Islam, differing from the *salāt* ('alā-al-Nabī) which is the right of the Apostle. And so the worshipper says "Peace be to us and to all the righteous worshippers of God." (*Al-Ḥirz al-Manī*<sup>c</sup>, p. 30.) (It is also the right of the man who gives the *salām* to receive a reply, Bukhārī, *Janā'iz*.)

The *salām*, then, whether in the prayer-rite or by the wayside, is the daily greeting of the family of Islam, but it is for the household of Islam only. "The Qādī 'Iyād said: 'In the *tashahhud*, 'Alī used to say: "Peace be to the Prophet of God. Peace be to the prophets and apostles of God. Peace be to us and to the believers, men and women, the absent and the present. O God, forgive Muḥammad and accept intercession and forgive the members of his house, and forgive me and my father." 'Alī only said that by way of instruction for others who were present, for it is established by tradition that his father had died a Kāfir (prayer for such being forbidden).' " (*Al Ḥirz-al-Manī*<sup>c</sup>, p. 40.) The prohibition is based on the case of the prayer of Noah, Surah xi, 45, 46.

In those Arabic lands where there are communities other than Muslim, *Al-Salām 'alaikum* is withheld from members of those communities. It is a constant sorrow for those Christians who live amongst Muslims and love them that this greeting which they hear on every side, and which in the Qur'ān is given to Jesus (Surah xix, 15) is denied to His followers. Arabs of Arabia and other Muslims who have never lived where there is a non-Muslim community accord the greeting of peace to non-Muslims. The writer first received it, as a precious benefaction from a penniless man, from an Afghan stowaway on a boat in the Persian Gulf.

The *tahīyyah* in the prayer-rite, is then the greeting of the beloved community. It contains a sort of sketch for what Christians know as the communion of saints, and it looks back possibly to Christian worship, where every ancient liturgy has its exchange of fraternal greeting, whether in the universal: "The Lord be with you" of the minister with the people's reply "And with thy spirit," or in the ancient Kiss of Peace (2 Cor. xiii. 12) (now usually changed into a

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Berakh. 17. a*, "May it be Thy will O God to establish peace in the upper family and the lower family."

hand clasp) which still makes so living a moment, for instance, in the Coptic liturgy. This has been revised in some of the churches in India to express the new-found brotherhood in Christ. With the handshake go the words "*Jesu sahay* (Jesus be your helper). "You must picture yourself in a village church after the blessing has been given. The people do not hurry away, but stand in their places, the men on one side, the women on the other. Then there takes place a very orderly procession of the women. Moving up in a long line towards the east end, they go down along the men's side to the west, shaking hands and saluting each man as they go. After the women have gone out, a similar procession takes place amongst the men." (*Worship in Other Lands*, H. P. Thompson, p. 39.)

A companion picture from Islam comes from a visitor to Fez. "When the prayer was over, each of the worshippers shook hands with his neighbour and invoked peace for him and for the whole world." (*Desert Encounter*, Knud Holmsboe, p. 26.)

The lovely Muslim form of the greeting of the brethren is supported by tradition. "A man came to the Prophet and said: "Peace be to you" and the Prophet having responded to his greeting the man sat down. Then the Prophet said: "Ten!" Another man now came saying: "Peace be to you and the mercy of God!" And his greeting was returned and he sat down. Then the Prophet said: "Twenty!" Next another came who said: "Peace be to you and the mercy of God and His blessings!" And the Prophet said: "Thirty!" (*Al-Kalim-al-Ṭayyib*), p. 80. (Al-Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd).

This, then, is the daily greeting of the household of Islām, sanctified by its use in the daily worship. Small wonder that it carries its *barakah*. "(Annas said) The Apostle of God said: 'My son when you enter the house of your family, give the greeting of peace. It will be a blessing to you and to the people of your house.'" (*ibid.*, p. 28 Al-Tirmidhī). Even on entering an empty house the greeting should be given: "It is approved that he should give the greeting of peace whether there are human beings in the house or not in accordance with the word of God and when you enter a house *sallim* on yourselves, a greeting from God (from *chez* God) blessed and good." Surah xxiv, 65 (*Adhkār al-Nawāwī*, p. 13.) Here we have the very ancient idea of the *barakah* inherent in the salutation itself. (Cf. Matt. x.12, 13.)

#### THE GREETING OF THE DEPARTED

In the *tahīyyah* the greeting is for the whole family in heaven as on earth. Special greetings are often sent individually in devotions to the great ones besides Muḥammad. "Blessing and peace be to Thee (Moses) Interlocutor of God! Blessing and peace be to Thee (ʿIsā) Spirit of God! Peace be to all the prophets and apostles! Peace be to the righteous servants of God, inhabitants of heaven and earth!

Unite peace to the people of peace in the abode of peace, a salutation

and greeting of peace." (*Hizb* (unnamed) 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī in *Majmū'at-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 40).

Semi-magical prayers have a greeting to Noah and once to Jarjīs, who may be the St. George, beloved and appealed to by Muslims as well as Christians in Jordan and what is now Israel. <sup>7</sup>

"Peace be to Noah in all the worlds (three times) and Peace be to Jarjīs." (*Du'ā'-al-Ayāt*, 'Uwais al-Qaranī.)

The greeting of peace is the greeting not only of the Prophets and great ones among the departed, but the regular greeting for the visitation of cemeteries. "Buraīda said: 'The Apostle of God used to teach them when they went out to the burial grounds to say: "Peace be to you, people of the houses, believers and Muslims. Verily we, if God will, shall be joined to you. We ask God's pardon for ourselves and for you.'" (*Al-Kalīm-al-Ṭayyib*, p. 62 Muslim, Aḥmad.)

In countries where women are secluded, the Friday visitation of the cemeteries is often for them the one open-air expedition of the week, and they have their own pieties for that visitation. In Egypt, on arrival at the cemeteries the greeting of the older woman is: "Peace be to you, O community of *lā ilāha illā Allāh!* ye are the forerunners and we are those who will come after you. Peace be to you (my son, my father)! May God at my desire soften the bricks under your head!"

#### THE GREETING OF THE ANGELS

In the final salutation of peace as the worshipper turns his head to right and to left he "makes the intention to close the prayer-rite with the salutation, and in the *salām* he intends the salutation of those angels and Muslims who are on his right, and similarly in the second (those on his left)" *Iḥyā'*, 4. 9.

This salutation of the angels raises the whole question of their place in the life of worship in Islam. The religion came into being at a time when the surrounding Christian churches were much absorbed with the thought of the angelic world and dedications of churches to St. Michael were common. "And the Third (church) he called by the name of Michael, Chief of the Angels, who is the Mediator for the human race, that wrath may be turned away from them and mercy may rest upon them." (*Martyrdom of Simon* trans. by Margaret Dunlop Gibson Cod. 539, Arabic, Mount Sinai. Composition probably contemporaneous with the rise of Islam. Date of MS., 797 A.D.)

This development, far beyond the teaching of Christianity, came into the churches of the lands around Arabia partly through their inheritance of Jewish beliefs and partly through the ferment which the new wine of Christianity created among those who tried to accommodate the Christian teaching to various gnostic systems in which hierarchies of angels, of principalities and powers played their parts. In

<sup>7</sup> Offerings to St. George are placed by Muslims on the "High Place" at 'Ajlūn and formerly in his ruined church at Al-Ṭayyibah.

a world where these ideas were at work, Islam was born, and the angels have their part in its cosmogony and religious scenery.

The prayer manuals make great use of the Quranic data concerning the angelic world and the names of angels, as well as of numerous traditions. Such texts as "Appointing the angels messengers with wings, two and three and four" (Surah xxxv.1) are often introduced into passages of praise.

For Islam the angelic world is not essentially superior to the human world. It was created from light (Muslim vii,221, Baiḍāwī 1.52) generally now interpreted (as in most of our manuals) as the Nūr Muḥammadī: in the Ghauthiyyah, however, as *Nūr-al-Insān*.

"Then I asked: 'O Lord of what didst Thou create the angels?' He said to me: 'O help from the Almighty, I created the angels from the light of mankind, and I created mankind from My light.'" (*Al-Ghauthiyyah*, °Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī.)

But the angelic beings live in a world of light inaccessible to the earthbound, and are known to be obedient to their Lord. Certain of them are distinguished as the *muqarrabūn* (angels of access) and of these Al-Baiḍāwī says (Surah iv.170) that they are "the Cherubim who surround the throne or even more exalted angels." Angels played their great part in the story of Muḥammad's revelation, and in general the devotions regard them with awe and reverence. "O God, bless Thine angels and the *muqarrabūn* who praise Thee night and day unceasingly and do not disobey the commands of God to them, but execute His orders.... O God, as Thou didst choose them to be ambassadors to Thy Prophet and faithful agents of Thine Inspiration and witnesses of Thy creation, and has rent for them the enclosure of Thy veils ... so call down blessing upon them." (*Dalā'il-al-Khairāt*, p. 165.)

They are constantly mentioned in prayer as examples of the fear of God and of obedience. "O God Thine angels are on their guard from fear of Thee, attentive, obeying Thee, carrying out Thy command, and they cease not night or day from Thy praise." (*Shī'ah prayer for the Day of °Arafāt*.)

We learn however of cases of disobedience other than the great rebellion of Satan. "God has an angel whom He, Most High, commanded to root out a city against the will of its inhabitants, and that angel was merciful to them and did not proceed to root it out. And God Most High was angry with him and broke his wings. Now when Gabriel passed by him that angel complained to him of his plight. And Gabriel petitioned God for him and ordered him to call down blessing on the Prophet, and God forgave him and restored his wings to him by the *barakah* of that blessing on the Apostle of God."<sup>8</sup> (*Fatḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. °Uthmān al-Mirghānī, p. 62) (Al-Mustatrif and Al-Shifā).

<sup>8</sup> An echo of Surah xxiii.58.

The world into which Islam was born was instinct with angels, as with *jinn* — a man might start one from any bush; and this sense of angelic presence, as of the presence of the *jinn*, is still vividly alive in folk religion. "The Prophet said: 'When you hear a cock crow, ask God for a favour, for the cock saw an angel.'" *Al-Kalim-al-Ṭayyib*, p. 88.) (The Mutāwila in Syria say the *shahādah* when the cock crows at dawn and connect it in some dim way with the denial of St. Peter) "It is necessary to end the gathering with sweet incense because of the angels and the *jinn*, and to cut off any disturbing connections." (*Al-Faḥ-al-Rabbānī*, p. 14.)

## GREAT ANGELS

Much use is made in devotions of the names of the archangels named in the Qurʾān, Jibrīl and Mikhāʾil and two more great angels mentioned but not by name, the Angel of Death (ʿAzrāʾil) and the Angel of the Last Trump (Isrāfīl). "O God, Lord of Jibrīl and Mikhāʾil and Isrāfīl, Creator of the heavens and the earth, deliver me from the heat of the Fire and the sufferings of the grave." (*Riyāḍ-al-Jānna*, Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (traditional, traced to ʿAʾishah by Al-Ṭabarānī.)

"I beseech Thee O God by virtue of Jibrīl who was entrusted with them (i.e. the two names Al-Raḥmān-al-Raḥīm at the inspiration of the Qurʾān), and by mystery of Mikhāʾil and Isrāfīl and ʿAzrāʾil and every angel in heaven and earth." (*Manbaʿ al-Saʿādāh*, p. 6.) "The faithful one Jibrīl on my right, the faithful one Mikhāʾil on my left, the faithful one Isrāfīl before me and the faithful one ʿAzrāʾil behind me, and God behind them enclosing all." (*Faḥ-al-Rasūl*, M. ʿUthmān al-Mirghanī, p. 54.)

This often-recurring quartette of names is constantly written at the four corners of charms. It occurs again in an initiatory catechism of the weaver's craft in answer to the question "Who are the four *pirs* of reality?"<sup>9</sup> It brings to mind the English nursery rhyme (perhaps a descendant of an ancient charm).

Four corners to my bed.

Four angels to my head.

Other angels besides these four are individualized in the prayers. "Bless Jibrīl and Mikhāʾil and Isrāfīl and the Angel of Death, and Riḍwān, Keeper of Paradise, and Mālik (Surah xliii.37), Keeper of the Fire and the Spirit of Holiness, and the Faithful Spirit, and the Bearers of Thy Throne, and the angels of Access, and my two Guardian angels." (*Mukhtaṣar adʿiyat Ramaḍān*, p. 98.)

## GUARDIAN ANGELS

Of the Qurānic data concerning guardian angels Professor Mar-

<sup>9</sup> *Les corps de metiers en Asie Centrale*. R.E.I. 1927, p. 254. (Catechism in Turkish.)

goliouth wrote: "According to another text (Surah xiii.11): 'He (a man) has successors before him and behind him, guarding him by Allāh's order' i.e. angels who relieve each other; different, it would seem, from those who are employed in taking notes of his actions (Surah lxxxii.11). These are described as seated one on his left hand and one on his right hand taking down the words that he utters (Surah l.17). On Judgment Day the two will accompany the soul, the one driving, the other testifying. Thus each one is in charge of four angels, who are relieved at the end of the day.'" (*What did they teach?* — *Muhammad*. D. S. Margoliouth.)

The prayers in the popular manuals, however, do not seem to know any distinction between the recording and the guardian angels. Of two angels for these duties they are vividly aware. "Peace be to the two noble recording and guardian angels and the mercy of God and His blessing!" (*Ḥizb li ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī* (by inspiration of *Al-Khīḍr Majmūʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 196.)

(Of a New Year's prayer): "He who offers this petition on the first day of Muḥarram will be entrusted by God to two angels who will guard him from Satan." (*Manbaʿ-<sup>al</sup>-saʿādāt*, p. 266.) "Welcome! Welcome! to the new morning and the happy day and the two noble recording, just and guardian angels! Write, in the bright dawn of this our Day!" (*Ḥizb Shaikh Ḥamīd al-ʿArīf*, *Majmūʿat-al-Aḥzāb*, p. 310.)

#### THE ANGELS AND HUMAN WORSHIP

Endless traditions of encouragement are quoted in the prayer manuals to show the deep interest of the angelic world in the worship of human beings, their love for its varied phases, their participation in it and their prayer on behalf of the worshippers. All human worship is overshadowed with the rustling of wings. (Friday, the day of prayer). "It is a day witnessed, a day which the angels witness." (*Tahārat-al-Qulūb*, *Al-Dīrīnī*, p. 126.) "(From Abū Huraira) The Apostle of God said: 'God has wandering angels who, when they pass by a *dhikr* circle say to one another: 'Sit down here.' And when the people offer a petition they say *Amen* to their prayer. And when the worshippers call down blessing on the Prophet those angels join in the blessing till they finish; then the angels say to one another: 'Blessed are they, they will not go away unforgiven.'" (*Al-Ḥirz-al-Manīʿ*, *Al-Suyūṭī*, p. 90.)

