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أَنْ رَآهُ ٱسْتَغْنَى

WHAT'S WRONG WITH INDEPENDENCE?

"Man indeed transgresses when he sees himself independent." It sounds almost treasonous to say in these days and might indeed be so were it not Quranic! Having reflected Quranically in our last issue on the menace the imperialists are to themselves, it is only fair to look at the new-fashion independents, taking care of course to limit ourselves to the spiritual parable that is behind the political! In three intriguing passages the Qur'ān uses the word *istaghnā,* which means, roughly, 'to be in a state of conscious self-sufficiency.' The famous Surah xcvi, which begins with the original command to the Prophet to "Recite in the Name of Thy Lord," has among its first themes of utterance to the world this warning against "independence." After the fact of man's marvellous creation "from a clot of blood" and of his education by the pen in things that he knew not, comes the couplet (6 and 7) against the man who thinks he has got all that life takes. How odd is his attitude in the light of his being the creature and the pupil that he is!

Then there is that fascinating Surah of the Frowning (lxxx), in the first part of which the Prophet is rebuked for slighting a poor blind man who came to him enquiring about the Muslim way. The frankness of this incident deserves deep reflection. It would not appear that Muḥammad was normally unwelcoming to the humble since the early followers were, for the most part, from that circle. (Surah xi. 28). But on this occasion, he evidently showed greater eagerness to welcome the rich man. "To him who is independent you gave your attentive response." (5) In the verses that follow, this

reminder of God's way with man's supposed competence, and of the Divine concern for the lowly whom men neglect, is said to be the burden of the "honoured pages" of revelation He sends down.

Surah xcii, also, has a word to say of the self-sufficient man, whose "way We will smooth to destruction." Dawood translates the verse, (8) perhaps rather freely, as "he who neither gives nor takes and disbelieves in goodness." The point is that the materially independent man is a miser who never bestows anything because he is a supercilious man who never acknowledges any indebtedness. His state of supposed adequacy to himself makes him impervious to the benedictions of goodness and of God. He ends by decrying and denying the truest good because he is so replete with his own goods. The very self-reliance that allows him to be indifferent to others makes him niggardly towards them. By implication, he requires everybody to practice his own independence and so he improverishes the world around him and condemns it to a sort of friendless and debtless sterility that acknowledges no recipience and feels no obligation.

These are some of the root ideas of the term in question. In modern speech, it has the sense of 'to dispense with' and the moral suggestion is that he who is able to dispense with others will not expect them to depend upon him. The nemesis of this sort of independence is that it begets relationships in its own image and so banishes gratitude from human life. It belongs with that kind of poverty in possession which characterised the Church of Laodicea in the Book of the Revelation. That community "seeing itself" (to borrow the words of Surah xciv. 7) rich and competent and in need of nothing, failed to see the extent of its miserable destitution. Or put conversely, the only way to be really adequate to life is to confess one's perpetual indebtedness. It is the grateful soul, acknowledging that all it has it did but receive, which is authentically rich. For otherwise in possessively possessing our possessions we are dispossessed of ourselves.

Is it a little editorially perverse to link this deep paradox of our life in its spiritual dimension with a political terminology, which has such strong contemporary validity? Do the cohorts of 'independence' rise up to protest how right it is that peoples and nations should make their own way and live in the dignity of responsibly fending for themselves? Perhaps. But the "transgression" that is in view in Surah xcvi has nothing to do with these external sources of menace to our dignity, of which the contemporary political world is so passionately wary. It has to do with the interior menace of the independent to himself. "Man transgresses in thinking himself his own master" says the verse bluntly. It is well that men should hear this, when they are politically so prone to asserting that they are. With that "own-master" mind, in contrast to the status of the subjugated, the Qurʾān of course has no quarrel. Its concern is with those assertions of independence which disqualify us from gratitude toward both God and man. And the concern is timely just because the intoxication against the one sort of dependence can so easily betray men into forgetfulness of the second. That nations or men ought never to be subservient does not mean that there is nothing to which they should ever be subdued. In rightly repudiating human imperialism, we may the more wrongly lose sight of the empire of God. Do we assert what is inalienably ours and therein deny what is inalienably God's? In being proudly unbeholden to any man are we to be dismally uncognisant of Him?

There is a lurking presumption, says Surat al-ʿAlaq, in seeing ourselves independent. That is exactly what the phrase means: "There is mischief in the notion of a man being sufficient to himself." And so it comes round to the same lesson we found in ruminating on human 'imperialism' within God's world. The true dignity is dependent status, and the lesson waits for us at all stages of life's journey. We are bound up in a bundle of existence which makes independence a foolish concept and unindebtedness an idle dream. Are we not all shaped and sustained by mysteries we did nothing about? Can

gratitude ever be rightly eliminated from our very mastery? Is there not inevitably a receiving even in the things we most energetically acquire? Is even our technological competence our own? or our racial heritage? our our national culture? or our very physical being? To escape debt, must we not escape existence? Can we even begin to be, without beginning to depend? Is not the helplessness of the babe an inaugural parable of the dependent quality of mature existence?

Perhaps, then, we have in these thoughts a new basis for the comparison of religions (in so far as such is feasible). How deep in them is the instruction in humility? how sensitive the recognition of indebtedness? how steady the curb on the transgression of self-sufficiency? Man's mastery, as the Qur'ān sees it, is "the trust of the universe." It is that of the servant who in his very capacity to subdue the powers of nature confesses himself subdued to the authority of God. All he is granted is a trustee's dominion. The will to master is only valid in the will to worship.

The centrality of worship to existence has in Christianity the unique dimension of the consecration of selfhood within the realisation of the Self-giving of God. Our human situation, as perpetually recipients of a sovereign goodness that undergirds our lives, is focused and hallowed in this central and inclusive indebtedness. We worship in Christ a God "Who spared not His own Son," a God that is "Who did not economise Himself." Our ultimate debt is that, like a shepherd for his sheep, He made our situation His unstinted care. Thus, before His Cross, the will to independence dissolves into the will to love and serve. Who can any longer think of himself as his own master when God is so evidently and so Divinely given to and for him?

The wrong of independence, if we try to practice it Godward, is that it robs us of a dignity and joy only the grateful know. In these realms to claim one's independence is to lose oneself.

THE CONCEPT OF EVOLUTION IN AHMADIYYAH THOUGHT

Both Massignon and Gibb have drawn attention to the evolutionary concept in modernist Islam. A more detailed study of the working out of that concept, and its purposes, in one example may be valuable. That the example chosen is the Aḥmadiyyah Movement [1] may seem at first glance inappropriate, owing to its eccentricity if not syncretism. However the greater part of Aḥmadi concern with evolution bears direct comparison, or contrast, with the same concern elsewhere in modernist Islam.

The purely scientific element in the Aḥmadi concept of evolution is slight. It consists principally in the attempt to find already posited in the Qur'ān the theory of evolution, just as every other significant scientific development is foreshadowed there. The Quranic exegesis of the Aḥmadis is in this respect a sort of scientific esotericism. Claims are bold and the evidence sketchy; thought not more so than Iqbāl's derivation of space-time philosophy from verses of the alternating day and night. Khwaja Kamāl-al-Dīn, a leading Lahori, said that the Qur'ān was the first to draw attention to evolution in all things. His texts for his assertion were lxxx. 18 ff., and xx. 50, which describe God creating man from a life-germ, and bringing forth the fruits of the earth by rain, and creating and guiding all things. [2] Other writers cite the *Aṭwāran* or stages of lxxi. 14 as a further proof of evolution. Reference is made to xxi. 30 for the derivation from water of every living thing. The Names of God do yeoman service for evolution, *Rabb* particularly, meaning "He who puts things on a progressive course, from which they cannot turn back," He who "creates everything and then fosters it gradually towards perfection," and again, "evolver (of the worlds)." (To some extent this may be a rejoinder to the Christian controversialist's contrast between *Ab*, Father, and *Rabb*, Lord.) Thus, "all the theories that modern scientists and evolutionists are putting forward today are to be found in the Holy Quran." [3]

If in the foregoing examples, which are representative of the whole argument, there is nothing which of itself compels an attention to evolution, we may look for the original prompting elsewhere. In Aḥmadiyyah, this prompting is threefold: it arises from zeal for the Law, which finds parallels with the natural law of evolution; from the argu-

[1] The term 'Aḥmadi' is used to designate both segments of the original followers of Mirza Ghulām Aḥmad. Some such inclusive term is clearly necessary. 'Qadiani' and 'Lahori' are used to indicate the two segments separately. For most of this paper the two have been taken together; though their contributions are not always identical, they are complementary rather than contradictory.

[2] *Islamic Review*, vol. xxi, p. 36.

[3] M. F. B. Shaikh, *Islamic Review*, vol. xxii, p. 266.

ment with Christianity; and, with a shift from evolution to growth lest the original foundations be lost, from the challenge of the modern world to an Islam at least apparently caught off guard and underdeveloped. The two latter points, as was justly pointed out in *The Call of the Minaret,* are the mainsprings of most Aḥmadi belief and action. [4]

Evolution receives more attention than other aspects of modern science — the reconciliation of which with religion is a main element of Aḥmadi apologetic — partly because it is susceptible of definition in terms of natural law, and therefore provides an analogical argument in favour of the Divine law of Islam. One writer develops this at some length. Matter, he says,

> in its evolutionary course on the physical plane, receives its final perfection in the human frame, but it gives rise to another order — the order of morality, ethics and spirituality ... Law, as I said before, rules every step of progress in the course of evolution. It is in obedience to it that success or full development attends the progressive element in its journey. We therefore need a system of Law that may help us to work out our future life on desirable lines so that we may secure a full measure of bliss in higher regions. [5]

There is, however, an essential difference between the ways in which these two laws have been arrived at. The early Muslims established the structure of religious law largely upon the concrete prescriptions and proscriptions of the Qur'ān, and the further development of law was derived from (or gave rise to) the concrete examples of the Ḥadīth. The reasoning was in the main inductive. Still further removed from the application of abstract principles were the contributions of Consensus to the body of law. The adoption of the law of evolution by Aḥmadiyyah has been of an essentially contrary nature. The general theory is taken on trust for unscientific reasons. It leads to a debased process of deductive reasoning in which more or less irrelevant data are applied to the theory. The pseudo-science of the Aḥmadis threatens in this way to lower scientific method to the same thraldom of preconceived judgments which so oppressively besets their historical method at the present time.

The parallel between Divine law and evolution is carried over into Divine judgment. Just as men are judged, or to be judged, by the Law of God, and punished for their failings, so men, nations and religions have been judged in the past, and amongst the punishments of those that have been found wanting is the remorseless scythe of evolution. [6]

It is worth noticing in passing that the argument is only infrequently expressed in social or political terms. This is surprising, for in the rise and fall of men and nations one might reasonably expect the Aḥmadis to find signs of the grace and wrath of God. "It is," says Iqbāl, "one of the most essential teachings of the Quran that nations are collectively

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[4] p. 249.
[5] Khwaja Kamāl al-Dīn, *Islamic Review,* vol. xxii, p. 52.
[6] *Cf.* Said-al-Dīn, p. 279, below.

judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now." [7] There are some such indications in Aḥmadiyyah, as in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's commentary on Surah ciii, *Al-ᶜAṣr,* which he translates as "time" rather than the more commonly accepted "evening." One of the testimonies that time, stretching over bygone ages, bears is "that those who did good and enjoined good on others prospered, while the evil-doers were brought to naught." But on the whole Aḥmadis are little concerned to trace such things, partly perhaps because of an apolitical tradition heavily coloured by loyalty to the British. The main reason, however, is that the Aḥmadis are first and foremost religious controversialists. They are not nearly so intensely interested in denying the secular achievements of the West, as they are in denying Christianity.

The chief purpose in the espousal of the concept of evolution, which acts in the affairs of this world as an agent of Divine Law and Judgment, is the rebuttal of non-Muslim religions, particularly Christianity. This is the second strand of the threefold prompting. The task is relatively straightforward, though complicated by an Aḥmadi peculiarity.

The idea of religious evolution is well-known to Christianity, in the transition from the Pentateuch to the Prophets, from the Old Testament to the New. It is found in orthodox Islam in broader scope. In the background of Islam, Judaism and Christianity are but two steps among many. Each nation has had its warner, and six times the Law of God has been revealed by His Prophets. All these revelations, sharing a common source, are of a basically identical nature. Part of the need for subsequent revelation has been the distortion of this nature by the heirs and guardians of the Prophet's message, as the Jews for example appropriated God for one people, or as the Christians exalted the Messenger to be God. There is also a constant tide running beneath these cyclical developments of revelation and distortion, for each revelation is fuller and more complete than its predecessor. The cyclical and the evolutionary patterns of Muslim analysis both operate to the disadvantage of Christianity. The corruption of the Bible is a favorite Aḥmadi theme, and also the idea that even the pure message of Moses or Jesus was somehow elementary. Speaking at the last annual conference of the Sadr Anjuman Aḥmadiyyah in Nigeria, the chief Pakistani missionary compared the various religions to the classes in a school. He confessed to a feeling of embarrassment when someone confronted him with something as simple as the Ten Commandments, for these are surely now accepted without demur. [8] Paralleling the physical evolution of man, and the development of civilization, is the growth of religion. Christianity is thus an incomplete or primitive form of Islam, destined eventually to be altogether superseded.

A similar idea was noted recently in Aḥmad Khan's interpretation

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[7] *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* Lahore 1958, p. 138.

of abrogation (which applied it not to verses of the Qur'ān but rather to earlier revelations). Observing that this view did not succeed "in avoiding the implication that God revised what He had revealed," Dr. Rahbar added: "Abrogation, whether of earlier scriptures, or of earlier Quranic revelations, is to be understood as marking transitions by which the human race was to adapt itself smoothly to alternative ways of life offered by altered or advanced circumstances." [9] The Aḥmadis, very anxious to refute abrogation within the Qur'ān itself, hold Aḥmad Khan's view. His concept, and theirs, of the development of revelation before the Qur'ān may thus properly be called evolutionary, since whatever falls into disuse or ineffectiveness may be contradicted and cast away. Dr. Rahbar on the other hand is adjusting the evolutionary pattern in favour of one of growth, which the Aḥmadis adopt, as we shall note, as soon as the Quranic revelation begins.

Aḥmadis, are, however, of two minds in the application of the evolutionary theory to Christianity. Assuredly, they say, a new level was reached six hundred years after Jesus; but equally assuredly, the process of evolution marked time from Moses until Jesus. The explanation of this is the controversy with the orthodox Muslims about the status of Mirza Ghulām, founder of Aḥmadiyyah. He claimed to be a prophet, and yet one who brought no new law, whose only task was to restore and never to innovate, whose very prophethood was acquired through Muḥammad. He claimed also to be the Second Coming of Jesus. In order to build up a full and convincing comparison between Jesus and Mizrā Ghulām Aḥmad, Aḥmadi authors insist that Jesus came only as the fulfiller and renovator of the Mosaic dispensation. Texts from St. Matthew are popular. Drawing the hapless David in His wake, Jesus becomes a prophet without a law. Differences between the Old and New Testaments vanish, or, where they are too glaring to be overlooked, they are linked to the political situation of the Israelites in the times of the two prophets. (For Aḥmadis both Moses and Jesus were sent exclusively to the Jews). An instance of this is the law governing human revenge. The *lex talionis,* which Aḥmadis regard as the Mosaic prescription, was necessary because of the pressure of external enemies; the turning of the other cheek was to counteract the hardheartedness of the Jews themselves. Here the *via media* enters in, another concept dear to the Aḥmadis. Islam strikes a moderate balance between the two extremes. [10]

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[8] It is perhaps not unjust to say that the underlying flaw of Iqbāl's *Reconstruction* is that he has built on the first commandment alone, and not at all on the second like unto it.

[9] *Muslim World,* vol. xlviii, No. 4, pp. 278-9, Professor Daud Rahbar, October 1958, "The Challenge of Modern Ideas and Social Values to Muslim Society".

[10] The two verses cited by the present Khalīfah, whose full style is His Holiness Hazrat Mirza Bashīr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad, ii: 194 and xlii: 40, seem distinguished from the *lex talionis* principally by a single word, aṣlaḥa, whence derives a certain amount of agile exegesis. The meaning shared by Rodwell and Sale is, 'to be reconciled'. Arberry says, 'to put things to rights'. The Khalīfah translates, 'to forgive a trespasser under circumstances which are calculated to

It is doubtful if Aḥmadis have fully explored the consequences of thus linking revelation to temporary secular circumstances.

