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“THESE IMPERIALISTS.”

It would be hard to find in contemporary Arabic vocabulary a more damning word than *Isti‘mār*, ‘imperialism’—a term of vilification and contempt. That the passions of the present should see the past in terms of their own discontents is doubtless inevitable. But the time must come when the word will have to be rescued, not, of course, for the comfort of the accused, but rather for the redemption of a Quranic term and in acknowledgement of the sober fact that in truth we are all imperialists and that we could hardly be other and remain alive. The ‘minor prophet’ Ṣāliḥ (if we may so borrow a title familiar in Biblical scholarship) was addressing the Thamūd people. “It was God,” he said to them, “Who made you from the earth and settled you therein as life-time occupiers.” (Surah xi.61). This human tenancy of earth by God’s degree is the first and final ‘imperialism,’ the fundamental territorial custody of that which is not ours. Racial and national possession may validly establish the particular rights which imperialism, in the ordinary, political, sense, invades. But race and nation in territorial expression make no difference to the basic human reality of our having no more than a tenant’s right in God’s world.

Or so Ṣāliḥ is at pains to warn his hearers and his words, as elaborated by the ever diligent Al-Baiḍāwī, strike a strangely relevant note in this 20th century of proliferating humanity. God “has peopled you in the world and preserved you long, enabling you to cultivate the earth, indeed commanding you to do so. It is said that *ista‘marakum* is derived from *‘umrā*, meaning that God has set there abodes

for you and causes them to pass to your heirs after your life-time. He has appointed for you habitable places as houses to dwell in as long as you live and then leave them to others." Life then is a tenancy by dint of the grace of God of an abode where we have a life-time's lease, to people, to possess and to preserve. What are these but imperialism, could we but break free from the tyranny of the monopoly in the word we so oddly afford to foreigners and politics? Is there not an empire in and over nature which belongs to all humanity in being native to this earth?

Truly, it is a Divinely ordained imperialism, but none the less one for that reason, since we are lords in a domain that is not essentially our own. We have as much need to be ware of our innate instinct to expropriate as we are keen to detect and denounce it in our fellows. Improper exploitation so easily identifiable in others is in truth the basic menace in ourselves. How odd it is we are so vociferous about the extra-territorial imperialisms of politics and so heedless of inward personal perversions of our trusts in nature and in life! In the minds of current West Asian historians, mandatory régimes were phoney hypocrisies. But, if we believe the Biblical and the Quranic status of man, we are ourselves mandatories in similar disloyalties. For the first of all mandates is the Creator's to His creature, man, whom He set, according to Surah ii.30, as "a deputy in the earth," with the imparted sovereignty described so impressively in Genesis i.28: "Be fruitful... multiply... replenish... have dominion..."

All the awesome dimensions of scientific technology that belong to this culminating age, this 20th century, are implicit in these words. The problems of our contemporary human reproduction bring us back to them as the biggest issue of responsible society. There is indeed no larger present aspect of our physical imperialism over Mother Earth than the very quantity of our pressure upon the sustenance that serves us. And hinging on this ultimate truth of our whole 'economy' as being our 'housekeeping' in the *οἶκος* of this

world, are the wide and awesome meanings of our empire. How rich and manifold they are. There are the strange, mysterious mechanisms of our bodily physique; the endless domain of our far-reaching senses, equipped and extended as they now are by the accumulations of technology; the central majesty of love and sex and generation; the wonder of our powers of thought, of feeling and of will; the authority of our tool-making, our fission and our fusion, by which modern man is Prometheus unchained and undenied. All these, and their ramifications in the endless relation of mind to matter and of man to universe, are the reaches of our human imperialism under God; these are the measure of the trust under which we operate. Our existing with all its authority is a mandatory régime.

Have we not in this common Muslim-Christian awareness of man as the crux of empire over things a wide realm of theological meeting and mutual relation? Differ we do, and seriously, as to the source and content of the law by which our accountability under God is governed. But we are one in the tremendous recognition of our status and of the truth that only in the proper worship of God are we secure from all that is improper in our custody of power over things. Only in a willed submission to the Divine intention are our freedoms safe from their own corruption. Yet such submission hinges, as it needs must, upon our own volition. Otherwise the life-long trust of which Ṣāliḥ spoke could have no meaning. Our relationship to and with God, in respect of what we do in and with our empire in the earth, must of necessity be a free *islām*. For otherwise, that *islām* would be either unnecessary or inevitable, and in neither case would it then be submission. God has permitted us even the power to frustrate our own good and His designs, as the only feasible condition of His larger invitation to reverence and awe and love. All this is implicit in the meaning of *islām* as something only the free may bring and only the accountable can.

These are massive truths. Is it not significant that often in

the Qurʾān the antithesis of *Kufr*, or unbelief, is not *Imān*, or faith, as one might well expect, but rather gratitude, or *Shukr*. The ultimate *Kāfir* is the one who belies God, not in the formality of a creed, but in the callousness of a selfishness that does not stop to give thanks, that has no dimension of reverence or gratitude, that exploits and appropriates and annexes to itself without regard to any debt he owes or duty that belongs—indeed, all the attitudes their accusers traditionally indict as *Istīʿmār*. Would it not be wise to turn our strictures of its all too familiar political ugliness against the innate wrongness of us all, wherein we dismiss the true sovereignty of God and arrogate to our own ungrateful uses the gracious earth and all our powers therein of sex and soil, of skill and science? Only in repudiating the will to be a law unto ourselves and in embracing our status as under law to God can our magnificent imperialisms find either sanity or security. It is only in holding all things within the pattern of an offering unto God, only in extending over all things the sacramental claims for ever focused in the bread and wine, the body and the blood, that we can rightly rule and reign. The rights of God are the only sure context of the rights of men.

Was it for this that Ṣāliḥ, after announcing to Thamūd man's empire under God, promptly summoned them to the seeking of His forgiveness? Even in his day, penitence was seen to be the most appropriate emotion for the earth's imperialists. How heartily all the east agrees! But no man's repentance, nor yet his salvation, can begin outside himself.

THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE MUSLIM FRIDAY WORSHIP

The idea of a weekly day of rest is taken for granted by modern man. It appears to him so natural that he is hardly aware of the fact that it was largely founded on essentially religious, rather than rational, conceptions; that it took hundreds of years of severe, sometimes abstruse, practices to put it into effect even within the Jewish community, in which it originated; and that this legacy of Judaism in Christianity was adopted by the major part of world-humanity only in the wake of modern social legislation.

Likewise, it is not always realized that Friday, the Muslim weekly holy day, is essentially different from the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian Sunday. It is not at all a day of rest, but one of obligatory public worship, held at noon, the most characteristic part of which is a sermon consisting of two sections.¹

Therefore, inquiring into the origin and nature of the Muslim Friday worship, it would not be correct to assume that the founder of Islam merely followed the example of the other religions, although it was certainly natural for him and his successors to do so with regard to certain aspects of the holiday. Thus an ancient tradition has the Muslims say: "The Jews have every seventh day a day, when they get together (for prayer), and so do the Christians; therefore, let us do the same."²

As might be expected, there exists no authentic and complete account of the establishment of this most important institution of Islam in the ancient sources. The only passage of the Qurʾān, which

¹ Recently, various Muslim states have made Friday an official day of rest. However, this was done in response to the exigencies of modern life and in imitation of Western precedence. It is significant to note in this respect that Kemal Atatürk's new Turkish republic made Sunday, and not Friday, its official weekly day of rest. To be sure, sporadic cases of closing the Government offices on Friday occurred also in the times of the Caliphs. Thus the Caliph al-Muʿtadid is reported to have ordered to close the offices on Friday and on Tuesday, "on Friday, because it was the day of prayer and because he loved that day, as his tutor used to free him on Friday from lessons; and on Tuesday, so that the officials would have time to rest and to look after their own affairs." A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1922, p. 79. Al-Jahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarāʾ* p. 141, reports that the Government offices were closed on Thursday and Friday.

It is most characteristic for the Muslim conception of the weekly day of worship that out of these ancient usages there developed no general day of rest.

² Al-Qastallānī 2, 176, ult. quoted by A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 112. The part of Wensinck's study which deals with the borrowings of the Muslim from the Jewish cult has been translated from Dutch into French by G. H. Bousquet and G. W. Bousquet-Mirandolle, under the title "L'influence juive sur les origines du culte musulman" in *Revue Africaine* 98 (1954), 85-112.

refers to it (see below), supposes it to be already in existence. On the other hand, the various reports about its beginnings by Muḥammad's Muslim biographers, such as Ibn Sa'd and Ibn Hishām, or found in the compilations of Ḥadīth (the oral tradition), are only too patently tendentious.³

Nevertheless, a number of facts about the origin of the Friday service emerge clearly from those accounts: (1) There was no Friday service in Mecca, the 'caravan city,' in which Muḥammad began his prophetic career. Al-Ṭabarī, in his *Annals*, part 1, p. 1256, 1. 20, says so expressly, while all the other sources confirm this fact by implication.⁴ (2) Public worship was held by the new Muslims, at their own initiative, in Medina even before Muḥammad arrived there in 622 and made it his permanent domicile, but it was Muḥammad who ordered that it should be held regularly on Friday. (3) Some sort of address (rather than: sermon) used to be made at that gathering, although the ancient sources do not contain any reliable information as to the regularity and contents of those speeches.⁵ (4) The ancient accounts on the establishment of the Muslim weekly holiday indicate only one connection between it and that of the preceding religions: the instruction given by Muḥammad to his representative in Medina to hold the public service on the day when the Jews bought their provisions for their Sabbath.⁶

The key to the understanding of the question which occupies us is the right interpretation of the reference to the Jewish Sabbath made in Muḥammad's instruction. The authors mentioned above, notes 2-3, Wensinck, Becker, Buhl and Watt, see in it a general dependence of the Prophet on the Jewish example. Others, like the Nestor of the French orientalisists, in his new book on Muḥammad, explain it as just another indication of his endeavors to win the Jews over, and assume

³ These reports have been studied by Wensinck in his thesis, quoted in the previous note and discussed thoroughly by C. H. Becker, in his study of the development of the Muslim worship, *Islamstudien* 1, 476 ff. (published previously in *Der Islam* 3 (1912), 374-399). Cf. also Franz Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 214-5, and W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 198.

⁴ That a late author should depict Muḥammad as preaching to his tribesmen in Mecca on that day, of course, is of no consequence. Cf. *Lisān al-ʿArab*, 1300 H, vol. 2, 82-83 s.v. *ʿrb*. See also below note 21.

⁵ The material about this question was collected and discussed by A. J. Wensinck in the article *Khuṭba* in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

⁶ Ibn Sa'd, vol. 3, part 1 (not part 2, as is printed erroneously in C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien* 1, 477, note 3, following Wensinck, *Moh. en de Joden*, iii sq., where the same misprint occurs), p. 83, has *yajharu*, which means "make public." The Jews used to blow the shōfār horn on Friday afternoon in order to call everybody's attention to the approaching Sabbath (which begins on Friday afternoon, approximately an hour before nightfall). Cf. Talmud Babli, *Hullin* fol. 26b. A later source (Kāshānī, *Badāʿi al-ṣanāʿi*, Cairo, 1327/8, 1, 268, cf. Becker, l.c.) reads here *yatajahhazu*, "buy provisions." Whatever the original reading, the meaning is one: on the eve of Sabbath. It is, however, almost sure that Ibn Sa'd, too, had originally *yatajahhazu*, as Becker suggests, or rather *tajahhazu* (Franz Rosenthal in a letter to the present writer).

that Muḥammad intended originally to hold the weekly worship on Saturday itself.⁷ Contrariwise, some regard the choice of Friday as a deliberate act of opposition to the older religions.⁸

However, unbiased reading of the passage under discussion⁹ shows that it betrays neither a polemical tendency against the Jews nor dependence on them. The day was chosen for the simple reason that on it "the Jews bought their provisions for their Sabbath," i.e., it was the weekly market-day of the oasis of Medina; everybody was present, and it was, thus, a natural occasion for bringing people together for the purpose of prayer and admonition.

That Friday was the weekly Jewish market-day everywhere, except in big cities, is known from Talmudic sources.¹⁰ It is indeed natural that people should do their marketing on the eve of the weekly holiday. A striking parallel to this phenomenon is the present-day Muslim Thursday market in that part of Arabia, which is least touched by foreign influences: the borderland between Ḥijāz and Yemen. Of that country, we possess now a detailed description in H. St. J. B. Philby's masterly *Arabian Highlands*, (Cornell University Press 1952,) in which one may count no less than six such Thursday markets.¹¹

In one district, the famous Najrān oasis, they have two weekly market-days, one on Monday and the other on Thursday. However, the latter, Philby, (l.c. 274), says "was always more lively ... because it was the custom here as elsewhere for families to have their week-end joints on Friday (the Muslim holy day and holiday) and the Thursday market provided excellent opportunities of laying in the necessary stores and also of collecting guests, if desired. At any rate, it seemed on this Thursday as if the whole population of Najrān

⁷ M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, Paris 1957, 522. The author was 94, while publishing this voluminous book.

⁸ D. S. Margoliouth: "Since the Christians had seized the day after the Saturday, he had no choice (!) but to take the day before it", *Mohammed*, London-New York 1905, 248-9. Such argumentation reminds one of mediaeval polemics, such as actually found in Simon b. Zemah Duran's (1361-1444) writings on Islam, or in the lines of the famous Hebrew poet, Yehuda Halevi: "Like ladies-in-waiting, who surround their queen, Friday precedes and Sunday follows queen-Sabbath." *Diwān*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1930), p. 3.

⁹ Ibn Saʿd, 3, part 1, p. 83 and parallels, see above note 6.

¹⁰ Tosefta, *Bābhā Mešʿa*, ch. 3, para. 20; ed. Zuckermann, page 377, line 20: The market (Hebrew shūq, Arab. sūq) is held in smaller towns on Friday. Further literature in S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archaeologie*, Leipzig 1911, vol. 2, p. 690, note 340. Cf. also G. Allon, *Tarbiz* 4 (1934), 290, to which Dr. E. Urbach kindly drew my attention. See below note 24.

¹¹ In Nimran, p. 36; Najran, p. 233, 238, 274-5; Mushait, p. 130; Dhahran, p. 387; Aiban, 485-7; Khauba, 597. In Yemen, of course, there exist numerous Thursday markets. One, the Sūq al-Khamīs, on the highroad between the Red Sea and the capital (between Manākha and Sanʿā) has developed into a full-fledged town bearing that name. The weekly market-days of Yemen are discussed best in E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der Jemenitischen Juden*, Heidelberg 1934, 255-258.

must be gathered here in the enormous space over which the multifarious activities of the market were spread."

The Jewish Friday market possibly had behind it a longer history. For it is reported¹² that Friday was the weekly market-day in the great Phoenician mercantile center of Sidon. In any case, it lies in the very nature of a day of eve that no special religious service was connected with it. There were, however, in antiquity other Jewish market-days which were used for public prayer and scripture readings, and which form, thus, a telling illustration and parallel of Muḥammad's creation. In the big, fortified cities, markets were held on Mondays and Thursdays; people from all over the country streamed into the cities for buying and selling, as well as for any other business restricted to the provincial or district capital, such as visiting government offices. Therefore, the Jewish courts of law used to meet on Mondays and Thursdays — a custom observed in the East down to almost the end of the Middle Ages, which is proved by many legal deeds and court records preserved in the Cairo Geniza and made out on those days of the week.¹³

The Jewish legislator seized this opportunity for taking hold of the population of the open country and of providing it with religious education. Public services, in which a portion of the scripture was read, were held on Mondays and Thursdays, and these days were also recommended for—of course, non-obligatory—fasting.¹⁴ Many hundreds of years after these days had ceased to be market-days, they retained their religious character as days of public readings from the Pentateuch and of facultative fasting, and, in the East, as we have seen, also of the meeting of the rabbinical courts.

It is significant—although it may be a mere coincidence—that in the oasis of Najrān, where Jews had been living from ancient times up till 1949, when they emigrated to Israel—the weekly markets were being held on Monday and Thursday. (see above p. 4.) It is even more interesting, from the sociological point of view, that judgments were being given there on these days. Let's hear Philby again:

¹² Talmud Babli, *Pesāhim*, 50b, at the bottom of the page. Quoted by Krauss, l.c. It may, however, well be that there is no connection between these Phoenician and the Jewish market-days. By the way, it is a remainder of the ancient custom that in Western countries, where women do usually the shopping, pious men would go on Friday, immediately after the morning prayer, and buy at least some of the food for Sabbath (e.g. a fish).

¹³ Cf. S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs, their Contacts through the Ages*, New York, Schocken Books, 1955, p. 179 f.

¹⁴ The combination of fasting with the market-day is old. On days of public fasting, people from all over the country gathered in the capital, Jeremiah, chap. xxxvi.9. Isaiah's famous speech about the fast in chap. lviii, in particular, verses 3-4, can be understood only under this aspect: "On the day of your fast you pursue business and exact money from needy debtors."

Market-days were always busy occasions for the Amir, who sat all the morning in public audience as a court of summary jurisdiction to hear the complaints and claims of anybody who cared to avail himself of such facilities.¹⁵

Philby's descriptions of the market-days in Najrān serve, thus, as a vivid illustration of the Jewish market-days of old, as they were held in the capitals of districts or provinces. These days are a striking example of originally secular gatherings which began to be used, in time, for worship and instruction and, finally, became a purely religious institution. As such—it may be mentioned in passing—they were adopted by Islam, where Monday and Thursday were recommended as days for supererogatory fasting and on which pious or bigot rulers, such as the famous Saladin or the Mamlūk Sultān al-Malik al-Nāṣir, held public courts of justice in person.

If, as we have concluded from Ibn Saʿd's account, Friday was chosen by Muḥammad as the weekly day of worship, because it was the market-day of the oasis of Medina, one may ask, why does not the account say so expressly and, instead, speaks of the day on which the Jews buy their provisions for the Sabbath? This brings us to a topic treated at length by the Muslim antiquarians and often referred to in modern books on Arab literature and history: the pre-Islamic fairs and markets of the Arabs. Lately, Robert Brunschvig has dealt with it in the broader context of the history of the Islamic fairs in general.¹⁶

Our sources are full of accounts of yearly fairs taking place around sanctuaries and during holy months, in which no blood was shed and which alone safeguarded the peaceful intercourse of the Arab tribes, normally at loggerheads with each other. On the other hand, weekly market-days were not a practical proposition for the majority of the population of North Arabia, which consisted either of bedouin or of merchants. The distances were too great and the products handled not of the perishable type of small consumer goods. It was, therefore, quite natural for Muḥammad, the son of the merchants' city of Mecca, not to use the word *sūq*, which carried the connotation of the great yearly fairs, for the Friday market of Medina, a conglomerate of agricultural settlements, but to circumscribe it clumsily as the day when the Jews bought their provisions for their Sabbath. One has also to bear in mind that, in those times, the *sūq* of the Jewish "tribe" of the Banū Qainuqāʿ served as the market for the whole oasis of Medina, (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, Berlin 1889, p. 10, note 4.)

¹⁵ *Arabian Highlands*, pp. 312-313.

¹⁶ "Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire des foires à travers l'Islam" in *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin*, vol. V, Brussels 1953. Other literature on the subject in the article "Sūq" in the supplementary volume to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

There are, indeed, other indications of the fact that Arabs of pre-Islamic times held markets in connection with Jewish settlements. The *Kitāb al-Aghānī* says so expressly with regard to Al-Ablaq, the famous castle of Al-Samaw'al,¹⁷ the Jewish lord of the ancient oasis of Taimā, northeast of Medina. Even more significant is the fact that the Arabs took over the Aramaic word for Friday: *ʿarūbah*¹⁸ which means: Eve (of Saturday), certainly because it played some role in their life; for, otherwise, the Arabs had no week before Islam; the passing of the weeks was indicated to them by their Christian and Jewish neighbors. *ʿArūbah*, was to them a market-day, as may be gathered from a verse, preserved in Al-Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb al-Umm*:¹⁹ "May my soul be a ransom for men who heaped,²⁰ on the day of *ʿArūbah*, provisions on provisions."

It is highly probable that in Medina, and perhaps also elsewhere, the Friday market bore, in addition to its foreign name: *ʿArūbah*, another, Arabic designation: none other than *Yaum al-Jumʿah*, the Day of the Assembly or the Gathering.

There exist, indeed, various accounts of ancient Muslim scholars to the effect that this expression was known before Islam. Yaʿqūbī, in his *Historiae*, (ed. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, p. 272,) says of Kaʿb ibn Luʿayy, one of the ancestors of Quraish, the inhabitants of Mecca, that he was the first to call Friday by that name, because he used to assemble his people on that day and to address them on the vanity and futility of human life.²¹ In the *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, we read²² that the first to call Friday by that name were the Medinans, because they held on that day public worship, before Muḥammad emigrated to their town.

¹⁷ Vol. 19, 98, 3, from the bottom: "The Arabs used to alight at his place, whereupon he extended to them his hospitality and they took provisions from his castle and established there markets." Modern scholars, both Western and Muslim, have devoted a considerable amount of discussion to the personality and religion of Al-Samaw'al. For the purpose of this paper, it is enough to state that the account, in which the above-mentioned passage occurs, describes him expressly as Jewish, and more especially, as a Kohen.

¹⁸ Cf. A. Fischer, "Die altarabischen Namen der sieben Wochentage", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 50, p. 224, where much literature is quoted, but none related to the subject of this study.

¹⁹ ed. Būlāq 1321H, vol. I. 167.

²⁰ Literally: "mixed." The poet obviously praises people who, on the market-day, bestowed on him many of the provisions acquired there.

²¹ Similar statements are made in the commentaries to the Qurʾān, Surah lxii.9, e.g., Al-Baiḍāwī. There can be no doubt that in early Islamic times, this Kaʿb ibn Luʿayy was regarded as the ancestor of a prominent group of families in Mecca. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annals*, part 1, 1153, 3-4, and Yaʿqūbī, l.c., say that the Arabs used to count their years as from his death. However, no authentic tradition about him could have survived so many generations. His sermon, recorded at length by Yaʿqūbī, both in rhymed prose and in verses, is not more historical than the elegy composed by Adam on his son Abel, which is faithfully quoted by Al-Ṭabarī.

²² I. 373, s.v. *ʿrb*.

Needless to say, these accounts of the ancient Muslim scholars do not represent a living tradition, but are mere learned conjectures. They are quoted here only to show that it was by no means strange for learned Muslims to assume that the name *Yaum al-Jum'ah*, Day of Assembly, was in use before Muḥammad.

There exist, indeed, good reasons to believe that this assumption is true—however with the important modification that the name originally did not denote a day of common worship, but the market-day, when the people all over the oasis of Medina and its environment came together to one place. For *Yaum al-Jum'ah* is nothing but the Arabic equivalent of Hebrew *Yōm hak-kenīsa*, "The Day of the Assembly," which was the name of the two weekly market-days, Monday and Thursday, described above.²³ After the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 A.D.), these gatherings in the provincial capitals fell into disuse²⁴ and there remained only one "Day of Assembly," the eve of Sabbath. It is highly probable that the Jews of Medina themselves used the Arabic, and not the Hebrew (or Aramaic), form of the term.

The explanation of the original meaning of *Yaum al-Jum'ah*, suggested here, is supported by the very wording of the only passage in the Qur'ān, where it occurs. We turn now to the discussion of these often-quoted verses (Surah lxii.9-11):

- (9) O true believers, when you are called to prayer on the day of the assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God and cease trading. This is better for you, if you have understanding.
- (10) Only when prayer is ended, scatter in the country and ask for the bounty of God: commemorate God frequently, so that you may prosper.
- (11) However, when they see any business or amusement, they flock there and leave you²⁵ standing. Say: that which is with God is better than amusement and business; and God is the best supplier.

It is evident that if the term *jum'ah* had been coined originally for denoting a gathering for worship,²⁶ the wording of verse 9 would have to be quite different; not "when you are called to prayer *on the day of the assembly*," but "to the prayer of the Assembly." Therefore, *yaum al-jum'ah* means here nothing but Friday, the day when people gather for the market. It is highly significant that the Qur'ān text of the famous Ibn Ubayy did not read *yaum al-jum'ah* at all, but

²³ Cf. *Mishna Megilla* 1, 1. *Tosefta* ib. 1,2. For *kenīsa* in the sense of 'assembly', cf. *Bereshit Rabba*, ch. 49, para. 2 (ed. Berlin 1912, p. 514, 1.6).

²⁴ For details see G. Allon in the article quoted above, note 10.

²⁵ The Prophet is addressed. As everywhere in the Qur'ān, God is the speaker.

²⁶ As it is generally assumed. Consequently, Josef J. Rivlin, *Das Gesetz im Koran*, Jerusalem 1934, p. 19, proposes, although hesitantly, Hebrew-Aramaic *kenēset*, *kenishtë*, "congregation" as the prototype for *jum'ah*.

yaum al-ʿarūbah al-kubrā, "the day of the great ʿArūbah", i.e., the common pre-Islamic name for Friday.²⁷

Furthermore, the whole tenor of the passage quoted clearly indicates that it was said against the background of a market-day. The people of Medina were mainly farmers; buying and selling were not their normal occupations. Therefore, if Muḥammad simply intended to say: "Leave your work and come to prayer," he had to talk about going to the mosque from the fields, rather than about leaving business. Likewise, the double reference to *lahw*, "amusement," suggests the market-day. All over the world, fairs and markets are accompanied by popular entertainments provided by professionals. We know this with regard to the great yearly fairs in pre-Islamic Arabia, as well as for the weekly market-days in Yemen today, and the situation certainly was not different in Medina.

The connection of the Muslim Friday service with the weekly market-day of Medina is brought out by a feature of it which has puzzled both ancient and modern observers: the fact that it is held at noon,²⁸ a most impracticable time in the hot climate of Arabia and, indeed, the climate of most Muslim countries. No wonder that already the ancient books of Muslim law are full of details about the faithful who fall asleep during the sermon²⁹ or even faint at the service. The reason for this inconvenient arrangement is to be found in the circumstances accompanying the creation of the Muslim weekly day of worship. The market in Arabia breaks up soon after noon, so that everybody attending it is able to reach his home before nightfall.³⁰ To hold the public worship early in the morning was out of the question, for at that time everybody was eager to do business, as the proverb has it: "When the dust (from the way to the

²⁷ See A. Jeffery, *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān*, Leiden 1937, p. 170. R. Blachère, *Le Coran*, Paris 1950, p. 825.

Ibn Ubayy's reading is remarkable also for the epithet, "the great" given to ʿArūbah. This is certainly to be connected with a similar attribute of it occurring in a verse quoted in the Jamhara of Ibn Doreid, cf. S. Fraenkel, *Die Aramaeischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leipzig 1886, 277: "A day like the long drawn (mutafāwil) day of ʿArūba". Perhaps there were two types of Friday markets, one short and of a more local character, and another catering for a whole environment, which continued well into the afternoon. The authenticity of Ibn Ubayy's readings has been confirmed conspicuously by the discovery of an Umayyad inscription bearing a quotation from the Qurʾān not in the textus receptus, but in Ibn Ubayy's reading (oral communication by Professor A. Jeffery).