If the night of mid-Shaʿbān is All Souls' Day for the Muslim world, the still more famous Night of Power (feast of the Inspiration of the Qurʾān) is Michaelmas Day. Then "the angels and the spirit descend," and there is "peace till break of day." (Surah xcvi.4, 5.) "Ibn ʿAbbās said: 'When *lailat-al-qadr* comes, God commands Gabriel to descend with seventy thousand angels, inhabitants of the Lotus Tree of the Boundary. And with them are aloe-sticks (torches) of light and they

set up their torches in the mosque of the (Meccan) sanctuary and in the Medinan sanctuary and Jerusalem and Mount Sinai. And Gabriel sets up his torch on the very roof of the Ka'bah. Then the angels separate over the lands of earth and visit every Muslim whom they find at the prayer-rite or engaged in *dhikr*, and salute him and clasp his hand and say *Amen* to his petition, and ask forgiveness for all the community of Muḥammad and pray 'for them till daybreak.'" (*Ṭahārat-al-Qulūb*, p. 72.)

"On such a night as this," when he feels the air to be pulsing with angelic movement, many a worshipper has a vision of the heavenly world. "People differ in this revelation. Some of them see light like a sudden flash of lightning. Some have the veils withdrawn for them from the highest heaven and see the angels there after their various fashions, standing, sitting, bowing or prostrating themselves and giving thanks and praising; and they behold Paradise and its houris and its palaces and its lights and its trees and its fruits; nay, they behold even the Throne of Al-Raḥmān which is the roof of Paradise; and they behold the abodes of the Prophets and the saints and the martyrs and the righteous and the single-hearted." (*Al-Mukhtārāt-al-Ḥusnā fī faḍl wa aḥkām Ramaḍān*, Ḥasan 'Alī Sharīf, p. 17.)

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## TRENDS IN MODERN TURKISH LITERATURE

### INTRODUCTION

Turkish literary movements have been divided into several broad general periods by Turkish writers. The older literature includes the Seljuk period (900-1300) and the Ottoman period (1300-1922).<sup>1</sup> The early Ottoman literature was influenced by Persian thought, especially up to the 16th century, and after 1520 Arab ideas began to predominate.

Toward the middle of the 19th century, the *Divani Edebiyat* (Classical Literature), which had been challenged by Turkish modernists as early as 1730, was gradually replaced by the *Edebiyatı Cedide* (New Literature). The great leaders of the new literary movement, Şinasi, Ziya Paşa and Namık Kemal were all influenced by Western, and especially French, concepts of modernism and nationalism.<sup>2</sup> These new writers largely abandoned the traditional classical style and began using a purer and simpler Turkish in their writings. Their greatest contribution was the inspiration of future generations with an ardent love for their country.

Turkish literary movements have often been part of broader political movements. The new Turkish patriotism, which was born at this time, gradually replaced the old Ottoman and Muslim traditions, and the emerging Turkish nationalism later created a modern Turkish State out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. This brief study will be confined to a short discussion of the *Tanzimat* (Reformation) literature, the *Milli Edebiyat* (National literature), and the trends following World War II.

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908, the World War of 1914-1918, the Turkish War for Independence (1919-1922), and the Kemalist reformation all profoundly affected the development of modern Turkish literature. Since 1950 new trends have developed as a result of the broadening of democratic institutions, increased literacy, and the greater contribution of the provincial and rural areas to literary production, which in the past was almost exclusively dominated by Istanbul and a few other urban centers.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This study is concerned only with the literature of Turkey proper and does not discuss the writings of Turks outside Turkey. For a recent study on the Turkish speaking peoples of the world see: Charles W. Hostler, *Turkism and the Soviets*, N.Y. Praeger, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> For the impact of Western ideas on Turkish literature see: Enver Ziya Karal, *Tanzimattan evvel garplasma hareketleri*, Istanbul, 1940; Cevdet Perin, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri*, Istanbul, 1946; Bernard Lewis, "The Impact of the French Revolution in Turkey," *Journal of World History*, July, 1953.

<sup>3</sup> Useful works on Turkish literature include: Ismail Habib Sevük, *Türk Teceddüd Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1924; Ismail Hikmet Artaylan, *Türk Edebiyat Tarihi*, Baku, 1926; Ali Canip, *Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Istanbul, 1934; Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Son Asir Türk Edebiyat Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1941; Ahmed

## THE TANZIMAT LITERATURE

19th century Ottoman literary activity is general referred to as the *Tanzimat* literature or the *Edebiyat Cedide* and is divided into the early and later *Tanzimat* literary movements.<sup>4</sup> Ibrahim Şinasi (1824-1871) who is considered the founder of the new literature, studied in France and was inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution and 19th century nationalism. Although Şinasi was not a brilliant stylist or great poet, his prose was effectively written in a purer Turkish than his predecessors. Şinasi was able to free himself and some of his followers from the trammels of the unintelligible language and its Persian and Arabic influences. The old literature survived, however, into the second *Tanzimat* period.

Ziya Paşa (1825-1880) one of Şinasi's contemporaries, although well versed in Ottoman classical literature, gave effective support to the new literary movement by his translations of the French masterpieces and by his literary criticism. He was influenced by French romanticism and the natural rights philosophy. Ziya Paşa was one of the first Turkish writers to show interest in the pre-Islamic Turks and preferred to refer to the Turkish, rather than Ottoman, language and civilization. He used a purer Turkish than many writers of his generation. Among the other pioneers of Turkism one should mention the lexicographer Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823-1891) and the great historian, Ahmet Cevdet Paşa (1822-1895).

The success of the *Edebiyatı Cedide* movement was mainly due to the dynamic personality and enlightened patriotism of the great poet Namık Kemal (1840-1888).<sup>5</sup> Namık Kemal criticized the classical literature more bitterly than either Şinasi or Ziya Paşa, and felt that it was difficult to write Turkish poetry in the *arud* (*aruz*) metre. Although Namık Kemal favored a purer Turkish, he and his followers did not cast off the old traditions entirely. Turkey's great patriotic poet was not narrow in his patriotism and his ideals included elements of universalism and humanitarianism. Namık Kemal is best known for his drama *Vatan Yahut Silistre* (Fatherland or Silistria), a highly patriotic and anti-Russian play.

The *Tanzimat* literary movement was closely associated with the Young Ottoman Society and Namık Kemal was one of its founders in 1865. The failure of the Sultān to deal with military defeats, the separatist insurrections, and financial bankruptcy aroused the Ottoman

Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1949; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura Turca*, Milano, 1956.

<sup>4</sup> The *Tanzimat* refers to the Reformation of 1839. The later *Tanzimat* refers to the period after 1876. Reşit Paşa tried to stop the decline of the Ottoman Empire through the introduction of reforms in 1839 as did Midhat Paşa in 1876. For an excellent brief history of Turkey see: Geoffrey L. Lewis, *Turkey*, London, 1955.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed study of Namık Kemal see: M. Kaplan, *Namık Kemal, Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Istanbul, 1948.

intellectuals to seek a new ideal. They cooperated with the reformist Grand Vezir Midhat Paşa and their combined efforts culminated in the short-lived first Constitutional Movement of 1876. Despite the thirty years of absolutism which followed under Sultān ʿAbdul Ḥā-mīd II, the Ottoman intellectuals, influenced by Western ideas of modernism, nationalism, and liberalism, continued to struggle for the new *Milli Mefkure* (national ideal). It should be noted, however, that the new literature was primarily an upper-middle class movement affecting a relatively small group. The main weakness of the Ottoman intellectuals was their failure to reach the common people.

After the middle of the 19th century the beginnings of journalism, political and literary criticism, and the novel were developed. During this period philosophical and sociological essays in the Western sense appeared for the first time and translations of Western literary works increased considerably.<sup>6</sup> An important literary event before the turn of the century was the formation of the *Vervetifünun* group of literary writers who associated themselves with the periodical of the same name. Among the contributors to this journal were Ahmet Ihsan, Ekrem Bey, Halit Ziya, Ahmet Rasim, Nebizade Nazim Bey, and the great poets Tevfik Fikret and Cenap Şehabettin.

This movement, which lasted from 1891 to 1901, was handicapped by the then existing censorship. The writers of the *Servetifünun* were obliged to avoid controversial subjects, often refraining from signing their names to their articles or using pen-names. They have been criticized as the "Patrician" intellectuals.

Many of the later *Tanzimat* writers joined the National Literature Movement which was born at the dawn of the 20th century. One of these was the famous poet Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan (1851-1937). Like his master Namık Kemal, he was primarily a patriotic poet. Although he was influenced by the ideas of French Romanticism he remained largely a classicist and always kept the spirit of the older ideals. Tarhan introduced the lyric forms into Turkish. Although he freed Ottoman poetry of older forms, he remained primarily a poet of the upper and middle classes and did not draw his themes from the life of the people.

One of the important figures of this period was the educator and writer, Muallim Naci (1850-1893). Naci was a good poet of the old school but also wrote in the new style. He was not a reactionary as some of his critics claim, but a conservative who believed in gradual change. Among the writers of this time who began to look to the common people for inspiration was the publicist Recaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1846-1913). He was not a great poet, but he is important because he introduced Turkish folk songs into Ottoman literature. Although Ekrem Bey used Western devices to convey his ideas, such as the novel

<sup>6</sup> For a study of the rôle of translation in this period see: Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Yunanış Devrinde Tercümenin Rolü*, Istanbul, 1935.

and ballad, he was a conservative writer and appealed mainly to the upper middle classes. He was one of the organizers of the *Servetifünun* and gathered talented writers around him. Although he wrote lyric poems, several novels and plays, his main contribution lay in his teaching and leadership.

Among the Ottoman intellectuals who struggled against the tyranny of 'Abdul Ḥamīd was the author Samipaşazade Sezai (1859-1936). Sezai Bey joined the Young Turks in Paris in 1901 and wrote articles against the Sultān. He is best known for his novel *Sergüzeşt* (Adventure) written in 1883 which is generally considered the first modern novel in Ottoman Turkish literature.

Ahmet Midhat (1844-1912), a journalist, editor, and author, played an important rôle in the new literary movement. He wrote short stories, essays, and novels based on materials drawn from the life of the middle classes, but more important he also wrote about the common people. He produced text-books and popular works, and tried to popularize reading and thus contributed to raising the level of education. Ahmet Midhat introduced many French words into the Turkish language through his translations. Although he was not a great literary figure, his works were read widely.

The public story-tellers known as *Meddahs* had cultivated the tales of every day life of the people of Anatolia through the centuries. This was probably the only real Turkish prose of the period. However, the Ottoman *literati* had so far disregarded this source of literature. In the period of the *Divani Edebiyat* they had preferred the Persian and Arabic classics, and now preferred to borrow from Europe. At this time, there was little interest in or appreciation of the day to day life of the Anatolian peasant. It was only during the period of the Republic that such a trend was to develop.

Tevfik Fikret (1870-1915) was a great and inspired poet, humanist, teacher, and patriot. His poetry, which opened new vistas for Turkish poetry, is very fine though it appeals primarily to the intellectual classes. He was one of the leaders of the *Servetifünun* and played an important rôle in inspiring Turkish intellectuals during the Young Turk period. He was also interested in social problems.

Another important leader of the *Servetifünun* was the novelist Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil (1869-1945), who continued to gain further fame in the period of the Republic. Halit Ziya wrote in the style of modern European novelists and was influenced by French literary movements. His novels and short stories deal mainly with the upper-middle classes. His clarity of expression and skillful style became a model for aspiring novelists.

While the school of Tevfik Fikret and Halit Ziya reflected primarily the life of the upper classes, we see a new trend in the works of the novelist Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1943) who depicted in his novels and stories various aspects of the life of the common people.

This writer glorified the Anatolian peasant. His works often tended to be philosophical in nature and perhaps over flowery in style. Although he was influenced by Western ideas, his works were original. He was one of the few novelists who made a living exclusively by his writings. The publicist Ahmet Rasim (1864-1932), also dealt in several of his novels with the common people, but he wrote primarily on the social life of Istanbul in his *Şehir Mektupları* (Letters from the City). He is known for his fine style. He also wrote a History of the Ottoman Empire. Another good novelist, Mehmet Rauf (1875-1931) was influenced both by Western writers and by Halit Ziya's writings. In addition to novels, he also wrote poetry.

Among the important poets of this period one should list Ahmet Haşım (1885-1933) who was an important lyricist and symbolic poet. He remained true to the purely aesthetic ideals of the preceding period. Mehmet Akif (1873-1936) was another poet who remained largely outside the new movements. His works were imbued with the ideals of Islam. They appeared under the title of *Safahat* (The Aspects). Mehmet Akif wrote the words to the Turkish National Anthem. Another poet, Midhat Cemal, who has written a biography of Mehmet Akif, is also the author of a novel about old Istanbul. Perhaps Mehmet Ali Tevfik was more in step with new developments and wrote patriotic poems and articles. Among his works is *Turanlının Defteri* (Notes of a Turanian).

One of Turkey's greatest story tellers, writing about the daily life of the people in clear and beautiful Turkish, was Ömer Sefettin (1884-1920). He was one of the contributors to the *Genç Kalemler* journal and emphasized the importance of using pure Turkish. Among his well known writings is *Bahar ve Kelebekler* (Spring and Butterflies).

Although the great Turkish poet, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (b. 1884), became more famous in the period of the Republic, he had already achieved fame at this time. Beyatlı is considered one of the greatest poets of modern Turkey. Although his poems are few in number they have extraordinary artistic merit. Beyatlı was able to bring the ancient *arud*, a verse-form ten centuries old, to its highest perfection. This great poet of Turkey communicates efficiently the thrill of lyric poetry combined with the measured control of classicism.

In the last decade of the 19th century, the arrival in Turkey of a number of Turkish speaking refugees who had escaped from Russian tyranny stimulated Turkish national thought. These writers emphasized the broader concepts of the history of the Turkish speaking people who had lived beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire. They included such names as Ismail Gaspirali, Hüseyinzade Ali, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, and Ağaoğlu Ahmet. During this period also the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 had inspired patriotic writings in Turkey. Thus the origins of the *Milli Edebiyat* which was to flourish after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 can be traced to this period. One of the

leading figures of the *Milli Edebiyat* movement was the patriotic poet and writer Mehmet Emin Yurdakul (1869-1944), who inspired the whole nation with his patriotic writings. His prose and poetry, written in a clear style, was understood by the common people and also appealed to the intellectual élite. His *Türkçe Şiirleri* (Turkish Poems) employed a simple language in the syllabic metre which made it possible for him to reach the people directly.