Returning to the idea of evolving religion, which for the Aḥmadis began to move again after the time of Jesus, it is clear that the argument is not altogether safe, for the finality of the Qurʾān and of Muḥammad is not inherent in it. A writer in the *Islamic Review,* sketching the corruption by man of previous revelations, came at the end to a surprisingly agnostic conclusion.

> Nature and history bear testimony to a law of nature, *viz.,* that when a thing becomes useless by corruption or obsolete by the fact of mankind having outgrown its need, it is replaced by a more up-to-date thing, and preserved only for so long as it is needed. Here I may point out that this is due to the working of the law of evolution, for, as Tennyson put it, "the old order changeth yielding place to new". Under this law not only are old and obsolete things and institutions destroyed and replaced by better and up-to-date ones, but the corrupted and useless people who become deaf and blind to the principles of unity are also destroyed — for Nature does not require them — as other rotten things are destroyed. The very fact, however, that the Quran is still intact and accessible, and that no other Divine message has so far been received after it, shows that it is still needed and is, so far at least, the last and final Divine message. [11]

Needless to say, the caution of this assertion of the pre-eminence of the Qurʾān is almost unique. But it points to a problem of which Aḥmadis and others are aware. If religion, in accord with the natural world, steadily evolved until the time of Muḥammad, why did it then stop? A frequent explanation is that man was then fully developed in the faculties necessary to appreciate the ultimate revelation. The introduction to the Qadiani English-Arabic Qurʾān published in 1955, explains *jinn* as men, living originally before the time of Adam, whose mental capacity did not allow them to bear the burden of any revelation, even that most simple one which was later given to Adam. [12] Revelation henceforward kept pace with man's evolving faculties, intellectual, social, spiritual and so forth. The Qadiani Khalīfah said that Muḥammad came "when the mind of man had become fully developed." [13] There is here an exact comparison with the argument of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who also fitted Christianity into a more primitive stage. [14] And again, the world in the 7th century was ready to receive the Kingdom of God. "Means of intercommunication between different sections of humanity had been perfected, and the world had in its advancement attained the stage when it might form one country and one nation."

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effect a reformation in his conduct and which do not lead to disorder or disturbance', *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam,* Qadian 1924, p. 200. This view is shared by Muḥammad ʿAlī.

[11] S. M. Said-al-Dīn, *Islamic Review,* vol. xxii, p. 349.

[12] Rabwah 1955, pp. 158-9; the editor is Maulawi Sher ʿAlī, the introduction is by Bashīr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad.

[13] Bashīr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad, "Aḥmadiyya Movement", London 1924, p. 44.

[14] *Cf.,* Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt,* London 1933, p. 175.

Here too, however, Aḥmadis are of a divided mind, according to the apologetic purpose at hand. In order to enlarge upon Muḥammad's status as a reformer, the extreme decadence and barbarism of the world of his time are stressed, just as in the writings of Amīr ᶜAlī. Ghulām Aḥmad said that the Arabs of those days were "in such a degraded state that they could hardly be called men." Such people, "a disgrace even to the beasts and snakes of the desert," [15] cannot have been at a very elevated evolutionary stage. Nor is there in the picture which Aḥmadis and other modernists paint of Christian Europe at that time and for some centuries later anything to suggest an impending federation of the world.

The *à priori* application of the evolutionary principle, its suspension in the relationship between Judaism and Christianity, and its contradiction to provide a foil for Muḥammad's achievement, are examples of what Professor Gibb has called "the profound disservice" which the modernists have inflicted upon Islam, encouraging an interpretation of history which will serve predetermined ends not always distinguishable from "the capricious impulses of the moment." [16]

For whatever reason, evolution, insofar as the revelation of divine law is concerned, ceases with the Qurᵓān and with Muḥammad. Even the Qadianis, whose claims involve prophethood, do not deny that the Qurᵓān is the ultimate law, and that Muḥammad is the chief of the prophets. Yet change continues everywhere in the world. Is the Qurᵓān the house built upon rock, or the oak of Aesop's fable? The problem is twofold. It is not simply a question of analyzing the relationship between evolution and finality. For that, though important, is a theoretical exercise. More urgent is the need for some principle of evolution, or rather of growth, which, while honouring the finality of the Islamic dispensation, moves beyond the early golden age of Islam and gives to Muslims today freedom and incentive. Here evolution serves the needs, not of theology or of polemic or of history, but of a forward-looking policy. When Amīr ᶜAlī speaks of "the wonderful adaptability of the Islamic precepts to all ages and nations," [17] it is an historical summary, but also an advocacy for future action. When Khuda Bukhsh makes the same bold claim — "Rigidity is death, and Islam never is rigid but always in a state of flux, capable of adapting itself to all climes and civilizations" [18] — it is both praise and a warning. Evolution means hope for Muslim communities which appear to have fallen behind in the competition of the modern world, simply because it offers the prospect of altered circumstances. Iqbāl said of the Qurᵓān, that it "opens our eyes to the great fact of change, through the appreciation and

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[15] *Review of Religions,* vol. vii, pp. 264-5.
[16] H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam,* Chicago 1945, p. 127.
[17] *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed: or, the Spirit of Islam,* London 1891, p. 275.
[18] *Islamic Review,* vol. xxi, p. 216.

control of which alone it is possible to build a durable civilization." [19] This is the third strand of the original prompting to the concept of evolution — the reply to challenging modernity.

Before we look at the Aḥmadi position, let us notice some of the other theories of post- (or intra-) Quranic evolution put forward. Some writers have carried evolution into the pages of the Qurʾān itself. Amīr ʿAlī, free, despite his polemical spirit, from the argument common among Aḥmadis that Jesus was sent only to the people of Israel, traces a development in Jesus' thought from the injunction not to go to the Samaritans or the Gentiles, to the command to teach all nations. [20] The same characteristic he finds in Muḥammad. "The mind of the Teacher progressed not only with the march of time and the development of his religious consciousness, but also with the progress of his disciples in apprehending spiritual conceptions." [21] An example is the concept of paradise in the Qurʾān, for in the intermediate surahs, "before the mind of the Teacher had attained the full development of religious consciousness," there are descriptive details borrowed from "the floating fancies" of neighbouring religions. [22] Anwar Iqbāl Qureshi, an international economist, speaks of "gradual, or step by step revelation," and instances it in the growing strictness of the advices against gambling and drinking, and against interest. [23] The seeds of this concept are not altogether foreign to orthodox Quranic study, for it is clear that the general principle often precedes the detailed ordinance. However, Aḥmadis and orthodox alike reject Amīr ʿAlī's theory that the Qurʾān is in any such way the creation of Muḥammad, or that its eternal teachings altered with the growth of his human mind. This idea of what may be called internal evolution, in the Qurʾān or in Muḥammad, is not a part of Aḥmadi doctrine. Nor does it solve the problem of evolution once the final passage of the Qurʾān had been revealed.

Probably the most striking modernist attempt to surmount this difficulty is the *Reconstruction* of Iqbāl. His interpretation of the finality of the Islamic dispensation is that it released man from laws imposed by supernatural fiat rather than adopted through wisdom, and established a rational basis on which man might proceed to work out God's will perceived through his own understanding. All this philosophic framework is to grow out of the Qurʾān. As one reads Iqbāl's references to that Book, one wonders whether the quotations always mean as much as he would wish them to, and whether they are indeed the whole picture. We have already mentioned the verses of the day and night, as an instance of the first obstacle. For the second, consider his use of the words in xxxv. 1, *yazīdu fī-al-khalqi mā yaṣ̲hāʾu:* "He adds in

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[19] *Reconstruction,* p. 14.
[20] S. Matt. x. 5 and xxviii. 19.
[21] *Op. cit.,* pp. 398-9.
[22] *Op. cit.,* p. 394.
[23] *Islam and the Theory of Interest,* Lahore 1946, (?), pp. 85-6.

creation what He will." Iqbāl refers to the verse several times, as demonstrating an expanding and growing universe. (Muḥammad ʿAlī says that the significance may be simply that the angels are not limited to the two, three or four wings mentioned immediately beforehand.) He does not mention the verse xlvi. 3, where the universe is created only for a set period, *ajalin musamman*. It is a moot point whether in Iqbāl's philosophy the universe ever can end.

Even granting the reliability of the Quranic foundation for the concept of an evolving universe and the Muslim principle of movement within it, there is the further difficulty of relating these broad principles to the details of certain Quranic regulations. Iqbāl maintains that Islam, by thus joining detail and principle, avoids the excessive legalism of the Jews, and the idealism, lax in practice, of the Christians. The ideal reconciliation was one of the themes reported from the 1958 International Islamic Colloquium in Lahore. "Islam — forseeing the eventual evolution of humanity — had to formulate a basic code of comprehensive guidance for mankind in all their activities, whether they fall within the public or private sector. Islam, therefore, laid down some basic principles which every community is enjoined to adopt, and then gave them the liberty to develop its structure on the basis of these principles." [24] Trouble comes when the attempt is made to work out specific points in these terms. Iqbāl quotes from the poet Ziya Gök Alp, who urged equality between men and women in three things, divorce, separation and inheritance, and who complained that while the woman is ½ the man in inheritance and ¼ the man in marriage no progress could be made. Of the three points under criticism, polygamy, divorce and inheritance, Iqbāl entirely neglects the first. He skirts the second, simply remarking that the woman can avoid the usual legal status by having special clauses giving equality in divorce written into the marriage contract. And he concentrates on the third, where the ground is firmest so long as the woman is married, and bears no major financial responsibilities, both conditions which clearly cannot always be fulfilled. [25]

Amīr ʿAlī at this juncture is more enterprising than Iqbāl. He faces squarely the presence of such institutions as slavery and polygamy in the Qurʾān. His solution follows a scheme of directional indicators. The regulations in the Qurʾān are not static, but point the way for further development. He comments as follows on the verses iv. 127-8:

> This furnishes another argument against those Mohammedans who hold that the developed laws of Islam allow plurality of wives. It being declared that equity is beyond human power to observe, we must naturally infer that the legislator had in view the merging of the lower in the higher principle, and the abolition of a custom which, though necessary in some state of society, is opposed to the later development of thought and morals. [26]

[24] *Muslim World*, vol. xlviii, July 1958, pp. 192-3.
[25] *Reconstruction*, pp. 161, 169-70.
[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 349 n.

The same argument is presented concerning slavery, which Amīr ʿAlī says Muḥammad regarded as an institution "temporary in its nature," to be extinguished gradually "by the progress of ideas and change of circumstances." [27] Thus laws which superficially appear designed for the proper regulation of an affair are in fact meant to abolish it altogether. Since the effective meaning of the law changes with circumstances, in a world of various societies advanced and otherwise, the Qurʾān simultaneously gives contradictory provisions. One man may be a polygamous slaveholder, another may not. This elasticity means that the Qurʾān "is adapted alike for the acceptance of the most cultured society and the requirements of the least civilized." [28] But most Muslims, including on this issue again orthodox and Aḥmadis together, suspect that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and prefer to expound a fixed ideal standard, by which all practical divergence is judged back-sliding.

What is the contribution of Aḥmadiyyah? It is an unswerving devotion to the Qurʾān, which, however, is re-interpreted in far-reaching ways. This ostensible allegiance to the very letter of authority is not uncommon amongst reformers who are, often unconsciously, embarked upon very considerable alterations. Aḥmadis are fully conscious of the contrast between a given and immutable book, and evolving life.

> While on the one hand Islam reveals new aspects of its teachings to suit the requirements of every age, it possesses, on the other, the characteristic that the teachings laid down by it in the words of the Holy Quran are unalterable and fixed like a rock which cannot be moved from its place by the beating of waters. Like nature it is capable of yielding new treasures, but like nature again its laws are immutable. [29]

Aḥmadis resolutely reject such compromises as Amīr ʿAlī's—they deny on the one hand that the Qurʾān sanctions slavery, and on the other that there is anything objectionable in polygamy (if properly understood).

Nor have they, the Qadianis in particular, anything to parallel Iqbāl's *Ijtihād*, considered as emancipated reason. The Movement has indeed outgrown the anti-rationalism which at the outset, as a reaction against Aḥmad Khan and the Necharis, it possessed. Man comes, said Zafrullāh Khan, to faith through reason. But, for the Aḥmadi, revelation is still given; even, according to some, *waḥy*, acceptance of which, when it is announced by the recipient, is incumbent upon all who wish to remain among the believers. The proper adjustment of faith and modernity, the necessary Quranic study, is directed by such mystical authority.

The revelation which Aḥmadis receive does not result in a new Book, but its light plays upon the pages of the old. In our search for the contribution of Aḥmadiyyah to the theory of movement in Islam, we

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 376.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 328.
[29] Bashīr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad, *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam*, pp. 79-80.

return again to scientific esotericism, now expanded to include not only science but all important knowledge and influential circumstance. At the beginning of our analysis no more than a foundation for simple Darwinian evolution, this exegesis now becomes the means by which evolution in the broader sense is gathered in all its manifold aspects under the mantle of Islam.

> The Quran, which had become like a closed book in the hands of the Muslims, has again been made an open book for us by God through the blessings of the Holy Prophet and instrumentally of the Promised Messiah. Fresh sources of knowledge are revealed to us through it. Whenever any teaching or doctrine contained in the Quran is made the target of criticism on the basis of some new scientific development, God reveals to me the true answer contained in the Quran. [30].

There are to be found not only evolution and interplanetary travel, but the ideal principles of democracy, the only means for a true uplift of social life, and so forth. In optimistic days long ago one might find the Locarno Pact in the Qurʾān. No-one today will trace the United Nations there, but many can tell you the principles of a truly effective world organization.

The exegesis is applied through a sequence of spiritually gifted men. Some may be called prophets (or follower-prophets); some *mujaddidūn*; and some may be of lesser though still exalted rank, such as the present Khalīfah, and some may be ordinary men and women. The blessing is open to all.

It has been clear in the foregoing that in what has to do with the time beyond Muḥammad, the word evolution has been used — with the possible exception of Iqbāl's philosophy — in an improper sense. For what has in reality been under discussion is not evolution but growth. The distinction is not consciously made by the Aḥmadis. The Quranic verses they cite in favour of evolution have nothing, or almost nothing, to do with evolution, but do present a concrete picture of growth. Though the distinction is not conscious, it is vital, for only thus can the finality of Islam be safeguarded. Evolution implies discarding and disappearance on the one hand, innovation on the other. Growth is simply an unfolding and enlargement. Lord Cromer's famous dictum, "Islam reformed is Islam no longer," is paradoxically more foolish perhaps to the Christian observer than to the Muslim participant. Aḥmadis, by the energy with which they rebut the judgment, suggest that it is at least a possible interpretation. Indeed, if evolution applies, Lord Cromer is right; if growth, he is wrong.

Thus Aḥmadiyyah, despite those elements which the orthodox call heresy, preserves an essentially conservative character. To it, the judgment of Professor G. E. von Grünebaum seems applicable, that Islam more than most religions has "consistently refused to accept the onto-

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[30] Bahīr-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad, Introduction of the Quran, pp. 167-8.

logical reality of change." He reduces the concept of change in Islam to two alternatives, either decline through abandoning a Divine precept, or progress through increased understanding of already revealed truth.[31] Aḥmadiyyah claims no more.

In this way the jar between religious evolution and the finality of the Islamic dispensation is cushioned, and at the same time the movement involved in evolution, or growth, is an opportunity for the retrieval or reconstruction of Islam. As a further application of the evolutionary principle in Aḥmadi doctrine, this time in the study of morals, let us consider this retrieval in individual terms. For the reform of morality, there is found in the Qur'ān a program of relatively easy stages, through which a man may pass as he climbs from his wickedness to live.

> The Quran describes the stages of spiritual evolution and explains their number and details. For instance, it explains the kinds and degrees of purity, chastity, charity, truthfulness, mercy, kind treatment, etc. Thus, it enables a man to plan in accordance with his moral and spiritual development. By thus placing the immediate objective within a man's reach it encourages him to set out on the path of progress, and by setting out before him a series of ever-higher objectives it incites him to greater effort at each stage. It thus carries man forward on the path of progress step by step and stage by stage.[32]

A central verse here is xvi. 90, not very fruitful in this context if read without the commentaries. Professor Macdonald remarked upon the moderate demands of Islam, as not setting up an impossible ideal. Aḥmadis subscribe wholeheartedly to this, and have here expressed attainability within the evolutionary framework.