²⁸ According to some, it is permissible to hold it also in the early afternoon. In practice, it is held at noon all over the Muslim world.

²⁹ This occurs, of course, also in more merciful climates and at better hours of the day. However, the Muslim sermon, as a rule, is very short and consists mostly of a fixed set of a few religious sayings.

³⁰ See E. Brauer, *Die Ethnologie der Jemenitischen Juden*, p. 257, Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, 234: "By the midday prayer the (Monday) Sūq usually came to an end," and *passim*.

market) is still on your feet, sell your merchandise.”³¹ Neither was it feasible to do so when the *sūq* was “standing,” as the Arabs say, i.e., when it was in full force. Therefore, the proper time for the public worship was at noon, shortly before people dispersed for gaining their homes, and thus it remained until the present day.

There are other characteristics of the Muslim Friday service which may have had their origin in its relation to the Medinan market-day. The preacher delivers the sermon from a *Minbar* (originally a platform, or, rather, a chair, not a pulpit), while carrying in his hand a rod, or a sword, or a lance. C. H. Becker has shown how probable it was that these were originally the insignia of the judge.³² Now, as we have seen above, the courts of justice or the judges both in Israel and in Arabia used to sit on market-days. However, this point should not be pressed. For, if the present writer is not mistaken, the many references in ancient Muslim literature to Muḥammad’s activity as judge do not connect it expressly with the Friday service, at least not as a rule.

For the same reason, it is more than doubtful whether the controversy about the sitting of the preacher at the Friday service had anything to do with the office of the magistrate. An enormous amount of discussion on this question is to be found in Muslim religious literature. The practice finally adopted is this: the preacher sits at the beginning of the service, stands up for the first section of his sermon, sits down again, but stands while delivering the second part. This is clearly a compromise. The original practice most probably was that related in the name of Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, by Al-Bukhārī, (Chapter 11 (*Jumʿah*), para. 28, ed. Krehl, Leiden 1862, I, 233): “The Prophet sat on the *Minbar* and we sat around him.” For us, it is the most natural thing that a preacher should stand up while delivering his sermon. However, in ancient Hebrew literature, we have invariably the same picture as that given for Muḥammad in the Ḥadīth just quoted: *ḥākhām yōshēv wedōrēsh*, the scholar who expounded the Scripture was seated on a platform, while his audience ‘sat to his feet,’ either on the floor or on benches, and the same was the case in the ancient Christian church.³³ The heated controversies³⁴ in Islam, whether the preacher should stand up or not certainly had something to do with its turbulent inner development; for, originally,

³¹ S. D. Goitein, Jemenica, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen*, Leipzig (Harrassowitz) 1934, p. 46, no. 249. There exist numerous other proverbs to the same effect.

³² *Islamstudien*, I, 463 ff.

³³ Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Frankfurt a.M. 1892, 350, note kk; 358, note d; 359, note b.

³⁴ As against the Ḥadīth, quoted above, describing the Prophet normally as addressing the congregation while seated on a platform, another had it: “Whoever tells you that the Prophet preached while seated is a liar,” Al-Baihaqī 3, 197, quoting Muslim (7, 33-35).

the Khalifs and the provincial governors addressed the congregation, which was identified with the political community, in person. However, these disputations reflect a later stage in the history of the Friday service and lie outside the scope of this paper.

There remains, however, one aspect of the discussion of the Muslim scholars on the Friday service which has a significant bearing on the origin and the nature of this institution—the question, in which place, and for whom that service was obligatory. At the end, a generally accepted consensus was worked out, according to which the service should be held wherever forty male, adult, free Muslims had their permanent domicile, and were it even in a village. The compromise reached was a regulation for the fulfilment of a religious duty. The differences of opinion preceding it showed that the Friday service had, from its inception, a far wider scope, to the discussion of which we now turn.

It was stated at the beginning of this article, that, according to the commonly accepted Muslim tradition, no Friday service had been held in Mecca. It goes without saying that in Mecca, too, Muḥammad's followers met for common prayer. However, the Friday meetings introduced in Medina at the suggestion of Muḥammad's missionaries served a purpose wider than mere devotion. They were rallies which manifested who adhered to the new religion and who failed to do so. They had, from the outset, the character of a socio-political gathering. Therefore, attendance was (and remained) obligatory for everybody³⁵ and, thus, it was long believed that they should be held only in provincial capitals, where a representative of the Government had his seat, and not in villages³⁶, and only in one main mosque, not in several in one town, whatever size they had.³⁷ The prayer for the ruler, expressed in the Friday sermon, had its Jewish and Christian antecedents. However, the immense practical importance attached to it in Islam was in conformity with the original conception that the attendance of the Friday service essentially was an act of showing one's allegiance.

As we have seen, in his practical wisdom, Muḥammad fixed the day of public worship on the weekly market-day, because then the people of the oasis of Medina and its environment were assembled in one place anyhow.³⁸ This day happened to be the eve of Sab-

³⁵ Women excepted, which also shows that the Friday service was more than religious worship. For from the religious point of view, according to ancient Islam, woman was equal to man; she was obliged to observe the daily prayers and even to study the religious law. However, she did not belong to the body politic, in which only free men, bearing arms, were members.

³⁶ Al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, 1321H; I, 169, line 10.

³⁷ *Ib.*, 171, I. 4.

³⁸ The following ruling of Al-Shāfiʿī, *ib.* 170, line 8 from bottom, shows the natural link between marketing and the Friday service: "If a village, which has a Friday service, is surrounded by others bordering on it, and these do most of their marketing there, I do not allow a single one (of those villagers) not to attend the service (in the central village, where the market is held)."

bath, because the Jews, who formed a very considerable part of the population of the oasis, bought on it the necessary stores for their holy day, when no work, including buying and selling, was permitted. However Muḥammad had not the slightest reason to adopt the Sabbath itself. First of all, as has been said in the introductory passage of this study, the idea of a weekly day of rest was foreign in general to the majority of mankind up to the threshold of modern times. In addition, for most of Muḥammad's followers a weekly day of rest would not have been a practical proposition. For the Meccans, whose main occupation was the long distance transit-trade between the Mediterranean and Yaman, such an institution would have been a serious impediment, rather than a blessing, while the Bedouin had no need for such a day, as they did not do regular work anyhow.³⁹

Muḥammad knew, of course, that the institution of the Sabbath formed part of the heavenly revelation,⁴⁰ but succeeded in solving the theological problem: how one and the same God could give different laws to different peoples, at least to the satisfaction of his own followers.⁴¹ It is evident from Surah lxii., 9-11, quoted above, that Muḥammad regarded it as not incompatible with the holiness of the weekly day of worship to be also one of flourishing business⁴²—a conception which is the more plausible, if we consider that that day originally was the one set aside for commerce in an otherwise agricult-

³⁹ Except such routine work as milking the camels, which anyhow had to be done every day. Cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin 1897, p. 87; S. D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, New York 1955, 39-40.

⁴⁰ "We (God is speaking, see above, note 25) lifted the mountain (of Sinai) over them (the Children of Israel), while we concluded with them the covenant and said... Transgress not on the Sabbath day. And we received from them a strong covenant." Surah iv.154 (Fluegel, 153). The Qurʾān relates also legends not found in this form in Jewish sources, about desecrators of the Sabbath, who were converted into apes (ii.65, Fluegel 61; iv. 47, Fl. 50) and fish, which used to come to a certain village on the seashore only when its inhabitants kept the Sabbath, vii, 163, see H. Speier, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qurʾān*, p. 313.

These quotations show that the idea of the Sabbath occupied Muḥammad's mind to a certain degree. It is also natural that his believers, seeing that the Sabbath was so important a feature in a monotheistic religion next door to them, wondered whether God had not a similar command in store for them. In reply to such queries, Muḥammad declared: "The Sabbath was enjoined only on those that disagreed with regard to it" — obviously Jews and Christians — "your Lord will judge between them on the day of Resurrection about their differences" (xvi. 124, Fl. 123). See next note.

⁴¹ Cf. the present writer's "The Controversies of the Banū Isrāʾīl, a Quranic Study", *Tarbīz* 3 (1932), 410-422.

⁴² It is useful to remember that in many Christian countries markets used to be held on Sundays. The little town of Sūq al-Aḥad ("Sunday-market") in Northern Mesopotamia, described by Ibn Hauqal, 217, obviously also was originally Christian, cf. R. Brunschvig, *Histoire des foires a travers l'Islam*, p. 49.

In Biblical times, as we learn from the book of Nehemiah, chap. xiii.15-21, Sabbath was the market-day in Jerusalem, both for local agricultural products and for fish imported by Phoenician traders. It was Nehemiah, who stopped that usage by force, thus "robbing the population of their natural day of marketing," as a prominent historian caustically remarked.

ural environment. Similarly, the Qur'ān⁴³ and popular belief⁴⁴ regard the yearly pilgrimage to the Holy Places in the environment of Mecca as an appropriate occasion for prosperous business—again in conformity with the fact that in pagan times the yearly pilgrimages were also the season of the yearly fairs. It may even be that an ancient epithet for Friday, *yaum al-mazid*, the day of God's special bounty, may have something to do with this practical aspect of the weekly day of worship.⁴⁵

However, although Islam did not enhance the holiness of Friday by forbidding on it worldly business, it succeeded in conveying to its believers, both by the solemnity of the service and by a number of accessory means,⁴⁶ the feeling of a specially blessed day. There is no better way for putting this sociological study into its proper religious context than by quoting a description of the Friday service written by a sympathetic, but not uncritical, European observer at a time when Islam was almost untouched by foreign intrusions:⁴⁷

The utmost solemnity and decorum are observed in the public worship of the Muslims. Their looks and behaviour in the mosque are not those of enthusiastic devotion, but of calm and modest piety. Never are they guilty of a designedly irregular word or action during their prayers. The pride and fanaticism which they exhibit in common life, in intercourse with persons of their own, or of a different faith, seem to be dropped on their entering the mosque, and they appear wholly absorbed in the adoration of their Creator...

The main findings of this inquiry may be summarized as follows:

1) The expression *yaum al-jum'ah* is pre-Islamic and designated the market day, just as its Hebrew (and Aramaic) equivalent *yōm hak-kenīsa*.

2) The market day was held in the oasis of Medina on Friday, the day, "when the Jews bought their provisions for the Sabbath."

3) For *yaum al-jum'ah* in Surah lxii. 9, Ibn Ubayy read *yaum al-'arūbah al-kubrā*, the word for Friday derived from Aramaic. This, together with the very wording of that verse, indicates that *yaum al-jum'ah* means there simply Friday.

⁴³ Surah ii.198 (Fluegel 194), where the same expression, "ask for the bounty of God" is used as in the passage on the Friday service in Surah lxii, see above, p. 189.

⁴⁴ A man participating in the holy pilgrimage is blessed with the wish: *hajj mabrūr watijāra lā tabūr*, "Your pilgrimage may be accepted by God and your merchandise may not remain unsold."

⁴⁵ Cf. the present writer's paper, "The Honorific Epithets of Friday", to be published shortly.

⁴⁶ Such as the provisions that people should bathe and perfume themselves, put on their best clothes and eat choice food, etc.

⁴⁷ E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London (Dent) 1936, p. 85 (ch. III). The same author stresses the fact that "the Muslim does not abstain from worldly business on Friday except during the time of prayer", *ib.*, p. 81.

4) Muḥammad chose Friday as day of public worship, because on that day the people of Medina gathered anyhow to do their shopping. There was no intention of polemics against the older religions.

5) A striking parallel to the institution of public service on a market day is that of the ancient Jewish service on Mondays and Thursdays, originally the days when the villagers came to town, but which remained days of public prayer, as well as of fasting and sittings of the courts, long after the Monday and Thursday markets had been abolished.

6) This origin explains why the Friday prayer was fixed at noon, a very inconvenient time in a hot country: the Arab markets used to break up early in the afternoon. In view of this, the choice of noon was very practicable.

7) The reference to "business and amusement" in Surah lxii.11 (which was promulgated in Medina) fits a community of farmers only if understood as describing a fair with public entertainments.

8) From the outset, the Friday service was of more than religious significance. Participation in it demonstrated the participants' joining of the Muslim community. This socio-political character was never given up entirely and has left many traces in the details prescribed for its celebration by Muslim law. However, in the consciousness of the average Muslim, the purely religious aspect certainly prevails over the others.

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

S. D. GOITEIN

THE MEANING OF ZULM IN THE QUR'ĀN.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most formative and crucial terms in the whole Quranic and Islamic vocabulary relating to evil and sin, to the psychology of temptation, and to the moral order, is *Zulm*. An analysis of the usage in the Qur'ān was made by Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, in a Paper read to the Arabic Academy in Cairo, under the above title, during the 1956/57 session of the Academy. The English translation includes the full text, together with a summary of points made in the subsequent discussion, as recorded in the Proceedings of the Arabic Academy. There follow a few reflections, on the part of the translator, attempting to develop some of the further reaches of the concept of 'self-wronging' which the Paper finds so central to the whole meaning of *Zulm*. Such inter-religious examination of vocabulary and the range and significance of basic terms is an enterprise that must commend itself to all thoughtful persons.

The recent publication of Dr. Ḥusain's *Qaryah Zālimah*, with the English title *City of Wrong* (Djambatan, Amsterdam, 1959; See *The Muslim World*, Vol. xlv. 2 and 3, April and July 1956, pp. 132-143, 225-236) gives a topical interest to the Academy article. For the concept of *Zulm* is central to that book's study of the motives and meanings of the Good Friday rejection of Jesus on the part of Jerusalem. The participle, *Zālimah* belongs, of course, to the same root as the verbal noun *Zulm*. In essence the *Zulm* of Jerusalem on that inclusive occasion lay in a decision to set collective prestige and communal pride against the appeal and authority of Jesus. Jewry made this decision in the name of the continuity and sanctity of the Law and its custodians: Rome made it, in the persons of Pilate and her soldiers, in pursuance of her characteristic allegiance to power and imperial system. In both cases conscience was flouted by the selfishnesses of institutional pride. Jerusalem was a city in the wrong, grievously and wilfully, because it sacrificed its conscience to its self-esteem.

The author's treatment of *Zulm* in the Paper that follows is on a less exalted plane and seems to move in much lesser dimensions. This may arise, in part, from its analytical purpose. The footnotes, and reflections, by the translator (who adds the Quranic references in the text), are intended to set the writer's definitive conclusions about *Zulm* in the more searching context of his own treatment of Good Friday and to assess briefly some implications of his Christian comparisons.

THE MEANING OF ZULM IN THE QUR'ĀN

"The word *Zulm* and its derivatives occur in the Qur'ān 289 times in numerous Surahs and with a variety of meanings. Arabic grammarians have endeavoured to give the word a precise and inclusive definition, which would satisfy all these implications. But they have only achieved a vague or approximate definition. They say that *Zulm* is putting anything in other than its rightful place.¹ But this is not an exact definition. Many interpreters have considered it better not to attempt any specific definition and have taken refuge in extensive free exegesis of the verses in which the term occurs obscurely. For example, there are those who say: *Zulm* is *Shirk*, citing the Divine word, "Verily *Shirk* is great *Zulm*." (xxx. 12) But this is not to define the meaning of *Zulm*. For it is very clear that if *Shirk* is an occasion of *Zulm*, not all *Zulm* is *Shirk*.² In my view to comprehend what *Zulm* is involves a most important Islamic meaning. It is this conviction which has led me to take up the theme of the meaning of *Zulm* as it is in the holy Qur'ān.

According to the dictionaries, Arabs say there is a *Zulm* of the ground when men dig the earth in a place that is not proper for digging and a *Zulm* of the road in the event of not keeping closely to it. But these meanings are not what academic study is concerned about and profit us nothing in a discussion of the Quranic sense of the word. For there, its meaning has an ordinary, non-conceptualised sense, in one passage only: "Each of the two gardens brought forth its fruit in unfailing abundance" (lit, "and was not in anything wanting"). This is a particular usage and rare enough and in no way does it give a criterion of the meaning of *Zulm* when postulated of rational beings.

Al Lisān informs us that the original meaning of *Zulm* is injustice (*al-Jaur*) and transgressing of the mark. It is the antonym

¹ Thus, for example, Lane's Lexicon: *Zulm* — "the putting a thing in a place not its own, putting it in a wrong place, misplacing it: it is by exceeding or by falling short, or by deviating from the proper time and place; or the acting in whatever way a man pleases in the disposal of the property of another: transgressing the proper limit much or little: or according to some it primarily signifies *Naqs*, making to suffer loss or detriment: and it is said to be of three kinds, between man and God, between man and man and between man and himself, every one of which three is really a wrongdoing to oneself."

² *Shirk*, which is the cardinal wrongness in *Islam*, and the veto on which is the negative corollary of *Tauhid* or Unity, means causing anything to be set on an equality with God so that it is thought to share in any sense in His Godness, so alienating Divinity and violating the Divine Unity. *Shirk* can take place in a variety of ways, the crudest of which is idolatry, in the sense of idols as the work of men's hands. But the intangible idols of men's hearts and minds, their unsubdued idolatries of race, nationhood, profit, wealth, power, self, are a much more subtle and serious *Shirk* than the worship of actual images. *Shirk* may be committed in ascribing to other than God functions of protection, providence, knowledge, worshippability, that belong only unto God. Improper concepts of God are also a serious form of *Shirk* in that they 'mix up,' with the Divine, elements that are not properly so.

of justice (*al-ʿAdl*). Many languages have no specific word for what *Ẓulm* is but express it by the negating particle on 'justice.' In my view this meaning is the only one to be taken from *Ẓulm* in the Qurʾān. It is not, moreover, a matter which requires allegorising or subtle interpretation.

The sense of injustice is clear when the word is used in 53 verses with another party as its object, and particularly clear when it has the self as object, which is the case in 29 verses. There is no particular difficulty in such contexts. Difficulty arises, however, when we understand *Ẓulm* as injustice in the 177 verses where the usage is intransitive. For 'injustice' pre-supposes an object on which it falls. In the event of our holding that *Ẓulm* means exclusively 'injustice' there must necessarily be some special connotation to such *Jaur*, when the word *Ẓulm* is used without mention of any object as receiving or suffering it.

Whenever the word *Ẓulm* occurs with another person as its object the meaning is 'injustice.' The transitive usage maybe explicit, as in the Quranic verses: "Truly your Lord is no inflicter of wrong upon His servants" (xli.46 and l.28. cf. also iii.178, viii.52 and xxii.10 where 'God' is used instead of *Rabb* in the same phrase), and: "They will not be wronged a whit," (iv.52 and xvii.73, and in iv.79 in the 2nd person: "Ye shall not be wronged.") Or the context makes the sense of the transitive clear, as in the verses: "Your original sums are yours, you shall neither do wrong, nor be wronged," (ii.279) (Daud translates: "You may retain your principle, suffering no loss and causing loss to none," pp. 352-3.) that is to say: "You will not do injustice to others, nor will others do injustice to you:" and "We will take only him with whom the property is found, otherwise we would be doing a wrong." (Surah xii.79). In these two verses and others in which *Ẓulm* comes intransitively the context makes it sufficiently clear that the intended meaning is injustice to another. In every verse in which the word *Ẓulm* is used as an explicit or implicit transitive, its meaning is injustice.

There is a verse which the commentators hold to be an exception to this dictum: "They did not wrong Us, rather it was their own selves they wronged." This occurs twice in passages having to do with the children of Israel. The reason for the exception is because the Muslim is extremely reluctant to accept the sense of 'injustice' in a passage of this sort. He is unable to conceive of man as being capable of injuring God.³ Hence the search of the exegetes for

³ This concept of God as being above all 'injury' is valid enough in the sense that sin and *Shirk*, disobedience and ingratitude, do not affect His being God or His Godness. But the concept is obviously incompatible with any serious faith, with *islām* as such, if it implies that our wrongness is a matter of indifference to Him. Our evils 'harm' Him in the sense, at least, that all law-making authority must be seriously cognisant of law-breaking — unless the law, both as to making and breaking, is to be a meaningless dead letter. God's very

another meaning than 'injurious injustice' for the word *Zulm* in such verses. (ii.54 and vii.160). Ibn Abbas says that it means: "They did not find us wanting in anything" applied to the verse about the two gardens (xviii.34 cf. lv.54) In this way they elude the difficult quandary in which every Muslim finds himself in respect of this verse.

However, we do not need any such circuitous interpretation. The fact is that this saying comes in tradition having to do with the Israelites, more particularly at the time of their manifest error in worshipping the calf. The children of Israel had their own special idea of their relationship with their Lord — the idea, namely, that by their faith in Him they were bestowing a favour upon God. They obeyed Him and for His sake they followed Moses (upon whom be peace). So they opined that their Lord had come to be indebted to them. They had no compunction about requiring Him to fulfil His obligation to them. They regarded His delay in implementing His promise to them by the mouth of their prophet as warranting rebellion against him and a repudiation of God. They pointed out to him that they had sallied forth into the desert, courting death and hunger for his sake. They were of the strong opinion that all this was sufficient ground for repudiation and rebellion. There is in the Old Testament a remarkable expression, where it says that Moses remonstrated against God on one occasion, petulantly seeking unique favours for Israel. When they emerged from oppression and servitude they forgot the grace of God towards them, and from special clients turned about into rebels and renegades. It would not be surprising for them to think, while they were in this mood, that they were venting their anger on their Lord and harming Him by their apostasy. If we keep this in mind, it will not be in any way odd if some such remark to that effect passed the lips of the children of Israel while they were in this mood of repudiation of God. In this way the meaning of *Zulm* here also is injustice, or injury. And if we are loathe to attribute to anyone such a degree of rejection of God, at least the children of Israel had no scruples about it in the misapprehensions under which they lived at that period of their history. ⁴

demand of *islām* (willed conformity) from man requires that the lack of it (in *Zulm*) matters for Him and, in that sense, 'affects' Him adversely. The matter becomes clearer still when we move from the ground of law to that of love. See footnote 10.

⁴ This criticism of Israel's attitude to God, their expectation that their being an elect people brought Him under their debt, is a favourite theme with the writer who expounds it in his "*Min Ahsan al-Qusūs*" from *Mutanawwi'āt*, Cairo, 1954. (See *The Muslim World*, Vol. xlix.1, Jan. 1959, pp. 30-40: "The Exodus: an Egyptian View.") It is only fair, however, to add that the surest place in which to find the passionate refutation of this idea of what being the people of God is takes us to the Old Testament itself. The Bible's honesty in tracing, unvarnished, the sorry tale of compromise in the 'chosen people' and the prophets' clear indictment of "ease in Zion" and of its supposition that all

Thus when we find the word *Zulm* in a transitive use relating to the self, its meaning is injustice. That is its sole meaning. We shall have occasion to return to this impressive significance when we come to discuss the import of the expression 'self wronging.' It will be clear that here is something of great Islamic significance, a way of moral thinking peculiar to Islam.

I am myself in no doubt that the word *Zulm* when intransitive means 'self wronging.' The sense of injustice or injury is then the right one in all Quranic passages. This statement could be demonstrated over and over again.

Thus there are, for example, numerous verses reading: "We did not wrong them; it was their own selves they wronged." (e.g. xi.103, xvi.119), or another form: "We did not wrong them, but they were the wrongers of themselves." There can be no dispute but that the meaning is the same. The word 'wrongers' is intransitive, and the meaning is 'wrongers of themselves.' *Zulm* here is injustice, wrong, and the word must be understood in relation to self-injury.

There is also the Quranic saying: "Evil is the case of the people who said our signs were false: they were unjust to their own souls." (vii.176): And elsewhere in other verses: "Who is in greater wrong than he who rejects the signs of God?" (vi.158), and: "Ye wronged yourselves in taking unto yourselves the calf." (ii.51). And again: "Then ye took the calf in (Moses') absence and did wrongly therein." (ii.86). And again: "He who transgresses the bounds God has set wrongs his own soul," (lxv.1) — a Divine saying which parallels that (in ii.229): "Those who transgress the limits set by God, these wrong themselves."

It thus appears that to explain *Zulm* as putting a thing in other than its proper place is a facile interpretation not consonant with most of these verses and the warnings and threatenings against wrongdoers which they contain. Does it seem appropriate, for example, to explain the Quranic verse: "Who is a greater doer of wrong than he who forges a lie against God?" (lxi.7) and: "The wrongdoers have none to come to their aid" (iii.189) by saying that the wrong here in view is 'putting something in other than its proper place.'? Such an exegesis is quite out of focus. The meaning is that wrongdoers are those who wrong themselves, by committing deeds that are prohibited. We shall see that where-ever self-wronging is plainly the sense of a passage it has to do with most of the things God has proscribed. The commentators wanted to make *Shirk* the (sole) meaning of *Zulm* in verses of this sort. But that is a definition for

was well because God was its God — make it clear that accountability is the stern meaning of election. We best disqualify any Israeli pretensions in Biblical terms: no critic is severer or more realistic than are their own mentors the prophets. (cf. Amos in particular.)

which I see no warrant. When they came to such a verse as: "Those who do not mingle their faith with wrongdoing," (vi.82), they said it referred to *Shirk*. I am quite unable to understand that interpretation, for the believer is not a *mushrik*. Take it to refer to a corrupting of their faith with the transgressions referred to in the phrase 'self-wronging,' then the meaning is: "Those who do not compromise their faith with the evil deeds in which they wrong themselves."

Moses said: "O Lord, deliver me from the wrongdoing people." (xxviii.20) And Shu'ayb said to him: "Thou hast escaped from the wrongdoing people." (xxviii.25) Moses had killed one of the Egyptians and if in retaliation they had killed Moses they would not have been doing wrong. Their being described as in the wrong means only that they wronged themselves by their unbelief and the committing of evil.

Have we not in verses of this kind an indication of the fact that *Zulm* in the majority of cases means self-wronging?

Self-wronging is an expression used in the Qur'ān to describe quite a number of things, like *Shirk* and hypocrisy, transgression and repudiation of the limits God has laid down, as well as retention of divorced wives for their hurt, murder, adultery, doing despite to grace and neglect of the sacred months, and such like transgressions and offences. Thus we see that the word *Zulm*, in its intransitive use, may be held to mean *Shirk*, or contumacy, or prevarication, concealing witness, the indulgence of passions when we know better and the idols that displace God in our reliance, calumny against Him, to Whom be all praise and majesty, as well as other implications that belong with the meaning of self-wronging.

Another factor in this sense is the passage: "Because of their wrongdoing, we forbid to the Jews the good things which were previously allowed to them, and because also of their debarring others repeatedly from the way of God." (iv.158). Here the sense of *Zulm* is not *Shirk*, since God does not punish *Shirk* by disallowing good things to those who perpetrate it. Nor is the meaning here 'setting a thing in its improper place,' for that is a trivial matter which hardly deserves punishment. The verse must be understood as meaning that when they wronged themselves, God debarred them from good things.

Take, furthermore, the verse: "Who-ever repents after committing wrong." (v.43). The best exegesis here may well be "he who repents after wronging himself." For repentance after transgression is more frequent than repentance after *Shirk*. So also the verse: "God will not forgive those who disbelieved and committed wrong." iv.166. *Zulm* here does not lie in unbelief or *Shirk*, nor is it putting something in other than its proper place. The *Zulm* implied here is self-wronging. Also the verse: "If every wrongdoing soul possessed all the wealth of the world it would present it for a ransom." (x.55).