Following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and the abolishing of censorship, there was an increased literary activity. The patriotic works of Namık Kemal and Abdülhak Hamit reappeared on the stage and a large number of works of a sociological, philosophical, and historical nature were translated into Turkish. At this time a literary movement known as the *Fecriati* (Dawn of the Future) developed which lasted roughly from 1909 to 1912. It consisted of a circle of friends who belonged to the school of Tevfik Fikret and Halit Ziya. They did not disagree with the *Edebiyatı Cedide* masters of the *Serve-tifünun*, but felt that the younger *literati* should get together to organize a new movement. Thus in 1909 Ahmet Haşım, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Refik Halit Karay, Celal Sahir Erozan, Nabizade Nazim and others joined this group, but soon this organization, which was very loose, began to disperse. Most of the above joined the *Milli Edebiyat*.

#### THE NATIONAL LITERATURE

We have seen how the dawn of the 20th century saw the beginnings of the *Milli Mefkure* and the development of the *Milli Edebiyat* movement. This movement began to flourish especially after the 1908 revolution when the *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearth Society) was founded, and when Ziya Gökalp began to preach the ideal of Turkism. Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924) is considered the intellectual leader of the Young Turk and Kamalist Revolutions and the founder of Turkism.<sup>7</sup> The school that Gökalp led was convinced of the necessity of making national literature more truly Turkish. An inspired poet, Gökalp was also an idealist with a gift of formulating and expressing moral and social principles. He founded and wrote in such dynamic journals as the *Yeni Mecmua*, *Küçük Mecmua*, and *Genç Kalemler*. In addition to the above reviews, the *Türk Yurdu*, the organ of the *Türk Ocağı* became the center of national culture and revival. Gökalp's influence in Turkish literature is significant not only because of his contributions to the development of Turkish nationalistic thought, but also because he trained and inspired a number of young men who later were to play

<sup>7</sup> For details on the Young Turks and Gökalp see: Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Anıme hukukumuz bakımından ikinci meşrutiyet fikir cereyanları*, Istanbul, 1948; U. Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*, London, 1950; N. Berkes, "Ziya Gökalp," *Middle East Journal*, Autumn, 1954; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turk Revolution*, Princeton, 1957.

major rôles in the development of modern Turkey. Among his major works in *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (The Principles of Turkism).

During the period between 1908 and 1918 a group of young Turkish intellectuals joined the *Milli Edebiyat* movement, many of them later became prominent in the cultural and political life of the Turkish Republic. One of these, a most outstanding scholar and historian, is Professor Fuad Köprülü, who edited the *Milli Tetebbuler Mecmuası*, a journal for national studies and later the *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, the journal of the Institute of Turcology. Among his important works on Turkish literature is *Milli Edebiyatın ilk Mübeşşirleri*, Istanbul, 1928.<sup>8</sup>

The poet Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, who in this period was the president of the *Türk Ocağı*, and contributed to *Turkism*, is also a fine prose writer and talented orator.

During this period, but especially in the early days of the Republic, Halide Edib Adivar, a woman novelist of great talent and psychological insight, contributed significantly to Turkish literature. She wrote some of her works in English and she continues to be prominent in the educational field. Her husband, Dr. A. Adnan Adivar also contributed significantly to Turkish intellectual thought and edited the *Islam Ansiklopedisi* until his recent death.

Among the important writers of the past generation who are still popular is the short-story writer and essayist Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (b. 1888), who in addition to being a novelist of note, was a diplomat for many years. His early writings had a mystical tone, but his later novels have concerned themselves with social problems.

A most popular Turkish novelist, Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1892-1956) became famous with his sociological novel *Çalkum* (The Wren) depicting the life of a Turkish woman school teacher in the provinces. Güntekin was a novelist with a charming piquant style, and wrote highly popular short stories. He was also a successful playwright. Some of his works have been translated.

Falih Rifki Atay, a journalist and deputy, is also among prose writers of artistic distinction. His style is concise, spirited and colorful. Other journalists who have contributed to historical writings, essays, and literature include Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın and Ahmet Emin Yalman. In the field of literary criticism and the essay, a relatively new field in Turkish literature, the outstanding personalities are Hasan Ali Yücel, a former Minister of Education, who is both a poet and essayist; Nuralah Ataç, an influential literary critic; and the late Ismail Habib Sevük, author of studies on Turkish literature.

Refik Halit Karay, a short-story writer with an exceptional gift for description, became famous with his lively, incisive style as an outstanding humorous prose writer. Fazal Ahmet Aykaç has contributed

<sup>8</sup> For an appreciation of Professor Köprülü see: *Fuad Köprülü Armağan*, Istanbul, 1953.

to humorous literature both in verse and prose. He created a new fashion by his parodies and criticisms of the work of other authors in their own characteristic style. Among the better known humorous poets of this type is Halil Nihad Boztepe.

The modern theatre in Turkey is centered around the *Darulbedayi*. Among the Turkish playwrights of note are Reşat Nuri Güntekin, İbnürrefik Ahmet Nureddin, and Musahip Zade Celal who have written highly original works. The two poets, Halit Fahri Ozansoy and Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, have composed verse plays which have been successfully produced.

Today an author and critic of exceptional worth is Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar (b. 1888) who, although important in the past generation, has gained a greater reputation in recent years. He won fame with the publication of his novel, *Fahim Bey ve Biz* (Fahim Bey and Ourselves) which is a revealing psychological study. Among his other important works is *Boğaziçi Mehtapları* (Moonlight on the Bosphorus) written in a most beautiful style.

Other writers to be mentioned include the historian Ahmet Refik Altınay (1881-1937) who popularized historical subjects with his vivid pictures of various episodes in Ottoman history, the anthologist and editor Yaşar Nabi Nayir, and such authors as Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, Orhan Seyfi Orhon, Ercüment Ekrem Talu, Selami İzzet Sedes, Enis Besiç Koryürek and Rüşen Eşref Ünaydin. Many of these writers have also contributed to poetry. Among the important poets of the period of the Republic one must mention Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Kemalettin Kamu, Behçet Kemal Çağlar, Yaşar Nabi Nayir, Hamdi Tanpınar and Muhip Dranas. Çamlıbel, Kısakürek and Vedad Nedim Tör have also written plays.

The period of the National Literature, which was born at the dawn of the 20th century, bore fruit during the period of the Republic. In fact, the present literary development, in the view of this writer, is but a continuation and a broadening of the *Milli Edebiyat* movement.

It is important to note that the period of the decline of the Ottoman Empire coincided with a renaissance in Turkish intellectual thought. This was the reflection of a new patriotism aroused in the soul of the Turkish people. Refusing defeat, the Turkish people were fortunate in finding a leader in the person of Atatürk. The Turkish victory in the War for Independence and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 gave rise to a new era which opened vast horizons in every field of endeavour, with the institution of the new Turkish alphabet and the introduction of universal education. The establishment of the Turkish Linguistic Society, the Turkish Historical Society and other learned organizations, the increased and more select translations of important foreign works, and the new interest in folklore all contributed to the cultural rebirth of this period.<sup>9</sup>

## RECENT TRENDS

Since the end of the second World War a new renaissance of Turkish literature is discernible. This is part of the general expansion of political, economic, and social activity in a dynamic nation. Since 1950 literacy has increased rapidly, book production and periodical publications have seen a remarkable expansion, and the Turkish press has also been a vehicle for the dissemination of cultural ideas. New achievements in poetry, drama and prose writing are being made. In addition to the more cosmopolitan and sophisticated novels appearing in the last few years, written by urban intellectuals, an increasing number of provincial and rural writers are now contributing to the literary production, reflecting the growing importance of these areas in the life of the new Turkey. The best known example is the writings of Mahmut Makal, a village school teacher. These essays describing village life are written in a simple but trenchant, caustic and original style and have become best sellers.<sup>10</sup>

Space will not allow description of the works of the novelists, short-story writers, and essayists of the most modern era, but a few representative examples will be given. It is generally accepted that Sait Faik Abasiyanik (1907-1954) is one of the greatest story-writers of the recent period. He has also written poetry. Sait Faik has successfully combined the most stark realism with a poetic style. His stories of Marmara Sea fishermen combine nature description at its best with a skillful analysis of the human soul. Ziya Osman Saba (b. 1910) has written poems and stories about city life, most of them of an optimistic nature. Among his stories is *Geçen Zaman* (Past Times). Kemal Bilbaşar (b. 1910) has been influenced in part by the works of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. His *Pembe Kurt* describes a tractor on a farm. His stories are about actual life and tend to be realistic and somewhat pessimistic. His descriptions of provincial types are excellent. Muhtar Kőrükü (b. 1914), who has written many book-reviews, has also several essays and books among which one should note *Anadolu Hikayeleri* (Anatolian Stories).

Orhan Kemal (b. 1914) has written many short-stories including *Ekmek Kaugası*, *72ci Koğuş*, *Çamaşırcı Kızı*. An able and effective writer, he describes the realities of life in their complexity and naked-

<sup>9</sup> U. Heyd, *Language Reform in Modern Turkey*, Jerusalem, 1954. For additional information on cultural and social developments in Turkey see: R. N. Frye, ed., *Islam and the West*, The Hague, 1957; *Report on Current Research*, Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C. 1955, 1956, 1957, and the reports of a group of American and Turkish scholars being edited by Howard A. Reed of the Ford Foundation.

<sup>10</sup> A translation of *Bizim Köy*, (Our Village) is available in English entitled *A Village in Anatolia*, London, 1954, translated by Sir W. Deedes. Makal has written several other interesting books since that time.

ness. Uran Nazif Yiğiter (b. 1915) is a good story writer. Like Bekir Sitki, he takes his subjects from real life. Among his books is *Tepedeki Ev* (The House on the Hill) Haldun Tuner (b. 1916) became famous with the publication of *Tuş* in 1952. He has also written a number of essays and plays. Orhan Hançerlioğlu's (b. 1916) stories and novels are based on his experiences in Anatolia as an official. His style is good, and he gives special attention to word and form. While originally a story writer, he is now becoming better known as a novelist, with five successful novels to date.

Other novelists, short story writers and essayists worthy of note, born between 1915 and 1935 are: Samin Kocagöz, Faik Baysal, Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Necatî Cumalı, Oktay Akbal, Vüs'at O. Bener, Yaşar Kemal, Zeyyat Selimoğlu, Muzaffer Hacıhasanoğlu, Naim Tiralı, Nezihe Meriç, Gengiz Yörük, Tarik Dursun K., Tahsin Yücel, and Tektaş Ağaoğlu, the oldest being listed first and the youngest who is only 23 years listed last.<sup>11</sup>

Two important poets of the recent modern period died in recent years. Cahit Sitki Tarancı (1910-1956) started writing poetry as early as 1933 and became one of the most popular poets of Turkey. His poems emphasized the zest of living with a deep fear of death. His style is fresh and has great warmth of feeling. Orhan Veli Kanik (1914-1950) too began composing poems at an early age and is now considered the foremost poet of his generation. He used a sincere conversational, though somewhat unconventional style and became a model for other poets of the new generation. Oktay Rifat (b. 1914), who has published five volumes of poetry is considered one of the most important poets of the modern period. He cooperated with Orhan Veli Kanik and Melih Cevdet Anday in introducing new and original styles, with a simplicity and dignity which has characterized recent Turkish poetry. Ahmet Muhip Dranas (b. 1919), has been influenced by French poets such as Valéry, Verlaine, Mallarné as well as Baudelaire. Dranas has effectively used local color and events in the life of the people in his poems. He has described death, life and metaphysical ideas skillfully. He has been able to wed his ideas effectively to description and rhythm.

Melih Cevdet Anday's (b. 1915) poems are worthy of note because of their purity of expression and excellent form. He has tried to avoid artificiality, believing that beautiful thoughts alone are not enough, but that the use of words in their most proper form is essential to give valid expression to these thoughts.

Among other important poets of the recent modern period the following deserve mention: Ercüment Behzat Lav, Asaf Halet Çelebi,

<sup>11</sup> Among the many recent anthologies the following were found useful: *Yeni Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, Yeditepe Yayınları, 1956; Mustafa Baydar, *Yeni Türk Hikayecileri Antolojisi*, İstanbul, Varlık Yayınları, 1956.

Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, İlhan Berk, Cahit Irgat, Behçet Necastigil, Cahit Külebi, Salah Bırsel, Suat Taşer, Nevzat Üstün, Attila İlhan, Metin Eloğlu, Asaf Çiyiltepe. Other poets include: Nahit Ulvi Akgün, Sabahattin Kudret Aksal, Talip Apaydın, Orhon M. Arıburnu, Özdemir Asaf, Mehmet Başaran, Edip Cansever, Necati Cumalı, İlhan Demiraslan, Baki Süha Ediboğlu, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu, Rüştü Onur, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, Muzaffer Tayyip Uslu and Turgut Uyar. Some of these have contributed to prose literature as well as poetry.

Perhaps it is too early to draw conclusions regarding literary developments in Turkey since 1945 and the perspective of time may disprove these evaluations. This writer believes, however, that in Turkey as in most egalitarian societies of today, including the United States, there is no single outstanding writer who towers over the rest of his colleagues, nor are the contributions of the last two decades of any exceptional brilliance or special universal appeal. However, there are an increasing number of able and promising young writers whose works deal with local issues and problems of daily living. These writers command an ever growing audience and come from different parts of Turkey. They belong mostly to the middle classes, although most walks of life are represented. Many of their writings are of real merit and are especially useful as sociological sources which help in the better understanding of recent developments in Turkey.

This writer cannot find any unique or completely new attributes or point to any specific trend other than a broadening of the ideals of the national literature of the last generations. It may be said that literary developments in Turkey seem increasingly eclectic in nature and may tend towards multifarious schools in the future, the determinant being the inclination, the cultural background, or the temperament of each writer. The prevailing trend, however, follows the nationalist literature and many of the best known and popular works are still the writings of the original authors of the *Milli Edebiyat*.

While Turkish book-reviewers often deplore the fact that some of Turkey's modern writers ape the West and fail to show originality, they also admit that many writers of the new generation are contributing to creative writing. As a famous Turkish writer and diplomat has stated "far from being content with past achievements ... modern Turkish literature is continually engaged in self-criticism. For, in its flight, it is advancing toward the ideal of expressing the whole soul and personality of the nation, and of becoming the mirror which faithfully reflects the innermost life of the country, and thus of winning the glory of true and complete originality."<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Modern Turkish Literature*, Turkish Information Office, N.Y. undated (Turkey Today No. 9).

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Turkism and the Soviets.** By Charles W. Hostler, New York, Preager, 1957, pp. 236. \$ 7.00 (London, Allen & Unwin, 1957, 30 Shillings).

Dr. Hostler has contributed a significant study on the history of the fifty-four million Turkish speaking peoples of the world and their unifying ideals. The author, who has an intimate knowledge of the Turkish and Muslim world, has travelled widely in the Near and Middle East. He is a colonel in the United States Air Force, and holds graduate degrees from the American University of Beirut and Georgetown University, and lectures on Middle Eastern affairs at the American University in Washington D.C.