If such growth is a promise of change in the present circumstances of Islam, where the contrast with a highly informed and developed West is particularly galling to the eyes of the modernists, it is perhaps a measure of the greatness of the task that so much of Aḥmadi evolution in the future is set in the safer realm of the hereafter, the Aḥmadi picture of which is distinctly activist. "Death," says the Khalīfah, "hides nothing but opportunities of limitless progress."[33] He translates the verse xxiii. 115 as: "Then, do you imagine that We have created you as a mere pastime and that you will not have eternal life and opportunities of eternal development after death?"[34]

In summary then, evolution has been adopted by Aḥmadiyyah with relatively slight scientific foundation. It is recommended by the comparison between natural law and the Law of God. It is used to rebut Christianity which, in the Aḥmadi scheme of things, has been superseded by a faith more fitted to survive. In the face of considerable difficulty, attempts are made to fit the finality of the Muslim dispen-

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[31] *Islam and the West,* R. N. Frye (ed.), the Hague 1957, pp. 12-3.
[32] Bashir-al-Dīn Maḥmūd Aḥmad, Introduction to the Quran, p. 132.
[33] *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam,* p. 191.
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 367. cf. Editorial, *The Muslim World,* Vol. xlix. 2 pp.

sation into the evolutionary framework. Evolution, transmuted to growth, becomes a modest herald of improvement in the present condition of the Islamic world. Fundamentally evolution points up the two chief characteristics of Aḥmadiyyah — reaction to Christianity, and reaction to the challenge of modernity. It is a weapon of advocacy.

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MUSLIM DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN A BETHLEHEM VILLAGE

EDITORIAL NOTE

The writer of the following article is wellknown for her publications in the field of Palestinian Muslim anthropology. Her three major works in English, based on extensive local residence and study are: *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village,* 2 Vols, pp. 200 and 366, Helsingfors, 1931 and 1935; *Birth and Childhood among the Arabs,* (Studies in a Muhammadan Village in Palestine) pp. 289, Helsingfors, 1947; and *Child Problems among the Arabs,* (same sub-title as the preceding) pp. 336, Helsingfors, 1950. Each of these works contains notes on Biblical parallels, statistics, references to other works and general index. Against the background of this material, further work was recently undertaken in Jordan, with the help of an international fellowship from the Elin Wägner Foundation, Stockholm, Sweden. It deals in a corresponding manner with customs relating to death and burial. The village chosen for the entire field work was Artas, near Bethlehem. The author expects to publish her researches in a major treatise with the title: *Muslim Death and Burial, Studies among Arabs in a Village in Jordan,* thus completing a trilogy, matching the three great events of human biography. The milieu in each case is the same and the method has been uniform, that of steady observation with the help of local informants. The village of Artas had some five hundred inhabitants at the time of the 1927 research. Exact figures for 1959 are not available, but the village has grown in the interval. The Quarterly is grateful for the opportunity to publish this section of Dr. Granqvist's forthcoming publication.

SAYINGS ON DEATH

There are many traditional sayings on death. In the lapse of time they have acquired in the people's minds the meaning or character of general truths and laws. Such sayings are:

Death has a right and to flee is a shame.
Life has its limit, and this is the limit of his life.
It is written on his brow that he will die of this sickness.
What was far has come near.
There is no more oil in the lamp. The oil is finished and the life has run out.
God demands what He has given.

GATHERING ROUND THE DEATH BED

When someone is dying, they send a message to his relatives, to

those of his flesh and blood, and if someone is in another village, they fetch him. The messenger says: "So and so desires thee." Then they understand.

THE LAST WILL

They ask the dying one: "What is in thy mind? Hast thou any debts? Is there anything not arranged that I can do what is necessary?" He who has something and he who has nothing alike say: "I owe nothing, nor does anyone owe me anything. Thank God!"

Any one seriously ill gives orders to the members of his family, telling them what they have to do after his departure. Sometimes a man on his death bed has even arranged the marriage of a daughter or son. He gives orders to his wife or wives. For example, Khalīl had two wives, Sara and Dhabla. The latter was still young and would probably find a new husband. So Khalīl required Sara to remain in his house as a widow and take care of the children. Or, as he said to her: "The sins of the children are on thy neck, i.e. thou art responsible for them!" This Dhabla will not remain without marriage.

Aḥmad Ismāᶜīn, the village head, or mukhtār, of Artas said to the dying Khalīl: "These mourning women will come and plague me this winter."Khalīl said: "I forbid their coming and their words (talk). The sin is on your neck, if you let them mourn for me."

When Aḥmad Jadallāh was mortally ill he said: "And I will not have any wailing of the women, no shrieking and crying with lamentation and rending of garments — nothing of their mourning!"

APPEAL TO THE DYING

The sister of Aḥmad Jadallāh's wife said: "Do something for Saᶜdah." But he had great debts and was not able to do anything for her. He said: "The property is held fast in the house of Batarshe in Bethlehem." Two of Aḥmad Jadallāh's brothers came and said of a third brother: "Muṣṭafā removed a boundary stone to his advantage on the property of the orphans." Aḥmad said to him: "Oh Muṣṭafā, it is a sin for thee to remove from the property of the orphans! Bless thy children! The house of justice (righteousness) is stronger — a house of justice and not a chest full of money or wealth!"

WEAKNESS FELT

Aḥmad Jadallah says to his hand: "Bravo, thou my right hand! which has slaughtered nintety-nine animals, and now thou failest." Turning to one of the men: "ᶜAbdallāh, my brother's son, I have done nothing for thee, and thou wast fifteen years away among strangers." Sitt Louisa remarked: "Among them it will then be, as if he had really done it. The wish was there." The g o o d w i l l or intention is important.

ʿAbdallāh answered: "We only wish that thou shouldest get well!" "The dead do not make friendship with the living. The blow of a man leaves its mark." The sick one asks what he wishes, they bring it to him. Honey is medicine for both ways — either he dies or it brings him to life.

TURNED TO THE SOUTH

When any one is about to yield up his spirit, he is turned to the south. It is right and praiseworthy. He wants to have the witness and the creed, to witness that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is the apostle of God. Those present repeat these words constantly (bihallilu il-ḥāḍrīn).

GREETINGS

They say: "Greet those who have gone before thee!" He says: "Ye burden me!" They say: "Go in the peace of God! — May God give you peace!"

People express the wish: "May God grant that we meet again in the gardens of God!" The dying one wishes: "May God grant that only good follow you!"

Further they send greetings by the dying one to the dead of Artas, e.g. "Greet Aḥmad Jadallah! Forget not so and so!" Other people warn the eager ones, saying: "Do not burden him too much."

Further they say: "God grant that we meet each other in the gardens of Paradise! God grant that thou and I eat from the fruits of Paradise!"

The dying one says: "Forgive me in what I have failed:" and they answer: "May God forgive thee and purify thy conscience and relieve thy body from the fire of hell!" All are present: men and women, and even the unclean. It does not matter, only they must not touch the grave clothes.

TO DROP WATER

And when they take farewell there are those who weep. And they drop water into his throat. They forgive him saying: "May God pardon thee and purify thy mouth!" When they drop water in his throat, they say: "This is good (ḥalāl). His spittle is dry. The soldiers who die and nobody moistens their throat — what a misery for the mother who asks: 'Who has dropped water in his throat when he was dying?'" This dropping of water it is believed makes it easier for the soul to come out.

DIFFICULT DEATH

A shaikh said: "The drawing out of a soul from the body — seventy seven strokes are easier than that, than this one taking." Death, it is thought, may be more or less difficult depending upon how the dying

man behaved in his life. He who yields up his spirit in stillness, his angels are merciful. And if the angels are bad, he is furious. He throws away his cover and goes away from the bed. As he has troubled the people in this world, so the angels now trouble him and disquiet his soul.

THE PEOPLE PRESENT SHOULD BEHAVE WELL

When Aḥmad Ismāᶜīn was giving up his ghost, the preacher Khalīl Khalawa said to those present; especially to the women: "Do not shriek! Let a tear drop, but do not rend your clothes! The angels take him now. They are now beginning to take his soul from his body. Do not trouble him! It is a sin (unlawful) and will be written down to your account."

ᶜUZRĀᵓĪN, THE CAPTOR OF SOULS

Some people try to persuade the death angel to postpone death and have mercy. But ᶜUzrāᵓīn cannot be bribed. He says: "I am the servant who acts under command. It is not in my power to lose or bind." When the soul comes out and leaves the body, ᶜUzrāᶜīn draws it out from the body and has it on his hand, and rises with it to the seventh heaven. If the deceased's deeds have been good and his heart 'shining' before the people, the angels say: "O, what a perfume!" — This is what the preacher says. If there is a bad smell, they say: "Throw it into the hell!" The soul is then returned to its body.

WASHING OF THE DEAD

Most people are washed in their own houses. In exceptional cases, this is done at the mosque. All women are washed in their own houses. The door is removed and laid on four stones. And they wash the dead on the door and children on two boxes. When a woman has died her dear ones — women — wash her and then comes the professional washer of the dead, a woman who fasts and prays. She does not wash the deceased until she has made her ablutions. The washing by the loved ones comes first. They remove all hair from the body.

In the case of a man, first they wash him as usual, and if he has two wives, he is washed twice. They must have two cauldrons of hot water. His own people wash him first, and then the preacher. He washes the dead as before prayer, and then people may not touch him.

They put cotton wool between the toes of the feet and the fingers of the hand, and cotton wool behind the ears, — but not in the ears so that he can hear the prayer — and under his armpits. Like dead men, so also dead women, are washed below three times with cotton wool at all openings of the body. The man or woman who washes gets payment and is given the soap and the cloth with which one washes and which is wet.

At the washing of the dead they recite their belief and add: "In it

may we live! In it may we die! And in it may we meet the face of God."

In a song it is said: "May God be my help! So that when they wash me, the good people will help me while they say: God is eternal!"

While he washes a dead man, the shaikh says: "He who did not pray on Thursday or drive away Satan, may he be plunged into hell! The others in the grace of God!"

THE SHROUD

It is a duty to give the deceased his death or grave clothes (hadi sinne — ḥalāl — il-kafan farḍ). If someone dies and there is no shroud, the blunder is great. If he is rich i.e. has the means and has two wives, he must have two lots of grave clothes.

TABU RULES

Nobody must touch the dead after they have been washed. They wash as for ablutions for prayer. And after that the deceased's wife may not touch him, only his mother, his sisters, his daughters, his father's sisters, his mother's sisters, the daughters of his brother, and his mother-in-law. They are allowed to do it, because they are forbidden to marry him. So also his daughters' daughters, his sisters' daughters. And also his foster-sister is innocent for him. As concerns the dead woman, innocent for her are: her brother, her brother's son and her father and her father's brother, and her mother's brother, and her father's father and mother's father, and her son. The following persons may not touch her: her husband, her brother-in-law, her father's brother's son, her mother's brother's son and men from outside. Only men who are forbidden to marry her are innocent or lawful to her.

The touch of all those whom the dead person could not have married is not defiling, but no man or woman may touch dead animals.

The dead are not impure; do they not wash him with warm water and soap, and wash him as for prayer?

A person impure after sexual intercourse, and the lying-in-woman, and the menstruating woman must not come near the dead, nor must they sew or touch the grave-clothes. All those who have to touch him must have made their ablutions, and all at the burial must be ceremonially clean.

FAREWELL

Before he is washed his wife bids him farewell. Then before he is placed in the big cloth his sisters, his mother, his sisters' daughters say farewell. They say: "Go in peace protected by God (maᶜ il-salāma fi īd Allāh). Greet those who have gone before thee! Many greetings!" Women kiss a dead woman and say: "Go in peace, oh sister! Protected by God. Greet them who have gone before thee!" Women whom he could not have married, take farewell of him and kiss him. They say: "This is the last farewell". This is done to men and women.

WITNESS

When they take him away from the washing board, and lay him in his shroud, they ask: "What do ye witness for this dead man, or for this woman?" — They answer: "We witness only good (khair)." When he is evil, they say: "Bury him and be silent!" In the case of a fallen woman they are all silent. The evil deeds of the dead shall not be mentioned. Let God judge!

INDULGENCE

A substitution for omitted prayer (tasqīṭ or isqāṭ il-ṣalāt) or the settling of his account regarding prayer can be provided. This ceremony is for those who have not prayed and for those who have prayed it is a still greater blessing. "Thou payest some of thy debt in this way." The debt is reduced by half and a half remains.

If a person has omitted to pray in this world all parts that are here done by water at the ablution must in the afterlife be done by fire, rinse his nose with fire and his mouth with fire and wash his forehead and eyes and ears and rub his neck — all with fire.

A person who is rich and has property to afford it may have this ceremony performed for him. This is arranged beforehand.

After he has been washed, and laid in the shroud, and he is still among them, this ceremony is performed. The soul does not leave him until he is laid in the grave. He understands all but he cannot move his tongue. The ceremony lasts about half to one hour and more, and is here illustrated by an actual case, related by an Artas woman who was present at the ceremony.

— A woman died in ʿAin Kārim. On the day she died her son was called for. He said to them: "People, bring the grave clothes! People, heat water! People, dig the grave!" They brought the grave clothes and hot water and dug the grave. They washed the woman and shrouded her. Then they called in the men and the preachers, and the shaikhs. Her house was large and soon filled with men and women.

The son said: "People collect what we need! Let us start the ceremony!" They collected ornaments. One woman removed the bracelets from her wrist. Another wearing a chin-chain took it off for the collection. A third offered her cap with coins attached, and so on.

Her daughter asked: "How much is your chin-chain worth? How much are your bracelets worth?" The answers were: "Four pounds, five pounds, etc." Each woman took off some of her ornaments and gave them to the collector. She asked: "How much is this ornament worth?" And the woman concerned evaluated her bracelets or rings or ear rings. "They are worth so and so, this ring is worth so and so," or she mentioned how much money she had on her cap. "We must count them so as to know what they are worth." And the sack was worth sixty pounds. The girl had sewn it together for fear that something

might disappear. She took the sack to the preacher. Then he said: "Give me what thou hast!" She said to him: "If thou pleasest."

Taking it from her, he said: "Hast thou presented it to me?" She said: "Yes, I have presented it to thee." The question and the answer were repeated three times. Then the sack was passed round from man to man, from woman to woman. The men were in the front rows and the women behind them. Finally the sack was returned to the preacher. Then the mourning relatives had to take it over, but before doing so they offered the preacher money for the soul of the deceased (ʿan rūḥu).

The son of the deceased gave the preacher five pounds, saying: "This is their recompense and reward for my mother." The preacher said to him: "Thou art a soldier, so this is all for thee. And as regards thy mother, I forgive her and may God forgive her." The preacher exempted the son from the expenses and alms to be given after the ceremony. He felt compassion for him having to be a soldier. Military duty has been considered a severe handicap.

General descriptions give the same picture and idea of the ceremony. Ornaments are collected and put into a sack which is sewn together. Then someone says: "How much are they worth? — Four or five pounds." A relative of the deceased takes the money to be distributed among those who deserve it.

Ten to twenty men take part in the ceremony. First the preacher must have the sack, and he prays and blesses it.

Then the sack circulates among the men. Every one hands the sack on to the next man, and each time the ceremonial words are repeated. "Hast thou presented it to me? — Yes, I have given it." — Three times this is done. Finally the sack comes back to the preacher. If he is a noble man he may say: "I forgive him." Then the others are ashamed of accepting money. They say: "We forgive him." In other cases the shaikh is given twenty to fifty piasters or so. That is his fee. And then they distribute the money among those in need and those who deserve it. And the sack is returned to the owner of the house. And as regards the ornaments every one recognizes her own and gets her own back again.

DHIKR

For a man they perform the *Dhikr* ceremony, the repetition of the name of God. It is said then that they have all called on God and they have honoured his memory. After they have washed the dead at home and made the ablutions, they take him to the mosque and pray over him. They carry the dead on a bier which consists of a carpet and two poles.

OVER THE THRESHOLD

When the dead one is carried over the threshold, they cry out: "Oh, my father!" or, "Oh, my brother!" etc. A woman is covered with mant-

les, many mantles. Not even her length shall be seen. Her brothers, her father, her father's brothers throw their mantles on the dead woman for fear that strange men see her. When she is carried through the door over the threshold they trill: "lu, lu, lu ..." as at a wedding. They trill for all women, young and old but not for little girls. All at the burial must be ceremonially clean. The angels follow the dead in the procession. The men repeat the creed.

BURIAL

When children die women do not go to the grave but when a grown-up person dies all go. The men always stand around the grave, and the women further away in a group. Those who wear amulets must not be there. For example. A woman whose children have died is not present at the burial, nor does she eat of the funeral meats. It is not good also, if she passes the burial ground. Nor does such a woman eat heart, lung, liver, feet, head, entrails of a slaughtered animal — all that the knife cuts away. But from the carcass, the body of the animal as it hangs at the slaughterer. Probably the cutting away is the dangerous thing. They must also not cut off or pull away sour dough.