*Al-Kashshāf*⁵ says that the point here is a soul that wrongs itself. The meaning is akin to that in the Quranic saying: "If the wrong-doers had in their power all that is in the world they would surely turn it to their redemption." (xiii.18 and xxxix.48) In both verses what is intended is wrong against the self.

There are some verses in question that need particular exegesis. For example: "After them We sent Moses with Our signs to Pharaoh and his people and they perverted them." (vii.101.) *Al-Kashshāf* and other commentaries observe that it means: "They wronged men..." But the meaning may also be that they wronged themselves over the signs. For that is nearer to the sense of the passage. In the same way the verse: "The Lord would in no wise destroy the cities in injustice seeing that their inhabitants were righteous." (xi.119). The commentators make two points here: "God would not destroy the cities as one who did unjustly by them, or on account of a wrongdoing they had come to commit." But in either case the meaning would be injustice (*Jaur*).

Perhaps the foregoing suffices to clarify what we set out to show. The meaning of *Zulm* is injury or injustice, and when it has no stated object we take it to mean self-injury or self-wronging. And on this showing self-wronging is the most frequent significance of the term *Zulm* in the Qurʾān. Let us dwell a little further on the implications of this fact and what it portends.

Self-wronging or self-damage is purely Islamic terminology. I am not aware of its being known before Islam. (Author's footnote here reads: "The famous Al-Jaʿdī said: Praise be to God: no partner with Him! He who does not so say is wrong in himself (*fa nafsuhu zulman*). But I have no doubt that he made this remark after he embraced Islam.") I am not aware that the thought comes anywhere else than in the Qurʾān among revealed books. In the Qurʾān it has varied implications. Examples of self-wronging are *Shirk* and belieing God, flouting the apostles and insubordination to their commands, perpetrating what God has prohibited, immoral behaviour, evil doing, unlawful killing, and a whole variety of other transgressions. Revelation (*Al-Tanzil*) in its wisdom meant by a wronger of himself every one who commits iniquity or strays from the true path, every one who diverges from the right path and transgresses the limits Divinely laid down.

In this Islamic sense of the word we have an ethical point of view far superior to other ethical schools, both religious and philosophical. Most religions make the call to the following of right guidance to turn solely on the desire for paradise and the call to eschew evil

⁵ The famous commentary of Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (1075-1144), completed in 1134, with the title: *Al Kashshāf ʿan Iḥqāʾiq al-Tanzil*, "Discloser of the Truths sent down in Revelation." This famous commentary preceded that of the even more famous, and more orthodox, Al-Baidāwī.

upon dread of the fire. Such desire and such intimidation do not inhibit the majority of people from doing what they should not. In both respects it seems to them that the incentive is remote and the restraint frail, especially where the good brings one into jeopardy or evil promises a speedy gain. Some religions take warnings of retribution to such a length that fear of hell fire becomes a crushing burden on the soul. Those who belong to such religions are beset with an unrelieved dread of life — a phenomenon which is seen at its worst in those who believe in transmigration of souls.⁶

There are some people so intellectually naive as to suppose speedy, immediate advantages in the things to which we are called by God and immediate worldly damage in what God has prohibited. Some sincerely religious people see in ritual prayer a form of bodily exercise and in fasting a physical benefit.⁷ They invite people to sound morality on such grounds as these. It is disturbing to the true believer to see people pursuing the injunctions of religion and eschewing its prohibitions for the sake of consequent gain or harm. This is the lowest level of faith and the least estimable.

There is a variety of philosophical and academic schools of thought on the question of the obligation to good. Some base the call to virtuous living on the ground of its being the road to happiness. Some have made pleasure the end of life. They consider that good is the pathway to both happiness and pleasure. Others hold the view that it is obligatory on man to shun evil: others base the sanction of the virtues on the fact that they are the buttress of social order and that they are the sole bulwark against disorder and disruption. Philosophers have grounded the doing of good and the avoidance of evil in such ethical theories as these. But no serious thinker can take kindly to these reasons. There may be an immediate advantage in evil doing, or what is evil may come about from a pure intention. There is no doubt that the religious ground of sound ethic and the capacity it has to inculcate desire, and dissuade, is more consequential than all the schools of philosophic thought. Nothing is less influential in men's lives and feebler as a restraint than the philosophical views which are based on purely pragmatic or utilitarian notions of profit or loss.

The Islamic concept, embodied in this fine expression — self-

⁶ Can it be that in this argument the writer is using an adroit *argumentum ad homines*, correcting a constant propensity within Islam by so plainly castigating it without?

⁷ May we not ask whether these benefits, especially the second, may not properly be argued, as they are, without involving the argument in the utilitarianism the author is at pains to condemn? That fasting is physically beneficial need not obscure its being a Divine directive. Indeed this fact may include such lesser purposes without these in any way taking over the reasons for obedience. Did not the great Al-Ghazālī himself observe that if hunger was the only consequence of the fast it was not a fast? Nobody is likely to fast for physical reasons who is hedonistically related to life in the way the writer properly reproaches in the next sentence.

wronging — is a remarkable attitude. It does not make the acceptance of right guidance turn upon probable reward, nor avoidance of evil on some feared retribution. It does not forbid the forbidden merely on the ground that it harms the social order, but offers also a greater incentive and a more powerful restraint. It summons men to right conduct, on the ground that the evil-doer wrongs himself and self-wronging is never the right thing for anybody to do — assuming that he is not utterly stupid and crazy.⁸

Surely an admirable ethical viewpoint this, which characterises every sin you commit and every good you fail to do, as a wrong against your own soul. Those who assess what they do by this criterion will find open before them, clear and sure, the road to the good.

Another truth brought out by this Islamic expression that holds every act of moral disobedience an act of self-wronging is that Islamic thought does not believe the human soul to be by nature astray. If it were in fact so and the soul was naturally and inherently sinful we would have no ground for regarding acts of evil-doing as a wrong against the self. It could not then be said of the soul immersed in sin that it did wrong, when the person concerned committed evil. Such a verdict could only be justified on the belief that the soul in its essential nature is pure.

The fact is that the Muslim conception of the soul and of sin differs from that of Christians in regard to both. Christians think of sin as original to man's nature from the time of Adam and believe that man has no salvation from it without the aid of a Saviour, and that our Lord Jesus delivered humanity by an act of redemption. This belief accounts for their strong and oppressive sensitivity to the entail of original sin. For it is their fixed belief that the human soul is to all eternity subject to Satan, and that nothing can deliver it from him save mortification and chastisement. These have become the most important aspects of worship among pious Christians.

Muslims, however, though they believe in the sin of Adam and his involving us in expulsion from paradise, do not see themselves bearing the onus of that sin in the way that Christians believe it. Islam is firmly of the opinion that the human soul is essentially good and that the transgressor is one who wrongs his own soul. If evil were the nature of man it could not be said to him who commits an evil deed: "You have wronged your soul." The verse is Surah Yūsuf does not

⁸ May there not be a much deeper tragedy — the self-wronging that is conscious and yet persistent? The writer seems to assume that an intellectual recognition of evil is equivalent to salvation from it, or that continuity in sin is no more than stupidity, once we have known it for the sin it is. May not a man be his own worst enemy, the foe from whom it is hardest of all to escape? Self-wronging is really selfishness made plain, but it is not escaped merely by being identified. All the Macbeths and Iagos of literature cry out against that, as would all the lessers Macbeths and Iagos of daily life — were they articulate.

justify any change in this conclusion: "Verily the soul labours under an evil bias." For the context shows that *nafs*, or soul, here refers to its dominating desires or lusts.⁹

MUHAMMAD KĀMIL HUSAIN

SUMMARY OF POINTS IN THE ACADEMY'S DISCUSSION

Taking up this last point, Dr. Aḥmad Zakī affirms that Yūsuf's confession makes it clear that the soul of man can be inherently wrong-doing. The writer, however, insists that "being biassed unto evil" refers quite plainly to the overmastering lusts of the flesh.

Dr. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Najjār argues that wrong against others is also self-wronging and that these should not be distinguished. The consequences of wronging another fall on the wrongdoer. The lawyers do not distinguish these. He quotes: "They did us no wrong, it was their own selves they wronged" and adds that it is rather like a father who says to his son: "The consequences of what you are doing fall on you, my son, not on me!"¹⁰

Professor Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā agrees that the dictionary definition does not really define. The opposite of that definition namely: 'putting

⁹ This most intriguing verse is not, as the discussion below suggests, to be quite so lightly dismissed. It occurs in the course of Joseph's reply to Pharaoh when brought before him from the prison. The Prince's wife witnesses that it was she who sought to seduce Joseph and that he remained chaste and faithful. Attributing this to the mercy of God, Joseph disclaims that he has any special exemption from human frailty under temptation and adds: "Truly the soul of man is prone to evil." (xii.53) This verse probably comes closer than anything else in the Qur'ān to the Christian view of sin. The phrase *la ʿammāratun bi-l-sūʾ* is very graphic and suggests a bias, an inward liability to go out of the true, by some law within, like that which takes the bowl (ball) in the English game of bowls out of its true direction into a curve. In a paraphrase it means. "The human soul is under the authority of a principle that takes it towards evil."

There seems no obvious ground for equating this situation merely with lust as if the latter were somehow extraneous to the inner workings of the soul. Truly temptation arises from these sources but the decision of the soul as to them involves the whole man and it is just their 'authority' over those decisions, aside from the Divine mercy, to which Joseph appears to be referring here. There is no point in observing that lust is liable to evil: that is self-evident. If the soul were totally impervious to the enticements of lust there would be no point in Joseph's statement, no need for the mercy he recognises and no question of *Zulm al-nafs*. The writer has just argued that a soul thought to be totally corrupt could not be said to have wronged itself. The same would appear to be the case with a soul radically distinguished, in the writer's sense here, from its lusts.

¹⁰ This statement brings out clearly what is latent in the passage concerned in footnote 3. If we take the prodigal son, the consequences (in terms of the bitter delusions and disenchantments of the far country, the rags and the swine-food) certainly fell on the son. But the consequences, in terms of anguish, pain, shame, yearning, loneliness, pardon, also fell on the father, and could not but do so, if he was in any sense to remain father to the boy. It is just in his costly refusal to repudiate relationship that his son's lostness is redeemed. This is too the nature of the Divine Fatherhood. What is known to us as sin is known to God as suffering.

things in their right place' could equally well define system, wisdom, purity, eloquence. Definitions should be precise. He approves the writer's analysis of the supposition of the Jews that God was indebted to them and that His non-compliance justified their rebellion against Him.

Dr. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām complains that the term *Ẓulm* has many meanings and refers to Surah xviii.34: "Each of the two gardens brought forth its fruit in unfailing abundance," (*lam tazlīm shai'an*). We must move from palpable meanings to metaphorical according to the context, the metaphorical meanings being usually a further development.

Professor Maḥmūd Shaltūt commends the writer's method of careful, definitive study of Quranic words and adds that the common, material sense of *Ẓulm* as 'putting things in the wrong place' should not be neglected. *Ẓulm* occurs when we go beyond the decreed. For example, ablutions must be done three times: if we do them twice or four times this is *Ẓulm*. The real sense of *Ẓulm* is *Inḥirāf*, which also means putting a thing in improper place. He also suggests that the writer should consider a second sense of the word, namely making free of other people's property which some of the scholastic theologians adopted as a definition.

Professor Zakī 'Alī Muhandis also vindicates the traditional definition of 'putting a thing in the wrong place' and suggests that all other definitions come back to that. He quotes Plato's *Republic* on Justice, as giving a thing its due and injustice (*Ẓulm*) as the opposite.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON ẒULM AL-NAFS (SELF-WRONGING)

"He died," wrote a friend about the famous Scottish poet whose centenary has this year been celebrated — "he died, of being Robert Burns." A witticism, perhaps, but also a sober truth. For the famous bard died, in the end, not of this or that malady, this or that stroke of misfortune, but simply because it took more than he had to be him. He died by his failure to relate himself rightly to his own selfhood. In a sense, therefore, he died by his own hand, but it was the hand that worked in an accumulation of moral and spiritual choices that landed him in self-destruction — not a suicide, but truly a *Ẓulm al-nafs* with which we all have kinship. For this being ourselves, which is the biggest job we all face and in which ours is inalienably the decision, goes very deep and deserves to be studied as a universal human situation.

When writers claim uniqueness, as Dr. Husain does here, for a particular faith in its moral insights, they place the external student in an awkward, mental position. If he disputes the uniqueness he will probably sound merely self-assertive, as if he wants to share a distinction he does not deserve or is anxious to disqualify the other

party's assumed monopoly. If he does not counter the claim, he will seem to acquiesce. Must he then either obscure truth by silence or lend himself by words to rivalry? Inter-religious issues have suffered so much by sheer competitiveness that we urgently need some escape from its incubus. But how are we to find it if writers do not keep a more critical hand on themselves when they lay claim to monopolies of insight? The fact is that if we have patience to disentangle actuality from impression, and exactness from supposition, we shall find in Greek tragedy, not to speak of Judaism and the Christian Gospel, many rich parallels to this central theme of *Zulm al-nafs*. If we venture this remark here as a preface to what follows, it is not with any petulance but rather that we may in common explore a deep and pregnant notion. Any appearance to the contrary must be laid at the door of him who first says: 'Only we.'

If the concept is too crucial to be proprietary about, can we not make a mutual Muslim-Christian excursus into what it means and signifies? The Greek tragedians can help us on our way. When St Paul wrote to Timothy (2 Tim. i.7) with the claim that God had given to men in Christ "the spirit of a sound mind," he used a characteristically Greek term *σωφρονισμος* which meant a "mind of safe thoughts." A recurring theme in Greek tragedy was the study of men whose way of thinking ruined their own souls. They made havoc of the business of living because their thoughts were "unsafe." Out of their inmost selves came urges to pride and exaggerated ideas of themselves, their deserts, ambitions and desires. Their thoughts did not put their souls in the right place. Rather they dreamed of objectives improper to their creaturehood. Out of these "unsafe thoughts" came infatuation, excess, disproportion, recklessness which, in the Greek view, provoked the anger and jealousy of the gods. These "presumptuous sins," hinted at also in Psalm xix.13, which so easily "get the mastery of men" proved the utter undoing of those who harboured them. Of such people, the centres of tragic Greek drama, it could indeed be said: "It was their own souls they wronged."

For the Greeks the only safety was in the strict control of such thoughts before they got out of hand. Salvation was only to be had in modesty, moderation, unpretentiousness, in a word, a mind whose thoughts were safe. If a man were not to shipwreck his own vessel like Samson,¹¹ he must learn the proper custody of himself. The

¹¹ "For had I sight, confused with shame,
How could I once look up, or heave the head,
Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwrecked
My vessel, trusted to me from above,
Gloriously rigged...
...do they not say, How well
Are come upon him his deserts?"

Milton, *Samson Agonistes*.

ultimate end of pride is the self-destroying self destroyed. Perhaps the lexicographers were wiser than they knew, or we recognise, in defining *Zulm* as 'misplacing' the self. And that man is capable of so doing is a large part of the meaning of original sin.

In Biblical terms, the Greek solution of "safe thoughts" is of course inadequate since these may exclude the purposiveness and dignity which are part of man's birthright. Nor is the living God "jealous" in the sense of the Greek pantheon. Biblically speaking, "saved thoughts" are the answer, thoughts that accept the essential creatureliness of man and recognise that freedom comes only in the right obedience, in ordered desire, in the worship of God as Lord. There are many passages which teach the positive side of this Biblical humility and the ever-present self-menace of its opposite. "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself" cries Hosea (xiii. 9). The Hebrew text is admittedly difficult but it means essentially: "It is thy destruction, O Israel, that thou art against me." The nation's ruin was brought upon itself by itself. What is this but *Zulm al-nafs*? In Proverbs viii. 36 (Jesuit Arabic version) the very word is used. Wisdom, speaking, declares: "He that sinneth against me, wrongeth his own soul." (*ḡalama nafsahu.*) In Proverbs vi.32, the adulterer is described as "the destroyer of himself."

The point, however, is not a matter of isolated quotation but of the whole Biblical picture and its analysis of the meaning of history. One might say that the whole study of the Gospels seen in the perspective of A.D. 70, is a narrative of Jewry's self-wronging. (cf. S. Luke xix.41-44; S. Matt. xxiii.37-38) The same truth is the logic of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen. (S. Luke xx.9-18). And perhaps deepest of all is the tremendous question of Jesus: "What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" (S. Matt. xvi.26; S. Mark viii.36) with its clear insistence that a man may in fact barter away his very self and that the bargain, whatever the gain, is a fool's and a loser's. There is an evident affinity here, in one sense, with the Quranic passages quoted by Dr. Husain (x.55; xiii.18; xxxix.48) about the wrongdoers essaying, in vain, to retrieve their lost souls with all the wealth of this world. What in the Gospels is a prospective warning—"what *shall* it profit...if..."—is in the Qur'ān a retrospective lament. But in either case the soul can imagine itself barterable and not know that it has no greater treasure than its own integrity. What is this situation but *Zulm al-nafs*, either actual or meditated?

Certain other considerations arise out of this. We have this actual capacity of self-frustration by the quality and tenour of our own choices. The self is in the hands of the self. This is man's inherent responsibility, as distinguished from all lesser creation. Instinctive self-preservation, not *Zulm al-nafs*, rules in the animal world. Realism requires that we accept this destiny and know that the danger is

latent and actual. Sin, as it were, in the words of Niebuhr, "presupposes itself." There is an inherent conditionality wherein self-destruction is a real option, though it does not become actual until the guilt is consciously and by will incurred. This, too, is part of the meaning of that much misunderstood concept 'original sin.' Moreover, "if we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves," as 1 John i.8 expresses it. "The truth is not in us" if we imagine ourselves immune from this ultimate issue of our whole existence. Unless we recognise (with a true forgiveness-seeking or *Istighfār*) that we are "such stuff as sins are made of" we deceive ourselves, and that, in a double sense. For then we have completely misread our situation and our nature, and we have also misconstrued impenitently the truth about our deeds. This possibility of *Zulm al-nafs* could not be the real menace it is if it were not also in a sense actually proceeding. It is only a truth about our status because it is also a momentary decision within our behaviour. It is this which Christian doctrine means. Is this meaning not also implied deeply in the Muslim demand for forgiveness-seeking and refuge in God? We are liable to an eventual self-wronging, because we are involved in a perpetual self-deciding. The events of the soul's biography as they unfold in its decisions and choices are potential of final self-wronging (or self-hood in truth) only because the soul in its inherent constitution has to decide about sin, (as angels or animals do not). It is just this which Christian doctrine, on its Biblical sources, is trying to affirm. It would seem that the Islamic concept of *Zulm al-nafs* requires it too.

Another question follows. Is the sense of self-wronging in a man any more potent, to restrain evil or conduce to good, than the other sanctions of right conduct which the writer condemns? The utilitarian bases of behaviour, or the hedonistic, or the warnings and behests of religious ethics, may all, as he observes, fall flat upon our stubborn wills and make the flimsiest barriers to "unsafe thoughts." This is true enough. But has the realisation we are wronging ourselves any more force or effectiveness, if we are bent on defiance and obstinately ready to take any consequences? Admittedly what is becoming of one in the ultimate reaches of self-making is properly a far more adequate criterion for conduct than the pursuit of pleasure or the attainment of paradise. But it is no more likely of being obeyed just for that reason. Indeed, the perversity of men, their 'won't power,' is likely to be all the more thwartingly excited by the realisation of how far-reaching and 'existential' their attitudes are. Or to put the matter into the interrogative: Is *Zulm al-nafs* to be stayed merely by the awareness that it is happening? To answer Yes! to this is to be more naive than the concept itself can allow. Diagnosis is not synonymous with cure, in what has to do with sin—a truth with which the doctrine of sin's being 'original' (in the sense of lying in the roots of personality) has much to do. Witness the

experience of St. Paul recorded in Romans vii.15-23, and confirmed in the biography of the saints. Did not Luther observe that the final form of sin is the ability of the sinner to refuse to recognise that in fact he is one? The deepest reach and danger of *Zulm-al-nafs* is just this capacity not to admit that it is happening. We have not rightly understood it if we suppose that it is meekly willing to give itself up in confession and penitence. Part of its very tyranny is that it steels men's hearts against their own salvation and forgiveness becomes a task fit for omnipotence.

At the same time, the process of *Zulm al-nafs* can be also in a measure imperceptible. It is at certain stages subtle, before it is ultimately tyrannical. Studied, for example, in the downfall of the physician in George Eliot's masterpiece *Middlemarch*, it lies in a long sequence of cumulative choices, compromises, habits, which in their separateness seem to be innocuous enough. Judas did not become the traitor save by a chain of gentle thoughts and slow declension. Resistance to truth is a drift before it is a death: sensitivities are compromised before they are overborne. In this sense also we are bound to question how far awareness of self-wronging is *ipso facto* a rescue from it. And further, is it not true that what lies within *Zulm al-nafs* includes in some sense our very virtues? It is this realisation also that lies behind the Christian doctrine of sin. Had not the Pharisee in the parable become in a real sense 'a wrong self' by the self-centredness of his very virtues? He thanked God that he was not as other men were, without knowing what sort of a man he was. His virtues, of probity, fasting, discipline and the like, had become in fact vehicles of sin. They had ministered to his self-esteem in a pride of righteousness which in fact disqualified all that he was. The same menace is always awaiting us. There is the humility that takes pride in being so, the goodness that has become censorious, the vocation that has ministered to esteem, the recognition of truth that has come to mean a monopolistic indulgence in superiority.

There is no easy salvation from these perils. They are implicit in our very goodnesses and there is about them an endlessly regressive character unless somehow their entail is halted in a proper acceptance of accountability and a perpetual penitence. How wrong we are if we suppose that men's religions are an inherently virtuous proceeding. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. This too lies within the significance of original sin. The 'fall' of man does not mean that he is totally depraved and incapable of good. That whole concept is out of all relation to human actuality. What the fallenness of man means is that there is no part of his whole personality exempt from the range of sinfulness. We cannot locate essential evil in the body, as if its mortification was the answer to all problems. For we should then have done despite to the whole gift and meaning of the physical realm and opened the door to the self-congratulations of hypocrisy.

Nor can we suppose that the root of man's evil case is simply an intellectual ignorance which mere education will correct. For reason too is only too capable of being morally perverted when it is set in the total context of the whole personality. Nor, exempting these reaches of our being from involvement in self-wronging, can we locate our sinfulness wholly in some realm of the spirit that leaves body and mind to an innocence of status. On the contrary, it is in our selves as selves, in the central unities of personal being, that both our responsibility and our moral self-determination belong. Our 'sin' is essential, 'original,' belonging in and with our actuality as persons. The adjective has to do not with history but with a living involvement in the decision to be, or to lose, the true self of the self. It means that selfhood has to be realised in a sustained and formative decision against selfishness and for the self God meant. That this becoming is a real issue is the practical meaning of what is meant by original sin.

Nor is it to be rightly thought of as some automatic legacy of an Adamic individual: it is rather the truth about Adamic man, about the race as it is operative in the person, about the person in that he participates in the race. There are 'collective egotisms' as Dr. Ḥusain has eloquently shown in *City of Wrong*. But they epitomise the consent and the decision of the participant individuals. "I" in Donne's tremendous phrase "am involved in mankind." It is this solidarity of involvement which is the meaning of Adam — of Adam the whole, of Adam the one, of Adam the 'me' every man is. Original sin is that constitution of the human situation by which being a self must face the inherent and 'wronging' menace of being selfish and by which this quality in the human state pervades through all that has to do with it. If in measure this definition is valid is it not by the same token the fullest sense of that *Zulm al-nafs* here studied and pondered?

The foregoing is in no way meant to be an exhaustive analysis of Christian doctrine. It makes no pretensions to completeness. It is merely seeking to map out possible lines of inter-theology in a realm that has always been central to the Christian concern for man and which seems, though unrecognised, to be latent in Quranic *Zulm al-nafs*. Perhaps we have come round full circle to where Dr. Ḥusain began in his valid attempt to break away from wooden dictionary definitions of *Zulm*. But if there is meaning in the foregoing, perhaps we must return, chastened and deepened, to the original idea that *Zulm* means not setting a thing where it properly belongs. How does the self see the self? where does the self place the self? Are not these the final questions of our destiny, the issues that constitute our life? That a wrong answer is no mere hypothetical danger is what the dogma of original sin means. The wrongness of the answer is indeed involved in our being the selves we are. But not irretrievably. For

God, Who created us for free response to Himself and knows our stake in the danger and glory of that freedom, is no outsider to our being-in-decision. But the pattern of His intervention would take us beyond the meaning of *Zulm* into the theme of its redemption.¹²

Jerusalem, Jordan.

KENNETH CRAGG

¹² A note from the author while this article was in proof prompts this further footnote. Dr. Husain wishes there to be no doubt that 'wrong' throughout means 'injustice' and in no case 'wrong' considered as 'error.' He is concerned lest 'wrong' in this context be understood in the sense in which a heretic, or a schoolboy, are 'wrong' without being 'unjust.' For to suppose that connotation of 'incorrect' would, as he insists, wreck the whole argument of the article. To an English reader this confusion is impossible so long as 'wrong' is used substantively without the definite article. It can only mean in such usage the equivalent of 'injustice' and it is that sense which it bears here throughout. 'Self wrong,' 'City of Wrong,' 'they wrong themselves,' and such phrases can only mean, and do only mean, injustice and evil, never mere error. If, however, we render the word, as Dr. Husain suggests, by "were unjust to themselves" we risk quite a different sense, namely the idea that they gave themselves less than their deserts, or failed to sustain their (high) reputation.

Dr. Husain adds: "The whole thesis hangs on the fact that in my opinion there is only one meaning for *Zulm* i.e. 'injustice,' and when this meaning is not clear because used intransitively it all becomes clear if the 'injustice' is understood as done to oneself."

He also notes that the passage in Surah xii. 53 is alternatively attributed by *Al-Kashshāf* to the wife of Potiphar, in reference to her intense desire for Joseph. This would certainly make the force of the words less impressive but does not basically affect the point made in footnote 9.

As for the discussion of *Shirk* in footnote 2, it is readily agreed that the reaches of its implications there suggested are not alive in the popular concept or belief. But this in no way disqualifies their potentiality.

RADICAL REFORM NATIONALISM IN SYRIA AND EGYPT II

IV. HISTORY

The ideological core of romantic nationalism is history. History comprehends institutionalized religion, history overcomes the problem of racial diversity, history defeats logic and defies "abstract theory," history affects the individual regardless of his conscious will, history emphasizes the collective character of the group, history foreshadows destiny, and history is a non-rational but nevertheless objective basis of nationalism. Arab nationalists are particularly prone to making sweeping statements on their own history, and together these comprise the Arab national myth. Aflaq's theory takes advantage of all of the facilities of the historical approach and he even offers an outline of a national myth himself.