The problem of condensing all the pertinent information on the little known history of the Turkish speaking peoples in 236 pages is not an easy task. The book consists of five chapters. The first chapter is a brief introduction. The author points out that the terms Pan-Turanism and Pan-Turkism have often been used synonymously, but that one should differentiate between Pan-Turanism (which aims at the unity of the Turkish, Mongol, and Finnish-Ugrian peoples), and the more reasonable concept of Pan-Turkism (which seeks unity among the Turkish speaking peoples of the world). Dr. Hostler considers Pan-Turanism a fantasy and unworkable in contrast to Pan-Turkism, which in its more moderate form, and especially in its cultural aspects, can be considered a positive movement.

Chapter II written in handbook style is a detailed description of the Turkish speaking peoples of the world, including the twenty-two million in the Soviet Union. Although this chapter is unique in being the first complete source of reference on the Turks of the world, its concentration on facts may discourage the general reader and it should perhaps be read last. Chapter III which deals with the emergence of Turkism (Turkish nationalism) in the 19th century is well written. It discusses Pan-Islamism (which called for the unity of all Islam), the origins of Pan-Turanism (which was first developed by European Orientalists), and the role of the Young Turks in the development of Turkish nationalism. The great Turkish intellectual leader Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), the founder of *Türkçülük* (Turkism) and his contribution to modern Turkish nationalism are ably discussed. Turkism was the basis of the Kemalist program of modernization. However, Atatürk disapproved of political schemes outside Turkey's borders and therefore frowned on Pan-Turanism, although Pan-Turkism in its cultural aspects has always been considered proper. It is only natural for all Turks to be concerned about the welfare of other Turks throughout the world.

Chapter IV, entitled Pan-Turkism, is perhaps the most interesting section of the book. The author traces the origins of the Pan-Turkist movement both in Russia and Turkey in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The contributions of Gaspıralı and Akçoraogly and the others, the role of Enver Pasha during the first world war and in the Bas-machi movement, the activities of the Promethean League, and other developments between the two world wars are discussed with accuracy

and insight. The section dealing with the Pan-Turkist movement during and after the second world war includes information hitherto not easily available. It is especially important to note that several hundred thousand Turks in the Soviet armed forces took their earliest opportunity to join the Germans in their fight against the hated Soviets (p. 178). Chapter V is an effectively presented summary and perspective. There is an appendix with information about Pan-Turkist leaders such as Gafer Seydahmet Kirimer, Ayas Ishaky Idilli, Mehmet Emin Resulzade, and Dr. Zeki Velidi Togan. (Idilli and Resulzade died in 1954 and 1955 respectively.) There is a comprehensive bibliography.

The author's conclusions stress the idea that factors for unity of the Turkish speaking peoples with their close cultural affinity, may develop into a positive force which can be an asset to the free world, Caucasus and Central Asia. Yet he cautions the reader of the dangers and difficulties involved. Opinions vary on the prospects of national solidarity and independence for the Turkish speaking peoples of the world. Some writers feel that unity cannot be achieved based only on ethnic, linguistic or religious similarities, and even cultural homogeneity. They stress the fact that political unity is affected more by common interests, geographical compactness and economic considerations. Be this as it may, the present reviewer believes that Dr. Hostler's thesis deserves close study, and that *Turkism and the Soviets* is a major contribution shedding new light on an obscure yet important subject. Based on Western, Turkish and Slavic sources, the book gains from personal contacts of the author with Pan-Turkist leaders and may well become a basic reference work on that part of the world.

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**Bureaucracy and Society in Modern Egypt.** By Morroe Berger, Princeton University Press, 1957, pp. xiii plus 231, including appendices and index, \$ 4.75.

This study of the higher civil service in Egypt by Professor Berger being "Princeton Oriental Studies, Social Science," No. 1,55 was made by the author during the academic year, 1953-54, which he spent in Egypt. The purpose was to appraise the degree of change in certain aspects of modern Egyptian society by studying a group, the higher civil service, as typical of a rapidly evolving middle class, having the education, experience and purpose, to give them the potential to influence the direction and speed of change in Egypt.

A systematic statistical procedure was followed, based on a questionnaire of 62 questions with some subdivisions, carefully selected in order to deduce various points of view of the respondents by comparing the answers in various ways. With the cooperation of the Ministers of Agriculture, Education, Finance and Economy, and Municipal and Rural Affairs, all higher civil servants of grades 2, 3, and 4 in these ministries were invited to participate, of whom 249 accepted. With the aid of a select group of trained social workers, each official was interviewed and asked to give answer to the list of questions which were recorded in Arabic. With the aid of statistical machines these answers were then analyzed. The questions covered such matters as name, post and grade, age, place of birth, education, years of service,

preparation for and attitudes toward government employment, languages spoken, foreign travel, reading habits, attitudes assumed in various hypothetical problems, etc.

An historical account of public administration in Egypt, including changes in the civil service introduced during the forty years of British control, is followed by a detailed analysis of the replies to the questionnaire involving education and background, religion, status and prestige, loyalties, initiative and subservience, with very interesting conclusions from among which the following is cited.

"On rationality and efficiency, the older respondents score higher than the younger. On hierarchy the reverse obtains. On discretion and initiative, the evidence is again inconclusive. Still another characteristic we may try is the place of higher education, that is, the responses of civil servants who took their baccalaureate or higher degree in Europe or the United States, compared with the responses of those who studied in Egyptian institutions. On rationality and efficiency those educated in the West score higher. On hierarchy, those educated in Egypt score higher. On discretion and initiative, the Western-educated again score higher."

As the author makes frequent comparisons between the civil service in Egypt and in Great Britain and the United States, the present writer found himself occasionally comparing his own experience with the situations described. The chapter on Loyalties is very absorbing, with its detailed analysis of the effect on the official's decisions of his connections with family, friends, religion, supervisors, political parties, the state, the nation and his profession. In general, the very great influence of the family is still outstanding.

The author is extremely cautious to avoid sweeping conclusions while, at the same time, not ignoring the straws in the wind. The over-all impression is that there is a definite trend in the Egyptian Civil Service toward the objectivity and efficiency aimed at in the civil service of the West; and this would indicate a middle class movement in the same direction. If the average reader can assume the accuracy of the technical analysis and give his primary attention to the conclusions, he will find them both significant and interesting, and the statistician-sociologist will come to the same conclusion.

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W. WENDELL CLELAND

**Expédition en Arabie Centrale.** By Philippe Lippens, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris VI, France, 1956, pp. 214.

The preface is by H. St. John B. Philby, the "best contemporary explorer of Saudi Arabia," who cites the author as having a spiritual and intellectual sympathy for "these poor, simple, honest people (the Arabs) who have not yet become initiated into the shibboleths of a seemingly superior civilization; these people who know the eternal verities of the desert out of which sprang the three great monotheistic religions of the world." The members of the Expedition were in effect "a band of fanatics in pursuit of historic monuments and carvings amongst the rocks, ravines and gullies of the multicolored desert."

The foreword is by Gonzague Ryckmans, Professor of the Univer-

sity of Louvain and leader of the expedition. The format is pleasing. It contains an index, excellent colored plates and illustrations, an index prepared by the Royal Geographical Society for H. St. J. Philby. The dates are October 24, 1951—February 15, 1952.

Purpose and Scope: The first archaeological reconnaissance made under the auspices of the Wahnabi government and under the personal patronage of the King, 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Sa'ud. The idea of the expedition germinated in the mind of Prof. Gonzague Ryckmans following a conversation with Philby during the Oriental Congress in Paris in July, 1948, with a three-fold interest in view:

- 1) Archaeological-photographing, making rubbings and obtaining historical data of pre-Islamic inscriptions and ruins in Southwest Arabia;
- 2) Exploring and mapping unknown or nearly unknown territory of Nufud Dahy, Tuwaiq and other sections of 'Asir;
- 3) Studying at close hand and under favorable conditions a people whose customs and pattern of life are changing inevitably from the patriarchal to a kind of penumbra called "modern civilization."

The expedition took four months, traversed more than 5000 kilometres of desert, using nothing more ancient in transportation than aeroplanes and autos, though camels were used for short distances. The results of discovering and noting approximately 13,000 inscriptions of the ancient Sabaeans and Thamudites on tumuli, tombs, walls and rocks augmented considerably the material hitherto known to the West. Important geographical discoveries were also made in Tuwaiq.

The National Belgian Foundation of Scientific Research and the University of Louvain surmounted the financial difficulties. H. St. John Philby, through his long-standing friendship with King Ibn-Sa'ud, obtained the royal authorization, and made necessary arrangements for provisioning, transport and escorts for safe conduct.

The personnel of the expedition consisted of Professor G. Ryckmans, archaeologist and Arabist; his nephew, Jacques Ryckman, a doctor of Oriental Languages and the author of a thesis on "The South-Arabian dynasties before the Hijrah;" Philippe Lippens, a Captain of the French Air Force, observer of the O.N.U. in Palestine, who was the official photographer and diarist. H. St. J. B. Philby instigated the venture and encouraged the other members, and by his knowledge and friendship with the Arabs smoothed out many difficulties.

The author is a keen observer and good raconteur. In this volume of scientific research data there are enough anecdotes of early explorers and of the Bedouin to give popular appeal to any persons interested in the Middle East. No mention is made of missionaries, though the dozen Europeans living in Al-Riyad are tabulated. The list does not include "Messengers of the Gospel."

*Montvale, N.J.*

ELISABETH PICKENS

**Moroccan Drama: 1900 - 1955.** By Rom Landau, San Francisco: The American Academy of Asian Studies, 1956, pp. 430. \$ 6.00.

This study is a well conceived and executed composition. Presented in four basic parts or movements, *Moroccan Drama* opens cautiously

with a vignette of the country before 1900, the people, their society and culture, and their governments. Mr. Landau renders a distinct service in placing the much emphasized Arab-Berber cleavage in proper perspective, as well as establishing a realistic framework for understanding the Jewish community's position in Moroccan society. The second and third portions of this study emphasize the origins of the protectorate — with considerable attention devoted to the policies of Marshal Lyautey — and the rise of Moroccan nationalism. Considerable attention is devoted to the founding of the "Students' Union," the famous Berber Dahir (decree) of the early 1930's, the impact of World War II, and the mounting self-assertiveness of Sultān Muḥammad V. The climax is reached with the deposition of Sidi Muḥammad in August 1953, the resulting reaction of Moroccans, and the return of their monarch to the throne in November 1955. In presenting his material as a dramatic composition, Mr. Landau has no difficulty in staging and direction. Recent events appear to lend themselves to such treatment.

It is a pity that *Moroccan Drama* must be offered as a "real history of Morocco." One is constrained to ask whether or not the author's approach has yielded a truly historical study. Its focus is too narrow — concentrating primarily on the events of the past twenty-five years. Furthermore, the essential element of impartiality is lacking, despite Mr. Landau's concern in that direction. The author's discussion of French achievements in Morocco delineates the positions of the two opposing schools of opinion, with little fundamental commentary and evaluation. While his efforts may be accepted as a useful contribution for future scholarship, it is to be regretted that Mr. Landau does not himself use his material for fuller evaluations and conclusions.

In a sense, *Moroccan Drama* is a reflection of the author's own extensive knowledge and experience within the area. The book is a useful introduction to Morocco for the uninitiated. When read with other Landau books, it presents a useful introduction to the Moroccan people as well. However, we shall have to look to the future for an acceptable English-language history of this newly independent nation.

Washington, D.C.

WILLIAM H. LEWIS

**Avicenna Commemoration Volume.** Iran Society, 159-B Dharamtollah St., Calcutta 13, 1956, Rs. 40.

In this collection of twenty-two studies dealing with various aspects of the life and thought of Avicenna, or Ibn Sinā, the Iran Society commemorates fittingly the Millenary (A. H. 370-1370) of his birth. V. Courtois, S.J., acted as chairman and convenor of the Avicenna Millenary Celebrations, organized in September, 1954, and he contributes the introduction to this volume. The articles are grouped into four sections: Part I. Biographical and Tropical Studies; Part II. Philosophical Studies; Part III. Medical and Psycho-Medical Studies; Part IV. General (containing an article by Dr. M. Ishaque of Calcutta University on "The Avicenna Commemoration Stamps", with five from the great periods of Iran's history). A brief reference to each article may be of value to the potential reader.

Syed Ḥasan Baranī discusses the similarities and contrasts between Ibn Sīnā and Al-Birūnī with reference to their religious views, range of studies, and characters. Prof. B. M. Gai, of Ismail Yusuf College, discusses Ibn Sīnā's influence on Europe, listing the various editions of the *Qanūn fī-l-Ṭubb* in numerous Latin translations. (The Arabic text was printed for the first time in Rome in 1593.) Dr. S. Naficy writes (in Arabic) of the origin of the word "Sīnā", his date of death, burial place. ʿAlī Akbar Sulaimī, who also writes in Arabic, discusses Ibn Sīnā as reflected in the work of Abū ʿUbayd ʿAbdul Waḥīd Juzjānī, Ṭabarī, and others. Two contributions in German (one by Dr. Max Weisweiler and the other by Dr. Otto Spies, both of Bonn University) deal respectively with the use Ibn Sīnā made of the princely libraries to which he had access, and the contributions of German scholars to a fuller appreciation of "Princeps Philosophus."

Prof. Alavi, formerly of Aligarh Muslim University, deals with some aspects of the literary and poetical activities of Avicenna. Dr. Richard Frye, of Harvard, contributes a short article on the *Kitāb-i-Mullazadī*. Dr. P. Natal Khanlary, Teheran University, discusses Ibn Sīnā's treatises on the subject of Arabian phonetics. Dr. M. Taqī Mustafawi mentions some of the forthcoming books on Avicenna, and describes some of the details of the Millenary Celebrations in Iran.

The philosophical section of the volume includes Mlle A. M. Gochon's article on "The Philosopher of Being" and Monsignor L. De Raeymaecker's comparison of the notion of being in Avicenna and Thomas Aquinas; Prof. M. C. Hernandez's treatment of the various interpretations of Avicenna's thought in Western medieval thought; an extract from a new Arabic text of Avicenna's *De Anima* dating from A.D. 1112 or 1113, by Dr. Wilhelm Kutsch, S.J.; Dr. B. C. Law's "Avicenna and His Theory of Soul"; "Avicenna's Refutation of Porphyrius", by J. Finnegan, S.J.; and "Avicenna and Mysticism", by J. J. Houben, S.J.

Part III includes Dr. Helmut Gatje's treatment of Avicenna's treatise on the nature and causes of melancholy; Dr. Gernot Rath's study of the morphological evolution of the Arabic terms relating to anatomy (from the Latin translation of the *Qanūn*); Shifaulmulk Hakim Abdul Latif's laudatory treatment in Avicenna's work on "heart drugs" and his ideas on heart therapy. The section concludes with a hitherto unpublished manuscript by Ibn Sīnā on "The Interpretation of Dreams" (taken from MS "A" in the Asafiya State Library).