IN THE GRAVE

One of the village men goes into the grave with the dead. He supports the body between the shoulders with a stone, and a stone at the girdle, and one at the feet. This they do lest the body should roll over on the back. The face must always be towards the south. If the dead one is a woman, her father or brother or one who has made brotherhood with her goes down with her. The male relatives cover the front of the grave with their mantles as protection.

When Sabha Khalil was buried it was evening and they covered the door of the grave with the mantles. And when the man who went into the grave took away the big cloth, and the veil from her face, it shone like fire. That means: she had a good death. It also means a good death, if the hands are soft. When the body is arranged in the grave, the right hand is put under the head. There is a saying: "From the day I met her until the day I shall lay my hand under my head (i.e. die) I will not forget her."

Every one from the youngest to the eldest gets a handful of dust scattered on the face. When they loosen the bands of the death cloth at the head, they say to the dead: "How much thou hast run and walked! And all that thou hast from the world is this handful of dust." On saying this they scatter sand on the eyes of the dead. Or they say: "This is thy share of the world!" Or: "Thine eyes are not satisfied without a handful of dust."

EXAMINATION AND PLAGUES

There will be an examination in the grave. Two death angels, Nākir and Munkir, come to the dead to hear his accounts. Khalīl Khalāwa said to his wife Lika when she was in the grave: "Stand firmly! Nakir and Munkir will come to thee. They will ask thee: "Who is thy Lord?" Then say to them: God is my Lord and the holy stone in Mekka is my South and the Muslims are my brethren and the Muslim women my sisters. And I live and die in the faith: Witness that there is no god but God, etc."

If someone is afraid of the death angel Nākir, he says: "Thou art my Lord!" And then he is struck. "May our death angels be merciful!" is a prayer.

Sometimes the grave is 'heavy' upon the dead. This is a punishment for evil deeds. But with a child there are no accounts to settle. If an adult and a child die on the same day the former has the child on his knee in the grave. The death angels are merciful to the little ones, and then also to the grown up people, if they see a little one with them. The grown up goes into the afterlife without examination for the sake of the child.

GRAVE CLOSED

When they plaster the grave, they say: "Thou Beneficent, Thou Merciful, Thou forgiver of great sins!" And to the dead: "May God illuminate thy grave on thee, and bring thy affairs in order! And may thy angels be merciful and make the dust light on thee!"

CONDOLENCES AT THE GRAVE

The men at the grave fall on each others' neck and kiss and wish: "May your heads be preserved! Grant God that the others remain alive! God grant that this is the end of the evil!"

The women kiss the head of the wife of the dead one or of his mother, or of his sister. When they leave the burial place, the dead man in the grave also wishes to stand up with them. But the stone (balāṭa) says to him: "Sleep, Oh God's Servant as God has judged thee!"

People say to him: "Thou art in the right house (of righteousness) we are in the house of vanity!" (inti fī dār il-ḥaqq naḥna fī dār il-bāṭil)

No one envies him. For: "One day on earth is better than a thousand days beneath it!"

Jerusalem, Jordan HILMA GRANQVIST

AL-ISMĀʿĪLIYYAH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE FĀTIMIDS.

Popular interest has of late been aroused in the Ismāʿīlī segment of Islam by events related to the death of the former Āgha Khān and the coming to authority of his successor. It may be of significance, therefore, to review a few facts about their ancestors and the history of the Ismāʿīliyyah. It began obscurely when one of its early leaders seized control of a region of North Africa in 909 A.D. and founded the Fāṭimid Caliphate. Sixty years later, the Fāṭimids invaded Egypt, founding Cairo as their capital. In 1094, the year before the Crusades began, the long reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph Al-Mustanṣir came to an end. As the military officers wished to control the government, they drove the true heir, Niẓār, from Cairo and appointed a younger son, Al Mustaʿlī, to serve as a nominal ruler.

The descendants of Al-Mustaʿlī continued to pose as puppet Caliphs until 1171 A.D. when Saladin brought the Fāṭimid dynasty to an end. Some of the adherents of the family of Al-Mustaʿlī went to India where today they form the Bohra Sect. In the meantime the followers of Niẓār organized the famous Assassin movement in Persia and later established the Khoja community, presided over by the Āgha Khān.

In this and three following articles no attempt is made to describe the Fāṭimid period in an exhaustive way, but to take up a few topics largely neglected by European scholars and much treated by Arab writers. They arise from a study of the founding of the University Mosque of Al-Azhar in Cairo during Fāṭimid times and have had the benefit of comment and correction on the part of Professor Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, of Cairo University, who is one of the world authorities on the Fāṭimid Caliphate. The succeeding three articles concern the Fāṭimid Hierarchy and system of interpretation, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām*—the principal Fāṭimid law Code, and Aspects of the Fāṭimid Philosophy.

During his lifetime the Prophet Muḥammad served as Chief of Chiefs of a great federation of tribes in Arabia. He took the place of a legislature, as instead of passing human laws he revealed divine ones. [1] He also took the place of a judiciary, because he interpreted these laws of God. As the Prophet was so all important in his community, it was essential that his successor should be someone intimately acquainted with his methods and policies. The most logical person to become his successor (al-Khalīfah or Caliph) was ʿAlī ibn-Abī-Ṭālib, who was the Prophet's first cousin, the husband of his daughter, Fāṭimah, and the father of his only two surviving grandsons.

ʿAlī, however, was not selected to be the Caliph until three elderly Companions of the Prophet had in turn been chosen. Even when ʿAlī

was finally established as the Caliph he encountered serious opposition and was assassinated in 661 A.D. At that time his own son was not allowed to be his successor, as the Governor of Syria usurped the control and proclaimed himself as the Caliph.

This Governor of Syria, named Muᶜāwiyah, for a number of reasons was bitterly opposed by the adherents of ᶜAlī and other pious Muslims. Instead of being a descendant of the Prophet he was a member of the family of the Banū-Umayyah, who for many years were the Prophet's principal opponents. Moreover, he moved the capital from Muḥammad's city of Madinah to Damascus and named his licentious son, Yazīd, to be his heir.

ᶜAlī's eldest son, Ḥasan, did not try to rebel against Muᶜāwiyah but the younger brother, Ḥusain, was more courageous. When Muᶜāwiyah died Ḥusain started to go to Iraq, which was a center of revolution. In order to prevent him from reaching his destination, the Caliph's soldiers killed him, along with the relatives and friends who were accompanying him. This famous massacre took place in 680 at Karbalā[3] near ancient Babylon. The large group of Muslims, who wished to avenge the death of Ḥusain and insisted that only descendants of ᶜAlī and Fāṭimah should be Caliphs, were called Shīᶜites (al-Shīᶜah), whereas the Muslims who accepted the rule of the Umayyad Caliphs were called Sunnites (*Ahl al-Sunnah*).

The Umayyad Dynasty founded by Muᶜāwiyah only lasted until the year 750 A.D., when discontent throughout the Empire led to the establishing of a new régime. The members of this new dynasty were called the ᶜAbbāsids (Banū-al-ᶜAbbās) because they were descendants of the Prophet's uncle Al-ᶜAbbās. It was these ᶜAbbāsids who built Baghdād as their new capital.

The Shīᶜites were no better satisfied with this new régime than with that of the Umayyads. They felt that the Caliph should be a lineal descendant of the Prophet himself, rather than of his uncle.[2] Accordingly, the Shīᶜite movement continued to exist as an underground conspiracy, which supported the descendants of ᶜAlī as the true heirs to the throne. Each ruling member of the ᶜAbbāsid Dynasty was threatened by a Shīᶜite rebel, who served as as rallying point for the discontented elements of the Empire. As the Shīᶜite "Pretender to the Throne" was not an established ruler, he was not given the title of Caliph but called instead an "Imām".

The following list gives the names of the first six Shīᶜite Imāms and the two rivals, who claimed to be the Seventh Imām.[3]

1. ᶜAlī, the husband of the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭimah, (assassinated in 661 A.D.)
2. Ḥasan, the elder son of ᶜAlī, who lived in retirement and died in 669 A.D.
3. Ḥusain, the second son of ᶜAlī, who was killed at Karbalā[3] in 680 A.D.

4. ᶜAlī Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn, the son of Ḥusain, who lived in retirement and died about 712 A. D.
5. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, who lived at Madinah and died 731 A.D.
6. Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq, who lived at Madinah and died 765 A.D.
7. Two sons of Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq claimed to be the Seventh Imām.

Ismāᶜīl	Mūsā al-Kāẓim
whose descendants formed the Shīᶜite party of Al-Ismāᶜīlīyyah or the Seveners, to which the Fāṭimids belonged.	whose descendants formed the Shīᶜite party of the Twelvers, which today is strong in Iran, Southern Iraq and other places.

Some of the Ismāᶜīlīs regard ᶜAlī as the *Asās,* so that for them Ḥasan was the first Imām, Ismāᶜīl the sixth and his son Muḥammad the seventh Imām. This, however, is a minority view.

According to the most commonly quoted tradition but not necessarily the most correct one, the sixth Imām appointed his son, Ismāᶜīl, to be his successor, but as Ismāᶜīl lived an intemperate life the father renounced him in favor of his younger brother, Mūsā al-Kāẓim. Although one group of Shīᶜites accepted Mūsā al-Kāẓim as the seventh Imām, another party claimed that Ismāᶜīl never had been renounced, so that it was he who was the true seventh Imām, with the right to pass on the Imāmate to his young son, Muḥammad.

One of the scholars of the early Fāṭimid period recorded the ratification of the boy Muḥammad as the eighth Imām in the following way:— "When Ismāᶜīl became hidden, his son presented himself to a group of his associates. The Imāmate was bestowed upon him by those present in the audience chamber of his father. His adherents acknowledged his claim as previously his father, Ismāᶜīl, had been acknowledged by the chiefs of high rank who surrounded him. This boy Muḥammad realized that the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd would try to have him arrested as a "Pretender to the Throne." [4] Accordingly, he fled to the region of Al-Rayy in Persia, where he was called the "Concealed" (*Al-Maktūm*), and where he helped to organize the underground conspiracy, which became known as al-Ismāᶜīliyyah.

The period which intervened between the flight of the boy Muḥammad to Persia and the founding of the Fāṭimid Dynasty was called teh "Veiled Cycle" (Daur al-Sitr). As the Imāms used all of the subterfuges of an underground movement, the events of the period are shrouded in mystery. [5]

Tradition records that there was associated with the Imām Muḥammad a man named Maimūn, who was said to be a client of the Shīᶜite Imāms of Madinah. [6] When Muḥammad fled to Persia, Maimūn was supposed to have joined him after spending some time at Jerusalem and Ahwāz. One very interesting theory is that this Maimūn was really the same person as the Imām Muḥammad. Maimūn was nicknamed "Al-Qaddāh", which most people translate as "Occulist." Al-Ṭūsī,

however, believed that it meant "a man who practiced "al-qidāḥ", which was sometimes a gambling game but more often a system of divination by means of drawing marked arrows from a bag.

Maimūn was also called "Ibn-Dayṣān", which implies that he was a Dualist. Bardesanes, or Ibn-Dayṣān, was a famous heretic of the 2nd century A.D., converted to Christianity after he had served as a pagan astrologer at Edessa. Even as a Christian he upheld doctrines which were partly Gnostic and partly Zoroastrian. The Arabs erroneously regarded him as the founder of pre-Islamic Dualism. Thus the epithet "Ibn-Dayṣān" implied that Maimūn was the son of an unbeliever, even though he could not have had any connection with this ancient sect.

The traditions tell us more about Maimūn's son ᶜAbd-Allāh than they do about Maimūn himself. ᶜAbd-Allāh was probably born before the end of the 7th century and went with his father from Arabia to the region of Ahwāẓ. He was supposed to have spent some time in Askar-Mukram and Ṣābāṭ Abū-Nūr in Persia, before living at Basrah with descendants of ᶜUqayl. As he was not safe at Basrah he moved to Salamiyyah (Salamyār) on the edge of the Syrian desert, where he was in close touch with the family of the Imāms. In fact, if some people believe that the Imām Muḥammad and Maimūn were the same person, it is equally easy to think that Muḥammad's son, ᶜAbd-Allāh, was identical with ᶜAbd-Allāh ibn-Maimūn.

There are stories about how a wealthy patron helped ᶜAbd-Allāh and how he pretended to work miracles by means of occult sciences. He was said to have had agents who sent him news by carrier pigeons, so that he could tell his neighbors what was happening in far away places, before the news could reach them by ordinary channels. Thus he played upon the feelings of superstitious people and gained great power over them. Although Ivanow has pointed out the mythological nature of these stories, he has quoted a hundred and sixty-three sayings, which were supposedly handed down by Maimūn and his son ᶜAbd-Allāh.

Another possibility is that the Imām Muḥammad and his descendants used their clients of the family of Maīmūn as "doubles" so as to escape the police. The double was called a *ḥujjah* who needless to say was confused with his master. Because of the secrecy and trickery of the "Veiled Cycle" we have no accurate information about the ancestors of the Fāṭimids, who lived while the movement of Al-Ismāᶜīliyyah was an underground conspiracy. [7]

One thing, however, is certain. The conspirators developed one of the most successful systems of propaganda which has ever existed. For efficiency of organization and far reaching influence, it can be compared to the Bolshevik movement in our modern world. Wherever discontent existed in the ᶜAbbāsid Empire a missionary propagandist (dāᶜī) presented himself to stir up a desire for revolution. During the 9th century A.D. discontent was not hard to find. In the first place,

there were the widespread communities of Shīᶜahs, who felt that the Caliph must be a descendant of ᶜAlī rather than of Al-ᶜAbbās. In the second place, there was the movement of Al-Shuᶜūbiyyah, which was a protest against the cultural superiority of the Arabs. Akin to it was the inevitable discontent of Persians, Afghans, Berbers and other peoples, who disliked being subject to the Arabs and their Turkish bodyguards. Thirdly, there was a feeling on the part of the Persians that only a member of the Sāsānian Dynasty had the right to rule. As ᶜAlī's son, Ḥusain, was supposed to have married the daughter of the last king of the Sāsānian Dynasty, the Persians were more willing to accept a Caliph from the family of Ḥusain than from that of Al-ᶜAbbās. Finally, there were members of the religious minorities, who were either treated as second class citizens or else were Muslims in name only, not in spirit. In addition to the Christians and Jews, there were descendants of the followers of Mānī, disciples of Al-Muqannaᶜ, the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān, of the Khurramiyyah or devotees of Bābik, of the Rāwandiyyah, with their doctrine of re-incarnation, and the Zanādiqah and other Dualists, whose ancestors had been Zoroastrians.

As each dāᶜī was sent forth, he was told how he should stir up the emotions of the particular group to which he was assigned. The system was not a constructive one as it depended upon methods of discrediting the existing government institutions, augmenting grievances and fermenting revolution. On the other hand, like modern Communism, this revolutionary movement was vitalized by an ideology, adapted to the particular group to which it was addressed. Thus the appeal was not really negative, but rather positive. It was not selfish, but idealistic and demanded sacrifice. Of the methods of these missionary agents De Goeje has written: "They played upon all of the weaknesses of mankind, offering dedication to believers, liberty and license to the frivolous, philosophy to the sober minded, mystic hopes to the fanatics, and miracles to the masses. Moreover, to the Jews they gave a Messiah, to the Christians a Paraclete, to the Muslims a Mahdī, and to the pagans of Persia and Syria a philosophical theology." [9] Although De Goeje may have exaggerated the cleverness of the system, it is true that one dāᶜī, Ibn-Ḥaushab Manṣūr al-Yaman, went to Southern Arabia in 879 A.D. and in less than thirty years converted most of the people, so that they accepted the program of the Ismāᶜīliyyah Movement.

It seems clear that the ancestors of the Fāṭimid Imāms became well established in their hiding place at Salamiyyah, as they owned farms and found material support for their movement. [10] The secrecy which accompanied their activities finally came to an end in 903 A.D., when Saᶜīd ibn-Ḥusain joined his adherents in North Africa and turned the underground conspiracy into a victorious revolution. This Saᶜīd ibn-Ḥusain was also called ᶜAbd-Allāh and ᶜUbaid-Allāh al-Mahdī. When he went to North Africa he presented himself as a lineal descendant of

the Prophet and the savior of mankind. He therefore called himself *Al-Mahdī,* which has the same significance as "Messiah."