Our discussion of Aflaq's notion of history falls into two parts, first his philosophy of history and second his sketch or interpretation of Arab history and the lesson derived therefrom. His philosophy of history is not presented as a coherent system, but some insights may be gathered from different essays. History is seen alternatively as being composed of cycles or stages. The cyclical emphasis appears when Aflaq stresses the past glory of the Arabs and the importance of returning to it.¹ The same notion is reflected in the Ba'ath constitution which notes that the Arabs have suffered numerous historical reverses but have always recovered and risen to great heights thereafter.² The cycle is comprised of a series of rises and declines. The stages may be no more than phases of the cycle, but Aflaq insists that the present generation must judge the past as an historian would.³ Its judgment

¹ Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl*, p. 29. Additional note by the Editor. Certain further notations came to hand relating to the footnotes of the first article too late for inclusion in the April issue. The author notes that an interesting summary of Ba'ath history, somewhat at variance with this presentation will be found in W.Z. Laqueur: "Syria: Nationalism and Communism," in *The Middle East in Transition*, ed. W.Z.L., New York, 1958, pp. 326-9. Laqueur, p. 327. reports that Aflaq was a member of the Communist Party of Syria prior to 1943.

The article by Rejwan, "Arab Nationalism," in the same source pp. 146-7 and 161 may be consulted on the controversy over Arab ideology. Nuseibeh's book, which is not so out of date as Rejwan suggests, is taken here as a contribution to this debate.

Gebran Majdalany, "The Arab Socialist Movement," reprinted from *Cahiers Internationaux* in Laqueur, *op. cit.* holds that "the Ba'ath has led the campaign for federation between Syria and Egypt; and the party's acceptance of two ministerial posts in the present Syrian Cabinet has no other explanation but the Ba'ath's desire to promote this plan." p. 341 Majdalany, is writing in the spring of 1957 some eight months before the union. (See April issue, p. 98.)

² *Dastūr*, p. 4.

³ Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl*, p. 56.

must be interpretative, not imitative. The Communists reject the past in its entirety; those who admire the west reject only the Arab past; but the Arab resurrectionists "recognize the past without considering it perfect, they regard it as a stage to which return is impossible, but which is capable of influence, and which has a vital and intimate connection with the present... We look to the past to benefit from it and not to benefit it."⁴ Doubtless this stand accords with Aflaq's attitude toward traditional Islam which is typically related to a rigid return to the past.

The stages of history are closely related to the circumstances of the nation, that is the nation as the subject of history. Aflaq seems to deny that there is any meaning in the idea of universal history. The mistake of the admirers of the west is that they take the historical development of the west as their own. Even though nations exist at the same time, their circumstances are different, and different actions are required of each.⁵ It is the Arabs' misfortune to be living during a stage of decline rather than during the age of Walīd (Umayyad) or Al-Ma'mūn (ʿAbbāsīd).⁶ The present circumstances of the Arab nation contrast sharply with their own past and the present position of the European nations.⁷ Recognition of these contrasts will cause the Arab awakening and their realization that the present stage is one of national struggle.⁸ History shows that the Arab mission was fulfilled only when national unity was maintained.⁹ We shall return to the problem of the Arab mission, but here we may cite the manner in which Aflaq gets his view of history, mission, and of Arab history together: "...the mission must be understood as a tendency and a propensity rather than a specific goal. To illustrate the discussion of the Arab mission in the past, we must draw a quick sketch of the major periods ... of the life of the Arab people..."¹⁰

The first of the periods discussed by Aflaq is the Jāhiliyyah, the period of ignorance before Islam.¹¹ It was during this period that Arabs were united in a homogeneous group. Socially, the group dominated the individual. Culturally, the Jāhili expressed himself in poetry and the language of the common people; the scholastic argumentation of the middle ages was non-existent. Ideologically, the Arabs of that period had no conception of the past or the future, only of the chain of the present. They had no notion of destiny and no understanding of the meaning of existence.

The coming of Islam revolutionized the social and intellectual life

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹¹ *Idem.*

of the Arabs.¹² Values were now determined by a force above individual and group alike. The interests and values of individual and collectivity were harmonized. The Arab acquired a conception of destiny (hereafter?) and of the meaning of existence. Past and present were alike evil, places of trial over which the individual could pass only by "a bridge of effort and piety." The externalized concerns of the Arab changed to an inner anxiety over salvation. The approval of the tribe was no longer a source of security to the individual, who now sought to fulfill God's will.

As Islam spread among non-Arab peoples, and national differences were submerged, the Arabs lost their feeling of national unity and returned to their Jāhili loyalties.¹³ They engaged in tribal battles, and a narrow selfishness developed. Weakness followed this period, and the Arabs began to lose their national homogeneity. This is certainly a confused passage. National unity supposedly emerged from the Jāhiliyyah, yet here tribalism is stressed, rather than national homogeneity, as a characteristic of the pre-Islamic period. Evidently the meaning is rather that homogeneity developed during the Jāhiliyyah, unity only during the early phase of Islam, while later on some Arabs were submerged in the multi-national Islamic society while others, less advanced, reverted to tribalism. How tribalism is to be equated with individualistic selfishness (the bane of nationalism) is unclear.

As this development continued, values came to be determined by individuals and in accordance with personal power and rank. The equality of the Jāhiliyyah passed away even as did the equality of Islam. Selfishness and competition prevailed under the rule that might is right.

After discussing the medieval situation of the Arabs, so similar to his view of its present stage, Aflaq goes back to sum up his interpretation.¹⁴ This time he praises the vitality of the Jāhiliyyah but deplores its excessive submission to tradition and its restriction of individualism. In early Islam, the true Arab ideal was realized for a short time, and then came the decline. This short review is important because it illustrates the manner in which the romantic approach to Islam is worked into nationalist theory. The framework remains one of national history, and Islam is no more than a catalyst which brings out aspects of Arabism but does not change them.

The present period is one in which the Arab renaissance is beginning.¹⁵ But this renaissance is endangered by the Jāhili spirit, which may result in the tyranny of the group over the individual. Some higher authorization of values than that of group or individual is needed. We believe that Arabism is above everything in the sense that

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 48. Hammadi differs somewhat, Rejwan, *op. cit.* p. 148.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

it is above well-being and selfishness... but we believe that one thing is above Arabism, and that is truth. Arabism must be bound to a permanent principle... Our slogan ought to be: Truth above Arabism so that the union of Arabism with truth may become a reality."¹⁶

It is difficult to know what to make of this passage. From the context and by obvious omission, Aflaq is not equating truth with Islam. Moreover, we have already seen that he rejects abstract theory and insists that the nation is the medium of the realization of all values. Is it conceivable that Arabism and truth can conflict? Perhaps the following passage will throw some light on the problem: "by Arabism they mean what is determined by the group..." The anti-democratic implications of this statement will be taken up below.

Anwar al-Sadat's views on history, tradition and Islam accord with those of Aflaq: "...respecting the customs of the people does not mean chaining them down to a dead past, it means respecting the essential and invisible continuities in a nation's life."¹⁷ Al-Barawy accepts the idea of nationalism, but his is a Marxist approach to history. Naguib is much more concerned with explaining his own actions than with developing an interpretation of Arab history. However, President 'Abd-al-Nāṣir does elaborate an historical sketch which is in conflict with that of Aflaq in that it discusses Egyptian history rather than Arab history, and also because he holds a different view of the cause of the decline. In his sketch, 'Abd al-Nāṣir is concerned with explaining the lack of popular response to the revolution. After mentioning the strategic importance of Egypt, he briefly discusses the Pharaonic period, Greek cultural influences, the Roman conquest, the Islamic conquest, then the beginning of the dark ages for Egypt with the Crusades, after which Egypt was subjected to Mongolian and Caucasian (Mamluke) tyrants. Under these tyrants Egypt stagnated; the Mamlukes fought one another while the people stood aside unconcerned. Since that time the response of the Egyptian people has been the same dissociation from the ruling group. Under Muḥammad 'Alī renewed contact was made with Europe, but this policy was overdone. The problem of the present it to unite the people behind a government which pursues the national interest, and to catch up with modern civilization. Like Aflaq, he says of the Egyptian nation: "Our destiny it is never to have fallen but that we rose again."¹⁸

It is possible to conclude that Aflaq and the Egyptian revolutionaries are in general agreement on their philosophies of history to the extent that these are made explicit. They are also in agreement that the present emerges from the past but that the past must not determine

¹⁶ *Idem.*, Hammadi, perhaps, makes this point more explicit: "The final aim of Arab nationalism is Right (Al-ḥaqq)," Rejwan, *op. cit.*, p. 151. In this paper Al-ḥaqq has been translated as Truth.

¹⁷ Al-Sadat, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁸ 'Abd al-Nāṣir, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-68.

the ideology or the practice of the present. There is an important divergence over the conception of the nation which is the subject of a continuous history. 'Abd al-Nāṣir, moreover, is proud of the Pharaonic and Greek heritages of Egypt though he blames the west for much. He does not ascribe the decline of Egypt to a mingling with non-Arabs, but to the domination of non-Egyptians. Furthermore, he ignores the pre-Islamic Arab period and both the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd Caliphates. The Egyptians, after all, were some of the non-Arab peoples among whom Aflaq's Arabs lost their identity.

V. MISSION

The national mission is of all the concepts of romantic nationalism least amenable to logical analysis. Despite the difficulty of this notion, it is almost perennially recurrent, and its frequency shows that it fulfills an important theoretical purpose. We have already seen that Aflaq insists upon the validity of the idea of nationalism regardless of the intrinsic value of the nation or its tradition. He also holds that nationalism is the constitutive principle of society, civilization, or humanity. In other words value is created by, or by means of, the nation. The idea of a national mission, vague though it may be, seems to tie together a number of loose theoretical ends.

In the first place the mission is another way of saying that the Arab national tradition is of universal validity, for there is nothing which is universal which is not also national. In the second place, the mission is a claim upon all other peoples to recognize Arab nationalism. In the third place the mission denies that one may be complacent in one's Arabism; the mission is the basis of nationalist activism. Finally, the mission seems to be an ideological device by which the past imposes obligations upon the present and future. To put the matter simply, the idea of a national mission answers the question: "Yes, but so what?"

The eternal Arab mission holds a central place in Aflaq's thought, and in the constitution of the Ba'ṯh party. In the Ba'ṯh constitution the single Arab nation is described as having an eternal mission, "... manifested in the shaping of a perfected regeneration through the stages of history, leading to the reform of human existence, spearheading human progress, and increasing harmony and cooperation among nations."¹⁹ The consequences of this principle are two: (a) opposition to colonialism and support for all peoples struggling for freedom, and (b) the mutual responsibility of all humanity for human welfare and civilization.²⁰ The mission is related to the special character of the Arab peoples which is distinguished in its special merit, revealed in its successive awakenings, and marked by the abundance of its vitality

¹⁹ *Dastūr*, p. 5.

²⁰ *Idem*.

and inventiveness and by its tendency toward reform..., and its resurgence is ever related to the growth of individual freedom and the [increased] scope of the harmony between [individual freedom] and national welfare.²¹ The Arab mission bridges the gap between the individual and the nation, and the gap between the nation and all humanity. It therefore answers the criticisms that nationalism is collectivist, suppressing individual freedom, or that it is exclusive, claiming superiority over other nations. At least this is true of Arab nationalism because of the content of Arab history. In so far as the mission is rooted in history, or at least in the Ba'ath conception of history, the nationalist movement is almost guaranteed of success, for the Arab nation, whenever it was united, has always achieved its mission in the past during its successive awakenings.²² Unfortunately, Aflaq fails to describe the time and circumstances of all those past awakenings.

The foregoing discussion suggests that the concept of the national mission is a theoretical device which serves to solve a number of problems which derive from the absence of logic in romantic nationalism, from the vulnerability of nationalist theory to liberal criticism, and from the unsatisfied character of Arab nationalism. But the word 'mission' itself seems to indicate that some specific program is to be deduced from Arab history. There is, however, no such program, and this is the real difficulty with the mission concept. The mission is in fact tautologous. It is tautologous because it cannot be achieved until Arab nationalism is "satisfied," but once nationalist aspirations are realized, the mission is realized. Consequently, the mission is nothing more than the satisfaction of the first principle of the Ba'ath constitution: "The Arabs are a single nation having a natural right to exist within a single state and (having a right) to realize its capabilities."²³

That the Arab mission is in fact the realization of this principle, is substantiated by Aflaq's treatment of this issue. Aflaq is at pains to point out that the mission is not a concrete nor a specific thing to be realized at a particular time.²⁴ The mission is a propensity or a tendency²⁵ or simply faith.²⁶ It is self-evident, and a necessary complement of nationhood.²⁷ The mission is capable of immediate realization in the Arab struggle for independence, for through unaided struggle the Arabs "will learn anew the meaning of truth, righteous-

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²² Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl*, p. 43.

²³ *Dastūr*, p. 3.

²⁴ Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl*, p. 32. In *With Arab Nationalism*, nationality is referred to as a being, while religion is described as a mission. Rejwan, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 42.

²⁷ *Idem.*

ness, purity, work, sacrifice, clear thinking . . . and free creativity . . ." 28 After "illustrating" the nature of the Arab mission by reference to the brief historical sketch which we have already described, Aflaq goes on to discuss the Arab mission today: "... that the Arabs rise to bring about the resurrection of their nation; that is the best they can contribute to humanity . . . the eternal Arab mission is in understanding this present time . . . and requiting its needs . . . then they will not merely have built their nation and created a national character but they will contribute to all humanity the result of that experience . . ." 29

The leading Egyptian revolutionaries are silent on the question of the Arab national mission. Only President 'Abd al-Nāṣir spoke of a role in search of a hero. That role was essentially international and the hero was not the Arab nation but Egypt.

VI. REVOLUTION

The Ba'ṯh calls itself a revolutionary party, but the term revolution is given special meaning in Aflaq's theory. Except for relatively short periods the Ba'ṯh cooperated in working the various constitutions which Syria has had since its independence. Even the union of Syria and Egypt, which involves a change of revolutionary magnitude, was accomplished by constitutional means. Obviously, Aflaq's is a romantic, non-legalistic, conception of revolution. The Ba'ṯh constitution, however, states that revolution and struggle are necessary for the achievement of an Arab renaissance and for building socialism. Gradual development and partial amelioration will be self-defeating. "Therefore the party decides upon: (1) a struggle against foreign colonialism . . . (2) a struggle to assemble a union of all the Arabs . . . (3) a revolution against existing evils comprehending all intellectual economic, social, and political forms of life." 30

The goals of anti-colonialism and Arab unity are revolutionary and justify the use of the term. The problem of economic and political revolution will be taken up later within the framework of a discussion of Ba'ṯh socialism and democracy. Aflaq, himself, tends to stress the intellectual and social aspects of the revolution.

First Aflaq is concerned with why revolution is necessary. Once again reference is made to the decline of the Arabs, a recurrent theme in this work. 31 Because of the low state of the Arabs gradual development and evolutionary change is not enough. The advanced nations are healthy and may therefore progress by normal means, but the Arabs are diseased, and ordinary methods will only redound to the

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51. Abdul Latif Sharara distinguished European nationalism from "humanist nationalism" in *Al-Adab*, October, 1955, cited in Rejwan, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

³⁰ *Dastūr*, p. 8.

³¹ Aflaq, *Fi Sabīl*, p. 7, 11, 16, 28, and 29.

further detriment of their health.³² The advanced nations may progress by changing some laws or removing and replacing governmental personal, but such palliatives would tend to worsen the condition of the Arabs.

... Political changes and, by implication, economic changes do not comprehend the full or even the fundamental idea of revolution.³³ Aflaq places the ideal above the material. He rejected abstract theory because it denies that things may change in form and yet remain the same.³⁴ He rejects superficial change because it does not affect the spirit.³⁵ He asserts that spirit not only "controls matter and instrumentalities, but creates them as well."³⁶ The resurrection movement must be capable of controlling "circumstances," and this will be achieved primarily through its conception of the past.³⁷

"When we speak of revolution, we mean an intellectual and a moral change."³⁸ Since the environment reflects social values rather than creating them,³⁹ the revolutionary struggle is with one's self.⁴⁰ This struggle is not merely a means, but an end in itself.⁴¹ Only in an *atmosphere* of struggle will unity be achieved.⁴² The aim of the revolution is to change the social values of the Arabs. "Our aim is therefore a long-term one: a revolution to be brought about in people's way of thinking."⁴³

The social change which Aflaq seeks is less directly reflected than the intellectual change he is after. The intellectual revolution which he equates with a changed value system is to be manifested by the nationalists through struggle and sacrifice. The part which struggle plays in this theory has already been described: it is an end in itself. In order to carry on the struggle one must be ready to sacrifice the easy life and seeking individual interests. Sacrifice for one's nation leads to a more fruitful life and more exalted spirit than sacrifice for one's self alone.⁴⁴ The Arab youth may not live the comfortable life of the

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1. See Ali Baddur on the nature of the disease, Rejwan, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

³³ Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl*, p. 27.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 28 (italics supplied).

⁴³ "Forum Interviews Michel Aflaq," *Middle East Forum*, Vol. 33, no. 2, February, 1958, p. 9. In the same issue, Professor G. H. Gardner comes to the conclusion that "the will for social change has not yet taken deep root in the Middle East, if our respondents are at all representative." His respondents were heavily weighted toward urban university educated Egyptians! "What Men Live By," *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14.

⁴⁴ Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl*, p. 13.

youth of the advanced nations.⁴⁵ Theirs must be a life of struggle.⁴⁶ They must shun pleasures and enjoyments if they are to be the instruments of true and complete revolution.⁴⁷ Not all of those who oppose the Ba^cth movement are evil, most simply seek to live a natural life under unnatural conditions.⁴⁸ But to seek such a life under existing conditions is to deprive the majority of the people of their opportunity of living a "natural" life (i.e. in accordance with the true Arab spirit) and is therefore illegitimate.

Muḥammad Naguib's vision of the Egyptian revolution is straightforward. There were serious abuses of political and economic power in Egypt, and the army took action against the King who was the keystone of the whole system. Naguib's chapter on the revolution is a recitation of the action taken by the Revolutionary Council during its first months in office.⁴⁹ Naguib does, however, indicate the importance of inculcating pride, self-discipline, and a spirit of sacrifice in the younger generation.⁵⁰

ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's view of the revolution is somewhat vague, and yet aspires to greater sophistication. In the first place he writes of the "philosophy of the revolution," thereby indicating that it has some sort of intellectual dimension. He also presents his interesting theory of a twofold revolution, a political and a social revolution, whose coincidence constitutes Egypt's special problem.⁵¹ Colonel Anwar al-Sadat reflects the same view when he says that Egypt had two bastilles: feudalism and British imperialism.⁵² Al-Sadat goes on to say, "...once one fortress was breached, the other was sure to crumble." ʿAbd al-Nāṣir does not agree with the latter view, for he felt that the political revolution tended to unite the people of Egypt, but that the social revolution divided them,⁵³ a lesson he learned by bitter experience. He relates how he had sought the advice of elder statesmen and of university professors, and how all saw remedies in their own advancement or the penalization of their enemies. He confesses he thought all that was needed was a vanguard to lead the way, but he found the people standing aside allowing the revolution to pass over their heads while the opportunist politicians sought to climb on the bandwagon.⁵⁴ His view conflicts somewhat with that of Professor al-Barawy who is at pains to show that the revolution was a popular one and not a military coup d'état.⁵⁵ In an interesting chapter on the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴⁹ Naguib, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-180.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 74.

⁵¹ ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁵² Al-Sadat, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁵³ ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-3.

⁵⁵ Al-Barawy, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.

economic background of the revolution, Al-Barawy describes the growth of a nationalistic petit-bourgeoisie and locally educated intelligentsia.⁵⁶ But of course the Revolutionary Command did not appeal directly to this class nor to the less articulate workers and peasants for help. It first turned to Ali Mahir and was disappointed when he procrastinated on land reform.

Despite this divergence of view ʿAbd al-Nāṣir denies (and seemingly contradicts Naguib) that the revolution stemmed merely from rage over the defective arms with which the army had to fight in Palestine or the refusal to permit Faruk to manipulate the election of the officer's club. The Egyptian revolution, he held, was rooted in the history of Egypt.⁵⁷ The task of Egypt was to catch up with the advanced nations, but the major obstacle was egotism.⁵⁸ Thus the main object of the revolution was now to unite the people of Egypt.⁵⁹ It would therefore seem that experience has taught him the truth of Aflaq's view, that superficial political and economic changes are not enough. Unfortunately, Aflaq gives us no formula for realizing the goals of his revolution. From his emphasis on a revolution in value one gathers that he considers education and propaganda the most important method, but education must accompany the elimination of class exploitation.⁶⁰

VII. SOCIALISM

Socialism and nationalism, despite possible theoretical conflicts have often been found together. The German National-Socialist Party stands out as a recent and impressive example of the potential political appeal of the two, but even the more orthodox socialists like the SPD in Germany and SFIO in France evidence strong nationalistic tendencies, and the British Labour Party when in power pursued a similar policy. Nevertheless none of these except the National-Socialist Party raised nationalism to an ideological level equal to that of their socialism. The Syrian Baʿth is primarily a nationalist party but it insists on the indispensability of socialism to the realization of its goals. The combination of nationalism and socialism in a single ideological system is not necessarily a contradiction in terms, especially when we are not concerned with Marxist socialism. Since Marxism rejects nationalism Aflaq rejects Communism outright. What Aflaq calls "theoretical socialism" is rejected for the same reason.⁶¹ What, then, is Aflaq's socialism?

Our tract offers little besides these negative statements so we must turn once again to the Baʿth constitution and to another tract written

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-80.

⁵⁷ ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 *et passim*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁶⁰ *Forum*, p. 10.

⁶¹ Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl* p. 44 and p. 60. *Forum*, p. 10.

by one of Aflaq's followers. Article 4 of the Ba'ṯh constitution explains the necessity of Socialism for the realization by the Arab people of their potentialities.⁶² Socialism will cause the Arab genius to unfold in the most perfect manner, "and it will guarantee to the nation continuous growth in its spiritual and material development and strong fraternization among its individuals." In addition to this article, with its strong suggestion of ethical socialism, the constitution has a number of specific provisions for economic reforms. These include the redistribution of immovable property among all the citizens, the prohibition of the exploitation of the labor of others, and the nationalization and direct public operation of all large scale enterprises, the transport system, public utilities and important extractive industries. Agricultural ownership is to be limited by the capacity of the individual to work the land without exploiting the labor of others. The ownership of small-scale industries will be regulated so as to permit the owner no more than the average national standard of living. Workers will have some say in management, and their wages will be determined by the state. The ownership but not the renting out of real property in buildings will be permitted, and the government is to guarantee to all a minimum of such property. Nevertheless, private property and the right of inheritance are guaranteed. The government will take over all banking services and supply credit without interest. The government will regulate foreign and domestic commerce and will draw up a comprehensive economic plan for the purpose of increasing national production.⁶³

This summary the Ba'ṯh proposals for the future economic policies of an Arab national government poses two questions. (a) Is this "true" socialism or just "welfare-ism"; and (b) how is such a program theoretically required by Ba'ṯh nationalism? There is, of course, no agreement on the nature of true socialism, but it is obvious that this series of proposals does not coincide with Marxist doctrine nor the policies of west European socialist parties. We may note briefly that these reforms will hardly touch the urban lower middle class and the peasantry except to guarantee each a house in which to live. Owners of large tracts of land, large-scale entrepreneurs and foreign enterprises are the only ones to be seriously affected. Workers will be organized in trade unions but will be controlled by the government. If Al-Barawy is correct about the nature of the revolutionary class, and we believe he is, then Ba'ṯh socialism does not lead to a dictatorship of the proletariat nor to a nationalization of production. Ba'ṯh socialism means the dictatorship of the lower middle class and the levelling down of all those who stand above them in the social and economic scale. This

⁶² *Dastūr*, p. 7.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-17.

interpretation is corroborated by the reasoning which finds "socialism" necessary to the realization of Arab national aspirations.

Dr. al-Razāz is not nearly as persuasive a writer as Aflaq, but he has much the same approach to his material. His discussion of Ba'ṯh socialism shows all the marks of Aflaq's influence. Socialism, he holds, is not solely concerned with economics, it involves a way of life and a way of understanding economic, political, educational, social, health, moral, literary, scientific, and historical matters.⁶⁴ Capitalism, feudalism, and tribalism, too, are all comprehensive systems. Though Al-Razāz rejects determinism he states that science has within the last century proven that economics directs and connects the other aspects of life and that economic considerations may either unite or divide individuals. Socialism is the economic system which unites and produces cooperation in all fields of life. In any case life may not be compartmentalized into economic, political and social spheres. Thus whoever takes a position on political matters must take a complementary position on economic affairs.⁶⁵ Socialism, freedom and unity are all aspects of the same thing. Unity cannot be achieved by means of colonialism or feudalism, and those who desire unity at any price (The Sha'b party of Syria?) are mistaken. The crisis of democracy in Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria comes from the mistaken belief in constitutions and laws, but the success of democracy really depends on the abolition of feudalism. Moreover, it is impossible to say that first either freedom or unity must be achieved and afterwards socialism.⁶⁶ Socialism has a beginning but no end; it is not laws but a way of life, hence it changes with the times. The first step toward socialism is not organization but understanding. Socialism helps us to understand the laws of history, and teaches us how to struggle more efficiently; it eliminates trial and error.⁶⁷ Socialism does not give us exact goals; it is merely a means to an end. Some people say that the salvation of the Arabs is with the Russians or with diplomacy, military dictatorship, oligarchy or intelligarchy, but they are all wrong. Socialism tells us that we must depend only on the people, and our understanding of socialism is important because knowledge is the first step toward correct action. This belief in and action for socialism is something which strengthens our efforts now. That is why we must be socialists now. Moreover, socialism will be realized, only to the extent that freedom and unity are realized, no more and no less.⁶⁸

In view of the fact that determinism is specifically rejected by both

⁶⁴ Dr. Hanif al-Razāz, *Li-Mādha al Ishtirākīyyah*, *Alan?* a lecture, n.d., n.p., printed at Jerusalem, pp. 46. But see Majdalany's definition, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁶⁵ Al-Razāz, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20. Akram Hourani expresses the same view that socialism, freedom and unity are single aspects of the same thing, in "Face to face with Akram Hourani" *Middle East Forum*, March, 1957, vol. 32, 3, p. 33.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

Al-Razāz and Aflaq,⁶⁹ this interpretation of socialism is rather surprising. But we must note that even though socialism explains the laws of history, it is an integral part, but only a part, of the whole of life. Moreover, if socialism is understood as being the equivalent of respect for human dignity, and if it involves no specific program but rather grows and changes through history, then the whole notion can be reduced to the welfare state idea. In any case, socialism is here treated almost exactly as nationalism is treated by Aflaq, and may be considered no more than the recognition of the importance of economics to politics in general way. There is, however, another dimension to the problem, and that is the belief that certain entrenched economic interests are opposed to the realization of Arab nationalist aspirations. It is the latter point which is the real tie-in between the nationalism and the socialism of the Ba'ṯh. An understanding of socialism will lead one to recognize the reactionary role of these interests. Socialism will be realized to the extent that freedom and unity are realized because, for the Ba'ṯh socialism, freedom, and unity are all the same thing.