There is some unevenness in the value of the contribution, as specialists in the field of Avicenna studies will discover for themselves. But all students of Avicenna and his period will want to add the volume to their collection.

*Southern California School of Theology*

FLOYD H. ROSS

**A Turkish - English Dictionary.** By H. C. Hony, with the advice of Fahri İz. 2nd. edition, Oxford University Press, 1957, pp. xii and 419. \$ 5.60.

It is now a little over thirty years since the adoption by Turkey of the new alphabet based upon Latin characters. As was to be expected,

there was considerable confusion and no little uncertainty during the first decade of its use, with regard both to the spelling of old words and the introduction, spelling and use of new words. Turkish scholars and literary men and women are to be congratulated on the results achieved. Extremes, both radical and conservative, have been avoided.

The 2nd edition of Hony's *Turkish-English Dictionary* is a landmark on the linguistic highway. The 1st edition appeared ten years ago. This 2nd edition adheres to the principle adopted in the 1st and in the *English-Turkish Dictionary*, published by the same collaborators in 1956, that the inclusion of common phrases and idioms is far more important than large numbers of comparatively rare words. The authors deal most helpfully with the problems of phonetics, spelling and accent. Nor do they hesitate to criticize. They dub the dotless 'i' "ill-devised," and speak of "a score of senseless innovations" in invented words and meanings. Being designed for easy use, this Dictionary avoids many details that would need to be noted in a more comprehensive work.

Anyone familiar with the problems of printing such a volume must admire the care lavished upon this work. For example: a beginner looking up the word *mutevazi* will find it also with an undotted 'i'. The presence or absence of the dot is the only difference between the words of totally different meanings. The reviewer has found no errors in the many words he has sampled throughout the volume. With thousands of Americans becoming more familiar with Turkish affairs, including the Turkish language, this excellent work should prove a most useful and popular tool.

*Boston, Mass.*

FRED FIELD GOODSSELL

**The Names of Lebanese Cities and Villages with an Interpretation of their meaning: A Linguistic Study.** By Anis Fraiha, the American University of Beirut, 1956, pp. 368/64.

This is no book to review in the ordinary sense of the term. It must suffice to express thankfulness for a labor of love. The A.U.B. has done well to make it the twenty-seventh link in the chain of Oriental Publications. Professor Fraiha has set others an example of industry coupled with a sense of when to be reasonably certain in a verdict and when to suspend judgment. A first reaction is that what he has done for Lebanon may be done for the other Near Eastern lands where Arabic has been the language of the home and field these thousand years and more. If we are not taken back into the days before the flood for the understanding of some of the places familiar to residents and tourists in the country of the cedars, we can at least realise that this section of the Mediterranean world has scarcely known these past five millennia the direction of the next invasion — which means of course for this study that the armies of the east (and west) have left their traces in the name of seaside towns and mountain villages. We are not allowed to forget that Lebanon includes Phoenicia. If Greek words are not noted in Greek script, the sister languages to Arabic, Hebrew (Aramaic) and Syriac peep out on every page.

Here is wide Semitic scholarship for all who want more authoritative guidance than often comes the way of seekers after historical

truth. We have found not once or twice that longheld theories of the origin of certain places were dissipated by perusal of Professor Fraiha's pages. The particular pitfalls for the unwary are the words beginning with BA, where it has been all too easy to think that the BA represents BAIT something or other; sometimes it does! In fact the sixty pages of *Bāb-ul-BA*, or the thirty about the place-names starting with *ʿAin*, will be rewarding. For instance we (and doubtless others) have been put right over the etymology of *Bḥamdūn*, though happy to know that *Brummānā* does enshrine the memories of the Semitic deity, Rimmon, in whose house Naaman the Syrian had been wont to worship. Those who aspire to Old Testament scholarship these days and evince an interest in cognate roots will find that Arabic is the key to much that is misunderstood in Hebrew or other of the sister dialects. Perhaps we may add that preachers who choose an Old Testament story for their subject which has contact with "Syria" (as it was in those days) will be equally rewarded by looking up Fraiha as will the historically-minded in reading the notes on familiar places (*Jubrāyīl* or *Jbayl*). It was surprising to find but two place-names with an initial *DĀD* though not so with the four under *ZĀ* all starting with the well-known *Zahr*, while the forty-six *Mazraʿ*s emphasize the popularity of the Parable of the Sower and the Seed. There are little notes too that attract attention and make for thought — that *naos*, shrine alike for pagan and monotheist is enshrined in *Nāwūs* or that Hermes appears in *Tel Irmiz* and the "balm of Gilead" in *Dabshi*. This work of loving erudition is no dry-as-dust compilation; it brims with the life of bygone ages. In the historical introduction Professor Fraiha discusses the relevance of Amorites, Canaanites, Phoenicians and all the rest to his quest, for it is the key to proper understanding and appreciation.

*Redhill, Surrey, England*

ERIC. F. F. BISHOP

**City of Beirut: A Socio - Economic Survey.** American University of Beirut, 1954.

This is a report on a competent enquiry into the manner of life of some four per cent of the families of political Beirut (i.e. excluding the suburban areas). The basic questionnaire is reproduced in full and the procedure of enquiry explained. The substance of the report consists of seven chapters covering the composition of the households, education, housing, employment, income, etc., the statistics from which this information is drawn being included in an appendix of some 140 tables.

The picture which emerges is one of a community on the whole reasonably (by Middle Eastern standards) well housed, fed and educated, but where a large number clearly lack economic security. Two-thirds of the families, for instance, occupy a flat of their own and the model number of rooms per family apartment is four (mean family size being 5.7). In addition, nine-tenths of the houses have electric lighting, piped water and their own kitchen and toilet; four-fifths were judged to be adequately furnished.

On the other hand, the survey estimated that sixty-five per cent of

the families interviewed failed to achieve the annual income (assumed to be 5000 Lebanese Pounds = £ 556 sterling) necessary to maintain a minimum of health and decency. While twenty per cent of the total received only £ 167 p.a., the consequent poverty was mitigated by rent control so that twenty-seven per cent paid less than £ 22 rent p.a. At the same time, forty-five of the families interviewed admitted to being in debt, all but one tenth, however, to other members of the family.

A notable feature of the chapter on savings and expenditure is the frequent reference to the distortion of the mean, caused by excessively large high or low categories. For example, four per cent of the sample received thirty-six per cent of the income, while three per cent were responsible for over eighty per cent of total savings. It is not surprising, then, that at the other end, forty-four per cent of the families had spent nothing at all on clothing during the previous month.

Between the very poor and the very rich, however, there seems to be a substantial middle class — about one-third of the population, the survey estimates. It is unfortunate that such a comprehensive survey contained no query about religious affiliations, but presumably that, in Lebanon, would have been as explosive as it would have been revealing.

ERIC BAKER

**Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History.** By Muḥsin Mahdi (George Allen and Unwin, London, distributed in the United States by MacMillan), 1957, pp. 325, price \$ 5.00.

Ibn Khaldūn's is undoubtedly one of the dozen greatest names in the history of social thought and it is therefore natural that an age like ours should take a renewed interest in his writings. In recent years several excellent studies on various aspects of his life and work have been published, notably those by Walter Fischel and Sati<sup>c</sup> al-Husry. However, for depth of understanding, for sympathy with the author's way of thinking, and for comprehensiveness of treatment, Dr. Mahdi's book is unrivalled. He has thoroughly immersed himself not only in the works of Ibn Khaldūn but also in those of his Arabic predecessors and contemporaries — historians, philosophers and jurists —, is familiar with Greek and Latin philosophy and has produced a volume which is of the greatest value for anyone interested in Muslim thought.

The book is divided into five sections. In the first, the life and times of Ibn Khaldūn are briefly but lucidly described, and an attempt is made to show in what ways the form and content of his work were shaped by external events. In the second section, entitled Philosophy and Law, a number of subjects are explored: The significance of the word *ʿibār* in the title of Ibn Khaldūn's History, and the light it sheds on his understanding of the function of historiography; the relation of philosophy to other branches of knowledge; the division of society into "the few" and "the many", and its implication for scholars; and, as might be expected from one who had studied under Leo Strauss, the author of "Persecution and the Art of Writing," an interesting psychological and sociological analysis of Ibn Khaldūn's style. The third section deals with Ibn Khaldūn's discussion of the nature and method

of historiography and of the nature of the "new science of culture" and its relation to other sciences. There follow two sections devoted to the subject matter, problems, principles and methods of the science of culture; these cover Ibn Khaldūn's views on sociology, politics and economics. Here Dr. Mahdi is stepping on well-trodden ground, but he has some important contributions to make, especially regarding the relation between the régime of Law and the rational régimes. The book closes with a brief Summary and Conclusion and with a well planned but not so well executed index.

The only criticism this reviewer would make concerns one aspect of Dr. Mahdi's approach. He rejects "interpreting them (i.e. Ibn Khaldūn's conclusions) as the product of an unconscious desire to create a 'positive', 'historical' or 'truly scientific' science of society" or studying him "as a 'precursor' of modern social science." His aim is to show that Ibn Khaldūn was essentially a medieval Muslim thinker, not a modern Western one. In this he succeeds brilliantly, but in the process loses sight of the universal significance of Ibn Khaldūn; his very emphasis on placing the author in his environment precludes him from asking some of the really important questions. For example, when discussing Ibn Khaldūn's economic or sociological theories it is surely relevant to inquire how they compare with those of the present day. But then, as C. S. Lewis points out in the "Screwtape Letters": "when a learned man is presented with any statement in an ancient author, the one question he never asks is whether it is true." But this criticism is certainly not intended to detract from the value of what is a path-breaking, erudite, intelligent and very well written book.

*Columbia University, New York*

CHARLES ISSAWI

**The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939.** By K. N. Ahmed, Legal Publications, Karachi, 1955. pp. 119 plus XLVII. Price 15 Rs.

In a commentary on the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939, much to be welcomed, Mr. K. N. Ahmed has gone through the Act clause, by clause, analysing, explaining, discussing and occasionally criticising terms. The great part of his views will almost certainly command general agreement and there is little of substance to which exception can be taken. Perhaps it should, however, be observed that it is difficult at times to reconcile his repeated assertion that "it would be entirely wrong to consider (the Act) in the nature of anything like an advance on the original Islamic law," seeing that the movers of the Bill had "not tried to advance from the 7th century, but they are trying to show what was the law of the 7th century," with the detailed comparisons between some of the provisions of the Act and those of the pure Shari'ah in which he also — and justly — indulges; that he sometimes blames the practice of the courts in India for defects in the law which are really attributable to the jurists of the classical text-books; and that he seems occasionally to err — and still more often to be inadequately informed — in regard to the doctrines which he attributes to "Shafai," "Hambal" (sic) and the other Imāms. But these are minor blemishes in a book which is almost everywhere useful and in places very good.

Incidentally, a former pupil of mine, Mr. A. S. Salam, recently wrote a dissertation for the London LL.M. degree on precisely the same subject, and arrived — in general — at very similar conclusions.

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J. N. D. ANDERSON

**Étude Descriptive et Comparative du Gafat** (Ethiopien méridional). By Wolf Leslau, Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris, LVII, Paris. Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1956, pp. XX & 277, 2 cartes, Price: 2,200 frs.

This publication is a well-organized report on work in progress. After a statement on the previous work on Gafat (Bruce's translation of the Canticles from Amharic into Gafat, late eighteenth century; Beke's vocabulary of about 400 words, 1845; the few reproductions of the above two; the author's translation and analysis of Bruce's translation: *Gafat Documents*, New Haven 1945) the author tells the story of his search for speakers of the language. It had been supposed that Gafat was now extinct, but Aleqa Tayye's *History of Ethiopia*, 1927, affirmed that the native speakers still used the language in their home situation. So Leslau decided, during his sojourn in Ethiopia in 1946-47, to look for these native speakers.

Through the interest of the Governor of Godjam and his assistants and the aid of the Secretary of Burié, four speakers of Gafat to serve as informants were located in Womberma. Leslau worked several days at Burié with one of them, a monk of Mabal Kidanä Mährät, and then brought the three others, a woman and two men, all of them past the age of sixty, to Dabra Marqos.

After some weeks, because of the fatigue of his informants and of himself, he had to give up his investigation. During his next stay in Ethiopia, in 1950, he found that one of his previous informants had died and the others could not come to join him. Nor could he then go to Womberma. Since it seemed that there would be no opportunity in the near future to continue the work, and as the speakers of Gafat are becoming ever fewer, he decided to publish the material that he had.

The text presents an analysis of the materials of phonology, morphology, syntax. Further work might clear up some obscurities in the phonology, such as phonetic variations among front and central vowels or the extent of dissimilation, and in the morphology by filling in gaps, such as that left in the list of pronominal forms suffixed to verbs. Continuous text, the lack of which Leslau has noted, would be very helpful. The one page on syntax (listed as two and misnumbered in the table of contents) gives only a résumé of some details of order which have been covered in the section on morphology.

The nearly 800 words and expressions of the vocabulary are listed in Leslau's choice of alphabetic order by consonants in Gafat. They are, after the translation into French, followed by related, or possibly related, forms in other Ethiopian languages, both of Semitic and Cushite families, and in other Semitic languages where a relationship to word or root is apparent. A number of words usually found in even a short vocabulary list are missing, such as those to indicate a color

system and some of those to name parts of the body. Then there is just one expression having to do with the people's religious life: *mäsqäli ämmäyälalho amät-balä y bäläs* (feast-of-the-Cross more-than-all feasts is-important) and this "sentence" is used once as an illustration of totality, once to illustrate the imperfect and once to show the "preposition" *ämma* in comparison. The fact that the investigation was conducted in Amharic with informants removed from their home situation may have affected to some extent their response.

In the sixteen pages of conclusions the author gives a summary of the comparison of Gafat with other Ethiopian languages and a list of the characteristics peculiar to Gafat. These individual traits show Gafat to be a separate language among the languages of the Ethiopian complex. Leslau classifies it as a South-Ethiopian language and tentatively concludes that it is closest to Aymellet which is its southern projection.

However incomplete its materials, and with whatever gaps, Leslau's present work on Gafat adds a valuable contribution to the studies of the language situation of Southern Ethiopia.

*Hartford Seminary Foundation*

FLOLA L. SHEPARD

**Islam and the West.** Proceedings of the Harvard Summer School Conference on the Middle East, July 25-27, 1955. Edited by Richard N. Frye, Mouton and Co., The Hague, Netherlands, 1957, pp. 215, 15 guildres.

It is good that this group of Harvard Summer School lecturers have been able to reach a wider public through the printed page. Four countries were chosen for study — Egypt, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. All are important to the understanding of our current world situation. The lecturers, of several nationalities, are all bearers of names familiar to orientals and orientalists. We wonder, however, whether some lecturers might have had cause to change their tune, had the inauguration of the Baghdad Pact and its repercussions been more fully in the picture at the time of the Conference.