In ancient Persia many Zoroastrians believed that a Messiah born of a virgin would usher in the Day of Resurrection, when the good god, Ahura Mazda, would overcome Ahrimān, the power of evil. The historian Ibn-Khaldūn quoted the Prophet Muḥammad as saying: "There is no *Mahdī* other than ᶜĪsā ibn-Maryam (Jesus son of Mary)." One of the early Shīᶜahs, ᶜAbd-Allāh ibn-Sabāʾ of Yaman preached that the descendants of the Prophet inherited divine qualities, so that even though one of them might appear to be dead he was really a *Muntaẓir* (Expected One), who would reappear in a messianic guise. The Fāṭimids used their own traditions such as, for instance, "Al-Mahdī is from the children of Fāṭimah." "The world will not come to an end before a man from my (Muḥammad's) family will rule the Arabs."

According to Ibn-Khaldūn, "a popular idea among Muslims as a whole throughout the ages has been that there would appear at the end of time a man from the family of the Prophet, who would strengthen religion and purify justice. The Muslims will follow him and he will rule over the kingdoms of Islam and be called *Al-Mahdī.* Then there will follow the advent of *Al-Dajjāl* (Anti-Christ) and the well defined portents, which will follow at the Fixed Hour. Jesus will either come down after him (*Al-Mahdī*) and kill *Al-Dajjāl,* or else accompany him, so as to help with the slaying." [11]

When Saᶜīd ibn-Ḥusain (ᶜUbaid-Allāh) called himself *Al-Mahdī* it signified that he was a direct descendant of the Prophet and his daughter, Fāṭimah, who would save mankind as the divinely appointed head of a theocratic state. This conception of Fāṭimid rule formed the basis of the ideology, which was taught in Cairo during Fāṭimid times. Abū Bakr ibn ᶜAbd-Allāh ibn Aibak, (p. 78), tells that when Mūsā ibn Kāẓim was asked what the appearance of *Al-Mahdī* would be like, he replied that it would be like a "column of light falling from heaven to earth, with its head in the west and its tail in the east." This prophecy came true, as *Al-Mahdī* appeared in North Africa to found the Fāṭimid Caliphate and this finally came to an end in the east through wars with the Crusaders and the ᶜAbbāsids.

At the time when Al-Azhar was founded it seems to have been taken for granted that the Fāṭimids really were lineal descendants of the Prophet. [12] In a letter which he wrote to the chief of the Carmathians (Qarmaṭ) the Fāṭimid Caliph Al-Muᶜizz compared the children of the House of the Prophet with those of Adam and Eve. He also said: "We have passed successively through pure loins and holy wombs. All the loins and wombs which have generated us have made manifest the science and power to be derived from us."

During the 11th century, however, this doctrine of the divine right of the Fāṭimids did not go unchallenged. In the year 1011 A.D. the Fāṭimid Caliph was so powerful that he threatened to overthrow the

ᶜAbbāsid rule at Baghdād. Moreover, popular emotions were so stirred by a poem, supposed to have been written by the Sharīf al-Riḍāᵓ, that the ᶜAbbāsid Caliph al-Qādir felt that something drastic had to be done. Accordingly, he called together many of the leading Sunnite and Shīᶜah citizens of Baghdad and had them sign a manifesto. It began by denouncing the ruling Fāṭimid Caliph and then went on to say: "Saᶜīd having come to North Africa received there the name of ᶜUbaid-Allāh and the title *Al-Mahdi,* all his ancestors who have preceded him, impure and abominable men (many they be accursed by God and the angels who pronounce maledictions!) are imposters, rebel heretics, who do not belong in any manner to the family of the descendants of ᶜAlī ibn-Abī-Ṭālib, and the genealogy which they have invented is nothing but a lie and an impersonation; this despot of Egypt, as well as those who have preceded him, are sinners, infidels, materialists, unbelievers, atheists who disown Islam, have permitted illegitimate and carnal intercourse, declared legal the use of wine, shed blood, anathematized the prophets, and assumed divinity." [13]

During the centuries that followed this proclamation some of the historians tried to discredit the Fāṭimids while others defended them. The accusation against them took the form of trying to show that the founder of the Fāṭimid Dynasty was not descended from the Prophet, but rather from Maimūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son ᶜAbd-Allāh. Ibn-Taghrī-Birdī quoted a judge of Basrah as saying that the father of *Al-Mahdī* was really a Jewish blacksmith at Salamiyyah. Yaᶜqūt and Ibn-al-Athīr added that ᶜAbd-Allāh ibn-Maimūn married the widow of the Jew and brought up her child, who later became the Fāṭimid Caliph. Ibn-Khallikān and Al-Nuwayrī also opposed the Fāṭimids, while Ibn-Khaldūn supported them. Al-Maqrīzī quoted stories of Al-Muṣabbiḥī, which gave first hand evidence that *Al-Mahdī* really did belong to the family of the Prophet. The author of *Al-Fihrist* related traditions without endorsing any of them. [14]

Some words of Muḥammad ibn-Mālik al-Ḥamādī reveal how bitterly the conservative Muslims felt about the Fāṭimids and how inevitable it was that charges brought against them should have been based upon emotion rather than reason. Because of this emotion, added to the subterfuge of the "Veiled Cycle" period, the question of Fāṭimid genealogy is too complicated to discuss here. The most helpful book, though not the most objective, is a publication issued by the late Āgha Khān, which gives over fifty versions for the succession of the Imāms who were the ancestors of the Fāṭimids. [15]

In 1958, a very interesting contribution was made to the history of the Fāṭimid Caliphs, when the wellknown authority, Dr. Ḥusain al-Hamdānī, published a letter which he found in the Muḥammad Hamdānī collection at Surāt. [16] This letter was quoted by the great Ismaᶜīlī leader, Jaᶜfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman and included in his book, *Al-Farāᵓid wa Ḥudūd al-Dīn.*

This epistle was said to have been written by the first Fāṭimid Caliph, Al-Mahdī, and addressed to one of his followers in Yemen. The letter explains that the sixth Shīᶜah Imām, Jaᶜfar al-Sādiq, did not appoint his son Ismāᶜīl to be his successor, but rather another of his sons whose name was ᶜAbd-Allāh. This happened at a time when the Shīᶜah Imām was a "Pretender to the throne" and sought after by the police of the ᶜAbbasid Caliph of Baghdad.

In order to escape the police, the true heir to the Imamate called himself by the name of his brother Ismāᶜīl, who had died prematurely and therefore was no longer hunted by the government authorities. Furthermore, the heir ᶜAbd-Allāh tried to protect his own child by calling him Muḥammad ibn Ismāᶜīl. The epistle also makes it clear that the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty was not an imposter, but a true descendant of the Shīᶜah Imans. The statements in the letter and the quotation which will be given in the next paragraph indicate that the line of succession was as follows. First the six wellknown Shīᶜah Imāms, ᶜAlī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, ᶜAlī, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaᶜfar al-Sādiq. Then the successors who kept their identity secret in order to escape the police and who were named ᶜAbd-Allāh called Ismāᶜīl, Muḥammad called Ibn Ismaᶜil al-Maktūm, ᶜAbd-Allāh al-Raḍī, Aḥmad al-Warfī and Muḥammad Abū-al-Shalaghlagh.

An ancient record which evidently refers to this Muḥammad Abū al-Shalaghlagh states that "each of his own sons whom he appointed to the Imāmate died, so that not one child was left to this guardian. Accordingly, Ḥasan ibn Nūḥ ibn Hawshib, the Dāᶜī through whom God had opened up the Yemen, made a mantle upon which he wrote the name of the Imām al-Mahdī . . . and he sent it to the guardian whose children had died, and he gave it to the Imām al-Mahdī." [17]

Other sources indicate that Al-Mahdī was a nephew of this Muḥammad ibn Abū al-Shalaghlagh. As a boy he was called Saᶜīd and his father's name was Ḥusain. But when he founded the Fāṭimid dynasty he assumed the title "Al-Mahdī."

As his uncle's children died, he was evidently made a substitute Imām and sent to North Africa to gain control of the great revolutionary movement in that country. Although he met with great success, he did not name his own son as his heir, but appointed as the legitimate Imām his nephew, the grandson of Muḥammad Abū al-Shaghlagh, who assumed the title of "Al-Qāᵓim" and became the second Caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to prove the authenticity of this material, but the research which has been carried on in recent years seems to strengthen rather than weaken the claims of the Fāṭimids and the Aghā Khān to be true lineal descendants of the Prophet and his daughter Fāṭimah.

As new manuscripts are discovered among the Ismāᶜīlī communities of India, the Yemen and elsewhere, this problem of the origin of the Fāṭimids may some day be solved.

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NOTES

[1] For the sake of brevity this account has been much simplified. For further information the following works may be consulted: Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. by M. J. de Goege, Leiden, 1883/84; Part 1, pp. 2942 ff; Hitti, Philip K., *History of the Arabs,* 1949, pp. 178-186; Grünebaum, G. E. Von, *Medieval Islam,* 1953, p. 189; Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah,* ed., M. Quatremere, Paris, 1858, Part 1, p. 355, and F. Rosenthal, New York, 1958, Vol. 1, p. 402.

[2] Aibak, Abū Bakr ibn ᶜAbd-Allāh, *Kanz al-Qurar wa Jāmiᶜ al-Ghurar,* 6th sect., Ms/6/2932, pp. 8-10 (Aḥmad al-Thābit Library, Istanbul, copy with Arab League, Cairo); Vatikiotis, P.J., *Fatimid Theory of the State,* Lahore, n.d. pp. 7-8.

[3] Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa-l-Niḥal,* 1923 ed. ed. W. Cureton, Part 2, p. 145; Qalqashandī, Aḥmad ibn al-ᶜAbbās, Ṣubḥ al-Aᶜshāʾ, 1922, Vol. xiii, pp. 235-243; Ghālib, Muṣṭafā, *Tārīkh al-Daᶜwah al-Ismāᶜīliyyah,* Damascus, 1954, p. 83; Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 442; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *ᶜUbaid-Allāh al-Mahdī,* Cairo, 1947 (with the aid of T. Sharaf) pp. 29-40; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* Cairo, 1958, Part 3, pp. 194-206; *Encyclopedia of Islam,* Vol. 1, p. 993 and Vol. 2, p. 549. Compare with information on the Hamdānī ms. below.

[4] Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Al-Muᶜizz li-Dīn li Allāh,* Cairo, 1948, p. 27i, quoted from Jaᶜfar ibn Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-Nutqāᶜ.*

[5] Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, *Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣiriyyah, Cairo,* Intro. B; Ivanow. V.A., *Ismaili Traditions concerning the Rise of the Fatimids,* 1942, p. 28.

[6] Nadīm, Muḥ. Ishāq ibn-al, *Kitāb al-Fihrist,* 1871, pp. 186, 187, 338; Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyyah,* 1906, Part 2, p. 158; De Sacy, *Religion of the Druzes, 1838,* Tome 1, Intro. pp. lxix-lxx; Aibak, *op. cit.,* p. 12; Mamour, P. H., *Polemics on the Origin of the Fatimid Caliphs,* 1934, p. 68 ff; Vatikiotis, *op. cit.,* p. 12; *Encyclopedia of Islam,* Vol. 2, p. 370; Ivanow, V. A., *Rise of the Fatimids, op. cit.,* p. 31 and *Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism,* 1952; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *ᶜUbaid-Allāh, op. cit.,* pp. 47-64.

[7] Ivanow, *Rise of the Fatimids, op. cit.,* p. 29-30; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *op. cit. ᶜUbaid Allāh,* p. 65 ff. Ivanow, *Brief Survey, op. cit.,* p. 155.

[8] Shahrastānī, *op. cit.,* p. 179, 188; O'Leary, De Lacy, *Short History of the Fatimid Caliphate,* 1923, pp. 14-15; Pellat, *Le Milieu Basrien et la Formation de Gāhiz,* Paris, 1953, pp. 217-222; Vatikiotis, *op. cit.,* p. 9; Seelye, K. C., Trans. *Moslem Sects and Schisms,* 1920, p. 49; Browne, Edward G., *Literary History of Persia,* 1909, Vol. 1, pp. 130, 131, 159, 315-318, 323, and Vol. 2, p. 362. The daughter of the last Sāsānian king was Shahr Bānū, whose father was Yazdigird iii.

[9] Translated from Goeze, *Memoire sur les Carmathes de Bahrain et les Fatimides,* Leiden, 1886, p. 2. See also De Sacy, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, Intro., pp. cxlviii ff and Ivanow, *Evolution etc., op. cit.,* p. 12 and appendix.

[10] Aibak, *op. cit.,* p. 14; De Sacy, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, Intro., pp. ccxlvii-cclxxvii.

[11] Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'Heterodoxie Musulmane,* Paris, 1903, pp. 128-130; Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs,* 1923, pp. 215-216; Grünebaum, *op. cit.,* p. 194; Vatikiotis, *op. cit.,* p. 15; Quatremere, *op. cit.,* Part 2, p. 142, 163; Rosenthal, *op. cit.,* Vol. 2, pp. 156, 184-185.

[12] De Sacy, *op. cit.,* Vol. 1, Intro, p. ccxxxv.

[13] The manifesto is quoted from Mamour, *op. cit.,* p. 25 with adjustments in writing proper names. See also Goeje, *op. cit.,* p. 11; Maqrīzī, ed. Jamal al Din al Shayyali, Cairo, 1948, *Ittaᶜāz al-Ḥunafāʾ,* p. 43; Abū-al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashr,* Cairo, n.d., pp. 34-38.

[14] Taghrī-Birdī, Abū Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn, *Al-Nujūm al-Ẓāhirah fi-Mulūk Miṣr wa-l-Qāhirah,* 1932, Vol. 4, pp. 75-76; Jacut, *Geographisches Wortbuch,* Leipzig, 1866, Vol. 4, p. 694; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* Cairo, 1886, Part 8, p. 8, 12;

Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary,* Paris, 1843, Vol. 2, p. 77; *Al-Khiṭaṭ, op. cit.,* part 2, p. 159; Rosenthal, *op. cit.,* Vol. 2, p. 504; *Al-Fihrist, op. cit.,* p. 187. For further information about the genealogy of the Fatimids see Abū-l-Fidāʾ, *op. cit.,* Part 2, p. 63, 64; Aibak, *op. cit.* p. 3, 4, 14; *Ittaʿāz al-Ḥunafāʾ, op. cit.,* App. 10, Mamour, *op. cit.,* p. 204; De Sacy, *op. cit.,* Vol. 1, Intro. pp. ccccxxxviii, lxvii. *ʿUbaid-Allāh, op. cit.,* p. 40, 47, 152, 160; Shahrastānī, *op. cit.,* p. 146, Lewis, Bernard, *Origin of Ismailism,* 1940, p. 51-52; Ghālib, *op. cit.,* p. 93, 101; *Al-Majālis, op. cit.,* p. 143; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain, *Fī-Adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimiyyah,* Cairo, n.d. p. 3, note 2.

[15] Mamour, op. cit.

[16] Readers who desire further information may apply to the American University at Cairo for a publication entitled *On the Genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs, (Nasab al-Khulafāʾ,)* by Ḥusain al-Hamdānī, 1958.

[17] *Al-Majālis, op. cit.,* p. 143.

THE LOGICAL ROLE OF THE ARGUMENT FROM TIME IN THE TAHĀFUT'S SECOND PROOF FOR THE WORLD'S PRE-ETERNITY

INTRODUCTION

Of the four proofs reported and discussed by Al-Ghazālī in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* (The Collapse of the Philosophers) for the world's pre-eternity, the second proof [1] has generally been regarded as the argument from time, [2] and with some justification. For, to begin with, the proof makes use of Aristotle's argument in the *Physics,* [3] and this argument is logically central to the whole proof. Moreover, and perhaps for this very reason, the discussions that follow both in Al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* and Ibn Rushd's *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* [4] concentrate on this aspect of the proof, the argument from time. For time, according to the Aristotelian argument, is the measure of motion, and if time is eternal, motion must be eternal. The proof makes explicit what this in turn entails, the eternity of that which is in motion, i.e., the world. Al-Ghazālī in his response to the proof neither challenges the Aristotelian definition of time as the measure of motion [5] nor does he question the legitimacy of the inference of the eternity of motion from the eternity of time. [6] He only argues that time and the world were created together: God precedes the world in a non-temporal sense of "before." [7] The rest of the discussions in the *Tahāfuts* take up this issue and debate the question whether time can have a beginning. [8] For Ibn Rushd, a first moment of time is impossible since the moment, the "now," unlike the physical point, is not static and must always have a "before" as well as an "after." [9]

But this very pre-occupation with the nature of time detracts from the actual role the argument from time plays in the proof. For the proof has to be considered in the peculiar manner in which it is formulated in

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[1] Al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah,* ed. M. Bouyges (Beirut, 1927), pp. 51-52. This edition will be abbreviated *"TF."*

[2] Al-Ghazālī himself seems so to regard it. *TF,* p. 80.