Al-Razāz gives us the "socialist" interpretation of the Arab nationalist problem: feudalism and colonialism are natural allies; colonialism uses the feudal class as an instrument of control.⁷⁰ The colonialists attempt to exploit the feudalists as well as the people, so the feudalists lead nationalist movements until such time as the colonialists realize that it is better to cooperate with the feudalists against the people.⁷¹ The example of Egypt proves that only after the feudalists were suppressed could real freedom be achieved, and only then did Egypt realize its own Arabism. Shishakli said he was a socialist but he appointed large landowners to implement land reform and capitalists were appointed to the ministries of Economy and Finance. Therefore Syria was not freed of colonialism.⁷²

This theory of the national problem is not implausible, nor is there any doubt that much unabashed economic exploitation exists in the Middle East. The real point is, however, that despite the achievement of independence, the lower middle class and the professionals so well represented by the Ba'ṯh are dissatisfied with the domestic and foreign policies of their governments. Or more accurately, they are dissatisfied with the policies of the neighboring Arab governments and the former policies of the Syrian and Egyptian governments. Except for the Syrian, Egyptian and Yemeni governments, all of the Arab governments do receive support from western powers. Thus the issue is

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7, where Al-Razāz holds that economics is not the sole determinant: Aflaq, *Fī-Sabīl*, pp. 35, 36: "...political circumstances, which are the result of economic circumstances..." pp. 40, 44: "...we control our way and make our destiny..." See also A. Hourani, *Middle East Forum*, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁰ Al-Razāz, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 12-14. Cf. also G. Baer, in Laqueur, *op. cit.* p. 95, and Egyptian views cited in Rejwan, *op. cit.* p. 158.

primarily a domestic one. But the effort of the west to maintain stability in the Middle East lends plausibility to the theory that colonialism and feudalism are allied against nationalism and social reform. The meaning of the revolutionary character of the Ba'ṯh becomes much clearer now, despite the emphasis on the intellectual and ethical aspects of socialism. Ba'ṯh socialism itself, if it is anything more than an ideological explanation of why imperialism must still be fought, and why land reform must be instituted, is aimed at expanding the economic and political opportunities of the lower middle class and enhancing their social status. Nationalism rather than socialism is the legitimizing institution which is their justification.

In this regard, it is worth recalling that Al-Razāz is content to accept the Egyptian revolutionary reforms as having eliminated feudalism, and to equate that result with socialism. The Egyptian leaders, of course, do not use the word socialism, nor do they use the word *etatisme* as did the Turks. But the absence of a common terminology does not necessarily mean that there is no common ground on which both Syrian and Egyptian radical nationalists may stand.

Land reform was the only explicit part of the Free Officers' program outside of political revolution. A far reaching program of land redistribution is in the process of implementation, and new marketing and credit facilities are being extended to rural areas in Egypt. Most of the larger industrial establishments in Egypt are engaged in light manufacturing or food processing, and the more important of these are wholly or partly owned and controlled by important banking interests. While the management of these industries is to some extent affected by governmental preferences, none have been taken over directly except those owned by foreign investors; and even then it took the Suez crisis to justify such a policy. The Egyptian government has followed no general levelling-down policy. The lower middle class had been dealt with first rather severely, and now more paternalistically. Some army officers were purged, but most of the middle ranks have benefitted by the revolution. Civil servants were initially under a cloud, and the previous liberal hiring policy was reversed. After a time, however, the revolutionary régime resumed hiring, raised salaries somewhat, and restored a sense of security to the service. Other groups, such as teachers and journalists have been organized into government sponsored associations and have been given codes of ethics as well as fixed wages.

Land reform is an important part of the Ba'ṯh program, even though Syria has large stretches of unexploited or partially exploited land. Aflaq's own constituency of Hama has an acute agrarian problem, but what extensive agricultural development has taken place in Syria, has been the result of private efforts in the Gezira. The "merchant-tractorists" who have now ventured into the Gezira are mostly northerners who tended to favor union with Iraq. The extension of

"land reform" to these areas of extensive, mechanized, farming will most certainly deprive the "merchant-tractorists" of an important source of income. Conditions within Syria do not warrant such an extension. But if recent statements to the effect that the Syro-Egyptian union has reduced the importance of the Aswan project because it provides land for Egyptian emigrants in Syria are declarations of policy, then the agricultural development of the Gezira will be altered drastically. Syrian industry is small, and most of what there is of it is controlled by northerners and a single large holding company. These financier-industrialists were apparently displeased by the union. While their reasons have not been made entirely clear, it would seem that many of their products will have to compete with similar Egyptian goods. Not only will they lose the protection heretofore accorded them, albeit in a limited market, but a stronger and more stable government will undoubtedly restrict their freedom. The Syrian lower middle classes have received the union with favor, but civil servants, teachers, journalists, and professionals of other kinds including middle level military officers may find the competition with Egyptians to be severe.

Socialism of the kind envisaged by Aflaq and Al-Razāz may well be approximated under Egyptian leadership. The organization and protection of the lower middle classes may proceed further than the Ba'ath constitution provided. But neither pseudo socialism nor nationalist victories will guarantee the support of the Syrian lower middle class. To achieve real solidarity, many new economic and political opportunities will have to be provided for this group.

VIII. DEMOCRACY

It is, perhaps, superfluous to point out that there are important differences between democracy, nationalism, constitutionalism and socialism. There is no reason why all four of these elements cannot co-exist in a single political system, even as the Ba'ath argue that all four will characterize the future Arab state. There is, furthermore, something to the argument that all four will be but facets of one and the same social reality. While distinction among these four in a real state can be analytical only, they may be more reasonably separated from one another in discussing a theory and a constitution.

Democracy is a system of government in which the people are the supreme authority for all official acts. While the people are taken as a whole, pure democratic theory postulates that ideally the will of all is the same as the will of each, given universal freedom, rationality and goodness. Theoretically individualism and social responsibility are reconciled in pure democratic theory. Nationalism insists upon the sameness of a certain group of persons and their difference from all others, which distinctive character entitles them to a separate statehood. Nationalism also reconciles individualism and social responsibility by insisting that nationality determines interest, pre-

ference of political institutions, and modes of cultural expression. Nationalism does not, however, insist upon some manifest expression of the popular will as does democracy. Constitutionalism may be alternatively the principle of government under law or the limitation of governmental power. In relation to democracy, constitutionalism limits not only government but the operation of democracy itself. In so far as the constitutional rules may provide for only periodic expressions of popular will it also limits democracy, but in the interest of making it workable. Socialism involves not only public control of all economic activity but also public ownership of the means of production, i.e., land and capital. Socialism postulates the identity of individual and collective interests when once private property and private economic decision-making are eliminated. When the political is viewed as an aspect of the economic, socialism may become a necessary adjunct of democracy or nationalism.

If this brief explanation of these four exceedingly controversial concepts is accepted, it appears that the crucial assumption is that the will of each individual is the same as that of the collectivity. Insofar as the nation is comprised only of those who subjectively feel themselves to be its members, no theoretical problem arises. Since Aflaq's is essentially an objective theory the issue is more problematical. The divergence of view between a nationalist leadership which asserts its belief in democracy, nationalism, constitutionalism and socialism and an upper middle class élite which insists on the empirical discovery of the will of the majority is great indeed. The former have tended to set up plebiscitary dictatorships claiming to act in the name of the nation if not also the people. The latter distinction is valid since the nation may include past as well as future generations. Such dictatorships are legitimized by constitutions which may or may not recognize the fact that only a single will will be expressed. The socialism of such regimes empowers the dictatorship to control the economy. The justification of these regimes is that they act in the interest of the people even if they do not obey the people. Aflaq's views reflect at once a desire for democratic-constitutional devices, and the realization that the will of the people will not accord with the will of the nationalist leadership.

According to Dr. al-Razāz, true freedom cannot come to the Arabs until foreign colonialism and "feudalism" are both abolished. When, however, the Ba'ṯh movement is successful it will enact a constitution which will guarantee a comprehensive series of civil rights and which will make government responsible and responsive to the will of the people. In the meantime, constitutional means are not only useless, but their continued pursuit has brought on the crisis of democracy in the Middle East.⁷³

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

The Ba'ṯh constitution lays down its program. It provides for freedom of speech, association and creed.⁷⁴ The constitution declares that the Ba'ṯh is a populist party which believes that dominion belongs to the people.⁷⁵ Full citizenship rights will be guaranteed to women. The system of government will be representative and constitutional. The executive will be responsible to the legislature which is to be directly elected by the people.⁷⁶ All Arab citizens will be guaranteed equality before the law and the freedom to vote as they please in honest elections.⁷⁷ There will, however, be certain limits upon these freedoms as determined by the "higher interest of the Arab nation. Intellectuals and 'ulamā' are to be protected by the state⁷⁸ but "every manifestation of intellectual life...will be stamped with the Arab national impress." There will be no private educational institutions. The freedom of private association, of forming parties and of the use of the media of mass communications will be limited, not by law, but by Arab nationalist ideology.⁷⁹

Despite these vague, and therefore dangerous, limitations, the Ba'ṯh constitution is quite obviously influenced by western liberalism. This liberalism is fictitious to the extent that the limitations are either rigidly imposed or to the extent that they need never be resorted to because of the existence of wide agreement. Let us remember that this is an ideal constitution, to come into effect when the Arab nation is united and awakened. "When the nation was in an advanced state... the responsibility of the individual was smaller. Even if he was capable of serving the state he was not required to do so. There was no conflict between serving the state and benefitting from it, rather both harmonized most of the time."⁸⁰

Until that earlier level of advancement is regained there is no such harmony between the individual and the general welfare. During the period of decline most individuals seek their own welfare, while only a few seek to serve the whole nation.⁸¹ These few are the vanguard of the Arab national movement, which will save the nation from itself. The vanguard will struggle to awaken the nation, and they will be aided by the "hidden will which agitates the breast of the whole nation."⁸² This élitist strain is further strengthened by Aflaq's insistence that "the nation is not a numerical group, but rather an ideology which is incarnate in that group as a whole or in part of it. Nations do not perish because of the decrease in the number of their individuals... the ideology exists as a seed in certain individual members of the nation,

⁷⁴ *Dastūr*, p. 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10-11.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁸⁰ Aflaq, *Fi-Sabīl*, p. 52.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6, 30.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 31.

therefore it is right for people of this kind to speak in the name of the group. The leader during a period of weakness and ideological contraction is not the one who pleases the majority, but the one who resists... not he who substitutes numbers for ideology, but he who directs the 'number' toward the ideology." ⁸³

Another revealing passage may justify "forcing men to be free:" "...in this struggle we shall preserve love for all. If we are hard on others let them know that we press them in order to restore them to themselves... and when others are hard on us we shall know that it is their own true selves which they ignore. Their concealed will which is not yet made apparent is with us though they themselves are against us." ⁸⁴ Clearly the will of the nation is to be determined by a small group of enlightened nationalist leaders. This approach is not basically modified by Aflaq's insistence that truth is above nationalism. ⁸⁵ He seems to realize that the nationalist renaissance may develop into a tyranny of the group over the individual, but he denies that Arabism is that which is determined by the group. ⁸⁶ Who, then, is to determine the truth which will in turn define Arabism?

An interesting insight into Ba^cth democracy may be gained from the way in which the problem of Egypt is dealt with. As Dr. al-Razāz puts it, Egypt seems to contradict his doctrine because Egypt has eliminated both colonialism and feudalism but does not enjoy internal political freedom. ⁸⁷ Al-Razāz answers his own question by asserting that freedom will return to Egypt, because it is the nature of things, the result of a kind of physical law. ⁸⁸ Aflaq is less concerned with the laws of history and politics. He stresses the transitional nature of the present period in Syria and Egypt: "In those countries where the popular movement has grown to the extent of participating in the government, as in Syria and now in Egypt, we believe that we can allow some enlargement of the power of the Executive and restriction of personal liberty to allow faster progress towards our objectives." ⁸⁹ Apparently, it is Aflaq's belief that individual freedom must be expanded until the radical nationalists begin to acquire power, then it must be restricted in proportion to their increase in power, until such time that the educational efforts of the government have awakened all Arabs to the identity of their interests, when individual freedom may safely be expanded again. The success of such an experiment in social engineering ultimately depends on the validity of Aflaq's contentions about the "real" will of the Arab nation.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50 (discussed above).

⁸⁶ *Idem* and *Forum*, p. 10.

⁸⁷ Al-Razaz, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15. But ^cAli Baddūr, in Rejwan, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-3 argues for "planned dictatorship" in an attack on Ba^cth Party slogans.

⁸⁹ *Forum*, p. 33.

It is evident that the Ba'ṯh finds no ideological barrier preventing it from cooperating with the admittedly undemocratic government of Egypt. In this regard it is less important to examine the written views of the leading Egyptian revolutionaries than to refer to the actual institutions which they have established. The Egyptian constitution has its full complement of political and social rights limited by law or by their gradual extension until adequate means are found. The executive, legislative and judicial branches of government are separated, and popular elections are provided for. But only a single party is permitted to campaign and many candidates have run unopposed. Moreover, the president himself was elected by a plebiscite which offered no real alternative. Evidently it is the purpose of the Egyptian government to awaken and mobilize the people to an awareness of their interests.

It appears that the ideological tendencies and general political outlook of the Ba'ṯh and the Egyptian leaders is essentially the same. Clearly the people are not to be consulted but directed. Eventually a system of democracy, nationalism, constitutionalism and socialism (or anti-“feudalism”) will be justified by the absolute coincidence between the wills of the individual and the group. Until that time radical nationalist governments will disregard individual wills in order to serve what they *know* to be the wider nationalist interest. They know this because they are the vanguard of the nationalist movement.

However, a common ideology is by itself a flimsy reed upon which to build political cooperation. The Egyptian vanguard is at once gifted, practical, and powerful. The Syrian vanguard never achieved political security nor real control of the country. It is unlikely that the Syrian radicals can do more than serve the Egyptian élite. Should they refuse to do so, ʿAbd al-Nāṣir might easily find other Syrian partners of considerable influence or he may choose to deal directly with the Syrian middle classes. It has been reported that the Ba'ṯh was confident that it would achieve dominance in the union because of its superior intellectual capabilities. But the ability to spin out romantic theories is not the same as that needed to administer a government. The Egyptians have, moreover, done fairly well so far without the Ba'ṯh, and it is significant that Akram Hourānī, the accomplished political tactician, and not Aflaq, was made vice-president of the United Arab Republic. Aflaq's theories may be used without Aflaq.

University of California at Los Angeles

LEONARD BINDER

EARLY ENGLISH EDITIONS OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

THEIR VALUE TO 18TH CENTURY LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP

Universally accepted as a work of classic proportions, the *Arabian Nights* had its beginnings in the Middle Ages, where it was conceived for the purpose of entertaining poor Arab folk. Just who were its authors, no one knows, but it is likely that the itinerant storyteller who gathered his audience about him in the town coffee-house contributed a fair share to the legacy of these tales of a thousand and one nights. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the *Nights*, a work evolved to please the illiterate masses, has never been regarded as literature by Arabic scholars. Only after the tales were discovered and translated into other tongues, only after they had been acclaimed by the western world, were they officially acknowledged by the nation that had borne them.¹

Antoine Galland (1646-1715), a learned Frenchman and Academician, is the one man to whom the west owes its first reading of *The Thousand and One Nights*, or, as it came to be known in England, *Arabian Nights*. The first four volumes of his *Livre des Mille et une Nuit* appeared at Paris in 1704, and by the year 1706, the first seven volumes were in circulation in France. In 1709 M. Galland issued his eighth volume, in 1712 his ninth and tenth volumes, and in 1717 volumes eleven and twelve were published posthumously.²

Shortly after Galland's first volumes were published they were translated into English, but when, where, and by whom no one has yet been able to discover with any certainty. Because of the dearth of bibliographical information concerning the first appearance of the *Nights* in English, and because of the scarcity of early editions, many misconceptions have accumulated. The most salient of such misconceptions are, first, that the twelve volumes of Galland's *Mille et une Nuit* were published all at one time in 1704, second, that the *Arabian Nights* was first printed in English in 1724, and third, that the stories included in these early translations are the same as those contained in translations made a century later. The real facts sharply repudiate these notions, for, in the first place, the twelve volumes of Galland's *Contes Arabes* appeared one or two at a time from 1704 to 1717; second, the *Arabian Nights* had already reached a second edition in English by 1712; and third, the stories incorporated into Galland's version are often at variance with those contained in the versions of later translators.

¹ An Arabic edition of the complete *Arabian Nights* was published for the first time in 1839-42 at Calcutta.

² See Nikita Eliséeff, *Thèmes et Motifs des Mille et une Nuit: Essai de Classification* (Beyrouth, 1949), pp. 69-76.

Note that the first edition of Galland's work appeared with a grammatical error in the title.

Despite these misconceptions, some scholars have called attention to parallel episodes in the *Nights* and in *Gulliver's Travels*, which was published in 1726. But their guesses, to be examined below, were haphazard, based more on the subjective impression that much in *Gulliver* is reminiscent of parts of the *Nights*, rather than on the objective examination of *Gulliver's Travels* (or *Robinson Crusoe*, of which less has been said) with that version of the tales to which Swift or Defoe had access. Indeed, it is hardly valid to take a 19th century edition of the *Arabian Nights*, compiled by an Arabist who translated from a manuscript other than the one used by Galland, a manuscript, that is, containing stories unknown to Galland, and to point out where Swift drew from the *Nights*. Yet that is the procedure which has been followed time and again by reputable scholars in the 20th century.

It is true, first, that the bibliographical data concerning the first appearance of the *Nights* in English is incomplete, but there are certain unalterable facts about second, third, fourth, and fifth editions. It is also true that these English editions are exceedingly rare, but some do exist and a simple perusal of their tables of contents would show why Swift could not have seen certain tales.

There are in the British Museum four early editions of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments*, the oldest of which is the second edition of 1712. Another edition (mistakenly called the "Fourth" on the title-page) arrived in 1713, and a fourth edition (written as the "Third") is dated at 1715. The Museum owns an incomplete set of these editions (1712-1715), six volumes in three. A fifth edition also in the British Museum was published in 1718 and consists of four bound books containing the complete twelve volumes. Another early edition in this library is the sixth of 1725, which includes the complete twelve volumes in six bound books. The fourth early set of *Nights* owned by the British Museum is a rare "Seventh Edition," which contains the twelve volumes in four. It is the only early edition to originate in Dublin, the others having all been published in London. The library also holds other, less rare, later 18th century copies, — 1772, 1778 (Fourteenth Edition), 1785, 1793 (Eighteenth Edition), and 1798 (a new edition, "corrected," but also from Galland). All of these editions, early and late, are taken from Galland's French translation.

Until a few decades ago, any American scholar wishing to consult an early 18th century English edition of *Arabian Nights Entertainments* had no recourse but to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Even then he might not have found just the set for which he was seeking. Then in 1932 Duncan Black Macdonald, the greatly revered Arabic scholar, revealed that he had in his private possession certain rare items relating to the *Nights*,³ including the complete original edition of Galland's

³ "A Bibliographical and Literary Study of the First Appearance of the Arabian Nights in Europe," *Library Quarterly* II (1932), 387-420.

Arabian Nights/Entertainments: Consisting of/One Thousand and One/Stories/

Mille et une Nuit, an *editio princeps* so rare that even the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is incomplete, as well as a 1715-1718 English edition, as precious as any to be found in the British Museum. Upon further investigation, it appeared that when he died in 1943 Professor Macdonald left his entire collection of *Arabian Nights* and cognate books to his school, The Hartford Seminary Foundation. Only one who has found his research impeded because of a lack of bibliography can fully appreciate the importance of Professor Macdonald's gift. The custodians of the Case Memorial Library at Hartford are no less generous in the freedom with which they permit researchers to work with these priceless volumes, and the present writer owes them a great debt of gratitude.

The title-page of the first volume of the 1715-1718 edition, which is identical with the titles of all of the other 18th century editions, reads as follows:

This edition contains eight volumes in four. For volumes IX through XII, a 1738 edition, also owned by the Hartford Seminary Foundation, is available. The most valuable set of books in the Macdonald collection is the twelve tome first edition (1704-1717) of *Les Mille & Une Nuit. Contes Arabes. Traduits en François* [sic.] *par Mr Galland*. This set, beautifully bound in red leather and legibly printed on superior quality paper, far surpasses any of the early English editions named above.⁴

On the basis of these few editions in London and Hartford, certain conclusions may be drawn. To begin with, all of the English editions mentioned have identical titles, and although the names of the printers may vary from edition to edition, all are alike in this one particular. By the same token, none gives the name of the English translator, though all mention Galland. Perhaps the most important point to be observed is that the order and text of the tales, in all of the English editions described, are the same. It seems likely, therefore, that the first English translation, made sometime prior to 1712, served as the master record, as it were, of all 18th century editions in English. It was not until the year 1798 that an attempt was made to improve upon the prose of this first English translator.

How, then, does the English translation compare with its French original? One thing immediately apparent is that the long and freakish

Told by/ The Sultanness of the Indies to divert /the Sultan from the Execution of a /Bloody Vow he had made to marry a/ Lady every Day, and have her cut off [sic.] /next Morning, to avenge himself for the/ Disloyalty of his first Sultanness, &c. /Containing/ a better Account of the Customs, Manners /and Religion of the Eastern Nations, viz./ Tartars, Persians and Indians, than is to be met with in any Author hitherto publ-ish'd./—/Translated into French from the Arabian/MSS. by M. Galland, of the Royal Aca-/demy: And now done into English. /—/ London/Printed for Andrew Bell, at the Cross Keys/and Bible in Cornhill. 1718.

⁴ For a detailed description of this edition, as well as of the 1715-1718 English edition, see Macdonald's article, "A Bibliographical and Literary Study," *op. cit.*

title given the *Contes Arabes* in England was purely an English invention. Yet the name "Arabian Nights" has clung to the tales ever since, and as shall be seen, it provides a clue in the dating of the first edition. Next, and this fact is verified by Professor Macdonald, the English *Nights* is almost a literal translation from Galland. That the "unknown denizens of Grub Street" did follow the French text literally was very fortunate for early readers, for their tawdry English prose managed to retain, by virtue of its literalness, some of the vitality and greatness of Galland's French. Thus, this early English translation "is the parent of the numberless 'new and complete editions,' 'new translations from the Arabic,' 'careful revisions after the original,' which form the stock 'Arabian Nights' to our own day, and which would make up a weighty chapter in the history of the great publishing humbug."⁵ Dr. Macdonald's appraisal of Galland's work as the good genius from which numberless later English translations sprang, makes manifestly clear the importance and value of this first published translation of the *Nights*.

One of the most baffling questions in the history of the *Nights* in translation concerns the dating of a first English edition. As remarked earlier, it is believed that the tales were translated shortly after their 1704 publication at Paris, though where, when, and by whom, are facts not known. The *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (II, 540) indicates that in September, 1705, it was advertised that "Arabian Winter-Nights Entertainments" was "to be speedily published." However, no copy of this promised work has ever been found, and the earliest extant English translation is that of the second edition of 1712. Bibliographies are by no means uniform in their listings of a first edition, and while some are at least aware of the problem, others are blithely ignorant of it.⁶ For example, the Lowndes Bibliography of 1857 has as its first entry for the 18th century the 1724 edition: "This old translation is not only incorrect, but coarse and vulgar in its diction."⁷ Surprisingly enough, Lowndes was used as the basis of a recent study which includes a comparison of *Gulliver* and the *Nights*.

The scholar who has done the most to help establish a possible date for the first edition was Duncan Black Macdonald. He owned a book (now lodged at the Case Memorial Library) entitled *The Golden Spy: or a Political Journal of the British Nights Entertainments of War and Peace, and Love and Politics* (London, 1709), attributed to Charles Gildon. From the subtitle, Macdonald recognized that the

⁵ Macdonald, "On Translating the Arabian Nights," *The Nation* (August 30, 1900), 167-168, continued (September 6, 1900), 185-186; I, 167.

⁶ For the most complete available listing of early English editions, see Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes ou Relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe Chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, IV (Liège, 1900), 70-74.

⁷ William Thomas Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (London, 1857-1879), vol. I, p. 59.

English title *Arabian Nights Entertainments* must have been sufficiently wellknown in 1709 for literary allusion to be made to it. Since Pétis de la Croix's *Turkish Tales* appeared in English in 1708, one year after its Paris début, it is possible that Galland's *Nights* may have been in English by 1706, two years after it was published in Paris.⁸ Until further evidence is uncovered, Professor Macdonald's theory must be regarded as the most satisfactory.

The final problem to be considered is the place held by Galland's translation "in the history of the great publishing humbug." In what specific ways, in other words, does Galland's version differ from the versions of later translators? Why do these differences make it mandatory that students of the 18th century consult only the Galland translation?

The most important fact to mention is that there exist many different manuscripts of the *Nights*, some of which contain tales not included in others. Thus the textual variations among the many western translations which have appeared during the past hundred or more years depend on the Arabic edition used by the particular translator. For example, in the translations of Lane, Henning, and Mardrus, the Boulâq edition of the text of *A Thousand and One Nights* was used; in the translations of Torrens, Payne, and Burton, on the other hand, the second Calcutta edition served as the basic text. Other Arabic texts are the first Calcutta edition, the Beirut edition, the Cairo, and the Breslau edition⁹; the one thing which they all have in common is that not one carries the stories of *Aladdin* or of *Ali Baba*.

In other words, these two, *Aladdin* and *Ali Baba*, the best-known and best-loved tales in the *Nights*, owe their reputations solely to Galland, and his manuscripts sources have vanished.¹⁰ On the other hand, there are many stories found in later translations that were unknown to Galland. For instance, in the "complete" and unexpurgated translation of Burton, one finds lengthy renderings of *The City of Brass*, *The Adventures of Mercury Ali of Cairo*, *The Story of Prince Sayf Al-Muluk and the Princess Badi'a Al Jamal*, *Hasan of Bassorah*, and many others not related by Galland. At the same time, this later translation lacks Galland's wonderful *The Sleeper Awakened*, *Aladdin and his Magic Lamp*, *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*,¹¹ *Prince Ahmad and the Fairy Peribanu*, and *The Story of the Two Sisters Jealous of their Cadette*. (These popular stories, to be sure, are added by Burton

⁸ "A Bibliographical and Literary Study," *op. cit.*, p. 407.

⁹ See Chauvin, *op. cit.*, IV, 12-19.

¹⁰ See M. H. Zotenberg, "Notice sur quelques manuscrits des Mille et Une Nuits et la traduction de Galland," *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques*, XXVIII (1887), 167-320.

¹¹ The only single Arabic manuscript of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, and it does not form part of the *Nights*, has been described by Dr. Macdonald in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April, 1910), 327-386, cont. (January, 1913), 41-53.

in supplemental volumes, but they were translated from Galland, not from the Arabic.)

Consequently, in preparing a study which purports to examine the influence of the *Arabian Nights* on writers of the 18th century, Galland's translation, and *only* Galland's, may be used. This conclusion cannot be too urgently stated, for until the one volume translation of Henry Torrens appeared in 1838, Galland's work was the only version known in England.