After the introduction by Dr Richard N. Frye, "The Problem of Muslim Nationalism" was considered by Professor G. E. von Grunebaum, followed by a commentary thereon by Professor William Thomson. A couple of quotations must suffice. Dr Grunebaum remarks: "the consensus of the pious of the last three or four generations seems agreed to consider nationalism within Islam a scourge not known prior to Western expansion," while Professor Thomson declares: "Arab nationalism was also in the beginning a simple longing for freedom fed by a deep-seated hatred."

Turkey has three chapters each of them revealing and useful, dealing with the background, the all important years when secularism made itself dominant in the political development and then the more recent religious changes. Dr Howard A. Reed contributes a well documented discussion (surely elaborated post-conferentially) of the trends in contemporary Turkish religion. Egypt is dealt with by Drs Osman Amin and Kenneth Cragg, the former limiting himself to the life and leadership of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who died in 1905, leaving a whole half century to the latter. It may be that this concentration of Arab exponents of this theme on ʿAbduh is itself significant, for since his

death there has been no comparable leadership in the strictly theological realm and he stands rather as a pioneer without a worthy succession. None the less Dr Cragg analyses this and other features of the Egyptian intellectual half century past, under the guiding concept of the Islamic *niyyat*, asking what has been the intention of this 'modernism'. Such a question is surely a fitting prelude to any assessment of accomplishment.

Iran likewise has two exponents. The commentator, agreeing that Islam is not so 'monolithic' as is sometimes assumed, remarks, with an insight true for other faiths beside Islam, that "a revitalization of religion cannot be accomplished simply by deciding that it is needed." He continues: "If in a more distant future there should occur such a rebirth, the chances are it would transcend Islam in the same sense in which once upon a time Christianity transcended Judaism." A statesman of international repute, Sir Zafrullāh Khān, handled "The Inter-Relation of Religion and Government in Pakistan." His was the longest oral contribution of the whole conference, so that there is no commentary. This is the more unfortunate since the theme of religion and statehood in Pakistan is so large and so crucial a debate and an enterprise.

*Redhill, Surrey, England*

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

**The Holy Qur'ān**, Arabic text and translation. By the late Maulawi Sher Ali, The American Fazl Mosque, 2141 Leroy Place, N.W. Washington 8, D.C. U.S.A., 1955, pp. 639 and index.

The production of this work is admirable and the publishers are to be congratulated on a clear type, fine format and excellent workmanship. The edition, with its long introduction, will also serve as a useful and convenient source book for the teachings of the Aḥmadiyyah Community, centred at Rabwah, West Pakistan.

It is just this second virtue which makes the problem for a reviewer, since it is very clear that the special doctrines and, in some senses, pleading of the Aḥmadiyyah interpretation of Islam have entered seriously into the rendering of the text. What is one to make, for example, of Surah vii. 158: "Al-Nabī al-Ummī" here translated: "the Prophet, the Immaculate One"? "Ummī" has no such connotation in general discussion of this highly important and intriguing phrase.

Similarly, in Surah v. 111, one finds a curiously tendentious rendering of the phrase: "wa idh kafaftu Banī Isrā'īl 'anka" — "when I restrained the children of Israel from putting you to death;" rather than: "how I protected you from the people of Israel..." There is a similar improper interpolation in Surah viii. 6. (Incidentally it may be noted that the verse numberings here in this translation are, with the exception of Surah ix, one verse ahead of the standard edition, owing to the fact that the publishers have accounted the Bismillah, at the head of every Surah save ix, as one verse.)

There are numerous other doubtful translations which suggest the English version should be treated with considerable caution: ii. 103: "shayātīn" as "rebellious men"; iii. 194: "dhunūb" as "errors"; iv. 172: "rūḥ" as "mercy" (in the same verse the translators interpolate the

words "a fulfilment of..." before the word "Kalimatuhu" — "His (God's) Word"). In Surah v. 83, the word "Qīssīsīn" is translated "savants" (?) Likewise, in Surah iii. 56 we have the words — "a natural death" unwarrantably inserted after the words, addressed to Jesus, — "We will cause thee to die."

Mistranslations, or renderings that mystify, will be found in ii. 27, 62, 72, 92, 114, 153, 191-195, 227: in iii. 15, 182, 184: in iv. 44, 158; in v. 71, 98; in vii. 164: in viii. 13, 56: in x. 88, and elsewhere in plenty. There are also a number of literalisms which do not read very intelligibly in English: e.g. ii. 190 — "and it is not righteousness that ye come into houses by the backs thereof." (In the verse following, why is "aggressors" changed to "transgressors?") Also: iii. 267: "Does any desire that there should be for him a garden of palm trees etc." And Surah x. 21: "The unseen belongs only to Allah. So wait: I am with you among those who wait." This literalism obscures the sense. Should it not rather be: "The unseen is God's, wait if you will, I am waiting too," implying that the future will surely vindicate the Prophet.

These points are not listed in any desire to be hypercritical. It is highly to be desired that there should be a number of Muslim undertakings in Qurānic translation, so that the non-Muslim world may authentically understand how the Islamic reader apprehends it inwardly. But it is just this hope that makes regrettable the very conspicuous failure of this edition to render the sense in this authentic way. It may be that a later edition will take up some of the issues involved, so that the wide stretches of well-presented and unexceptionable translation here may be rid of elements which must continue to give pause to informed readers, if they are allowed to remain.

The Introduction to the Translation covers familiar ground and summarises at length the main teachings of the Aḥmadiyyah Community, its attitude to the Biblical Scriptures and to the Qurʾān. While the section on "Ahmad, the Promised Messiah," is a very short conclusion to the Introduction, the whole approach is made from within the philosophy of his teachings. There is a depressing crudeness or superficiality about the discussion of those items of Christianity which call for treatment in the Introduction. This is not least the case on pp. 149-151 in the passage that has to do with the relation between forgiveness and the death of Jesus. The final impression left by these passages on the Christian reader is one of yearning for an authentic awareness of the Christian faith on the part of Qurānic students. For such an awareness would deeply affect, perhaps revolutionize, their criteria of what calls for comment in any Introduction to the Holy Qurʾān that found it necessary to engage in detailed discussion of Christian meanings. Christianity and the Qurʾān cannot be fruitfully confronted with each other, save on the fullest basis of adequacy to each. Such a basis is not provided by this Introduction.

It represents an effort notable in its intention, but we could have wished it a more commensurate attainment.

*Jerusalem, Jordan*

KENNETH CRAGG

## SHORTER NOTICES

**Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij.** By Elie Adib Salem, Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Press, 1956, pp. 117, \$ 3.00.

A well documented work in the Johns Hopkins series in historical and political science. The author is clear that it was the Khawārij who "first warned that words without deeds were of no value." The contents of the work are ample evidence of this conclusion. After a historical introduction there are chapters dealing with the Sects, the creed, the theory of the state, juridical and social theory and the concept of Jihād. There are a few interesting references to Christian parallels and the bibliography is sound. It is perhaps well to be reminded that this present generation has no monopoly of extremists.

**A Manual of Lebanese Administration.** By G. Grassmuck and K. Salihi. American University of Beirut, 1955.

The authors describe in detail the administration of Lebanon under the French Mandate, after a brief notice of Ottoman days. There follows a narrative of the struggle of the Lebanese to obtain final and complete control of the administrative machinery. The number of government departments doubled in the years 1933 to 1955. The total estimate of government expenditure increased from £ L. 4 million to £ L. 137 m. The manual contains a brief description of the statutory responsibilities and structure of each Ministry with an analysis of the hierarchy of authority. There is a selected and annotated bibliography.

**Moses and Egypt.** The Documentation of the Motion Picture. By Henry S. Moerdlinger. Introduction by Cecil B. de Mille, University of Southern California, 1956, pp. 202.

Those who have seen the film will be interested in this discussion of its production and of the sources used. The latter include of course the Book of Exodus, other Old Testament writings and Josephus, as well as a few Quranic references. There are only two bare allusions to the New Testament, despite the fact that Moses figures so frequently in the Gospels and Epistles. (Incidentally 'dragoman' is not, as here asserted, an Arabic word.) There are fascinating discussions of matters ancillary to film production, transportation, buildings, perfumes and costumes. Now we have had Moses, why not Joseph?

**From Iran to Morocco.** A selected and Annotated Bibliography of North Africa and the Near and Middle East, compiled by Kenyon E. Moyer, Missionary Research Library, New York, 1957, pp. 51.

Classified regionally this is a most useful and compendious bibliography of the areas involved. There are a few errors (e.g. p. 3 'Antiya' for 'Atiya' and 'Wilfrie' for 'Wilfred.' But the author is to be commended on his service to scholarship and to students, both for his collection and the incisive comments he makes on the contents of the works listed.

**Mélanges.** Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire. Vol. 3, Dar al-Maaref, Caiso, 1956, pp. 491.

Larger even than its worthy predecessors, Volume 3 of *Mélanges* presents a carefully documented study of Ramaḍān, its observance and popular meaning, as studied in Cairo, 1956 by Fathers J. Jomier and J. Corbon. Father Anawati devotes some ninety pages to a full catalogue of old Arabic texts edited in Egypt in the years 1955 and 1956. The most spacious contribution is that of Father S. de Beaurecueil who discusses manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, etc., preserved in libraries in Afghanistan. With its news of cultural developments and events, *Mélanges* offers impressive proof of the quality and range of the Institute from which it comes.

**Al Adab wa-l-Ḥayāt.** By Salāmah Mūsā, Cairo, 1956, Dār al-Nashr al-Misriyyah, pp. 160.

The wellknown author of *Tarbiyat Salāmah Mūsā*, a notable Egyptian autobiography, here presents a selection of random reflections and articles, dealing with youth, education, religion, literature and psychology, being a re-issue of a series of articles first produced in 1929 following the author's sojourn in Europe. He has, however, omitted some of the more dated themes and added seven new topics. His thoughts bear all the marks, and the weaknesses, of the theory of evolution

**Middle East Crisis.** By Guy Wint and Peter Calvocoressi, A Penguin Special, London, 1957, pp. 141, 2 shillings.

In the speed of its production, its brevity and incisiveness, this little book is remarkable. "Nationalism, economics, military strategy, are the terms in which the crisis has to be grasped" it declares. There will be less quarrel with this than with the rest of the sentence: "... religion and culture enter only secondarily." (p. 17) Within these limits the authors present a lucid and damning picture of misguidedness and ineptitude, in which the facts are allowed to speak for themselves with a minimum of rhetoric. Indeed at times the indictment is almost too dispassionate ("Statesmen must not be presumed to be always sensible", p. 107, seems a rather modest warning in the light of the discussion.) The obvious point is made that fundamentally the security and freedom of the Suez Canal depends upon Egyptian goodwill. "In the absence of an army of occupation the ruler of Egypt can always close the canal whether it is internationalized or not." (p. 120) Hence the folly of all efforts to force acquiescence in guarantees, to the neglect of their foundation in mutual interest. *Middle East Crisis* is indeed *multum in parvo, sed calamitas non parva est*.

There is one curious point about the map of Israel which seems to give the Jordan River from Galilee to the Dead Sea as the "present frontier of Israel." Is this a slip or a wish? It should read: "Former Frontier of Palestine." It is oddly suggested on p. 124 that "there is a case for the surrender by Jordan of the Jordan salient." Whose case?

**Allāhu fī-l-ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth.** By ʿAbd al-Razzāq Nūfal, Cairo, Maktabat Miṣr, 1957, pp. 258.

The author seeks to demonstrate that the Qurʾān is not merely a

book of surpassing literary excellence and of legal and sociological guidance, it is also a source book of science. He bases himself on the close relation between contemporary scientific teachings and the content of Qurānic revelation. It is commended by Dr. Husain al 'Ārif as worthy of translation into other languages to show how the Qur'ān miraculously contains truths which have only come to the light of science in this atomic age.

The book offers an interesting, but not unique, example of one school of current Qurānic exegesis, aspiring to obliterate any suspicion of antipathy between science and faith, on the basis of revelation's prescience.

**Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal-al-Mulūk.** 2 parts, edited by Dr Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Ziyādah, Cairo, 1957, Part 1, pp. 261; Part 2, pp. 658.

The Professor of Medieval History at the University of Cairo, offers a second revised edition of the famous Chronicle of Al-Maqrīzī, under the auspices of the Committee for Authorship, Translation and Publication. It covers the years 704-728 A.H. The text is carefully annotated with numerous footnotes and historical references and critical apparatus.

**Al-Islām wa-l-Jihād.** Various contributors. Broadcast selections Ministry of National Guidance, Cairo, recent date, pp. 143.

An interesting example of the published literature of the Egyptian State broadcasting authority. Six distinguished speakers including the Minister of Religious Affairs, Ḥasan al Bāqūrī, Drs. Aḥmad al Sanhūrī and Maḥmūd Shaltūt, discuss in popular manner some of the contemporary implications of Jihād. The Jihād actually begins with the Hijrah and means sacrifice and devotion in the cause of the nation. The prophetic message is discussed in its relation to military preparedness. There are addresses on the meaning of revolution and liberation, the defense of truth, the feminist struggle in Islam and finally the duty of facing life with cheerful resolution.

**Ma' al-Kutub.** Sahīr al Qalmāwī, Broadcast selections, Ministry of National Guidance, Cairo, recent date, pp. 157.

The broadcaster discusses various notable Arabic books, beginning with 'Abd al-Nāṣir's *Falsafat al-Thaurah* and including such volumes as *Nisā' al-Nabī* by Bint al-Shāṭī, *Reflections on Politics* by Taufīq al Ḥakīm. There are several reviews of books dealing with the role of woman in contemporary Islamic society and with problems of democracy and Arab nationalism. These themes predominate but there are one or two literary and philosophical topics. One contributor, Dr Maḥmūd Qāsim (p. 115) reports the receipt of over 30 publications in one month from Pakistan alone. He who proposes to live "ma' al-kutub" in these days must prepare for over-population. In one sense, then, the resumé, or the digest, is welcome, but in another it is simply another 'mouth' to be — listened to.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

**Religion and Turkish Politics.** On the eve of expected announcement by the Menderes Government that the Grand National Assembly will be dissolved eight months early in Turkey and general elections held this fall, the issue of the separation of "church" and "state" has flared into the news.

The Government's Department of Justice recommended that a village imām, living in the Aegean region of Turkey, be pardoned from a six-month prison sentence levied against him because he told his listeners during a religious instruction session that, among other things, it was a "sin" not to go to Democratic Party meetings. He was arrested and found guilty of violating Turkey's law which makes it a crime to mix politics and religion.