[3] *Physics,* viii, Ch. I, 251b 10.

[4] *TF,* pp. 52-66; Ibn Rushd, *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut,* ed. M. Bouyges (Beirut, 1930), pp. 64-97. This work will be abbreviated *"TT."*

[5] Al-Ghazālī gives a subjective theory of time. *TF,* pp. 54 ff. But this does not necessarily rule out the theory that time is the measure of motion. See Ibn Rushd's comment on Al-Ghazālī's theory. *TT,* pp. 73-74.

[6] See G. F. Hourani, "The Dialogue between Al-Ghazālī and the Philosophers on the Origin of the World," *The Muslim World,* XLVIII, No. 3 (July, 1958), pp. 189-90, and St. Thomas aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles,* Bk. II, Ch. 36, Sec. 6.

[7] *TF,* pp. 52-53.

[8] This includes a second proof of the philosophers to demonstrate time's past eternity and its debate. *TF,* pp. 60-66; *TT,* pp. 83-97.

[9] *TT,* pp. 76-80.

the *Tahāfut*. Al-Ghazālī did not reproduce the Aristotelian argument pure and simple. His source is Ibn Sīnā's argument in his *Najāt*, [10] and it is this formulation of Ibn Sīnā that we must contend with. It is true that Al-Ghazālī in reproducing Ibn Sīnā's proof effects some changes, elaborates and clarifies some points, and omits part of the argument relegating it to another place in the subsequent discussion. [11] But he is faithful in giving the essence of Ibn Sīnā's argument, and, what to our purpose is most significant, in reproducing the logical structure of the proof [12] and in introducing the argument from time in the same manner that Ibn Sīnā reproduced it. In both the *Najāt* and the *Tahāfut* the argument from time is introduced in conjunction with the problem of God's priority to the world. The eternity of God is assumed throughout the proof and is used to argue for the eternity of time.

The entire proof in the *Tahāfut* is formulated in such fashion that, taken at its face value, it does not constitute a proof at all. For it abounds with hidden premises and implied consequences—indeed, the proof's major conclusion, the world's pre-eternity, is implied, as we shall show. It is only when these hidden premises and implied consequences are fully drawn out that the proof can be exhibited for what it actually is, a syllogism of a specific type. The argument from time is only part of this syllogism. In itself it is not a conclusive argument for the world's pre-eternity. What it does prove, however, is that God's priority cannot be temporal, and this, as we shall show, is the minor premise of the syllogism. When this is realized, the proof is absolved from what otherwise would be a glaring circularity. Moreover, it becomes clear that the central metaphysical issue in the proof is not the nature of time, but the nature of God's causality.

We will analyze the proof to exhibit its syllogistic structure and to bring out the points mentioned above. In our analysis we will not question the soundness of the argument from time in the proof. We will grant its soundness for the sake of argument since our main purpose is to demonstrate the logical role it plays in a larger syllogistic con-

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[10] Ibn Sīnā, *Al-Najāt* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 256-57.

[11] In the *Tahāfut* God's priority to the world is either essential or temporal, and these, as we shall show, are exclusive. This exclusiveness is not at first sight clear in the *Najāt*'s proof. There Ibn Sīnā says that God is prior to the world either in essence or in essence (*dhāt*) and time. The subsequent argument, however (where, incidentally, Ibn Sīnā anticipates and gives an answer to Al-Ghazālī's theory that God's precedence to the world and time only means the existence of one essence and then two essences without this implying a temporal relation — *TF*, pp. 52-53), shows that Ibn Sīnā did not mean to conjoin essential priority with temporal. Ibn Sīnā simply means that God is either prior essentially or prior in existence and time. Al-Ghazālī by omitting the verbal conjunction avoids the ambiguity. He further makes vivid by specific examples what Ibn Sīnā means by essential priority where cause and effect are simultaneous. Al-Ghazālī omits a large portion of Ibn Sīnā's proof which consists of an analysis of the meaning of *kāna*, "was" in the statement that God "was" before the world, which for Ibn Sīnā implies the existence of time. This Al-Ghazālī reproduces in the subsequent discussion and criticizes it. *TF*, pp. 53-54.

[12] See below, note 14.

text. Moreover, in the proof God's eternity is spoken of as though it is an eternity in time. This is the point Ibn Rushd takes exception to in his immediate comment on the proof and which leads him to reject the proof as a undemonstrative argument.[13] Again, we will not quarrel with the proof on this issue.

I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PROOF

The proof Al-Ghazālī reports in his *Tahāfut* and attributes to the philosophers runs as follows:

> They claim that whoever asserts that the world is posterior to God and God prior to the world can only mean one of two things:[14]
>
> He can mean that God's priority to the world is essential, not temporal, like the priority of one to two which is a priority by nature although one and two can coexist in the same time; and like priority of cause to effect, as for example, the priority of a person's movement to the movement of his shadow that follows him, the hand's movement to the movement of the ring, and the hand's movement in water to the movement of the water. All these are examples of simultaneous movements but some are causes, some effects. For it is said that the shadow moves by the movement of the person and the water moves by the movement of the hand,

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[13] *TT*, pp. 64-65.

[14] The sequence of conditions in the Arabic text runs as follows:

"They claim that whoever asserts that the world is posterior to God and God prior to the world can only mean *either* (*immā*) that His priority is essential, not temporal ... *and if* (*fa in*) this is what is meant by God's priority to the world then ... *and if* (*wa in*) it is meant that God is prior to the world, not essentially, but in time, then ..." (Italics mine.)

Instead of the expected "or,"(*wa immā* or *aw*) that normally follows the first "either" (*immā*), the first condition is repeated in the first "and if" and the second alternative it given in the second "and if," or "and 'when,'" as we render it in our translation. But it is clear that the alternatives are two, are exclusive, as we shall show, and are restricted to this number. The expression *lā yakhlū*, literally "not empty of," which might be rendered "without exception" and which comes immediately after the first *immā* in the text, is used in disjunctive syllogisms to restrict the number of alternatives to those stated in the argument. The expression *māniᶜat al-khulū*, literally "that which prohibits emptiness," is used to designate the two out of the three kinds of disjunctive syllogisms discussed in Arabic philosophy whose alternatives are restricted. See below, p. 9 and note 18.

The disjunctive form of the argument is very clear in Ibn Sīnā's proof:

"Moreover, with what does the First precede his created acts? By His essence *or* by time? *If* by His essence alone ... then ... *if* He precedes the world, not in essence alone, but in essence and time in that He was without the world and motion ... then there was time before motion and time ..." (Italics mine.)

The disjunctive form is also very clearly brought out by Ibn Rushd in his brief summary and criticism of the proof:

"The substance of what they say is that God if He is prior to the world is *either* causally, not temporally, prior, as a person is prior to his shadow or is temporally prior as the builder is prior to the wall, *and if* His priority is like the priority of a person to his shadow then ... *and if* He is temporally prior then ..." *TT*, pp. 64-65, (Italics mine.)

and it is not said that the person moves by the movement of the shadow and the hand by the movement of the water although these movements are simultaneous. If this is what is meant by God's priority to the world, then it follows necessarily that they are either both temporal or both eternal and it would be impossible for one to be eternal, the other temporal.

If, on the other hand, it is meant that God is prior to the world and time, not essentially, but in time, then before the existence of the world and time a time would have existed in which the world did not exist, inasmuch as nonexistence preceded existence, and God would have preceded the world by a long duration, limited in the direction of its ending but having no limit in the direction of its beginning. Thus before the existence of time, eternal time would have existed, and this is contradictory, and for this reason the affirmation of the finitude of time is repugnant. When, therefore, time, which is the expression of the measure of motion, is necessarily eternal, motion is necessarily eternal and that which is in motion and through whose duration in motion time endures is necessarily eternal.

A preliminary remark is necessary before we proceed to analyze the discourse above: On first sight one might take the last sentence above as the conclusion of the proof as a whole. But this would overlook the tentative nature of this conclusion. As formulated above, the argument for the eternity of time is not a deduction from the nature of time and motion as in Aristotle, and following him, Ibn Rushd, Maimonides, and Aquinas.[15] It is not deduced from the argument that time must always have a "before" and an "after." It is deduced from the premise that God is eternal and the *supposition* of His temporal priority to the world.

The discourse above gives two alternative ways in which God might be prior to the world. The alternatives are restricted[16] and exclusive. They are exclusive because the discussion of essential priority in the first part of the discourse clearly shows that essential priority implies temporal co-existence. This necessarily excludes the temporal priority or posteriorly of one or the other. Many of the consequences of these two alternatives are drawn. But not *all* the consequences are made explicit. Moreover, some premises are left implied. The discourse, as it stands, without all its implied assumptions and consequences fully drawn out, constitutes only a hypothetical disjunctive proposition (*qaḍiyyah sharṭiyyah munfaṣilah*).[17] Hence, to exhibit the discourse for

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[15] *TT,* pp. 76-80; Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed,* Introduction to the second part, propositions xv and xxvi, and Ch. 14, "first method"; Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles,* Bk. II, Ch. 33, sec. 6.

[16] See above, note 14.

[17] See Al-Ghazālī, *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifa* (Cairo, 1936), p. 19.

what it actually is, a syllogism, we must make explicit what lies implicit.

In the discussion of the first alternative, God's essential priority to the world, the explicit consequence is that such a priority implies temporal co-existence. If God is eternal, the world is eternal, and if God is temporal, the world is temporal. The implied premise here is that God is eternal. The assumption that God is eternal is made use of, as we shall see, in the discussion of the second alternative, God's temporal priority. To prove that the world is eternal, all that is necessary is to prove that God's priority is essential.

The argument from time comes in the discussion of the consequence of the second alternative, the supposition that God's priority is temporal. If we suppose God's priority temporal, the argument in essence states, then we must conclude that the world is eternal. For God would then precede the world by infinite time and infinite time implies the world's eternity. Clearly here we have the assumption that God is eternal; otherwise He would not precede the world by infinite time. Infinite time in turn implies the world's eternity since time is the measure of motion and does not exist without motion. But in such an argument we do not arrive at the world's eternity because as a matter of fact God temporally precedes the world. Indeed, He cannot. For if both God and the world are eternal, then God cannot precede the world by time. The argument here is a *reductio ad absurdum*: of we suppose God's priority temporal, we would have to conclude its contradictory that God's priority cannot be temporal. Hence, God's priority cannot be temporal. But this conclusion is left implicit, and yet, it is the conclusion which the argument from time, taken independently from what precedes it in the proof, actually proves. Independently, the argument from time as formulated in the *Tahāfut* does not prove the world's eternity.

This is shown by the simple fact that one might insist that there can be another kind of priority which is not temporal and which would yet allow the creation of a world finite in its past temporal extension. Indeed, this is precisely what Al-Ghazālī insists upon in his rejection of the proof. Thus the argument from time would only prove the world's eternity if it is stipulated beforehand that there can be no other kind of priority which is non-temporal and which yet would allow a non-eternal world. And this is what the preceding parts of the proof stipulate. For the number of possible priorities are restricted to two, essential and temporal. Essential priority implies temporal co-existence of God and the world, so that if God is eternal, the world is eternal. That God is eternal is a premise assumed throughout the proof and accepted by all the disputants. Hence, without setting this condition, the argument from time does not prove the world's pre-eternity. But it does, taken independently, prove the impossibility of God's temporal priority to the world. It does that because any priority posited other

than a temporal priority would in the very nature of the case not be a temporal priority.

Hence, the argument from time, independently of the rest of the proof, proves one thing: the impossibility of God's temporal priority. But what does this mean? It means that one of the two disjuncts in the disjunctive proposition has been proven false. But to deny one of the two disjuncts is to affirm the other. In effect we have here a full-fledged syllogism in which one disjunct is proved through the disproof of the other. And indeed we have here an example of the type of syllogism Ibn Sīnā terms "a hypothetical 'truly' disjunctive syllogism" (*qiyās istithnāʾiyy sharṭiyy munfaṣil ḥaqīqatan*) [18] in which the alternatives are restricted and exclusive and where, when, as in the case above, the alternatives are two, the denial of one results in the affirmation of the other, and the affirmation of one results in the denial of the other. The argument from time in effect, has proven that God's priority is essential, but only through this disjunctive syllogistic argument. The world's pre-eternity in turn is the implied consequence of the affirmation of God's essential priority and the hidden premise that God is eternal.

II. FURTHER ANALYSIS

Real and Apparent Circularity. — A circularity has been pointed out in the minor premise, in the Aristotelian argument: [19] To infer the eternity of motion from the eternity of time assumes the point at issue, the eternity of motion. For time is defined as the measure of motion. Hence, we can only infer the eternity of time from the eternity of motion. We cannot reverse the process and infer the eternity of motion from the eternity of time. This seems a just criticism of the Aristotelian argument. However, in this analysis, as we have pointed out, we are chiefly concerned with the structure of the proof as a whole and with the role the argument from time plays in the syllogism. Whether the argument from time is sound or not is important in itself. But it is not relevant to our purpose here.

However, there seems to be another circularity in the proof that

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[18] See Sīnā, *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa-l-Tanbīhāt,* ed. J. Forget (Leyden, 1892), pp. 29, 78-79.

The "truly" disjunctive syllogism is one that restricts the alternatives and prohibits conjunction: *māniᶜat al-khulū wa-l-jamᶜ*. The non truly disjunctive are two in number. The first of these restricts only but does not prohibit conjunction: *māniᶜat al-khulu faqaṭ*. This is identical with what is normally regarded nowadays as the disjunctive syllogism where the relation "or" is inclusive. Here only the denial of one of the two alternatives results in the affirmation of the other. The second type of non-truly disjunctive syllogism does not restrict the number of alternatives but prohibits conjunction: *māniᶜat al-jamᶜfaqaṭ*. Here only the affirmation of one of the alternatives results in the denial of the rest. See also Al-Ghazālī, *Miᶜyār al-ᶜilm* (Cairo, 1329 A.H., pp. 65-66, 89-90, and *Maḥak al Naẓar* (Cairo, no date), pp. 42-44.

[19] See above, note 6.

is relevant because it involves the structure of the proof as a whole. If the proof as a whole is regarded, as it should be, as a disjunctive syllogism, and if at the same time the argument from time is regarded as in itself proving both the impossibility of God's temporal priority to the world and the world's pre-eternity, then we are caught in the following circularity: The world's pre-eternity is the consequence of God's essential priority but this essential priority itself is a consequence of the world's pre-eternity.

But our analysis of the proof's structure absolves it from this circularity. For, as we have shown, the argument from time by itself does not prove the world's pre-eternity. It only proves that God's priority cannot be temporal. Hence, the essential priority of God is not deduced from the world's pre-eternity, and thus no circularity is involved.

The Centrality of the Disjunctive Form. — One might attempt to approach the proof differently and completely disregard the disjunctive form. One might concentrate on the argument from time and regard it as a proof for both the world's pre-eternity and God's essential priority. But this, to begin with, is not warranted by the very wording of the proof. Furthermore, it is not warranted logically. To begin with, the argument from time does not prove by itself the world's pre-eternity. However, if for the sake of argument we concede that it does, it would still have to show that God is prior to the world in the same sense that the discussion of God's essential priority in the proof says that God is prior. And this it does not do. For the argument from time would only prove that God and the world must co-exist if God is eternal. If God is supposed to be not eternal, He can be temporally prior to the world. For then He would not precede the world by infinite time. But in the discussion of essential priority in the proof God and the world must co-exist in the same time regardless of whether God is eternal or temporal. Indeed, if God is not eternal the world is not eternal precisely because it must co-exist with Him. This is implied by the very concept of essential priority discussed in the proof. Hence the argument from time would not show that God is prior to the world in the same sense as the discussion of essential priority in the proof says that God is prior. The argument from time, in effect, taken by itself, neither proves the world's eternity nor God's essential priority articulated in the proof. Hence, if we disregard the disjunctive form, we have no argument.

The Metaphysical Implications of the Proof. — Our last analysis above leads us into the metaphysical implications of the proof. The argument from time, if again, for the sake of argument, is to be regarded as in itself a proof for the world's pre-eternity, would say something quite different about the relation of God to the world. The reason for the impossibility of God's temporal priority to the world would lie in the fact that time, and hence the world, is eternal. The necessity lies outside God. It lies in the nature of time, motion, and the world. In

effect, the argument says that God, *if* He creates at all, because of the nature of time, must create eternally. It does not say that God by His nature necessarily creates and, since He is eternal, His creation is necessarily eternal. Indeed, the concept of God as cause here is irrelevant. God need not be the cause of the world but if He is eternal the world would have to be eternal since otherwise He would precede the world by infinite time.