It is surprising, therefore, to find Pietro Toldo arguing that "Les aventures de Hâssan des *Mille et une Nuits* paraissent avoir offert aussi des détails à l'écrivain anglais,"¹² followed by a lengthy exposition of the ways in which Jonathan Swift drew from *The Adventures of Hassan al Bassri*, or *Hasan of Bassorah*. Several years later, the noted scholar Dr. William A. Eddy mentions Toldo's "discovery" and adds that the Arabian tale "affords a parallel to Gulliver's involuntary intrigues with the Brobdinagian Maids of Honour."¹³ Dr. Eddy then proceeds to prove his point by quoting a sizable section from the adventures of Hasan. Because of the scatological elements in the passage, he quotes from the French translation of J. C. Mardrus, explaining that the obscenities will be less objectionable to an English reader if they are given in a foreign tongue.¹⁴

The tale of Hasan, however, was unknown to Galland, and therefore the analyses and parallels suggested by Toldo and Eddy are completely invalid. It will be argued by some observers that Swift may have heard of a tale which resembled that of Hasan, for it is a well established fact that several of the tales in the Arabian collection were current in 12th century Europe. But the point is that Toldo and Eddy were discussing not medieval romances, but the *Arabian Nights* of 18th century England.

The reason offered by Dr. Eddy, incidentally, for avoiding a more involved study of parallels between the *Nights* and *Gulliver* (1726) is that "Galland's French version of the Arabian Nights was translated into English" only "two years before the publication of *Gulliver's Travels*."¹⁵ It is difficult to explain these reiterated assertions that Galland's version "in twelve volumes was in circulation by the year

¹² "Les Voyages merveilleux de Cyrano de Bergerac et de Swift et leurs rapports avec l'œuvre de Rabelais," *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes*, IV (1906), 295-334, cont. in V (1906), 24-44; V, 28.

¹³ *Gulliver's Travels. A Critical Study* (Princeton, 1923), p. 130.

¹⁴ Eddy's choice of the Mardrus translation is ironically punctuated, as it were, by Dr. Macdonald: "The Arabic scholarship of Dr. Mardrus is beneath criticism... The erotic passages have especially excited the genius of Dr. Mardrus. While other translators make apology... for such elements in their work, he indefatigably gilds the gold and paints the lily till the poor 'nights' themselves grow pallid and dull beside this distant descendant." ("On Translating the Arabian Nights—II," *op. cit.*, p. 185.)

¹⁵ Eddy, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

1704 twenty years before it was done into English.”¹⁶ Eddy presumably had access to Chauvin’s definitive bibliography of the *Nights*, published in 1904, where he would have found, first, that Galland’s twelve volumes appeared one or two at a time over a period of thirteen years, and again, that a second edition of the *Nights* had appeared in English as early as 1712, fourteen years before the publication of *Gulliver’s Travels*.

Dr. Eddy’s aberration, not to mention Toldo’s whose influence on English literary scholarship has been less notable, is twofold. In the first place, he failed to inform himself of the true and known facts concerning the publication of the *Nights* in both France and England in the 18th century, and, in the second place, he was evidently unaware of the complexities of text facing any translator of the *Arabian Nights*. These mistakes have very likely contributed to that fund of misinformation which over the years has clustered around the history of the *Nights* in England.¹⁷

It has been established, then, that the *Arabian Nights* was known in England long before 1724—as early as 1709—and that only the tales of Galland were within the reach of Addison, Defoe, Swift, and their contemporaries. But in a much larger sense, the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* of early 18th century England must be heralded as the first English version of a work which for the next two hundred years was to have an impact on the artistic imagination of novelists, dramatists, poets, musicians, and painters that, even in the 20th century, may be too kaleidoscopic to measure. Until now, the 18th century *Arabian Nights* has been studied largely as a work which was influential in cultivating “orientalism”—a literary fad which held sway for most of the century.¹⁸ The time has come, therefore, to examine the influence of the *Nights*, not upon a school of writing which had been abandoned before the *fin de siècle*, but upon the best and most valued fiction of that era. Only recently has there been any attempt to estimate the enormous part played by the *Arabian Nights* in shaping the literary mold of eighteenth century England, and it has even been said by one eminent scholar “that but for the *Nights* there would have been no *Robinson Crusoe*, and perhaps no *Gulliver’s Travels*.”¹⁹

Boston, Massachusetts

SHEILA SHAW

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27, note.

¹⁷ For a clear and informative account of the scholarly treatment which the *Nights* has received from western scholars since the eighteenth century, plus a discussion of the translations made since Galland’s and a summary of “the origin and literary history of the *Nights*” see D. B. Macdonald’s “Alf Layla wa-Layla,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Supplement*, No. 1 (Leiden, 1934), pp. 17-21. Also, cf. E. Littman, “Alf Layla wa-Layla,” *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. I, Fasc. 6 (Leiden, 1956), pp. 358-364. Littman’s article is a revision of the earlier piece.

¹⁸ See Martha Pike Conant, *The Oriental Tale in Eighteenth Century England* (New York, 1908).

¹⁹ H. A. R. Gibb in *The Legacy of Islam*, eds. Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume (London, 1952), p. 201.

THE QUR'ĀN AND THE HOLY COMMUNION.

In the roof of Canterbury Cathedral, England, over the shrine of Thomas Becket, the martyr archbishop of the 12th century, there is fixed a gilded crescent, the explanation of which has occasioned considerable speculation. Some think it to have been brought by a crusading pilgrim from atop the dome of some eastern mosque. It appears from the size and shape of certain nails in the roof around it that flags were hung in circular formation radiating out from the center formed by the crescent. One expert has analysed the wood of the crescent and found it to be of foreign origin, while the unusual nail which fastens it is believed to be of foreign manufacture. The reason for its presence must remain conjectural. There are sundry legends about Becket's 'Saracen' mother and of his intercession as having availed for the crusaders in their siege of Acre. But these apart, it is odd, and suggestive, to contemplate the fortunes of that emblem, if it really in fact found its way from a mosque dome in 'Araby' to the ceiling of a Chapel of the Holy Trinity in the most popular English center of medieval Christian piety. Whatever its precise history, its symbolic quality cannot fail to intrigue the imaginative mind. Was Charles Doughty consciously cultivating the same curious link between Islam and Canterbury when he kept by him in constant use during his Arabian wonderings a copy of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*? To find two settings apparently so incongruous one would have to go to the accident by which the author of *Das Kapital* was a fervent lover of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and knew almost the whole of it by heart.

Our present purpose, however, is to invoke the Canterbury crescent only as a token of the equally strange joining of seeming incompatibles involved in the title given to these paragraphs of reflection. What follows is in no way an exhaustive study of the entire implications of what is proposed. If it stimulates scholars to such a task, so much the better. But who can resist the urge to ruminate on a Muslim crescent mutely a spectator at centuries of Christian liturgy and looking down, not upon some dome's calligraphy, but upon chalice and paten, priest and people, bread and wine? What, could it become articulate, might its thoughts be? Or in less imaginative language, what bearings does the Christian sacrament of Holy Communion have upon the meanings of the Qur'ān?

To ask the question is promptly to dismiss it, as being meaningless. For is not Islam completely free, as Professor Gibb once phrased it, of

¹ A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, 10th ed. 1883, p. 230 and note G.

the whole soteriology of Christianity? Does it not rejoice in a complete immunity from priestly elements such as belong in Christianity with the fact of sacraments? Is it not sure that God has a mighty prerogative of forgiveness which makes all idea of atonement superfluous and improper? Does not this suffice to render any 'means of grace' comparable to those found in the Christian scheme redundant and invalid? Does one need to add further that since the Qur'ān affirms that Jesus did not suffer the Cross, there is no point in a memorial having to do with His body and His blood? Go on to say that in Islam there is a rooted hostility to the concept of a greatness in humiliation, and to the Cross as supremely the place of God's power, and surely you have an antithetical entrenchment so formidable as to be entirely daunting. Can there be any conceivable connection between the Qur'ān and the Holy Communion? One needs to be stouthearted to maintain the contrary.

It happens that the fifth Surah in the Qur'ān's order is called *Al-Mā'idah*—The Table (always in the sense of a 'board' or 'table of food for guests.') The Surah has more than most to do with Christians, their alleged foibles and compromises and something of their beliefs. The title itself derives from verse 113 which records how, when the disciples requested Jesus for a table from heaven at which they might eat and be at rest, Jesus prayed to the Lord, saying: "O God cause a table from heaven to come down to us, to be a festival for us, for the first of us and the last, and a sign from Thyself. Provide Thou for us for Thou art the supreme provider." It is usual to link the passage with the feeding of the five thousand and some commentators see in it an echo of the question of the children of Israel in the wilderness: "Can God furnish a table in the desert?" (Psalm lxxviii. 19) Others, with far less justification, even associate the situation with the disciples being taught to pray for "daily bread."

While the connection with the feeding of the multitude has much to support it, there are certain features of the matter which require us to look further. According to the Gospel narrative that occasion owed everything to the initiative of Jesus. The disciples themselves proposed that the crowd should disperse hungry: they in no way requested the "table from heaven." It is, however, clear in the Gospels that, though the actual form of the Last Supper was shaped by Jesus alone, the disciples did initiate their enquiry as to where the Passover should be prepared. It is true that this frame of reference does not otherwise fit the situation in Surah v, with the overtones of the Sinai wanderings, but it is no further, indeed rather nearer, than the incidents on the hillsides in Galilee. More important is the fact that though the passage could be thought to fit another setting also, it does bear several features that have a very close kinship to the "table" in the Upper Room. The immediate context speaks of the disciples' seeking assurance about the truth of Jesus' words in which their souls could rest, the "table" is

said by Jesus to constitute a festival from the beginning to the end of the Christian history and it is said further to be a "sign," or (in the loose sense) sacrament, from God. There was no perpetuity about the occasions of public feeding in the Gospels. Indeed, the meaning of the first temptation in the wilderness is precisely that Jesus had no room in His Messiahship for a kingdom based on perpetual crowd-feeding. The sign-quality of the satisfaction of material hungers was abiding, truly, but would have been destroyed by repetition, since, then, the whole nature of the Kingdom of Heaven would have been distorted. The economy of such miracle witnessed to the meaning of compassion, yet served also to keep clear the truth of men's deeper needs and their satisfactions.

Certainly there is bewilderment and yearning for reassurance on the part of the disciples in the antecedents to the Last Supper, much more than existed on the earlier occasions in Galilee. It is true that in the event, with the allusions on Jesus' part to the traitor in the midst, their pain and perplexity intensified. But their fundamental search for *itmīnān*, peace of mind, is both mirrored and met in the exchanges of the Upper Room (cf. St. John xvi.30). Those discourses, though painful, and overshadowed by premonitions of disaster, become in the sequel to the Cross the content and ground of the apostles' assurance. Their meaning became clear and indubitable only in the morrow of the suffering. But then the "festival" of interpretation, the ordinance "in remembrance," played no small part in the apostolic conviction and as a clue to their experience.

But deeper than this aspect of the context in Surah v is the fact that the "heavenly board" has a status as a returning (and so surely in some sense a memorial) feast² and that it is linked with the basic Quranic concept of Divine "signs." These two points take us into the heart of

² Al-Baiḍāwī in his commentary reports that it is narrated how "a red table of food (*suḥrah*) was sent down upon two clouds, as the disciples watched, until it was right in their midst. And Jesus wept and said: 'O God let me be among the thankful, and let not this (table) be an occasion of punishment or retribution'. Then he performed ablutions and prayed and wept. Then he took off the covering cloth and said: 'In the Name of God, the best of providers.' And lo! there was cooked fish without scales and fins and very greasy. Salt was at the head and vinegar at the tail and around all kinds of herbs except leeks (*pace* the Welsh). There were also five loaves,—on one of which there were olives, on another honey, on a third butter, on a fourth cheese and on a fifth strips of meat. And Simon said: 'O Spirit of God is this the food of this world or the food of heaven?' Jesus said: 'It is not from hence. God, to Whom be praise and honour, has brought it into being by His power. Eat of that you requested and give thanks. And may God extend to you increasingly of His goodness.' And they said: 'O Spirit of God would that we might see yet another sign beside this.' And he said: 'Live, O fish by permission of God most high.' And it moved. Then he said: 'As you were,' and once again it was a cooked fish. Then the table flew off..." After narrating sundry other marvels including the story that all the poor who ate became rich, all the sick well etc, Al-Baiḍāwī goes on to say: "Among some of the Sufis the table here is a figure for the truths of mystic knowledge. It is the nourishment of the spirit, even as food is the sustenance of the body."

the discussion. They require us to investigate the Qurʾān's involvement in the crucifixion and in the sacramental realm.

Any Quranic involvement in the crucifixion might at first sight seem unthinkable in view of the categorical denial of its occurrence in Surah iv. 157. "They did not kill him, they did not crucify him," and then the enigmatic *shubbiha lahum*. "It was only apparently so," or "it seemed so to them," or "He was resembled to them." The exegesis is familiar enough and the passage has often been analysed. There would appear to be in thoughtful Muslim circles a tendency to abandon, as crude and unwarranted, the idea of a physical substitute for Jesus, with the same external identity, who suffered in His place. Rather it is taken to mean that a mystery supervenes which we must accept with reverence and forbear to press into inquisitive formulations. Jesus was not allowed to suffer: more than that we cannot say. It is significant in this connection that the word *shubbiha* is exactly parallel to the Greek *δοκῆσις* which became the name of the Docetic heresies in the early Church. These believed that the sufferings of Jesus "seemed," they were apparent and not real. The ruling Docetic impulse to this idea, namely the thought of the essential evil of the body, has, however, no place in the Muslim scheme. Islam preserves the Docetic attitude without its Gnostic origins and prepossessions.

But on any and every feasible interpretation of the 'apparentness' of Christ's sufferings (Docetic, Gnostic, Ahmadiyyah,³ popular⁴ or hypothetical),⁵ it is incontrovertible that Jesus was a teacher whom men intended should suffer. 'Apparentness' cannot, and need not, be postulated of what has no impulse to happen. 'Seeming' becomes superfluous and meaningless where there is no intending. Substitution has no relevance where there is no victim in the situation. *Shubbiha*, for

³ See Muḥammad ʿAlī: *The Holy Qurʾān Translation and Commentary* Lahore, 1920, and Khwaja Nazir: *Jesus in Heaven on Earth*, Lahore, 1952 and *The Holy Qurʾān*, Rabwah, 1955. The view of the Ahmadiyyah movements is that Jesus was actually nailed to the Cross, personally and physically. But He did not there succumb. Life was in Him when He was taken down, and reviving in the tomb, He subsequently escaped to the East and died after long preaching in India. Thus "they did not succeed in killing Him by crucifixion" is the meaning of the text in iv.156. The 'seeming' lay in men's thinking He was dead when, in fact, He was still alive. Other passages on the death of Jesus relate to His alleged death in Kashmir many decades after Calvary.

⁴ The popular belief, based on traditions, is that the 'substitute' was Judas. The average Muslim who gets into conversation on this subject will probably volunteer this account quite readily. This version is popularly thought to illustrate the effectiveness of God's counter strategy.

⁵ One such hypothesis is that of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Jūdāt al-Sahhar's *Al-Masīḥ ʿIsā Ibn Maryam*, Cairo, n.d. (recently reprinted under Muslim auspices with a cover reproducing thorn-crowned head of Christ.) He makes Judas voluntarily substitute himself for Jesus, as a penance and restitution for his betrayal. God accepted his action and Jesus allowed it. This imaginative version contravenes the popular view, under which Judas was an agonising 'substitute' desperate to convince his murderers of their false identification but quite failing to do so. (In some quarters the cry: "My God why didst Thou forsake me" is interpreted on Judas' lips in this sense, as the cry of a man unable to undo the mistake of the crucifiers.)

all its exacting demands on Christian patience and mediation, for all its confident corroboration of Muslim unconcern about the Cross, at least is the plainest possible witness to crucifixion as the sought-for fate of Jesus, to death on the Cross as the final decision of contemporary man about the issues implicit in Jesus. Perhaps then after all there is something that might need a memorial feast?

It is important to look at this matter from another side. Surah v.157 uses the third person: "He (or "it") was resembled..." Two other passages in the Qur'ān bear directly on the death of Jesus which are in the first or second person, which concern, that is to say, the Cross-climax within His own consciousness. There is here an issue which has received all too little attention. The first of the two passages is in Surah xix.33: "Peace be upon me," Jesus speaking, "the day of my birth, the day I die and the day I am raised alive." Can it be that the meaning here is not, as so often said, some future post-millennial death (for there is no futurity in the grammar), but rather this movement into death (just noted from Surah iv.157) *as it was in the actual consciousness* of Jesus?

The other passage, in Surah iii.56, is even more arresting. God is addressing Jesus and says: "Truly I am He Who calls you to death," or "It is I Who am causing you to die." The construction is the active participle with the pronoun (object) attached. It is followed by the active participle of the verb *rafa'* ("And it is I Who raises, or exalts, you unto Myself.") The same verb is used in Surah iv.157, (though not in xix.33) where it means 'rapture' not resurrection. It relates to that exaltation which, according to Surah iv.157, Islam believes to have happened to Jesus, as one Who had not died, beyond the mysterious climax of *shubbiha lahum*. The commentators usually make it refer to resurrection after death when they interpret its use in iii.56, where of course it cannot have any other meaning following "I it is Who cause thee to die." We must pass over the puzzle of the same word having two such contrasted meanings as rapture without death and resurrection from death. But the deepest point arising from iii.56 is the question whether "I am causing Thee to die and I will receive you beyond death unto Myself," may not well describe the actual experience of Jesus in the climax of the rejection that came to its fulness in the Cross.

If so, then the passage relates, not to a still future and post-millennial death (which puts it right outside the immediate context of the *Injil's* events to which the present force of iii.56 seems to relate), but rather to the same climax as that referred to in iv.157, and *in terms belonging to its inwardness* as experienced by Jesus. Let us leave aside for a moment the ultimate question of Jesus' personal involvement in actual death by crucifying (not because this question is not worthy to be central but in order to come round to it from another side). How should we picture Jesus' part in the eventuality claimed in iv.157

as as 'apparentness'? When did the supposed transition from reality to appearance occur? At what point in the on-going story of opposition and vindictive animosity against Jesus did what *shubbiha* means happen, whatever its Quranic meaning be? Of that animosity there is no Quranic doubt. Not only is it implicit (as we have argued) in the whole notion of *shubbiha*, it is also re-iterated in several places. Surah v.71 refers to how the Jews belied some of their prophets, while others "they sought to kill." Surah ii.88 speaks of scorn as being the attitude of Jewry to each apostle. The Qur'ān gives no details of the spirit of vehement rejection of Jesus which is so sharp an element in the whole atmosphere of the Gospel encounter between Him and Jerusalem. But it does witness quite evidently to something of the same situation. And it is in the context of this "wanting to slay" of the people that Jesus is spoken of as being "strengthened with the spirit of holiness." (ii.88) Could this be a reference to Gethsemane?

There is then no doubt of a situation in which crucifixion had to be faced. We must realise that this is true, for our present argument, entirely irrespective of what the actual sequel was. Certainly, the disciples did not become apostles in terms of a Jesus Who had only *apparently* suffered. The crux of their post-resurrection conviction was that the risen Christ was the actual Sufferer. Thomas' demand: "Except I see in His hands the print of the nails..." was a sublimely valid and a blessedly satisfied condition of faith. And all the disciples shared the same certainty. So that the victory of an actual, not the escape of a supposed, Sufferer is and has always been the very stuff of Christianity. But the prospective side of the Cross, the side with which the Holy Communion was at its institution concerned, is to this extent the same whether we follow the Biblical or the Quranic Jesus, and the disciples, that is to say, were the central persons in an impending drama of tragedy and separation. And in that sense the Holy Communion, historically, might have Quranic ground. For are we to suppose that Jesus went artificially into this encounter well aware of the impending 'rescue,' or whatever *shubbiha* is finally taken to mean? Would not that reduce the whole situation to bathos?

We can only surmise where the Quranic version would have us assume that the thing alleged in *shubbiha* supervened—at the arrest, on the road to the house of Caiaphas, in the court of Pilate's judgment hall, on the Via Dolorosa, or at the place called Calvary. Who can say? But it cannot be said to have happened, and not have happened somewhere, at some point in time and place. Where ever, precisely, that is thought to have been, antecedently to it Jesus was One going into death and the disciples were men awed and distracted by sense of threatening tragedy. To that extent we have the Gospel situation, the situation, that is, in which the Last Supper found its place, necessity and meaning. And all that is Quranic, or feasibly so.

Is this, then, conceivably, (to return there) the meaning of *muta-*

waffika in iii.56? From within the experience of Jesus, on every Quranic hypothesis, there was this drawing nigh unto death, this obedience of steadfastness going forward, in loyalty to vocation, into the storm-centre of Jerusalem's bigoted hostility. Here was an actual movement, of decision and self-consecration, into a climax of peril that might well justify the phrase: "I am causing Thee to die," and justifying also by the same token the inauguration of a memorial feast. The basic and formative decision of Jesus' whole career (as contrasted with the Medinan decisions of Muḥammad in partially comparable setting) was a decision to go into danger and into death, meekly and loyally, casting the whole issue upon the purpose of God. It is vital we see this, and see that it is there, on the prospective side of the Cross, whether we are speaking Quranically or Biblically. That pattern and quality of attitude is the Christian meaning of the living bread from heaven and stands at the heart of the business of remembrance. Its reality, within the antecedent historical movement of event and decision on Christ's part, is unaffected, as a decision and as an experience (though not as a Gospel) by the subsequent finale. The Quranic Jesus is One Whose words and person were rejected, with all the vehemence of Jewry's will to slay. He is One Who took this situation with a self-sacrificing surrender to the hand of God and in a freely chosen acceptance of the road of meekness and lowliness. Perhaps we have too long allowed the study of all this to be monopolised by anxious controversy over the sequel (which Heaven knows is urgent enough), yet obscuring all the while the immense Quranic implications antecedently to the Cross. Even a Jesus of Whom it is said that His death was 'seeming,' and to Whom God said "I am causing Thee to die" is a Jesus of enough significance to be a perpetual disturber of all Islamic (and human) concepts that disapprove this terrible meekness, whether by wanting to rescue it so that its blinding light is veiled, or by conspiring to crucify it afresh.

All this is, or may be, latent in *Anā mutawaffika*, just as it is for ever articulate in the sacrament of the body and the blood. There are certain other implications of the phrase which are often overlooked. It is set in this very context of human conspiracy against Christ, ("They plotted etc...") which makes it difficult to relegate its meaning to some natural (i.e. non-violent) post-millennial death (as is usual with those who forbid it to refer to Calvary). Also in the whole idea of *rāfi'uka* ("I am He Who raises you to Myself") is the thought of vindication against rejectors. Then there is the intriguing phrase that follows: *wa mutahhiruka min al-ladhīna kafarū*, which Daud oddly translates. "I shall take you away from the unbelievers." *Ṭahhara* certainly has the sense of 'clearing' or 'vindicating,' i.e. making indubitable where the right lies in the immense issue that divides Jesus and those who want Him slain. The Christian understanding is, of course, that the resurrection does this in the only way

congruent with the quality of the love and lowliness of the actual passion. But, within Quranic perspective, the question has to be faced what would appropriately demonstrate the validities that were Christ's over against the opposition that willed Him dead? For if their will to that end is merely frustrated (by some *shubbiha lahum*) how is its recalcitrant quality really known for what it is and redeemed? Can anything less than the manifest spiritual victory of Christ *over* their hatred (as distinct from His eluding it) truly vindicate His proper supremacy? Yet such vindication is the whole context of what Surah iii.56 has to say of the encounter.

Whether for these considerations or not, it seems that some Muslim commentators have felt the passage compels some sort of belief in an actual death. Thus Al-Baidāwī reports the saying that God caused Jesus to die for seven hours before raising Him. Others mention three hours. But in any event, if this passage be held to refer to Calvary (and no other setting fits the context), then it would seem that we have to interpret the *mā qatalūhu mā ṣalabūhu* ("They did not kill Him, they did not crucify Him") of iv.157 with less absoluteness than is usually supposed, in some sort of sense that implies: "They did not kill Him so that He remained dead." Then, further, the 'seeming' might take on something of the feasible (though dangerously stated) sense that hatred and violence and death were no match for the suffering, and the living, Christ. Even then it is imperative for the Christian never to lose sight of the fact that within all this must be the actuality of the encounter of love with evil. The Christ of Doceticism is, so to speak, of necessity non-victorious because the issue has never been joined.

Be these conjectures as they may, the essential point of the argument remains, namely that the Quranic situation does not exclude, but rather requires, a set of circumstances in which the memorial 'table' would be likely. It may remain conjectural whether it can be properly seen in the allusions of Surah v.113. But that in itself does not devalidate the thoughts we have followed. If the appropriateness of Jesus, in the prospect of death, inaugurating a clue to the meaning of what was impending, is established within the Qur'ān, we have much more basis than we originally thought for turning to the implication of what follows in Surah v.113, namely that Jesus' table, being a recurring festival for the whole sequence of disciples, would be "a sign from God" and a nourishing.

Here we are clearly on potentially sacramental ground. There is no need here to develop the fundamental Quranic concept of *Āyāt* or signs. They are present in nature and in man, in history and in science. They invite first the attention, then the investigation, and finally the reverence, of man. They are, as the phrase goes, *ilā qaumin yaqilūn*. Paganism, it has been well said, is a pan-sacramentalism, in that everything is to be suspected Divine. Islam, in unifying

phenomena under one Divine Lordship (*Rabb al-ʿālimīn*), has no desire to abolish the sense of power and awe, but to turn it from suspicion into adoration. For Christianity, the "sacramental universe" as Archbishop Temple called it,⁶ finds its central focus in the Holy Communion, where the Christian faith confesses in the context of worship the Divine claim upon all life and the Divine stake in all that is, and all that is man's from Him. So far at least, the Quranic notion of *Āyāt* moves in the same realm. The Qur'ān may forbid us in the traditional sense to see in the bread and wine the tokens of a body broken and the blood shed. But it certainly affirms that material things are the evidence and vehicle of a Divine grace or compassionateness and that the physical may be to us the expression of the spiritual and the place of our encounter with it.

It is clear that Islam, being with all religions an account of the inter-relatedness of the Divine and the human, the eternal and the temporal, the transcendent and the historical, is itself deeply involved in the sacramental principle. Postures at prayer recruit the movements and attitudes of the body to express and serve those of the soul. A Qiblah of the compass can bode forth a Qiblah of the mind and the visible affirm the unseen. These, and sundry other, aspects of religious meaning in fleshly form within Islam only corroborate and extend the innate principle of all physical existence that it is dependent upon God. The world of phenomena is a world that responds to our sense of order, our yearning for beauty and our confidence in intelligibility. In doing so it 'conveys' something of the mind, the mercy, and the nature of the Architect above and beyond it. This, the fundamental implication of "signs," is the principle which the Last Supper has pursued in an intimate, historical context, recreating a precise and pivotal piece of history, and making of "creatures of bread and wine" the locus of heavenly significance. The fact of a personal partaking, in the utter simplicities of eating and drinking, is a sacrament of the nature and activity of faith. No one who understands his Quranic "signs" can have any intelligent quarrel with the sign-nature of the Christian sacrament, however much he may wish to maintain a dispute about the history it sacramentalises.