When the ruling was announced in the Grand National Assembly, İsmet İnönü, the Grand Old Man of Turkish politics, and leader of the opposition Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi rose and delivered a scorching speech reminding the country of the rôle of reactionary religious leaders in opposing the rise of the Atatürk Revolution. In making this speech, İnönü broke the "unofficial" truce he had made with the Democratic Party. From March until June, İnönü had refrained from heated criticisms of the government.

This issue took on added significance because, with elections scheduled to be called early, parties were lining up to seek issues. The pardon of the imām was understood by many to be an attempt to win local favor by playing on religious convictions. But the Grand National Assembly, even with its heavy government majority, refused to take the part of the Ministry of Justice or the local Aegean politicians, and the pardon was turned down.

Jerrymandering is an old political device which is a favorite trick of governments in power. When the Menderes Government won in 1954, it found ways and means of softening political opposition in the Central Anatolian state of Kırşehir, which voted strongly for the Cumhuriyet Millet Party, by moving the capital from Kırşehir to nearby Nevşehir. But as new elections drew near, the Government, smarting under the constant criticism of those who remembered, decided that both Nevşehir and Kırşehir could be states. They divided the old state between the two. Bölülbaşı, head of the Millet Party, colorful orator and sharp tongued critic, cried "politics," and while İnönü was leading the Halk Party toward a policy of moderation, he took his small party out on a vigorous campaign of opposition. In early July his anger caught up with him. During a debate in the Grand National Assembly he said things that angry men often say. The Government immediately sought revenge. Under Turkish law, which vests supreme power in the hands of the legislature, the Government controlled legislature appointed a commission to investigate his action. They found that the Millet Party leader had displayed conduct unbecoming a member of the assembly ( a form of censure like the Senate gave the late Senator McCarthy) and thus his legislative immunity was taken away. The legislature ruled his immunity did not hold at the time when he made

his angry attack on the Government. Thus he was liable for prosecution. He was arrested and jailed. At the time this was written, he was awaiting trial.

Dean Fevziöğlü, political science professor, who was dismissed last fall because he criticized the Government in a speech to the students and faculty of the Ankara University Faculty of Political Science, has entered directly into Turkish politics. In June, he joined the Halk Party, and has become the "brain trust" head, travelling with Kasım Gülek, secretary and actual leader of the party. He has taken a central rôle in preparing the legal cases for opposition newspapers and newspapermen who are under trial for the violation of the Turkish Press law.

**Education in Saudi Arabia.** The Ministry of Education has announced the opening of a night school in Riyāḍ in which Arabic and English typing will be taught. The Ministry has developed three schools in Jiddah to combat illiteracy. Anti-illiteracy schools have also been opened in the town of Banū Farwah and in Al-Rass. In March twenty-five orphanages were reported completed and opened in the Kingdom.

The 1957 state budget makes provision for the construction of fifty schools under the Ministry of Education for SR 22 million and for an expenditure of over SR 19 million for hospitals and clinics under the Ministry of Health. The Ministry of Defense and Aviation will receive SR 40 million, while the sum of SR 60 million is allocated for the Holy Mosque in Mecca.

A local writer on the subject of "Orientalism" in the March 16, 1957 issue of the Mecca weekly *Al-Hirā'* deplores the fact that with a few exceptions there is no "occidentalism" in the Arab world, no scholars, that is, who study the West in the same way that the West studies the East.

The March 10, 1957 issue of the Riyāḍ weekly *Al-Yamāmah'* contained an article on "work" in which the writer called on idle persons to seek work, especially in the professions and crafts. He said: "We chose to be lazy ... and so foreigners have swarmed our country uncovering its wealth and deservedly reaping the harvest... Is there no one who can learn from them? Can no one think and find out things as they do?"

**Refashioning Baghdad.** A master plan with a twenty year program has been developed for the capital of Hārūn al-Rashīd. A London firm of architects has submitted proposals to the municipality of Baghdad. They include a projected Government and also a civic Center and a scheme for the University of Baghdad. A wide double highway is to be driven through the heart of the old city, part of it being already complete. It is hoped in time suitably to house the 'shack' population which has more than doubled during the last ten years.

The drainage scheme necessary as part of these development is calculated to cost some 25 m. dollars. Oil revenues, eighty per cent of which are in Government hands, will be drawn upon for the immense costs of the whole development in the capital city. It is intended in terms made possible by 20th century technology, to refashion the

‘Abbasid majesty of Baghdad. Perhaps Flecker’s Baghdadi barber, Hassan, might, however, be forgiven for wondering whether the result was in the spirit of his words: “We are the pilgrims Master; we go always a little further.”

**North Africa.** A Tunisian economic mission has gone to Ghana and Nigeria to study the possibilities of establishing commercial exchanges with these two countries. Tunisia expects to purchase from Ghana and Nigeria most of the tropical produce which she has hitherto imported from French West Africa, the Cameroons and Togo, in exchange for textiles, salt and cement.

Before his deposition the Bey of Tunis signed a decree providing for the creation of the office of Grand Mufti of Tunisia. The function of the Mufti will be to preserve religious and moral ideals, to preside over religious ceremonies, to safeguard the holy traditions and supervise the “imams”, and to receive converts into Islam and issue certificates to them.

It is reported that more than one hundred thousand Algerian refugees have crossed over into Tunisia during the past year, creating a refugee problem for which Tunisia has solicited help from the United Nations.

Oil found in the zone of Edjele of the Algerian Sahara is calculated to yield annually up to five million tons. The problem now is the movement of the oil by pipe-line either direct to an Algerian Mediterranean port, a distance of some 1,700 kms., or to Tripoli, some 700 kms. away. Undoubtedly the discovery of oil in this region will be one of the determining factors in the policy followed by France with regard to North Africa.

**Islam in Russia.** ‘Abdul Laṭīf Pulatov, writing in “The Muslim Review” for January 1957 (Madrasat-al-waizeen, Lucknow), insists that Muslims in the Soviet Union enjoy religious freedom, in spite of the assertions of the outside world to the contrary. “But facts are stubborn things and lies, as is known, have short legs. Numerous delegations from India have often visited the Muslim Religious Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as well as other Muslim centres of the USSR. They talked to Mufti Ishan Babakhan, Imām of the Moscow mosque and other prominent leaders as well as ordinary Muslims in the USSR. They met Muslim believers in numerous mosques during services and actually saw the absurdity of the assertions regarding the absence of the freedom of religion in the Soviet Union.” (p. 13) The writer states that in the Soviet Union the total number of Muslim exceeds fifteen million (p. 16). The Fast of Ramaḍān may be observed, if the Muslims so desire. The writer goes on to say that there are sixteen cathedral mosques functioning regularly. The numerous local holy shrines are visited by the faithful. Religious literature is produced. The Qur’ān is now being printed in Tashkent. The Muslim clergy (sic) are being trained in Bukhara.

Whatever the actual situation may be, one may conclude from this report that the desire for religious expression is alive, and the very

defense of one's position in the face of contradictory statements is an indication of the intention to hold fast and survive. Also the author's comments reveal the presence of an inner sense of unity binding the Muslims of the Soviet Union to those of India.

**Washington, D.C. Islamic Center.** The official opening of the Islamic Center in Washington, D.C. on May 23, 1957, was attended by high government officials and representatives of many organizations. Participants in the program were envoys of Afghanistan, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey and the Yemen. The Director of the Center Dr. Muḥammad al-Biṣār, recited the Qurʾān.

The Islamic Center, begun in 1949 and completed in 1956, consists of a Mosque, a library, a museum and a lecture hall. It was sponsored and financed by the governments of fifteen Muslim nations. Its construction was supervised by a Muslim of Washington, Mr. A. J. Howar. According to the official press release: "The completion of the Islamic Center in Washington, the first institution of its kind in the United States, indicates the importance of Islam in the world today. The spiritual creed of five hundred million people, from Morocco to Indonesia, now joins its sister faiths, Judaism and Christianity, in the community of worship in the nation's capital. The Islamic Center functions as a place of prayer and culture. Its basic purposes include a program for meeting the spiritual needs of Muslims in the United States, and in inviting Americans to an understanding of Islam through lectures, art, philosophy and literature. The Islamic Center, at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Belmont Road in northwest Washington, stands as a living symbol of alliance between the Crescent and the Cross, and as a symbol of cooperation among the Muslim countries of the world."

**Women in Islam.** In February 1957, two Turkish women lawyers won the distinction of being the first of their sex to be elected full members of the Council of State, which is the highest arbitrating body of the land. They are Mrs. Sukran Esmerer, a 1937 law graduate from Ankara University, and Mrs. Nezehat Marti who graduated from law school in 1935. Miss Ulku S. Aran, daughter of a Colonel who is himself a veterinary surgeon, is the first woman to graduate from the Military School of Medecine.

The March 23, 1957 issue of *Al Hirāʾ*, a Mecca weekly, published an article on "The Rights of Women," in which the writer said: "In some Arab countries women receive a considerable amount of formal education and have achieved their full right of appreciation and respect." He then went on to criticize the custom of arranging marriages for girls without their consent and to remind husbands of the restrictions under which their wives are obliged to live. "It is the duty of the husband," he continued, "to appreciate his wife's situation and her troubles. He must have consideration for her feelings and should sympathize with her since she is a human being, too, and has rights as well as obligations."

**Leadership in Africa.** Vice-President Nixon of the U.S., on the completion of his visit to Morocco, Ghana, Liberia, Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan, Libya, Italy and Tunisia in February and March 1957, included in his report to President Eisenhower the following statements:

Africa is producing great leaders, dedicated to the principles of independence, world responsibility and the welfare of their peoples. Such men as the Sultan of Morocco, Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana, President Tubman of Liberia, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and Prime Ministers Abdullah Khalil of the Sudan, Ben Halim of Libya and Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, certainly compare most favorably with the great leaders of the world. Nor should one omit King Idris of Libya, whom I unfortunately missed seeing on this trip because of an engine failure, but whose wisdom and statesmanship I remember most vividly from my previous trip to that country in 1953. These are all men who command respect beyond the borders of their own country. They are backed up by other equally dedicated leaders who have much to contribute both to the problems of their own countries and to those which plague the world today.

The United States must come to know these leaders better, to understand their hopes and aspirations and to support them in their plans and programs for strengthening their own nations and contributing to world peace and stability. To this end, we must encourage the greatest possible interchange of persons and ideas with the leaders and peoples of these countries. We must assure the strongest possible diplomatic and consular representation to those countries and stand ready to consult these countries on all matters affecting their interests and ours.

**Arabic Literature.** The attention of readers of *The Muslim World*, especially those interested in Arabic literature, is drawn to two articles published in *Islamic Culture* for January and April 1957 (by the Islamic Culture Board, Hyderabad-Deccan), entitled "Characteristics of Arabic Literature from the Beginning to the End of the Umayyad Period." These are an "English translation of one of the most interesting literary remains of Ignaz Goldziher (1850-1921), Professor of Semitics in the University of Budapest, Hungary" by Professor Joseph Somogyi, Ph.D., D.Sc., Budapest, one of the last pupils of Goldziher. The text used for this translation is the original Hungarian manuscript conserved in the Hungarian Academy of Science. The translator has enlarged the work with additional data, indicated the Muslim and Christian dates, and written a fourth chapter on the Qur<sup>ā</sup>n. Of special significance is the fact that this work, published under the title "Short History of Arabic Literature" was "approved by the orthodox Muslim theologians of Bosnia and Herzegovina and has been ever since used by the Muslim grammar schools and teachers' colleges in those provinces."

**Miscellanea.** In Peking an Institute of Islamic Theology is being built. The style of the edifice is typically Islamic, with dome, place of prayer for six hundred people and a building of five floors to serve as dormitory and refectory for students.

The American Islamic Educational Society, 475-A First St., Brooklyn 15, N.Y. has announced the sale of Greeting Cards for festivals portraying views of Muslim holy places and landmarks, the proceeds of which are intended to support "the Sunday School" for Muslim children located at the above address.

The Arab Language Academy (Cairo) has offered a prize of LE 150 for the best writer of short stories in Egypt and the Arab countries, the last date for accepting stories to be Dec. 31, 1957.

Definite plans are taking shape for the creation of the Saudi University with the expert advice of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām, former Egyptian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia and at present adviser to the Saudi Ministry of Education. It appears that the School of Arts and the School of Sciences will be established first. The School of Sharīʿah Law already exists and will be amalgamated into the University. Bids have been solicited for the construction.

When King Saud visited Spain in February last on his return from the United States, he became the first Muslim monarch to pray in a Cordoba mosque for seven hundred years.

The Evangelical Synod of the Nile has recently officially renamed its community, as the Evangelical Coptic Church of Egypt.

The University of Teheran was host in May, 1957 to an Institute on Muslim-Christian relations, in which Dr Garland Evans Hopkins, Rev. J. S. Trimmingham, Dr. S. R. Shafaq, Professor S. Mahmassani and Dr. Qiblawi participated. There were private discussions and several open sessions in which the grounds and objectives of the Continuing Committee were explained and debated.

## REVIEW OF PERIODICALS

By SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

### I. GENERAL

- ALEPPO, SYRIA'S NORTHERN CAPITAL. Don Scott-Reid. *Arab World*, New York. October, 1956. pp. 7-11. History and description of this great city.
- ARABIC CULTURE. Albert Hourani. *Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. October, 1956. pp. 125-131. Analyzes the crisis of the Arab mind to-day.
- BIBLIOGRAFIA MARROQUI, 1955. Dora B. Arnaiz. *Tamuda*, Tetuan, Spanish Morocco. 1956. pp. 1-110. A classified list without annotations.
- DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENTS AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Winter, 1957. pp. 63-94. Covers September 1-December 31, 1956 and gives U.N. General Assembly resolutions on recent hostilities in Egypt.
- DIE KUNST PERSIENS UNTER DEN BUYIDEN. Ernest Kuehnel. *Z.D. M.G.*, Wiesbaden. 1956, part 1, pp. 78-92. An illustrated, informative survey of this people's art from the 10th and 11th centuries.
- LA LANGUE BERBÈRE. André Basset. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1956, part 2. pp. 39-45. Describes the present state of the language used by about 5,000,000 people.
- PIONEERS OF MUSLIM ART — THE FATIMIDS OF EGYPT. Winifred Holmes. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi. 1956, part 3. pp. 52-56. Remains of 10th century art and architecture show that the greater achievements of Iran and Moghul India had fine earlier roots.
- THE SPIRIT OF MUSLIM ART. R. A. Jairazbhoy. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi. 1956, part 3. pp. 14-19. Discusses the philosophy of an art form bent on showing that nature ought to be depicted in an idealistic and romantic manner and not realistically.
- SPRING IN THE SWAT VALLEY. Hladia Stewart. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi. 1956, part 3. pp. 32-39. A vivid account, illustrated with water colours of scenes and plants, of a trip through this lovely section.