But the world's pre-eternity as a consequence of God's essential priority to the world relegates necessity to God. Here it is not merely the case that if God creates at all His creation must be eternal. Rather, God necessarily creates the world and His creation is therefore necessarily eternal. Otherwise why should the discussion of essential priority in the proof show that even if God is temporal the world must co-exist with Him? Clearly the notion of essential priority implies that God's act must be co-extensive with His being, and hence, the temporal posteriority of the world to God is impossible. Now, in the first proof and the discussions that follow it, several arguments were given to show the impossibility of the world's temporal posteriority to God, all, in one way or another, expressing determinism. We will list some of these: (1) The temporal posteriority of the world implies the occurrence of a determinant in time which in turn implies the occurrence of yet another determinant to explain the occurrence of the first, and the second determinent implies the existence of yet another determinant, and so on *ad infinitum,* and this is impossible.[20] (2) Temporal posteriority implies change in God.[21] (3) It implies the delay of the effect after the cause when where is no intervening obstacle.[22] (4) It implies choice between exactly similar moments of time when there is nothing to differentiate and specify one moment from another.[23] Of these, (3) indicates the doctrine that God necessarily creates, implied in the proof above, and indeed it is this issue which Ibn Rushd brings up again in his answer to Al-Ghāzālī's theory that the world and time were created together at a finite moment in the past.[24] A cause with all its conditions fulfilled must have its effect, and if there is no obstacle the effect cannot be delayed. Now in the case of God the cause is the Divine Will. The Divine Will is eternal. Moreover, for the philosophers (as well as for the Muᶜtazila) the Divine Will is identical with the Divine Essence, and for Ibn Sīnā the Divine Essence and the Divine Existence are one and the same. Hence God by His very Essence creates the world. The world is the necessitated effect of an eternal changeless cause, and hence must be eternally posterior to God.

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[20] *TF,* p. 23.
[21] *TF,* pp. 23, 25, 27.
[22] *TF,* pp. 26-29.
[23] *TF,* pp. 36-37.
[24] *TT,* p. 68.

This is further betrayed by the illustrations of simultaneous cause and effect that Al-Ghazālī gives in the discussion of essential priority. These examples appear elsewhere in Al-Ghazālī's *Tahāfut* and other writings [25] and come in discussions of necessary causation and of voluntary as against necessary acts. In particular, the illustration of the shadow's movement that is simultaneous with the movement of the person suggests what was in the mind of Al-Ghazālī when he gave that example. That the shadow is the necessary consequence of a man is given by Al-Ghazālī at the beginning of the third discussion. There Al-Ghazālī attacks the philosophers' theory that God creates by necessity. In explaining what the philosophers mean by this Al-Ghazālī reports that the philosophers think that God must create the world just as the sun must give its light and just as the person necessitates his shadow. [26]

Thus, in the proof, the central metaphysical issue is the nature of God's causality rather than the nature of time, and it is the nature of God's causality that is the fundamental issue in conflict between the philosophers and the Ashᶜarites. [27]

SUMMARY

The proof is a disjunctive syllogism, and only as a disjunctive syllogism can it be regarded as a complete argument for the world's pre-eternity. The argument from time in itself does not prove the world's pre-eternity. What it does prove, is that God's priority cannot be temporal, so disproving one of the two alternatives in the premise. By disproving this alternative, it proves the other, God's essential priority. The conclusion that the world is eternal is a consequence of this and the implied premise that God is eternal. When it is shown that the argument from time in itself does not prove the world's pre-eternity, the proof is absolved from an apparent circularity. Analysis shows that the central metaphysical issue in the proof is not the nature of time, but rather the nature of God's causality.

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[25] *TF,* pp. 107-9; *Al-Iqtiṣād fi-l-Iᶜtiqād* (Cairo, no date), pp. 45-46.
[26] *TF,* p. 97.
[27] For an incisive treatment of this issue see Majid Fakhry, *Islamic Occasionalism* (London, 1958).

THE MEANING OF KUFR

A STUDY FROM THE JULY, 1959, SUMMER SCHOOL, JERUSALEM

Summer Schools have been held in the month of July during the last three years as part of the Study Program in Islam of the Near East Christian Council. The venue in 1957 was the city of Istanbul (or more precisely Üsküdar in the Amerikan Kiz Lisesi). In 1958 and 1959, however, the city chosen was Jerusalem, partly for its accessibility but mostly for the opportunity it offered for the setting of devotional Christian 'pilgrimage' as a context appropriate to interpretative study of Islam. It is an underlying conviction of the Study Program, and part of the theological understanding on which it proceeds, that Christian expression, by word, preaching, ministry, friendship and action, amid Islam, must be founded upon deep, patient, incisive awareness of Islam. We have need for translation in the deepest realms and cannot hope to communicate unless we are ready to enter fully into the world of Islamic pre-supposition and instinctive reaction.

A feature of each Summer School, therefore, has been an attempt to delve realistically into some realm or other of Islamic conviction and terminology. In 1959 one area of study was the Arabic and Islamic meaning of germinal Quranic terms and ideas, in so far as it might be accessible to careful assessment. No attempt is made in these paragraphs to present a current report of the School's activities and participants. What follows is a simple presentation of one sample theme within a variety of definitive Islamic terms taken up in study and discussion. It may be prefaced by an equally simple prelude.

Every one will agree that there is a clearly reciprocal relationship between Arabic and Islam. No stranger, Rashīd Riḍā once remarked, ever served the cause of Islam except in proportion to his knowledge of Arabic. "Arabic" as Aḥmad al-Zayyāt observes, "is an elemental part of Islam." [1] This leaves large problems of Christian terminology since there are marked diversities between terms in their Christian Arabic sense and terms in the Muslim Arabic sense. The diversity of the two religions to some degree diversifies the vocabulary within the one language that in the Middle East they utilise. It is, therefore, urgent to go thoroughly into the Quranic sense of any term, with the aid of contextual investigation and if possible, with reference to its local sense when the Qur'ān was first in process of becoming, in order to clarify and explore its potential. This task is almost as urgent within the Arabic tongue as it is for those who proceed from outside it.

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[1] See *Waḥy al-Risālah,* Cairo, Vol. iv. pp. 111-115.

The second introductory observation is that not infrequently the positive opportunity of a word's bearing lies right at the heart of its apparent negative and forbidding quality. It is in fact precisely within the context of where and how it is condemned — of course within and by Quranic criteria — that Christian theology discovers its most pregnant occasions, not so much of justification only, but of expression and translation. Nowhere is it so necessary to grasp the nettle boldly, or, changing proverbial metaphor, to take the bull by the horns. If half the Islamic premises on which Christians are traditionally dismissed as either deceivers or deceived were truly penetrated, either by ourselves or by their Muslim users, they would be found to provide (if not to demand) the most radical re-assessments of customary suspicion or denunciation. If Islam only took its anti-idolatry seriously it would not be far from apprehending what the Gospel means by the redemption of sinful men. If *Tauḥīd* in all its implications were seriously held, we might come much nearer to living perceptions of the Holy Trinity. If the real corollaries of revelation as Islam believes it in its Scriptures and formulae were examined adequately man might truly be closer to seeing the necessity of that revelation by Incarnation in which Christianity stands. Yet in historical fact it is these very doctrines of *Shirk, Tauḥīd* and revelation which have been used to discredit and disown the doctrines of Christian faith as utterly incompatible with their import. The only thing, therefore, for the Christian thinker to do is to believe to find his Christian vindication in the most serious attention, on his part and on that of his fellow men who are Muslims, to the basic affirmations of Islam. Or if the paradox does not always vindicate itself, at least there may be found within the Islamic thing an inner quality which serves effectively to blunt the edge of superficial antipathy and to invite men to deeper sympathy.

This is very much the case with the word *Kufr,* which is here taken as a sample of studies at the Jerusalem School this year. How the term bristles with enmity and antagonism. The *kāfir* is the unbeliever who has denied Islam. *Kufr* is that beyond-the-pale quality which characterises all infidels and apostates. *Kafara,* the verb, in its traditional sense, means to belie the faith, to say No to the orthodox belief. The prevailing concept is sharp, antithetical and, if we may say so, 'anathematical.' Surely out of this veto on unbelief, this out-with-the unbeliever term, no useful communication can be hoped for. If one is a *kāfir* one cannot begin to say anything.

Truly the word might almost be taken as a symbol of the traditional, communal Muslim awareness of being on the right side of a basic distinction. Any such authoritarian revelation tends to divide the world sharply into right and wrong, true and false. Is not the Qurʾān deeply conscious of the cleavage between the *muʾminūn* and the *kāfirūn,* the *mukhliṣūn* and the *munāfiqūn,* the *mufliḥūn* and the *khāsirūn,* the *muslimūn* and the *mushrikūn*? Are there not believers and unbelievers,

sincere and hypocritical, gainers and losers, muslims and non-muslims? Nobody is going to extract any interpretative affinity out of that clear mutual intolerance. It has long antecedents and its historical actuality in Quranic days was one that did not admit of compromise. Were there not powerful factors conducing to the rejection of the Prophet by the Quraish—economic, communal, personal, conservative? Did not their contrariety evoke and necessitate the sharp outspoken division which the Qur'ān so plainly asserts? Was not so much of its actual form and occasion polemical? In necessary controversy with pluralists and pagans, with recalcitrants and polytheists, did not the unmistakeable clarity and urgency of the issues lead inevitably to the vigorous repudiation of all *kufr* and rightly turn a term into opprobrium? Since the rejection of Muḥammad was one with the rejection of God, how could the retort to his enemies and God's be other than one of utter repudiation? Did not this attitude to the non-acceptance of the faith, however originated, deserve to be maintained and perpetuated? Thus it was that historical Islam came to have this vigorous and instinctive sense of "him that is against us" and dubbed him *kāfir*. Is it not right and necessary that all possibility of amity and fellowship must turn upon submission? Until the *kāfir* is separated from his *kufr* (and so ceases to be *kāfir*) can he find any real kinship with Islam?

There is no need to intimate further the instinctive definition and temper of this word. Both are important. It is what a word gives men to feel as well, or more than, what it says, that signifies. Yet, for all that strident background the word is worth a little patience and is nothing like so hopeless as it seems. There is a something even in the familiar hostility of the term that is unfamiliarly potential. Even out of the thunder there's a still small voice. And it has to do with a profoundly mutual question, namely what is atheism, denying the dogma of God or ignoring the being of God? The distinction is tremendous. But first the quieter tones of *kufr*.

It is noticeable that the Qur'ān does not always, or even generally, mean a formal atheist or a credal sceptic when it uses the word *kāfir* and kin-derivatives. The germinal sense of *kafara* is to cover, or conceal, or hide the traces of. (Hence its connection with *kaffārah*, or atonement.) So it comes to mean refusing to acknowledge the connection (with God) of benefits received. It means a disregard of what is what, that comes to have the clear nature of ingratitude. The *kāfir* then becomes the person who never gives thanks. Before pursuing this clue avidly, we had better turn to a few examples.

In Surah xxvi. 18, Pharaoh reproaches Moses for killing an Egyptian, a citizen, that is, of the country which had sheltered him. He adds: "But what you have done you have done and become thereby one of the *kāfirīn*, one of the ungrateful." It can hardly be that Pharaoh, of all people, is reproaching Moses, in this or any context, with denial of the one God! In Surah xiv. 7, the antithesis between *kufr* and *shukr*,

'unbelief' (?) and 'gratitude' is explicit: "Your Lord declared: If you give thanks I will bestow more and if you are ungrateful a severe punishment awaits you." In ii. 153, xxvii. 40 and lxxvi. 3, the same antithesis is made. ("Remember me and I will remember you: be thankful and do not be ungrateful;" He said: This is my Lord's bounty to prove me whether I am thankful or a *kāfir*;" "We guided him in our paths, grateful, or graceless (*kāfiran*)") Surah xiv. 34 refers to the mercies of God in creation and adds that they are uncounted mercies, be man a thankless sinner (*ẓalūm wa kaffār*). In xxx. 33 the sin of polytheism is linked with ingratitude and the idea seems to be that denying what comes from God in His bounties, the while we are enjoying it, is the essence of what is wrong with the polytheist. His thanks are misdirected. There is a similar suggestion in the whole of Surah lv with its repeated refrain about denying the mercies of God the merciful. Such denial, one may say, is the operative element in *kufr*. The popular meaning of unbelief, or atheism, is plainly derivative from an original sense which has to do with ignoring God in the first realm of relationship, namely gratitude.

And here, as the blind man said in St. John ix. 30, "is a marvellous thing." For we begin to discern a possible sense of faith as 'recognition' — a sense which offers to deliver us from the aridity of some ideas of atheism and unbelief. We are beginning to sense a point to *kufr* in which the blandly orthodox may be as much inculpated as the raw idolater, in which perhaps the Muslim might be as fully implicated as the Christian or the Jew, in which there might be a common active 'heresy' on both sides of the orthodox pale. If belief in God means primarily recognition of His mercies, if the meaning of faith comes to approach synonymity with the meaning of gratitude, then we have a way of escape from mutual recrimination into common penitence, from doctrinal alienation into fellow status. If we could interpret our Christian faith as essentially a deep recognition of debt to God in Christ, as an active, formulated thanksgiving, we might be some way to breaking out of impasses over *kufr*. And what else is Christianity if not the most inclusive and far-reaching acknowledgement of human indebtedness to God? There is no system which admits itself to be so profoundly and unspeakably obligated to thankfulness as the Christian, since no other faith believes such immense things about the self-giving of God, His 'passion' and compassion (these being Christianly inseparable.) Could Christians present themselves as those who hold by the doctrines they believe, because they are therein explaining the nature of their gratefulness to God, would that perhaps turn the flank of some at least of the more obtuse protests against Christian theology that arise from a superficial application of the *kufr* mentality? If failure to recognise God in His giving is the spring and source of what *kufr* means then we cannot locate the whole matter in rigid criteria of communities dogmatically constituted. The deepest atheism is not to deny the existence of God

but to ignore it. It is in latter, not the former, that *kufr* originates both as a term and as a sin.

Does not this bear closely upon the Quranic use of the term *Shakūr* among the Asmā'-al-Ḥusnā or Beautiful Names of God? God, obviously, is not to be described as 'grateful'. But He is cognisant of, or responsive to, gratitude. How could He be otherwise and be the God of grace? Grace is never indifferent to reaction, precisely because it is concerned for relationship. Admittedly, the term is not frequent (Surahs xxxv. 27 & 35; xlii. 22 and lxiv. 17). If gratitude is an elemental part in man's relation to God, then responsiveness to gratitude cannot fail to be an element in the very being of the Divine. It is just this situation of mutuality which is so richly implicit in the whole Christian faith in an enterprise of outgoing whereby God fulfills His being in concern for man's.

Of course, it is not to be supposed that the traditional ideas of *kufr* have no Quranic ground. But they are derivative from something that is, and deserves to remain, primary. In Surah cix, whose title is: *Al-Kāfirūn* we have the fully developed antithesis: "I do not worship what you worship, nor are you worshippers of what I worship" as the Prophet is directed to say. But whence did this antipathy spring? The Surah for all its brevity is not early. Was not the denial of the faith or worship on the part of those he here repudiated simply the final form of an atrophy, or refusal, or neglect, of those first, and constant, capacities of Godwardness which are called gratitude? We have many passages which refer to *kufr,* vis-à-vis the Qur'ān (lxxxiv. 22), the Prophet (lxviii. 51), the resurrection (xxxiv. 7 and lxiv. 7), the judgement (xxxiv. 3) and the signs of God (xxxix. 63, xl. 4, xlv. 30, lvi. 6, lvii. 18, and xc. 19). In all these, actual incredulity and unbelief are no doubt meant by the word. But at any rate as far as the signs of God are concerned (that frequent Quranic theme), denying of them can only originate in neglect of their significance such as occurs in the event of ingratitude. For most of the signs of God in these contexts have as their primary end the eliciting of man's recognition, in which the motive element is necessarily indebtedness.

It seems to follow, then, that even where the Qur'ān is most evidently moving in those areas of meaning in *kufr* which are traditional, it does not justify us in departing from, or ignoring, the formative, if you like, embryonic, import of the term itself. Are men covering over the traces that link them in their recipience clearly and bindingly to God? If so, they may well end in kicking off the traces which tie them to His authority and oblige them to His obedience. The transition is integral. Contrariwise, may we not well begin, in theological relation between religions, in the realm where our faith itself derives, namely where we have learned to say to our souls: "Bless the Lord," and to all that is within us: "Praise His holy Name."?