Those "creatures of bread and wine," moreover, are Christianly taken to identify and express the whole range of human dependence upon, and labour in, nature. For neither bread nor wine are what they are of man alone, nor nature alone. They arise from the skill and wit of the one expended upon the manifold givenness of the other. In that sense they become the symbols of an entire technology, of the totality of man's relationships in nature as a tool-making, thing-consuming, world-using person, under God. The meaning of the sacrament in

⁶ In *Nature, Man and God*, MacMillan 1932-34, a chapter heading.

this sense is 'eucharist,' or offering of thanksgiving—the kind of thanksgiving which consecrates and obligates the worshipper.

In this final realm also we are not without Quranic parallels and affinities. For is not the ultimate reproach of the Qurʾān to humanity just that *aktharuhum lā yashkurūn*, "the vast majority never give thanks."? *Laʿallakum tashkurūn* "perhaps you will be thankful" is a repeated refrain following the reminders or citations of the "signs" of God. Thanklessness, in the Qurʾān, is at the root, of not at the core, of all unbelief. Is it not the central blasphemy to despise the gifts of God in the very use and exploitation of them? Only in reverent worship is man truly related to God in the trust of things. Thus far the Qurʾān; not very far from, or at least partially near to, the sense of 1 Tim. iv.4: "Every creature of God is good and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, for then it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." There is at the heart of the Christian sacrament a quality and a theme of indebtedness to God which exists nowhere else, since no man comes unto the Father, unto the ultimate of Divine Love, save by this Sufferer Whose passion and Heaven's compassion are one. But that life is only properly fed in eucharist, that it is only nourished in gratitude, is a truth to which the Qurʾān is not a stranger. Its insistent emphasis on gratitude makes it a clear voice of that instinct to thanksgiving which finds its Christian climax in eucharist at the Cross. Perhaps, then, the crescent in Canterbury is not wholly a chance curiosity?

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ʿABD AL-TAFĀHUM

BOOK REVIEWS

Arab Unity: Hope and Fulfilment. By Fayez A. Sayegh, the Devin-Adair Company, New York, 1958, pp. xviii, 272. \$ 4.00.

Dr. Sayegh, a Christian Arab and a well-known spokesman for the Arab cause in America, begins by showing that the dominant ideas influencing Arab nationalism are independence, progress and unity, to combat the negative aspects of political subjection, material and social backwardness and political disunity. He is concerned with the third urge, Arab unity. He shows that this will be misconceived if viewed in isolation, for then the factors of disunity (geographical factors, the legacies of imperialism, reactionary regimes, Arab individualism and political ambivalence) are most evident. Arab unity has to be seen in its relationship with the other two urges, for historical factors have caused the Arabs to stress one aspect more than another. Until recently the attainment of political independence was the primary urge. Once this was achieved material progress comes to the fore. The author shows that the idea of unity, which has been implicit since the Arab cultural awakening in the last century, has now reached the stage when it is becoming explicit. But its attainment will be a very difficult matter. He has not failed to recognise the obstacles which the Arabs face in what will be a long and painful path. He notes how the loss of Palestine in 1947-8 first shocked them to full realization of the cost of their disunity. He stresses the clash between the dynamic type of nationalism characteristic of the 'new men' of every Arab country and of Egypt under Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and the static nationalism characteristic of the monarchic, conservative and privileged classes deriving their status from the past. But even when this obstacle is overcome there are still many more ahead, as is shown by the revolution in Iraq in July 1958 which has not removed the differences between Egypt and Iraq.

The really concrete achievement so far has been the union between Egypt and Syria. In this respect the change in the concept of Egyptian nationalism is most significant. The Egyptian Constitution of January 1956 stated for the first time (following and strengthening that of the Syrian Constitution of 1950) that Egypt was "an Arab state" and the Egyptians "part of the Arab nation." This change, scarcely noticed by the outside world at the time, was followed in February 1958 by the formation of the United Arab Republic.

Whilst the book is marred by repetition and would have been more effective if half the length, it succeeds in its main aim of showing the growth and psychological power of the idea of Arab unity as well as the formidable obstacles which hinder its practical achievement. A glance at the map on the end-papers makes one ask: how is it that Mauritania which is ninety per cent Arabic-speaking is not included on maps of the Arab world, whereas the southern part of the Republic of the Sudan which is not Arabic is always included?

Glasgow, Scotland.

J. S. TRIMINGHAM

Islam: An Introduction By E. E. Calverley, published by the American University at Cairo, 1958, pp. viii, 97.

It is most appropriate that Dr. Calverley, an old friend and colleague of Dr. Charles C. Adams, should have been the author of Volume I of the Charles C. Adams Memorial Series, sponsored by the School of Oriental Studies of the American University at Cairo in Egypt, of which the late Dr. Adams was formerly the Dean.

These lectures, delivered by Dr. Calverley at Cairo in 1955, are truly *multum in parvo*, an accumulation of the wisdom and sympathetic understanding of Islam from a lifetime of personal experience and scholarly study. While they are intended to introduce the fundamentals of Islam and a record of its development to those who are unfamiliar with the faith, they have real and abiding value for all who seek a comprehensive and sympathetic understanding of the beliefs, ideas and history of Islam.

Islam is still *terra incognita*, or *miscognita*—if such a term may be coined—to millions of non-Muslims today. Therefore it is important and very necessary, at this time, to have a concise and discerning presentation of its essentials. It is valuable that Dr. Calverley has described certain mistaken ideas about Islam that are widely prevalent these days. His summaries of the historical, political, social, cultural, religious, legal, mystical and philosophical developments of Islam bring together in brief, but inclusive, compass an accurate description of Islam, grow out of his intimate scholarship in the subject, and will be welcomed by Muslims as well as by Christians.

This small volume should prove useful in preparing persons to live and serve among Muslims, for it provides reliable information about Islam and furnishes a sympathetic insight into the mind and heart of Muslims.

This reviewer gratefully recalls the discerning advice given him by the late Dr. D. B. Macdonald, leading Arabic and Islamic scholar: "Do not be afraid to be elementary, for we all need to *know* the fundamentals of a subject." Dr. Calverley has well illustrated this wise principle in these lectures and has laid those who would gain an accurate and sympathetic understanding of Islam under a real obligation. A bibliography might well have been included at the end of the volume, in addition to the references given in foot-notes.

Claremont, California

WILSON M. HUME

Archaeological Discoveries in South Arabia. By Richard Le Baron Bowen, Jr. and Frank P. Albright, *with contributions* by Berta Segall, Joseph Ternbach, A. Jamme, Howard Comfort, and Gus W. Van Beek, *foreword* by Wendell Philipps. "Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man," Vol. II. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958, pp. xvii + 315, illustrated. \$ 10.00.

This, the second volume of the Publications of the American Foundation for the Study of Man, begins with a brief archeological survey of Baihān (ancient Qatabān) in the western part of South Arabia and a few pages devoted to ancient trade routes in the whole of South Arabia. With regard to the latter Bowen's chief emphasis is that there

were several trade routes possible, depending upon the fluctuation of the political conditions of the states involved, and that trade was never limited to a single road, as Pliny suggests. In the short survey, although finding much evidence of the remains of cities, quarries, and the like, he says "... the most striking Qatabānian monuments are the remains of their desert irrigation." (p. 4)

It is Bowen's description of these irrigation ruins in ancient Qatabān which impresses the reviewer as the most important contribution of the book. Bowen undertook a Herculean task in a short time when he examined ancient irrigation remains in Wadi Baiḥān. He is to be commended for his results and one wishes that he might have much more than "a few additional weeks of work (footnote 2, p. 44)" to answer further questions which trouble him.

To one accustomed to irrigation in Mesopotamia with its two great rivers the type practised by the Qatabānians is most ingenious. Having no perennial rivers they utilized instead what the author calls *sail* irrigation. Rains in this area occur only sporadically with the change of the monsoon winds. When rain does fall, it comes in sudden floods. *Sail* is the name applied by the Arabs to the water which fills the wadis after such rains. It was the problem of the Qatabānians to utilize this rainfall to the fullest extent for what can even at its best be designated as "dry" farming. The dams and sluices built by them were not to impound water but rather to break up and to spread the water from the floods as efficiently as possible over the land which they hoped to cultivate. The amount of silt carried by such floods would soon have destroyed the usefulness of a dam for storing water. By the spreading of the water before the silt had settled, however, the fields were benefitted not by the water only but by rich silt deposits as well. The Qatabānians, therefore, were never cursed with an accumulation of salts in the top layer of the soil like the dwellers of Mesopotamia who depended upon river water, the accumulation of salts from which forced them at intervals to move to previously uncultivated land.

While no claim is made that the Qatabānians originated this kind of irrigation, Bowen does contend that they developed it to its highest known degree. Domestication of the camel and the refinement of *sail* irrigation made their commercial empire possible. The irrigation development appears to have taken place late in the second millennium B.C. and to have lasted in Wadi Baiḥān for perhaps a thousand years. The trade routes disappeared because other means of obtaining goods from the East were developed; the economy weakened; and the irrigation system fell into disuse because it could no longer be maintained. As is always the case, a prerequisite for good irrigation was a stable state.

Part I of the book concludes with a number of appendices and brief articles on a variety of subjects: burial monuments (Bowen), ancient frankincense-producing areas (Van Beek), dating of the Ḥuraidha (Ḥadramaut) irrigation ruins (Bowen), a discussion of the lion-riders from Timna^c (Segall) and a report on the restoration of the same (Ternbach), imported pottery and glass from Timna^c (Comfort), and two articles dealing with South Arabic inscriptions

from the areas involved (Jamme). Segall's discussion of the lion-riders will be of particular interest to students of the history of art.

The final portion, Part II, of the work is devoted to excavation at Mā³rib, once the capital of Sabā², the Biblical Sheba, whose queen paid a famous visit to Solomon in the tenth century B.C. Frank P. Albright has provided a concise report covering the work there between December 16, 1951 and February 12, 1952.

After the latter date digging was abruptly terminated at this important site by circumstances (described by Wendell Phillips in *Qatabān and Sheba*) making further digging impossible. While it is to be regretted that this, the first excavation ever undertaken there, could not be continued, it is fortunate that Albright is able to report what he has. Mā³rib had been visited previously by only four scholars. Glaser was there four times between 1882 and 1894. It is a pity that excavation could not have been done then with the advantage of modern digging practices, because according to his reports the sand covered much less and modern builders in search of stone still had not carried away as much as they have since.

The campaign centered around the ³Awwām temple dedicated to the moon god ³Illumquh, the chief deity of Sabā². "According to Arab tradition the site marks the location of the sacred precinct or temple of the Queen of Sheba... The precinct consists of a large oval or kidney-shaped area enclosed by a high wall with a large rectangular entrance hall on the north-northeast side ... A mausoleum stands on the east-southeast side of the oval wall and is aligned precisely with the long axis of the oval" (p. 216). The length of this long axis is estimated at 100 meters.

The plan of the temple (Pl. 153) and the photographs of the ruins, which either have remained visible or were made so by the excavation, make an impressive sight. The lengths of the limestone blocks for the enclosure wall, for example, vary from 1.25 to 1.50 meters. The eight columns standing outside the entrance hall, although much smaller, remind one of Baalbek.

Although much more work would be necessary to ascertain the different phases of construction and repair, there is evidence to support a range of time from 650 B.C. to A.D. 450 as the period during which the temple was used in one capacity or another. "The increasingly slovenly character of the later repairs, artifacts, and inscriptions, together with the failure to rebuild the [Mā³rib] dam after it burst about the middle of the 6th century A.D., suggest that the cultural vitality of the inhabitants of Mā³rib had deteriorated badly before the conquest of Islam" (p. 230).

The catalogue of the objects found in the Mā³rib excavations makes one wish for more photographs. An appendix by Van Beek on marginally drafted and pecked masonry as a means of dating concludes the report from South Arabia. Each section throughout the work is followed by the plans and photographs which pertain to it. The reviewer would have appreciated a simple uncluttered map showing South Arabia, its larger relations to its surroundings and one where the places mentioned in the text could have been followed more easily. This report is a good beginning for other volumes yet to come on work

that has already been accomplished. It can be hoped only that one day it may be possible to resume archeological work in South Arabia.

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York VAUGHN E. CRAWFORD

Taxation in Islam, Volume I, Yaḥyā ibn Ādam's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, edited, translated and provided with introduction and notes by A. Ben Shemesh, Foreword by S. D. Goitein, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1958, pp. x, 172, plates. Price Gld. 24.

Yaḥyā ibn Ādam (d. 818), the author of the third or possibly the fourth Book on Taxation to be written in the Muslim Empire, is essentially a compiler of traditions. How closely he was affiliated with any of the legal schools beginning to take shape in his time, it is difficult to say. In any case, what he offers is not a code of taxation law, but a collection of materials, more precisely, of *ḥadīth* dealing with taxation and related matters. While Yaḥyā adds an occasional explanation, he makes no attempt to harmonize conflicting data. In contrast to Abū Yūsuf (d. ca. 798), his older contemporary, who, in his *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, set out to construct an applicable legal-traditional system, Yaḥyā ibn Ādam was content to bring together authenticated opinions and records bearing on past practice. It is clearly the comprehensiveness of his work that secured its students down to the 15th century. When Yaḥyā wrote, the evaluation of *ḥadīth* was still fluctuating. Only forty of his 640 traditions were to find their way into the authoritative collections; no better testimony to the competition of conflicting views and administrative patterns in the early caliphate could be imagined.

Mr. Ben Shemesh, Professor of Middle Eastern Law at the University of Tel Aviv, has enriched his careful translation with a study of the *ijāzāt*, the certificates permitting successive scholars to transmit and expound Yaḥyā's *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, an investigation constituting a significant contribution to the history of Muslim scholarship. An examination of the contents of Yaḥyā's book in comparison with those of Abū Yūsuf and Qudāmah ibn Ja'far (d. 922) helps the reader to place and assess Yaḥyā's accomplishment. The transliteration of Arabic terms is not as free from errors as one would wish; thus, e.g. p. 4 and elsewhere *ṣannafa* should be read for *ṣanafa*, and p. 5 *K. al-iḥṣāḥ* for *K. al-aḥṣāḥ*. Substantive mistakes are few, Sultan Mas'ūd (527-548/1133-1153/4), whose vizier 'Alī Ṭarrād (d. 538/1144; not 1114 as in the text) came to be an important link in the chain of Yaḥyā's transmitters, was a Saljūq and not a Buyid as the author maintains on p. 19. These oversights do not, however, affect the value of the achievement, the first of its kind in English which is deservedly certain of wide use.

University of California, Los Angeles G. E. VON GRÜNEBAUM

Call to Istanbul. By Constance E. Padwick, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1958. pp. xii, 209, illustrations. Price \$ 3.75.

Miss Padwick has proved herself a very skillful biographer and a charming writer. In this work she adds another fine accomplishment to her *Temple Gairdner of Cairo, Henry Martyn—Confessor of the Faith*,

and others. In this instance, she had two outstanding advantages: first, long and intimate acquaintance with the family of which Lyman MacCallum was a vivacious member, and second, familiarity with the environment in which Lyman lived and moved in his mature years, amid things Turkish, and with less intensity the larger Arab and Islamic worlds.

Rev. and Mrs. Frederick William MacCallum, Canadian Congregationalists, went as American Board missionaries to Turkey in 1890. Lyman, their second child, was born in Erzurum near the Russian border. His childhood was spent in Maraşh in south-central Asia Minor whither his family moved to avoid the rigors of the Erzurum climate. Miss Padwick has written perceptively of Lyman's early years, of his student life in Canada where he studied engineering, of his tour of duty in the Canadian armed forces during the first World War, and of his fight for life as he struggled with tuberculosis, contracted in the trenches in France in 1918. He was evacuated to Britain and then to Canada. His parents had left Turkey as enemy aliens, so his mother was in Canada to watch over him. He was greatly "strengthened by his mother's faith and serenity and gaiety" during that long struggle.

After the War his parents resumed their work in Turkey. It was a great joy to them to welcome their son in 1925 in Istanbul. At thirty-two he was well on the way to recovery. His arrival in Istanbul was a homecoming experience for him in many ways. He took a lively interest in the work his father was doing as manager of the Publication Department of the American Board Mission in the Near East, and he loved Turkey and its people.

Shortly after his arrival in Istanbul the local representative of the American Bible Society asked him to be his assistant. This proved to be the open door to Lyman's life work. Here was an avenue in a region along which, as Miss Padwick so artfully shows, Lyman could joyously invest all his talents. Returning strength encouraged him to throw himself into his new task with mounting enthusiasm. Changes in Bible Society personnel left Lyman entirely in charge of the Istanbul agency with wider regional connections.

Miss Padwick remarks: "Lyman's own words are the most important part of this book." That may be true, but the entire book may be described as a portrait. The frame Miss Padwick gives it could not be more appropriate or satisfying. She follows him through the years of the worldwide economic depression, through the second World War and its aftermath. She gives intimate glimpses of his home life and remarkable descriptions of his friendly dealings with all sorts of folk. He had capacity for friendship. He was a "relentless and conscientious worker," and became an expert in Turkish language and folkways. His wife, née Mabel Roberts, an English Quaker, was a person of rare sensitivity. Lyman pays her a great tribute.

The major achievement of Lyman's life was unquestionably his constant, loyal and resourceful witness to the new life that is in Christ. His Muslim friends, young and older, knew whereof he spoke. They loved him.

The Credo of Maimonides By Carol Klein, New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958, pp. 153. \$ 3.75.

Dr. Klein presents the religious and scientific ideas of Judaism's spiritual giant of the 12th century, Maimonides, in concise and systematic form. He interprets Maimonides' essential contribution as a bridging of the gap between Hebraic and Aristotelian thought, asserting that Maimonides erected on an Old Testament foundation a structure showing great influence from Aristotle and Cicero and having certain affinities with the thought of Immanuel Kant. These ideas he develops under such headings as: Man Created in God's Image; Man Learns to Distinguish between Truth and Falsehood, Good and Evil; Free Will and Knowledge; On the World's purpose; Eternity and the Stated Time of Creation; Divine Providence and Prophecy; Maimonides' Concept of Immortality; Revelation; Resurrection and the Coming of the Messiah.

The author, however, contends that the essence of Maimonides' contribution is to be found in the *Thirteen Articles of Faith*, since accepted as the classic expression of the Jewish faith. Using Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, which gives a comprehensive view of the contents of the Talmud, and his *Moreh Nebuchim* ("Guide for the Perplexed") as his sources, Dr. Klein proceeds to the statement and exposition of the *Thirteen Articles* in succinct and lucid form (pp. 116-128).

While Maimonides affirmed thorough loyalty to the role of reason and freedom in the exploration of the whole field of human experience, some will find his insistence on these thirteen principles as "uncomfortable truths" which *must be accepted* in their *entirety* not completely consistent with the above premise. He, of course, insisted that all thirteen points could be arrived at by the use of reason, and thus felt that he had accomplished the wedding of Judaic religion with philosophy so that the former might make appeal to all thinking persons. Most persons will probably find the first four *Articles* genuinely acceptable; beyond that point, the present reviewer, at least, finds increasing difficulty.

All the non-Jewish world of religiously-minded people will welcome this brief, clear exposition of the mind of one of the greatest medieval thinkers. It is a real service to have such books available in English and the *Yale Judaica Series* on "The Code of Maimonides," whereby those not able to read the original Arabic and Hebrew are made aware of the rich insights and rigorous thinking within Judaism.

Southern California School of Theology, WILLIS W. FISHER
Claremont, California.

Reveille for a Persian Village. By Najmeh Najafi and Helen Hinckley, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1958, pp. 273. \$ 4.00.

A refreshing story, charmingly told, of change in a group of Iranian villages which came about when an Iranian Muslim woman with a mission and a vision, a love and feeling for village people and an extraordinary dedication to service, began a work among them. The

method of change used is based not on a large outlay of money and material administered through an elaborate organizational scheme, but on dedicated human lives with vision to see beyond the seemingly hopeless present. At various points the author injects some refreshingly candid comments and evaluations of efforts for improvement by foreign and Iranian institutions and organizations working in Iran.

Rare word snapshots of Iranian life and thought—of village homes, the village bath, the ancient marriage ceremonies of both village and city people, the Muslim rites of burial of the dead and many others—enrich the book. The picture of life in the village is so warmly drawn that one senses that he would feel at home immediately were he to visit Sarbandan, and that he would need no introduction to Mashdi Mokhtar, the proprietor of the tea house, or Madar-i-Kadkhoda, the old village sage and midwife. Nor would one need to ask directions to the village bath, the clinic, the community center or the tea house.

Dedication among Muslims, such as that exemplified in Khanum Najafi, has all too few exponents. A Christian concerned with the witness of Christ in Iran finds himself wishing that Khanum Najafi were fulfilling her vision in Christ's name and pioneering a new evangelistic approach in that ancient land, to bring in the complete change of life which only Christ can give. Why should Christians in Iran and elsewhere not begin thinking in terms of such outreach? This book is imperative for all who would understand the Iran of today, a land of thousands of slumbering villages, where reveille must be sounded.

Burdett, New York

DALLAS D. LANDRUM

Iran Past and Present. By Donald N. Wilber, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, fourth edition, 1958, pp. x, 312, illustrations. Price \$ 5.00.

The first edition of this work, published in 1948, was carefully reviewed in the October, 1949, issue of this *Quarterly* by Mehmed A. Simsar. The appearance of three subsequent editions is sufficient commendation of the merit of this work. Yet ten years of change and development in every sphere of Iranian life obviously leave the original edition with certain deficiencies. By the present edition the author attempts to supply the lacks and bring the work up-to-date. Seventy-seven pages have been added. The treatment of the historical period has benefited by numerous additions. Especially has the section on modern Iran been rendered more adequate by reorganization of the material and completion and revision of factual data. The bibliography has been doubled. The work therefore should continue to serve students of Iran with increased usefulness.

Hartford, Conn.

E. H. DOUGLAS

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Self Government for Singapore Almost a century and a half after its establishment by the British as a port and trading center, Singapore is to achieve self-government. In March last the legislature was dissolved, preparatory to elections for a new assembly in May. There were numerous parties in the field, only two of which are seriously significant in themselves, the Singapore People's Alliance and the People's Action Party, headed by Lim Yew Hock and Lee Nuan Yew respectively. The Assembly has 51 seats and voting was compulsory. The electorate numbered 650,000 voters. The election took place in the context of sharp economic problems. Tin export restrictions and lower rubber prices, which have reduced the export trade of Malaya to its lowest level since 1954, have also adversely affected Singapore.

Centenary of Edward Fitzgerald's Rendering of *Rubā'īyyāt* of 'Umar al-Khayyām. A special radio program marking this event was broadcast from London in March. Fitzgerald was a scholar and country gentleman from Suffolk, England who died in 1883 at the age of 74. Selections from the original Persian were read in the broadcast and compared with the English version. Professor Arthur J. Arberry who has been closely connected with research into early manuscript texts of the *Rubā'īyyāt* spoke of the results of this scholarship. He is also marking the centenary with the publication of a new book "The Romance of the *Rubā'īyyāt*" (Allen and Unwin). The London press also noted the occasion. Fitzgerald's translation is still, apparently, a good seller.

Somaliland Independence. The first elections ever to be held in British Somaliland took place in March and five of the thirteen members of the reconstituted Legislative Council were chosen, there being unopposed returns elsewhere. Despite pre-occupations with Ramaḍān and the severe conditions of the dry season, reports from Hargeisa indicated that the elections drew large response. They took place in rural districts by acclamation. In Hargeisa and the Berbera district voting was by secret ballot and attendances of about 80 per cent of the electorate were recorded there.

Some members of the Legislative Council will be associated with executive branches of the government. Somalia, formerly Italian Somaliland, becomes independent in 1960 and this decision (made by the United Nations in 1950) has undoubtedly required a speeding up of constitutional changes in British Somaliland. The way is open for association between Brit. Somaliland and Somalia after 1960 though there are considerable economic and administrative problems attaching to the future of the territories.

Religious Issues in Turkish Politics. Sharp debates have been engendered in the Turkish press and Parliament over an article in the March 13th issue of *Buyuk Dogu* (The Great East) whose editor has been imprisoned for previous contraventions of press law. The article that occasioned the furore at least ostensibly attacked the Atatürk principle of the secular state. It referred to "the false revolution that has been proceeding in Turkey since the Tanzimāt reforms..." It also regrets the abolition of the Caliphate and the inroads of western thought. The Theological Faculty at Ankara, as well as other Faculties, has protested vigorously against the article and various student and other groups have taken up the cudgels on behalf of the Atatürk reforms and their philosophy, criticism of which is in any case illegal in Turkey. Necip Kisakurek, the editor of *Buyuk Dogu* not only denies the alleged implications of his words but accuses his critics of seeking political capital out of religious controversy.

This charge tends to be sustained by the People's Party in another sense, in that they suspect the Government of exploiting religious sentiment among the people for their own ends. Some sources interpret the Prime Minister's recent escape from death in an air-crash as a Divine token on his party and his mission.

Meanwhile another aspect of the situation is evident in the detention of certain members of the Bahā'ī sect in Ankara. Though they were promptly released legal proceedings are to be taken out against them, as participating in secret meetings of a society having its origin outside the Turkish Republic.

There has also been a recrudescence recently of old controversies about the translateability of the Qur'ān. The Mufti who ruled against transliteration of the Qur'ān into the new Turkish script has been tacitly upheld in some official quarters, though this verdict undoubtedly raises in acute form the validity of the Atatürk alphabetic reforms of the 19 twenties.

Nigeria. Northern Nigeria attained independence in March last though the celebrations of the event were postponed until after the fast of Ramaḍān. The new state has indicated its intention to remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations and has adopted as its motto the words: "Work and Worship." The Prime Minister is Al-Ḥājj Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokoto. In a little over a year the whole Nigeria Federation will assume independent status.

Though the territories of Western and Eastern Nigeria (in the south) have somewhat the larger population, Northern Nigeria is a colossus territorially. The total population of Nigeria is 33 million and it covers rather more area than the State of Pakistan.

One of the problems preceding independent statehood was that of Muslim laws. In the light of more advanced legal changes in the south, the authorities in the north established a commission in 1958 to study changes in Islamic jurisprudence in Libya, the Sudan and Pakistan. These researches were evaluated in August, 1958 by a panel of jurists and at the constitutional conference in London in the fall of last year, it was recommended and agreed that Islamic laws should be confined for the most part to the realm of personal status. In the

place of the existing criminal law the penal code of the Sudan is being adopted.

The traditional pattern of local government by emirs and district or village heads is giving way to native authority councils, which have been broadening their membership since 1954. Constitutional development as a whole has proceeded smoothly and has been well co-ordinated by the local Nigerian leadership and the British authority. The greatest problem, lying before the Federation to be, is the integration of the various regional interests, economic, political and communal.