### II. ARABIA

- THE ODDEST WAR EVER FOUGHT. Noel Barber, *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia. April 13, 1957. pp. 224 + ..... A first-hand story of the British troubles in the Aden Protectorate where 'Abdal Nāṣir and Russia foment unrest by backing the Yemen, traditional foe of the Adenis.
- THE OUTLOOK IN SOUTH-WESTERN ARABIA. Harold Ingrams. *Royal Central Asia Journal*, London. July-October, 1956. pp. 176-186. A survey of the Yemen and the Aden Protectorate closing with this good advice; "The best way of helping these Arabs is to help them to develop in the framework of their own institutions."
- STRANGE WAR IN STRANGEST ARABIA. Homer Bigart. *The New York*

*Times Magazine*, New York. March 10, 1957. pp. 15; 62-67. Discusses the Yemen, Britain and the Aden Protectorate and expresses the belief that perhaps Britain will plan to bypass Aden and the Suez Canal by the use of super-tankers for her oil.

### III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

COMETS IN ISLAMIC ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. E. S. Kennedy. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. January, 1957. pp. 44-51. A collection and analysis of many mediaeval sources in Arabic on "tailed stars."

THE ICONOCLASTIC EDICT OF THE CALIPH YAZID II, A.D. 721. A. A. Vasiliev. *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Cambridge. 1956. pp. 23-47. A study of the sources of this edict which is believed to have caused Islam's attitude toward pictorial art.

LA SUPPRESSION DES TRIBUNAUX CONFESIONNELS EN ÉGYPTE. Le. P. Joseph Hajjar. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Janvier-Mars, 1956. pp. 11-27. Presents the historical and legal aspects of the changes caused by the Decree of September, 1955.

A TURKISH DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST OF PALESTINE IN THE EARLY 10TH CENTURY. U. Heyd. *Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem. 1956, part 4. pp. 201-216. Gives text and translation of the "Kitâb-i-Bağ rîye" by Piri Re'îs written in 1571 — a sailing manual and chart for traders and navigators in general.

ZUR BIOGRAPHIE DES ABŪ ABDULLĀH IBN CHAFĪF AŞ-SIRĀZĪ. Anemarie Schimmel. *Die Welt des Orients*, Goettingen. Vol. 2, part 2, 1955. pp. 193-199. Detailed information on the life of this early Muslim mystic.

DIE LANDWIRTSCHAFT AEGYPTES IN DER FRŪHEN 'ABBASIDENZEIT. Dieter Mueller-Wodarg. *Der Islam*, Berlin. 1956, part 2. pp. 141-167. Explains pastoral activities in the 8th and 9th centuries.

LA TRANSJORDANIE CHRÉTIENNE DES ORIGINES AUX CROISADES. Néophyte Edelby. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Avril-Juin, 1956. pp. 97-117. A well-documented historical article beginning with the 3rd century and accompanied by a map.

VITALITÉ DE L'ISLAM. Vincent Monteil. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, Paris. Novembre, 1956. pp. 92-102. Illustrated by numerous tables of statistics, the study shows the growth and vigour of Islam with its 400,000,000 followers.

### IV. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

BIZERTE ET SA RÉGION. P. Ginestous. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1956, part 1. pp. 93-114. Describes the work and living conditions of potters, rug makers, cabinet builders, etc.

ENTR'AIDE FAMILIALE ET INSTITUTIONS DÉMOCRATIQUES. J. Magnin. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1956, part 1. pp. 31-52. A sense of insecurity exists because traditional methods are no longer enough to cope with personal and family emergencies and there is distrust of new ways.

FRENCH MODERNIZATION PLANS IN OVERSEAS TERRITORIES. *Asian Review*, London. January, 1957. pp. 36-46. Tells of impressive trade

- advances and improved economic conditions in French West, Central and Equatorial Africa. Gives statistics.
- L'INDIVIDU ET LA SOCIÉTÉ DANS LA TUNISIE D'HIER ET D'AUJOURD'HUI. A. Demeerseman. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1956, part 1. pp. 1-30. Shows the influence of folk customs on present-day life.
- IRAQ TRIES 'OPERATION BOOTSTRAP'. Hal Lehrman. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. February 24, 1957. pp. 15; 35-38. Seventy percent of the oil revenues are used for social and economic improvements in this fortunate land which possesses water and fertility as well as its precious oil.
- LA JEUNESSE TUNISIENNE. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1956, part 2. The entire issue is devoted to the studies, professions, problems, etc. of Tunisian youth.
- LE JUDAÏSME RÉFORMÉ EN ISRAËL. M. J. Stiassy, NDS. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Janvier-Mars, 1956. pp. 38-46. Torn between aggressive atheism and militant orthodoxy, the youth of Israel bitterly needs a liberal Judaism like that found in the United States and Great Britain.
- MARKETING PROBLEMS IN AN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRY. Abdel Aziz El-Sherbiny and Ahmad Fouad Sherif. *L'Egypte Contemporain*, Le Caire. Juillet, 1956. pp. 5-85. A comprehensive picture of Egyptian economy in its various phases.
- LES MUSULMANS D'ALGÉRIE ET LE CRÉDIT AGRICOLE MUTUEL. G. Busson de Janssens. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1956, part 3. pp. 42-52. Discusses improved agricultural practices and credit facilities.
- OÙ EN EST LE SAHARA? G. Salvy. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1956, part 2. pp. 60-71. Presents some of the problems France will have to meet when she begins to develop the Saharan resources systematically.
- PAKISTAN'S COTTAGE INDUSTRIES. Begum Ikramullah. *Asian Review*, London. January, 1957. pp. 30-36. Describes the activities of the Cottage Industries Association, formed to help refugees from India who were being re-located, and also tells of the fine ceramics, textiles, filigree work, mats and baskets produced in the homes.
- PLANNING FOR A FREE SOCIETY. Zahid Husain. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi. 1956, part 3. pp. 6-8; 61-65. Gives the objectives of a plan to be in operation 1955-1960 based on consultations between Pakistani and foreign economist-technicians.
- PLANNING IN PAKISTAN. Mildred Methven. *The Library Journal*, New York. May 15, 1957. pp. 1287-1289. The article describes present and proposed library facilities, especially as planned for Dacca University and Eastern Pakistan in general.
- LE PROBLÈME DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT LIBRE. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Avril-Juin, 1956. pp. 168-183. A detailed analysis of the situation in Lebanon.
- THE RISE OF SATELLITE TOWNS IN PAKISTAN. N. M. Khan. *Pakistan Quarterly*, Karachi. 1956, part 3. pp. 8-11. Pictures the work done by the Central and Provincial Governments, as well as Housing Societies, to cope with the immense number of refugees from India.

## V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- ANGLO-ARAB RELATIONS. John Glubb. *Arab World*, London. July, 1956. pp. 7-10. General Glubb maintains that England is neither imperialistic nor pro-Israel despite Egyptian propaganda to the contrary.
- BY THE SHORES OF ARABY. William Hessler. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Annapolis. October, 1956. pp. 1027-1041. A description of the area covered by the U.S. Command and including the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and part of the Bay of Bengal.
- THE CLOUDS OVER KASHMIR. A. M. Rosenthal. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. May 5, 1957. pp. 12; 56-63. If the stalemate over the Indo-Pakistani issue is allowed to drift along the constant threat of war may become a reality and Communist domination of Kashmir would probably result.
- THE CONSTANT FACTOR IN MOSCOW'S TURKISH POLICY. N. Beglar. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1956. pp. 12-21. The Kremlin is so skilful diplomatically that, although its aims are the same as those of Czarist Russia, the Turks almost believe the objectives have been abandoned.
- CYPRUS — THE TURKISH CASE. *Asian Review*, London. January, 1957. pp. 47-59. The article squarely lays the blame for the tense situation in Cyprus on the Greek Orthodox Church and shows the dangers that would result should Britain relinquish the island to Greece.
- DJIBOUTI, TERRE NECESSAIRE ET MENACÉE. Georges le Brun Kéris. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, Paris. Octobre, 1956. pp. 52-64. An account showing the importance of Djibouti's port and air base in relation to Madagascar and thus to France. The menace is its possible absorption into Somaliland in 1960.
- IRAQI KURDISTAN. *World Today*, London. October, 1956. pp. 412-432. Up-to-date information — chiefly political.
- IS FRANCE STILL OUR ALLY? Ernest Hauser. *The Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia. April 6, 1957. pp. 1; 95-99. The French believe that our Middle East policy is ruinous to them.
- PAKISTAN — ECLIPSE OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE. *The Round Table*, London. December, 1956. pp. 83-86. Discusses the coalition of the Awami League and the Republicans under the leadership of Mr. Suhrawardy and also the surprising Electorate Bill passed by the National Assembly in October, 1956.
- LE PROCHE ORIENT À L'AUBE DE 1957. P. Rondot. *Études*, Paris. January, 1957. pp. 42-53. The future seems unpredictable. As we well know the Near East needs tactful, sympathetic handling and, in the case of France, it demands clear-mindedness to seize the auspicious moment for real progress.
- REFLECTIONS À PROPOS DE L'ORIENT SUR LE TEMPÉRAMENT BRITANNIQUE. Gabriel Payre. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1956, part 3. pp. 53-64. English characteristics have appeared so markedly in their colonial régimes that British influence is still powerful in the East.
- REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST: A VITAL REGION IN UPHEAVAL. *The*

- New York Times*, New York. April 2, 1957. pp. ME1-ME6. A whole section devoted to the problems in all sections of the area.
- THE TURKO-EGYPTIAN FLIRTATION OF AUTUMN, 1954. *The World Today*, London. November, 1956. pp. 447-457. The Iraqi-Turkish Treaty of 1955 put an end to any idea of Turko-Egyptian coöperation.
- UTILIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL RIVERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Abraham M. Hirsch. *American Journal of International Law*, New York. 1956, part I. pp. 81-100. A study of conventional international law.
- ZION ZWISCHEN KOLLEKTIV UND FREIHEIT. Hans Jenny. *Christ und Welt*, Berlin. February 28, 1957. page 16. The second part of "A trip through Israel."

## VI. EGYPT AND ISRAEL

- AFTER THE CEASE-FIRE: BRITISH PROSPECTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. *The Round Table*, London. December, 1956. pp. 3-7. A strong plea for the United States to re-cement Western friendship and cooperation and to face realistically the dangers in the Egypto-Israeli situation and the penetration of Russia in the area.
- A CHALLENGE TO LAW: COL. NASSER AND THE SUEZ CANAL. *The Round Table*, London. September, 1956. pp. 307-311. An article written at the time of the London Conference when hopes ran high that Mr. Dulles' plan would prove acceptable to Shepilov and to 'Abdal Nāsir.
- THE COST OF SUEZ. *The Round Table*, London. December, 1956. pp. 8-17. Discusses the economic background of the Canal dispute, the use of alternative oil routes, the stepped-up construction of super-tankers, and the acceleration of nuclear power research.
- THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. *The English-Speaking World*, London. January, 1957. pp. 12-26. Comments by Sir Oliver Franks, former Ambassador to the United States, Sir Charles Lowe presenting the Australian view, William V. Griffin and W. F. Gutteridge on Commonwealth reactions.
- L'ÉGYPTE, FORGE DE CONSTITUTIONS. Pierre Rondot. *Études*, Paris. Septembre, 1956. pp. 239-245.
- KEY PIECE IN THE MIDEAST PUZZLE. Dean James A. Pike. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. May 19, 1957. pp. 12: 34-38. Deals with the 900,000 Arabs in refugee camps — increasing at the rate of about 25,000 births a year.
- DER KRIEG KANN MORGEN WIEDER AUSBRECHEN. Hans Jenny. *Christ und Welt*, Berlin. February, 21, 1957. p. 16. A pro-Israeli article full of complaints of the U.N. action and of the "two sick men" in Washington for making Israel retreat from its seizure of the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip.
- NASSER'S EGYPT: A NATION IN SUSPENSE. Osgood Caruthers. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. February 10, 1957. pp. 7: 26-28. With foreigners leaving en masse since the Egyptianization Decree and a possible "Islamization" one to follow, Egyptians are pictured in a deteriorating condition.

- SOLIDARITÉ DE L'ABDICATION: SUEZ? Alfred Frisch. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, Paris. Octobre, 1956. pp. 65-67. Arguments for Britain, France and the United States holding together in the face of the Russo-Egyptian rapprochement.
- TWO JERUSALEMS; TWO WORLDS. Seth S. King. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. May 12, 1957. pp. 12-13; 32-34. A picture of the beautiful "Holy City" divided into irreconcilable camps.
- EIN ZWEITER KRIEG DER ISRAELIS? Giseler Wirsing. *Christ und Welt*, Berlin. April 18, 1957. p. 5. Discusses the Jordanian crisis and its implications.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

- THE CHURCH IN IRAN. C. S. Milford. *The East and West Review*, London. April, 1957. pp. 46-53. Summarizes the early work of the Anglican and Presbyterian churches in the area and gives a detailed account of the up-to-date developments in medicine, Christian literature, education and chaplaincies in Tehran, where considerable progress is being made among Jews as well as Persians.
- LE DIALOGUE ISLAMO-CHRÉTIEN. *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Juillet-Septembre, 1956 pp. 216-228. Describes the many efforts made to put Muslims and Christians on a knowledgable footing with one another and shows the positive accomplishment of various meetings, such as those held at Venice and Bhamdun.
- LE MONDE MISSIONNAIRE. *Église Vivant*, Paris. Mai-Août, 1956. Whole issue. A full commentary, with statistics, for the year 1955.
- L'ORIGINALITÉ DU CHRISTIANISME PAR RAPPORT À L'ISLAM. Jean Bichon. *Le Monde non Chrétien*, Paris. Avril-Juin, 1956. pp. 110-133. Indicates the differences in the two religions as regards treatment of women, the power of church and state, marriage and the family.
- OÙ EN EST LA QUESTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT RELIGIEUX CHRÉTIEN OBLIGATOIRE EN SYRIE? H.M. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem. Janvier-Mars, 1956. pp. 57-51. Describes the composition and work of a Commission, appointed May, 1955, which has submitted its findings and now awaits the approval of the Government.
- LE PATRIARCAT DE MOSCOU ET L'ORTHODOXIE DANS LE PROCHE-ORIENT. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Octobre-Décembre, 1956. pp. 317-332. The third article of a series. This one deals with Alexandria; the others covered Antioch and Jerusalem and appeared in 1955.
- POWER AND SUFFERING IN THE ARAB WORLD. Kenneth Cragg. *The East and West Review*, London. January, 1957. pp. 3-11. An analysis of two salient realities in the contemporary Arab scene. Written before the Suez War, and now more apposite than ever.
- WUSARA AND THE MUSLIMS. The Rev. E. Noel T. Sandford. *Pan-Anglican*, Hartford, Conn. October, 1956. pp. 38-42. Tells of Christian accomplishments in Northern Nigeria, near the walled city of Zaria, despite urgent need for staff and funds.