The University of Libya. On January 22, 1956, the Federal Government of Libya formally opened the state University at Benghazi in the beautiful palace and grounds of the former Italian Governor General. Libya has a population of approximately 1,300,000 living in a country, largely desert, of 679,358 square miles (one-fifth the area of the United States), most of whom are Muslim Arabs with a low rate of literacy, few educated leaders and, as a result, an increasingly high demand for teachers, professional men, civil servants and statesmen. There has developed a pressing need for higher education to supplement the rapidly expanding primary and secondary levels. The language being Arabic, the vast majority of the teachers in the lower schools were from Arab countries, notably Egypt. Students desiring higher education had to go to Egypt, Lebanon or Europe. So the Federal Government decided that Libya must have its own university, for which a charter was granted in 1955 on modern lines, calling for the gradual development of a full university to consist of various faculties, governed by a council and presided over by a Rector, with the Federal Minister of Education as the ex-officio President. The University is co-educational.

As the country's most urgent need has been for secondary teachers, the first Faculty was that of Arts and Education, the students of which, supported entirely by the state, were expected to give some years after graduating to teaching. Of the 104 graduates of secondary schools in 1955 (of whom four were girls), 32 boys entered the first year of Arts and Education. The Faculty consisted of four Egyptian professors loaned by the Egyptian universities, one Britisher, one American as Acting Dean, and five assistants for athletics, hobbies, library and administration. In 1957 a Faculty of Commerce was opened in Benghazi and a Faculty of Science in Tripoli. Each of the three Faculties leads to a bachelor's degree after a four year course. The charter allows also for graduate students, of whom there have been so far very few, occasionally a government employee from another Arab state. The registration as of December, 1958, was as follows:

Faculty of Arts & Education		Faculty of Commerce	Faculty of Science
4th Year	31		
3rd Year	40		
2nd Year	24	40	30
1st Year	60	30	20
Totals:	155	70	50
Grand Total:	275		

Professors and lecturers in Arts and Education number twenty-four, in Commerce seven, and in Science eleven. These figures include administrative officers and part time instructors. Of the total of forty-two faculty members, there are one Libyan, seven British, one Italian, five Lebanese and Palestinians, twenty Egyptians, and eight nationality unspecified. There is also an Egyptian supervisor for sports in Benghazi. The administrative staff of eight is entirely Libyan. Libya looks forward to the day when there will be enough qualified Libyans to fill most of the posts. For the first two years, at the request of the Libyan Ministry of Education, the Department of State designated Drs. Wendell Cleland, who contributes this note, and Majid Khaddūri as dean, each for one year.

In addition to the formal instruction of registered students, the University in 1956 inaugurated courses of public lectures, including radio broadcasts, in Benghazi. These lectures, which have been continued, are given mostly in Arabic by the faculty members. The attendance reached two hundred on several occasions and included women, mostly teachers in the girls' schools. Furthermore, a number of public receptions are held each year in which the students participate as hosts.

The new University gives promise of maintaining a high standard of education. The students are of serious mind and work hard. The Faculty members are all competent. The Ministry of Education consistently pursues a policy of expansion as the demand increases, and has under consideration the establishment of a Faculty of Law in the near future. Thus Libya's need for educated Libyan leadership will eventually be met.

Religious Freedom and the United Nations The question of the interpretation of the principle of religious freedom and its application in those areas of the world where religious minorities have traditionally suffered disabilities will continue to be pertinent as long as one group assumes the right to impose belief and practice upon another or to deny the privilege of choice in matters of faith. Historically, religious freedom has concerned separate communities or individual states. Now it is under international scrutiny. On January 5 of this year the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Protection of Minorities and the Prevention of Discrimination resumed its session and re-elected Professor Muḥammad Awaḍ Muḥammad, of the United Arab Republic, as its chairman for the third consecutive time.

This Sub-Commission is a component part of the Human Rights Commission. It is composed of twelve members. Within its purview are problems of political rights, prevention of discrimination in the matter of employment, freedom of religion, discrimination in education. The results of the deliberations of this organ of the United Nations will be examined with interest by men of all faiths who are concerned that individuals and groups of all convictions shall enjoy freedom in those spheres where God has intended that they be free.

Eradication of Trachoma. The following report has been issued by Harvard University and Aramco.

Harvard scientists, working in the laboratories of the Arabian American Oil Company in Saudi Arabia, have found a virus from a victim of trachoma which is toxic to small laboratory animals. The discovery may aid research into the eye disease which impairs vision and causes blindness. It opens the possibility of testing efficiently and simply the viruses present in trachoma as they occur in various countries and regions of the world.

The discovery was reported Friday, September 12, in Lisbon, Portugal, at the Sixth International Congress on Tropical Medicine by Drs. John C. Snyder, Edward S. Murray and Samuel D. Bell, Jr., of the Department of Microbiology of the Harvard School of Public Health. Dr. Snyder is Dean of the Faculty of Public Health and Director of the trachoma research program being conducted jointly by the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco) and Harvard University.

The virus found in eastern Saudi Arabia was shown to be highly toxic for mice and gerbilles (a desert rodent) in the tests carried out by the group of scientists in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. Although the members of the Aramco trachoma research program have obtained more than 70 different viruses and other micro-organisms from the eyes of trachoma patients since 1955 when the field studies were begun, this is the first strain of virus from a trachoma patient which has been found toxic for small laboratory animals. The discovery is important for trachoma research since it may provide a relatively simple laboratory method to show whether trachoma viruses from various countries and regions are closely related or very different in their properties. This is one of the main questions which must be answered before further progress can be made toward vaccination against trachoma.

Dr. Snyder commented that the new procedure with mice and gerbilles utilised a concentrated suspension of the virus from Saudi Arabia which had been prepared by a method similar to the egg technics reported by Dr. A. Macchiavello of Ecuador in 1948, by Dr. Tang Fei-Fang and colleagues of the National Vaccine and Serum Institute, Peiping, in 1957, and by Dr. L. H. Collier of the Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine, London, in 1958. The tests were carried out in the research wing of the Medical Department of the Arabian American Oil Company in Dhahran. These laboratories were planned and developed under the supervision of Dr. Robert C. Page, who is the Medical Director of Aramco and the Associate Director of the Aramco trachoma research program. The importance of the Harvard progress report lies in the widespread prevalence of the disease and in the severe social and economic damage it causes. Described by the World Health Organization as a 'serious social scourge,' it afflicts many millions of persons in all parts of the world.

Trachoma does not kill. But it frequently impairs vision if not promptly treated and thousands of victims eventually become blind in one or both eyes. In nations where it is prevalent many persons carry the disease from infancy to death. No positive cure for trachoma is now available, although the 'sulfa' group and certain other antibiotics seem to be partially effective. Trachoma is widespread in the Middle East, the Far East, parts of South America, Africa and Asia, and

throughout central and eastern Europe. The Mediterranean basin is particularly affected. In some Middle East areas 80 to 100 per cent of the inhabitants have or have had it.

Trachoma is one of the oldest known diseases. A reference to it was found in an Egyptian manuscript of 1500 B.C. The Crusaders picked up the disease in the Middle East, and so did Napoleon's armies, thus spreading it to Europe. It moved east through Persia, China and Siberia, finally finding its way to the Americas, where it afflicted the Indians with greatest severity. By 1897 the Treasury Department recognized it as 'dangerously contagious.' It eventually became prevalent in the United States, but by now has virtually disappeared there except for minor incidence now found in a few remote areas.

The Encyclopedia of Islam in Urdu. The Pakistan News Digest of December 1, 1958, carried the press release that the first two fascicules, of 64 pages each, of the *Urdu Encyclopedia of Islam* would be available to the public by the end of that month. A rapid publication of the remainder will follow. The monumental work is being compiled and published under the auspices of the Punjab University. It will consist of 20 volumes and twenty thousand pages on completion. The Urdu edition is a translation of the English work known to all Islamic scholars. In addition it will contain many new original articles by contemporary writers. A completely revised English edition of the original 1913-1938 publication of Luzac & Company, London, and E. J. Brill, Leiden, is now in process of publication. To date fourteen fascicules have appeared.

Miscellanea. A small pre-fabricated palace of aluminum has been shipped in sixty cases from Scotland for erection in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, for the use of the Emperor. The same construction firm of engineers is supplying three four-roomed buildings as part of the Emperor's plan to provide medical and educational facilities for isolated districts of Ethiopia.

Work has begun on an electricity expansion plan for the Sudan which will cost more than ten million dollars. There will be a new hydro-electric power station at Sennar Dam on the Blue Nile, extensions to Burri power station at Khartoum and a new overhead transmission line from Sennar to Khartoum, with intermediate connections at Wadi Medani and Hassa Heissa.

At a ceremony in Jerusalem, Jordan, in March the foundation stones of a new Ophthalmic Hospital of the Order of St John were laid. It will become an ophthalmic research center for the whole region, and will be equipped with laboratories with particular reference to trachoma. It will have 75 beds and expects to treat, after its opening in 1960, about 300,000 patients per year. This is almost double the number now being handled at the existing hospital inside the Old City. The hospital will cost one quarter of a million sterling, given by the Order of St John, the Rulers of Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar, the major oil companies, UNRWA and other bodies.

There is a scheme to establish a Muslim Institute in Zanzibar, following the conference on Muslim Education held there in 1958. It

would provide study and tuition in Islamics, train teachers of Arabic and Islamics and give leadership in questions of Muslim law and theology. Fifty students are planned for in the first year, divided into advanced courses and ordinary level. The existing Muslim Academy building may be incorporated into the Institute as a library or center for higher studies. A Muslim book production unit is also contemplated. Plans are in the hands of a commission, presided over by the Minister of Education in Zanzibar.

Party purges in Uzbekistan have been frequent in recent months. Sabir Kamalov was dismissed in March from his office as Prime Minister. The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mirza Ahmedov, was also removed. The ousting of these leaders followed the same pattern as in Turkmenia and Moscow provinces. The charges seem to arise from regionalism, the deposed men being accused of having selected assistants on a basis of territorial origin rather than of political and professional capacity.

In a March analysis of the locust situation, warning was given of a serious menace. Desert locust breeding in Saudi Arabia, Oman and Kuwait is expected to be heavy and locusts may spread in large numbers into Iran and perhaps Afghanistan and Pakistan. Low-lying areas of the horn of Africa are also expected to be affected by heavy infestation within Saudi Arabia.

The statues of General Gordon and Lord Kitchener, which were removed from their public sites in Khartoum, have arrived in England. 'Gordon' has been presented by the British authorities to Gordon Boys School at Woking while 'Kitchener' will be housed at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. The Gordon statue has been a prominent feature of Gordon Avenue in the Sudanese capital since 1890.

A Conference on "The Christian Faith in the Contemporary Middle East" was held in Asmara, Eritrea, from April 1 to 9, 1959, attended by about ninety delegates from the Arab world, and further Asia. There were papers and discussions on a variety of themes related to Christian faith and practice in the present situation in the world of Islam. Bible studies were given under the general theme: "In Thy light we see light," and a general summary of the mind of the Conference was set down, which will be published in due course by the sponsors and their associates, namely the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Area and functional groups into which the Conference was divided concerted their findings on a variety of matters having to do with Christian thought and action within the context set by the present juncture of Islamic history.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- ABSTRACTA ISLAMICA. iiième série. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1957. 189 pages. Some of the 2,000 items listed are annotated.
- DIE AZHAR-UNIVERSITÄT IN KAIRO UND IHRE HEUTIGE GEISTIGE BEDEUTUNG. Jörg Kraemer. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Marburg. 1958, part 4. pp. 364-385.
- L'ÉTAT ACTUEL DE LA BIBLIOGRAPHIE DANS LE MONDE ARABE. Joseph A. Dogher. *Arabica*, Paris. Janvier, 1958. pp. 47-55. Lists the main modern bibliographies by country. Annotated.
- DIE HISTORISCHE LITERATUR PERSIENS BIS ZUM 13 JAHRHUNDERTS ALS SPIEGEL SEINER GEISTIGEN ENTWICKLUNG. B. Spuler *Saeculum*, Munich. 1957, part 2-3. pp. 267-284. Explains why early Islamic Persian history is based chiefly on Arabic works.
- KARL BROCKELMANN. K. Czegledy. *Acta Orientalia*, Budapest. 1957. pp. 105-108. A biographical sketch and appreciation.
- LISTES CHRONOLOGIQUES DES GRANDS CADIS DE L'ÉGYPTÉ SOUS LES MAMELEUKS. *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. 1957. pp. 81-113. "The listing is by Madhhab with a notation of sources."
- THE NEW GALLERIES OF ORIENTAL ARMS AND ARMOR. Stephen V. Grancsay. *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York. May, 1958. 241 p. The collection includes Turkish, Persian and Indo-Muslim specimens.
- UN POÈME ÉTHIOPIEN: LE MALKE DU CHRIST, "SAUVEUR DU MONDE". David Cohen. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. 1957. pp. 147-183. Gives text and translation.
- RÉFLECTIONS SUR LA MORT D'UNE ÉGLISE. J. Corbon, P.B. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. 1958, part 3. pp. 197-226. A history of the Christian Church of the Maghreb from its founding in the second century to the martyrdom of Raymond Lull in the early fourteenth.
- THE SECRETS OF THE GOLDEN BOWL. *Life*, New York. January 12, 1959. pp. 50-60. Describes the priceless Mannaeen treasure found by Robert Dyson and his party from the University of Pennsylvania while excavating at Hasanlu in Iran.
- A YEAR'S WORK IN ISRAEL. S. Yeivin. *Archeology*, New York. December, 1958. pp. 239-245. Tells of extensive surveys in 'Eyn Gadi, in Northern and Eastern Sinai, and in Gath and the Western Negev.

II. ARABIA

- ESQUISSE GÉOLOGIQUE DE L'ARABIE SÉOUDITE. R. Karpoff. *Bulletin de la Société Géographique Française*, Paris. 1957. pp. 653-693. Presents a thorough study of the country's geology. Bibliography.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE ADMINISTRATION OF SANJAR'S EMPIRE as illustrated in the "Atabat al-Kataba". Ann K. S. Lambton. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. 1957. pp. 367-388. The collection of official documents and letters gives an idea of life in this 12th century society.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: Comment and chronology. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Fall, 1958, pp. 418-477. Covers July 1 — September 15, 1958.

ISLAM D'ESPAGNE. R. Ricard. *Études*, Paris. Novembre, 1958. pp. 184-193. An extensive discussion of Henri Terrasse's book "Islam d'Espagne" published in 1958.

THE MUSLIM DISCOVERY OF EUROPE. Bernard Lewis. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. 1957. pp. 109-116. Explains why classical Islamic civilization was uninterested in Western and Northern Europe.

NEW ARAB PATTERN. *Round Table*, London. June, 1958. pp. 229-237. An analysis of the newly published constitutions of the area.

NEW GROUPINGS AMONG THE ARAB STATES. S. H. Longrigg. *International Affairs*, London. July, 1958. pp. 305-317. The author believes that the United Arab Republic will be short-lived.

REVEIL DE L'ISLAM EN UNION SOVIÉTIQUE. Hélène d'Encausse Carrière. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 35-46. Discusses the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan — perhaps as a means of opposing Russian domination.

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER STÄDTISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT IM ISLAMISCHEN ORIENT DES MITTELALTERS. Claude Cahen. *Saeculum*, Munich. 1958, part 1. pp. 59-76.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AN-NAWBAHTI. LES SECTES ŠĪ'ITES. M.-J. Mashhur. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Paris. 1958, part 1. pp. 67-95. Continues a study begun in 1957. This section deals with the believers in metempsychosis.

ESSAI D'ANALYSE DU ŞAFVAT-US-SAFĀ. B. Nikitine. *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. 1957, part 4. pp. 365-394. In his analysis the author points out the merging of aspects of true life, dreams and miracles in this 14th century work by Ibn Bazzāz.

IBN 'ABBĀD DE RONDA ET JEAN DE LA CROIX. Paul Nwiya. *Al-Andalus*, Madrid. 1957. pp. 113-130. Points out the relation between Muslim and Christian mysticism during the 14th century.

PROPHETHOOD IN ISLAM. M. Ahmad Bacha. *The Islamic Review*, Working. September, 1958. pp. 5-11; 33-37. Deals mainly with Muḥammad and the Qur'ān.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE ISMA'ILIS. A. S. Tritton. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. 1958, part 3-4. pp. 178-188. Discusses revelation, religion, man, the Mahdi and the imam.

THE WORK OF AL-ŠĤĀFI'Ī. Abdur Razzaq Hunwick. *The Islamic Review*, Working. September, 1958. pp. 29-32. Tells how this 8th

century legal specialist worked to reform and regularize conflicting interpretations of Muslim law.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- ADULT EDUCATION IN EGYPT. Azmy Nawar. *Civilisations*, Paris. 1958, part 1. pp. 119-131. Against a short historical background, the author develops the movement from 1946 when the People's University was organized and gives a detailed account of its activities.
- ALGÉRIE, NATALITÉ ET POLITIQUE. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 54-63. The article urges careful consideration of the mounting population problem.
- L'ALGÉRIE SURPEUPLÉE. G. Jarlot. *Études*, Paris. Novembre, 1958. pp. 215-225. Due to the vastly improved hygiene introduced by France, births outweigh deaths markedly and present an ever-increasing problem.
- DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT IN NORTHERN KAZAKHSTAN. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1958, part 3. pp. 281-297. A detailed study of railroads and motor roads with statistics on their freight-carrying capacities.
- ELECTRIC POWER IN KAZAKHSTAN. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1958, part 3. pp. 298-302. Power resources are being developed as fast as possible and 1958 saw an 8.6 percent increase in power generated over 1957.
- THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN AN IRAQI VILLAGE. Malcolm N. Quint. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Fall, 1958. pp. 369-384. Describes existing conditions in the village of Umm al-Nahr located on one of the canals of the Kahla River where progress means education, medical care, radios, and some relief from monotony.
- IRAN REVISITED. Sir Clarmont Skrine. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1958. pp. 218-232. Sir Clarmont, in travelling over 2,000 miles from Shiraz to Meshed, found the country developing rapidly and with great improvements.
- A KURDISH VILLAGE OF NORTH-EASTERN IRAQ. J. P. N. Galloway. *The Geographical Journal*, London. September, 1958. pp. 361-366. Tells of conditions in Rust, not far from the Zagros Mountains, where the people grow barley, wheat, millet, and tobacco and raise sheep and goats.
- LANDSCAPES IN CARIA. Freya Stark. *Geographical Journal*, London. September, 1958. pp. 340-346. Pictures a beautiful and historical section of south-west Turkey.
- LAW AS A SOCIAL FORCE IN ISLAMIC CULTURE AND HISTORY. J. N. D. Anderson. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. 1957. pp. 13-40. There is an earnest effort to relate the sacred law to modern life.
- MIDDLE CLASS IMPEDIMENTS TO IRANIAN MODERNIZATION. Raymond D. Gastil. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Princeton, N. J. Fall, 1958. pp. 325-329. Summarizes the results of interviews with Westernized or up-to-date inhabitants of Shiraz showing that distrust of Government and of their fellowmen presents an immense obstacle to progress.
- MINING POLICY AND LEGISLATION IN EGYPT. Farouk El-Bakary. *L'É-*

- gypte Contemporain*, Le Caire. April, 1958. pp. 17-49. Deals with Egypt's mineral resources and with provisions of the 1948 law to regulate mines.
- THE 1958 ELECTIONS IN THE SUDAN. Harold F. Gosnell. *The Middle East Journal*. Washington, D.C. Fall, 1958. pp. 409-417. About 15 percent of the population voted; the elections were peaceful; the Umma (People's Party) won the most seats. Map.
- THE PICTURE OF THE FOREIGNER, Ramses W. Asaad. *Civilisations*, Paris. 1958, part 1. pp. 67-78. This "study of prejudice in an Alexandrian secondary school" showed that the pupils' reactions came mainly from movies, newspapers and informal discussions.
- THE PRINCIPLES OF ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT. Muḥammad 'Abdullāh al-Sammān. *Die Welt des Islams*, Leyden. 1958. pp. 245-253. Sylvia G. Haim translates a pamphlet expressing the political thought of the "Muslim urban, semi-literate mass" who are subjected to feudal tyranny in most Islamic lands.
- LE PROBLÈME DE LA TRACTION, CLEF DU DEVELOPPEMENT AGRICOLE CHEZ LES MUSULMANS D'ALGÉRIE. R. Mietté. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1957, part 4, pp. 43-48. Urges making agricultural machines available to the fellahin through state-aided coöperatives.
- PROBLEMS OF ISRAEL'S ECONOMY. Alex Rubner. *Commentary*, New York. September, 1958. pp. 210-219. Shows how the country suffers from economic cycles brought about by large immigration, small investments, etc.
- RELIGIOUS CHANGE IN REPUBLICAN TURKEY. Paul Stirling. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Fall, 1959. pp. 395-408. Describes Atatürk's secularization of the State and shows that villagers in the main practice Islam and are conservative in religious and political matters.
- THE RÔLE OF TRIBAL MARKETS IN MOROCCO. Marvin W. Mikesell. *The Geographical Review*, New York. October, 1958. pp. 494-511. An illustrated account of some of the thousands of daily markets held throughout the area.
- THE RURAL VILLAGE IN THE ETHIOPIAN HIGHLANDS. Clarke Brooke. *The Geographical Review*, New York. January, 1959. pp. 50-75. The article, illustrated by maps, plans and photographs, deals with crops raised, land use, marketing, etc. in a Galla village.
- THE SHATT AL-ARAB BASIN. George B. Cressy. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Fall, 1958. pp. 448-460. Accompanied by maps, statistical tables and a bibliography, the article urges the scientific, planned and careful use of the area's waters.
- THE VALUES OF TURKISH COLLEGE YOUTH. H. H. Hyman, Arif Payaslıoğlu and F. W. Frey. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Princeton, N. J. Fall, 1958. pp. 275-291. The report of a study made under the Ford Foundation, New York University and the International Coöperation Administration. Statistics were collected from students of Roberts College and Ankara University.
- A YEAR IN THE MAZANDERAN. C. D. W. Savage. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1958. pp. 269-275. Time spent on irrigation investigation in this section of Iran, gave the author an

opportunity to learn about the people and their activities in fishing and rice and cotton growing.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ALGERIA—MIDSUMMER 1959. Nevill Barbour. *The World Today*, London. August, 1958. pp. 314-338. The author feels that conditions seem more hopeful since the ascendancy of de Gaulle.

ARAB NATIONALISM AND 'NASSERISM'. G. E. K. *The World Today*, London. December, 1958. pp. 532-542. Comment with quotes from various publications dealing with the subject.

THE ARABS AND THE WEST. Leo Kahn. *Midstream*, New York. Autumn, 1958. pp. 5-13. The Arab World detests the West almost as much as it does Israel, according to the author, and the Communists make the most of the situation.

L'ASSOCIATION DES OULAMA RÉFORMISTES D'ALGÉRIE. Jacques Carret. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 23-44. Tells of the beginnings of the movement, its subsequent activities, its present real importance to France in her efforts for peace.

THE CAIRO AFRO-ASIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. *The World Today*, London. January, 1959. pp. 1-3. "The most important recommendation of the Conference was that the Governments of the countries involved should set up a fund for economic development and capital investment."

LES CHANCES DU COMMUNISME AU MAROC. Jean Ressules. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 24-34. The author believes that Communism has a dangerously powerful appeal and that Islam must be modernized to withstand it.

PETITE CRITÉRIOLOGIE POUR UNE SOCIOLOGIE DE L'ISLAM NÉGRO-AFRICAIN. P. A. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 4. pp. 42-50. Points out the conflicting interests and views which are already causing the members of the United Arab Republic to loosen their ties.

QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LA RÉVOLUTION ALGÉRIENNE ET LE COMMUNISME. Jean Glories. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris, 1958, part 1, pp. 16-44; part 2. pp. 3-23. Although the Nationalists accept useful Communist aid, the Algerian Communist Party is not politically successful.

RÉALITÉS ET LIMITES DE LA PRESENCE RUSSE EN ASIE CENTRALE. H. Carrère d'Encausse. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 4. pp. 5-14. After nearly 400 years of co-habitation, the region is undergoing a period of intensive Russian colonization, but, so far, Muslim culture has not been submerged. Statistics.

REFLÉXIONS SUR LA CRISE DES RAPPORTS FRANCO-TUNISIENS. Victor Silvera. *Politique Etrangère*. Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 231-243. Until the Algerian question is settled, the author believes that nothing can solve the Franco-Tunisian difficulties.

TSARIST POLICY TOWARDS ISLAM: THE SOVIET VERSION. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1958, part 3. pp. 242-252. Analyses an article by A. P. Savitsky on Islamic institutions existing in Karakalpakia and on the military governor's views on Islam.

VII. THE MIDDLE EAST

CONFLICTING PRESSURES IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA. The Rt. Hon. Lord Birdwood. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London, July-October, 1958. pp. 233-244. Comments on British, French and American abilities to fit into the foreign milieu.

THE CYPRUS PROBLEM IN RELATION TO THE MIDDLE EAST. John Harding. *International Affairs*, London. July, 1958. pp. 291-296. The former governor of Cyprus urges British administration of the island because of its value as a military base.

IRAQ AFTER THE COUP. Ray Alan. *Commentary*, New York. September, 1958. pp. 194-200. So far the new government is working well on nation-wide development and the Western countries should support it.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND ISRAEL. Don Peretz. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia. October, 1958. pp. 142-145. Considers four recent books on the subject — Polk-Backdrop to tragedy; Eytan-The first ten years; Ellis-Israel and the Middle East; Williams-The State of Israel.

NAISSANCE D'UN NATIONALISME ARABE À ADEN. T. Bernier. *L'Afrique et l'Asie* Paris. 1958, part 4. pp. 25-41. Describes the formation of the "Front National Unifié" in 1955 and the politics behind it.

PÉTROLE ET POLITIQUE DANS LE GOLFE PERSIQUE. J. J. Berreby. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1958, part 4. pp. 15-24. The author expects to see first Nasserism and then Communism unless the British and Americans begin to really help the masses.

PROSPECTS OR FEDERATION IN THE NORTHERN TIER. Donald M. Wilbur. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D.C. Fall, 1958. pp. 385-394. Increased political stability will have to precede successful federation.

LE RETOUR À 1947 PEUT-IL RÉSOUDRE LE PROBLÈME ISRAËLO-ARABE? Paul Giniewski. *Politique Étrangère*, Paris, 1958. pp. 87-95. Perhaps reducing the present size of Israel might solve the problem.

THE WATCH ON THE GULF. *The Round Table*, London. September, 1958, pp. 315-319. Stresses the importance of the Baghdad Pact in stemming Russian penetration and also the need for a rule of law in the Gulf shaikhdoms.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

ARABIA CALLING. New York. Autumn, 1958. Whole issue. The annual report describes work done in the various stations and urges more workers to dedicate themselves to the mission field.

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN PAKISTAN. Peter V. Fernandez. *World Mission*, New York. Fall, 1958. pp. 47-54. Considering its influence on Roman Catholics and Muslims only, the author finds the threat of Communism slight.

CONTINUING GROWTH IN NIGERIA. Canon M. A. C. Warren. *The East and West Review*, London. October, 1958. pp. 122-128. An encouraging account of good accomplishment, but stresses the great need for more workers.

COWLEY OVERSEAS. Bernard D. Wilkins, S. S. J. E. *The East and*

West Review, London. January, 1959. pp. 15-23. Another optimistic account.

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