Islam and Christianity in their theological relation are urgently in

need of these existential criteria of atheism and of who is the atheist (or for that matter the *muslim*). There can be a quality of *kufr* at the heart of a formal *Īmān*. What finally matters about doctrine is the question: What does it *mean* that God is God? No Muslim should complain about a man who takes seriously the grounds on which he believes he is summoned to Divine recognition. Yet this is precisely whence Christian faith about God in Christ (for all its external incompatibility with Islamic criteria) in fact came, and comes. If we cannot readily either explain or justify why we worship God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we can perhaps make intelligible the experience that cries: "Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable gift." Yet in so doing we shall have been engaged on the former, and we shall have been within the dimension of this Islamic insistence (latent in the reproach of *kufr*) that what matters first in our theism is confessing our God-debtedness.

The Quranic antithesis between *shukr* (giving thanks) and *kufr* has further potential affinity with the deepest springs of Christian theism. Is it not true, in this light, that faith on its inward side (i.e. in the believer) becomes in a way equivalent with reception? If the core of unbelief is a taking for granted, or a scorn of the given, the core of belief is acceptance. "As many as received Him" the Gospel makes synonymous with "as many as believed on His Name." (S. John i. 12) Here, quite plainly is the equation: 'Believing is receiving.' Ours we may say is the most indebted form of religion because we have accepted the position of recipients to the supreme extent. Faith in the credal sense is no more than the formulation and definition of this status. Its meaning can most likely be communicated in the same terms. We are inviting men not so much to give their credence to a formula, but to open their hearts to an experience. There is great liberation, both from anxiety and frustration, in thus seeing doctrinal communication (and, since it is inseparable, controversy), not as a battle for terminology or for assent to words, however vital, but as an invitation to available experience. The dogma safeguards the continual availability of the meaning. But the meaning itself is not in the deepest sense dogmatic. It is within existence. "He that cometh to God" wrote the writer to the Hebrews, "must believe that He is." (Heb. xi. 6) Is there not a sense in which the two parts of the verse might well be reversed? "He that cometh to God is he that believeth that He is."? May this not well be implicit in how the verse goes on: "And that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."? For what is the reward but acquaintance with Himself, the discovery of Who He is? So long as faith, then, in the sense in which we contend for it among those who are alien to it, is the formulation of our active recognition of God, evangelism becomes in a very real sense, our report on our *islam*. In it we are explaining to whom we have submitted, in what terms and by what compulsion of our souls, in what dimensions and for what cause. We are setting out, in other words, our recognition of God in the terms in which

and by which we believe He has willed to be recognised. The more effective we are in setting both the Christian 'surrender' of love that 'recognises' God in Christ and the Muslim concept of subordination to His will in the same area of active responsiveness to Divine relationships, the more we shall escape from the barrenness of polemic and the futility of doctrinal partisanship. The potential of *kufr* offers us a way to the double liberation.

There is a final consideration. It is the interpretation of worship. For it is not faith only, perhaps not faith most perfectly, that expresses human cognisance of God. Worship is, by definition, our confession of the 'worth' of God. We can only address Him Godward in terms of what He is to us manward. This is true in Islam — witness the inextricable copula of the *Shahādah* itself: "There is no god but God and Muḥammad is the apostle of God." For in that apostolate, Islam finds the climax and crux of the Divine relatedness, in law and revelation, to man. Yet how little we have done in the Christian world to translate the import of Christian worship to the context of Islamic worship. We have done so much of our interpretation in the realm of theology, rather than doxology, or, more correctly, of theology in its creeds rather theology in its reverence. [2] At the heart of Christian prayer and sacrament is the wonder of a God Who is worshipped at a table because He is Himself our host. Is gratitude in human relationships ever more truly fitting than in the transactions of hospitality? The hospitality of God is at the center of our worship because it is the heart of His relationship to us. Is anyone so certainly far from a *kāfir* than he who is so surely and readily a guest? If *kufr* is to count oneself out of debt to God, to withhold all recognition of His giving and of our receiving, where is the antithesis most truly found if not in the receiving of "the body and the blood, that are given for us"? Yet somehow down the centuries, it has been the external, the strange, the dubiously consistent with monotheism, which Muslims have read into what they have seen of the worship of the Church. They have got lost in the folds of clerical garments and spent themselves in rejoicing at immunity from priesthood, while they have missed "the many-splendoured thing" that is the authentic Christian expression of all that is opposed to *kufr*. What can yet be done to bring liturgical interpretation to bear on our contact with the world of Islam? If we would communicate what we believe, must we not more truly declare how and why and Whom we worship? Can the obligation to recognition of God, which both faiths alike confess, not take us into deeper reaches of mutual meaning — given all the circumstances of precarious existence in which we find ourselves?

But perhaps after all we are pre-supposing the existence of an attitude the actual non-existence of which poses a much more immediate pro-

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[2] The point is elaborated in *The Muslim World,* Vol. xlix. 3, July, 1959, pp. 247-248, "The Qurʾān and the Holy Communion."

blem. Are we assuming here that the world of Islam in general still bothers about *kufr*? If so is the assumption valid? Do we take too seriously proper Quranic distinctions, which are not in fact 'alive' to the contemporary Muslim? If we have rightly claimed that *kufr* is basically ingratitude, and rightly proposed that there is here a spiritual occasion, is it not all jeopardised if the real sense of *kufr,* anyway, is lost in what now virtually constitutes what Islam is for the average Muslim? Are we right in supposing that the communal consciousness of contemporary Islam lies in a dominant emotion of gratitude toward God, and that, contrariwise, non-Islam is seen as the 'other' which, in the Qurʾān's repeated phrase, "never gives thanks."? Is the fact not rather that the distinction between Islam and non-Islam, for the average Muslim, lies today in criteria supplied by nationalism, anti-imperialism, Arabism and the like? How far are religions a theologically distinctive recognition of God, and how far are they merely a distinctive consciousness of themselves? If for all practical purposes *Islam* (and so in effect its 'opposite' *kufr*) are constituted in these emotional, communal terms that have little to do, either way, with gratitude to God, or the lack of it, are we quite irrelevant in expecting spiritual transactions from a study of terms? If so, is our whole enterprise threatened with futility?

The realistic may think so. But in the end, facing these suspicions, have we not arrived at the true dimensions of our work in Christ's Name in the world? It only means that *kufr* is wider and more insidious than ever. To take *Islam,* and its antitheses, at their deepest implications as terms, and then realistically to admit that they are not operative with those implications, is not to disqualify our proceeding by them but to intensify its urgency. It simply means that the struggle for the recognition of God, and against the variety and virulence of *kufr,* is tougher than we had known. This in turn throws us back ever more dependently upon those criteria, in Christ, of God's grace in cognisance of man and man's gratitude in recognition of God. To study conceptual *Islam* and then turn frankly to empirical Islam is not to abandon some idle idealism, but to know about what we have to be realist. If *kufr* is man's neglect of God we had better be fully alive to its pervasive quality even within systems which exist to denounce it, the more so if we claim to be custodians of that account of God in which the Divine counter-action is most radical.

Jerusalem, Jordan. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SUMMER SCHOOL, JULY, 1959

BOOK REVIEWS

The Arab Federalists of the Ottoman Empire. By Hassan Sa'ab, Djambatan, Amsterdam, 1958. pp. xiv, 332. Price Dfl. 21.50.

It seems odd at first sight that the subject announced in the title of this book is not reached until p. 200, and actually occupies only eighty pages. The rest of the work is defined as "a general study of Arab national and institutional evolution from pre-Islamic Arabia to the Ottoman Empire." It must be frankly said that the greater part of this study never gets out of the rut in which the political study of the Islamic East remains. Nowhere is the evolution of government envisaged as a two-sided process, and only in two footnotes on pp. 69 and 71 does Dr. Sa'ab timidly draw attention to some vital factors: "We limit ourselves here to suggesting that an adequate spiritual foundation for Arab national and federal movement is a fundamental prerequisite for its fulfillment", and "in an Arab federation a common philosophy of law is a prerequisite for the creation and development of federal law."

The author's method is the one so disturbingly familiar in certain types of doctoral dissertation. The chapters are composed mainly of abrupt (and frequently questionable) dicta, heavily supported by references to and quotation from a medley of secondary "sources" or "parallels." Discussion and assertion are thus often based on flimsy foundations, as when Dr. Sa'ab tries to find a deeper meaning for the Wahhābī challenge to the Ottoman Empire by postulating a "Ḥanafī Islamic school of law which gave to reason a prominent place in Islam, and for which the present and the future carry more weight than the past" (a dictum that we shall no doubt find quoted over and over again by future Arab writers). Even in the long sixth chapter, which takes up the subject promised in the title, Dr. Sa'ab quotes directly no sources earlier than 1915, except G. F. Abbott, *Turkey in Transition* (1909), and an article of 1910 by Lybyer. More oddly still, even the Arab writer Al-Kawākibī is cited at second-hand.

Summing up, therefore, it can be said that the usefulness of Dr. Sa'ab's book lies in this final section only, but can there be read with profit as a collection of materials and a critical analysis of positions (to be checked, however, against the almost simultaneous work of his colleague Zeine N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish Relations and the Emergence of Arab Nationalism,* Beirut 1958). Certain of his ideas are deserving of further examination, as when he argues that the introduction of the printing press in the 19th century brought about a stronger consciousness of cultural differences (pp. 251-2), and sees the action of the officers of *Al-ʿAhd* as foreshadowing the rise of middle-class officer governments in the Arab world. There are a very large number of misprints.

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Femmes de Tunisie. By Henri de Montety, Mouton & Cie., La Haye, Holland, 1958, pp. 171, illustrations, paper, fl. 12.—.

"The Tunisian woman is becoming occidental from the tips of her painted finger-nails to the depths of her Cartesian conscience." This affirmation by de Montety, after thirty years of observation of Tunisian life, summarizes the evolution and revolution of womanhood in that land. The study he presents is a development of the theme of that evolution from a status of traditional confinement and restriction, familiar to all those who know Muslim society, to an unprecedented social and intellectual flowering under the impulse of a national revolution which culminated in Tunisia's recent independence. The writer dedicates his book "to all those heroines of the struggle of Muslim women against ignorance and male egotism."

His heroines are personages of a past generation who, victims of the almost hopeless circumstances of social, economic and religious pressures, are caught up in the winds of modernity and are being carried along into a new age. Among them are a Bedouin woman whom the author characterizes as a remnant of the neolithic period, traditionally subservient to the male but gradually becoming liberated; the married child; the cloistered and intelligent woman of the coastal regions; the city house-wife; the aristocratic lady; the student constrained to marriage.

However unfortunate the experiences resulting from their traditional status of inferiority as women, all for them is now changing with revolutionary rapidity. To be sure the "old turbans" have consistently opposed change. They condemned as heretical the writings of Shaikh Ṭāhir al-Haddād who thirty years ago agitated for the emancipation of Tunisian woman. But the tides of progress and modernity are irresistible.

The author now pictures the contemporary Tunisian girl as one whose eyes are lifted, who assumes the responsibilities of the suffrage, chooses her husband, eschews the veil and is elegant in European garb. She is student, office worker, nurse, teacher. To be sure she belongs to a minority within a larger mass of womanhood which has not yet come under the spell of the social revolution. But revolution it is, and one with depth, for it is a revolution not only of externals but of the spirit.

It is education that has furnished the key to open the mind of the Tunisian woman to the possibility of a new way of life. Specifically it is modern education as provided in French schools. But just at this point there occurs a conflict of cultures. Will it be French or Arab or both? The problem is, and will continue to be, a conciliation of the modern spirit with Islam.

Yet innovations do not necessarily imply irreligion. The fall of the veil, enlightened Tunisians are saying, should be accompanied by religious instruction. Education of morals is indispensable. The Tunisian people possess a core of morality. But restrictions which once pretended to be the guardians of morality must be replaced by an enlightened conscience.

The great hero of feminine emancipation is President Bourguiba to whom is accredited not only the freeing of Tunisia but the emancipation

of woman in the real sense. Under his leadership, writes de Montety, Bourguiba desires "to erect a Muslim state in which Islam will be a religion of human liberation." (p. 170) In this new nation the people are sovereign and therefore freed from a rigid theocracy which has stood in opposition to its modern evolution. This does not imply a break with Islam but Islam's adaptation to modern thought. This is in conformity with essential Islam.

One could have wished that the author had substantiated Quranic quotations or references with citation of text, and that the work had been provided with an index. But obviously the reading public intended is composed of laymen in Islamic matters. For the general reader this study reveals fundamental trends in Tunisian social development, and as such serves usefully to illuminate situations and events which on the surface are complex and obscure.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Islam and the Arabs in the Eastern Mediterranean Down to the Fall of the Umayyad Caliphate, (in Arabic), by Omar A. Farrukh, Beirut, Luzac and Co., London, 1958, pp. 168, paper, price 12/6d.

Dr. Farrukh presents to the reader a brief, comprehensive view of the history of the Arabs from the pre-Islamic period to the end of the Umayyad Caliphate in A.D. 750. The scope of the work can be readily grasped from the chapter headings: The Arabs before Islam: Their Land and Life; The picture of the Sixth Century; The Islamic Call; The Age of the Orthodox Caliphs; The Conquests and the Establishment of the Administration; The Political Crisis in Islam; The Umayyad State in Syria; The Sufyānid Branch; The Transfer of the Caliphate to the Marwānid Branch; The Zenith of the Umayyad Age; The weakening of the Empire; Marwān b. Muḥammad and the Fall of the Umayyad State; The Social and Intellectual Picture of the Umayyad Age.

The author states that the work is concerned with the study and interpretation of the causes and results of Arab history. It is not sufficient for the historian merely to cite the events of history. Rather, he is to offer for these events a sociological interpretation (*taᶜlīlan ijtimāᶜiyyan*) since history is the picture of the Social Life (*Al-Ḥayāt al-Ijtimāᶜiyyah*) recording its evolution as reflected by its culture, art, politics, struggles, victories, etc. However, we do not study history purely out of a love for arriving at the truth. Rather, history serves as an example (*ᶜibrah*) for us in the present. We have a practical aim, namely, to observe the good and the bad of the past and to attempt to correct in our day the errors committed by our predecessors.

"Yet, when we interpret our history, we must not rely on the western interpretation. Our interpretation must be based on our goals, values, and the realities of the life we live. In this we do not reject the logic, the method of investigation and the objective explanations of the Westerners. Indeed some have deeply and dispassionately studied our history, but others have been influenced by their passions and interests. Since most of the Westerners have studied in detail the Torah, the history of Christianity, and the Papacy in Europe, they interpret our history

on the basis of these studies. However, there is a great difference between the social and political movements in Islam and those of Judaism and Christianity. Thus, while their studies are valid in their fields of specialization, they are not necessarily valid in the field of Arab history and Islam." (pp. 8-9).

In the text, however, one does not find such an Arab-Islamic interpretation. Dr. Farrukh, having made his point, presents the facts objectively and provides them with interpretations which have been generally accepted by competent scholars, e.g., the tribal, mawālī, and Shīᶜite factors in the fall of the Umayyads (pp. 122-126); the political and religious motives for the Islamic conquests (p. 60; the detrimental economic effects of the religious policy of ᶜUmar b. al-ᶜAzīz (pp. 111-113); the ᶜAbbāsid propaganda and its exploitation of ᶜAlid sentiment in Khurāsān (pp. 116-117).

Substantively, the work suffers in that it over-emphasizes the military activities of Muḥammad and the following caliphs (pp. 46-54; 59-68; 118-120). Though Dr. Farrukh points out the major role that the political-religious parties played in directing the intellectual life of the Umayyad period, he makes no mention of the "inner life" of society. With regard to some of its more prosaic aspects, he merely notes that books dealing with Grammar, Ḥadīth, History and Law were composed (p. 153).

The book disappoints in that it is almost without footnote references. If this work were translated, it might serve as a concise manual for the student of an important and formative period of Arab history and Islam.

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Sānūsīyah, A Study of a Revivalist Movement in Islam. By Nicola A. Ziadeh, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1958. pp. viii, 135, paper, Gld. 12.50.

A 19th century missionary movement in Islam, initiated and lead by a great leader and scholar, Sayyid ibn ᶜAlī al-Sanūsī, and aimed at purifying religion from the accumulated theological errors of centuries of stagnation, as well as making converts of non-Muslims in Africa, is the theme of Professor Ziadeh's study. The Sanūsī movement is still vigorous today, headed by King Idrīs I of Libya.

After a brief introduction having to do with the spread of Islam in North Africa, the author deals in Chapter I with the history of Libya in the 19th century, when, technically a part of the Ottoman Empire, it was practically self-governing on account of the attitudes of its ruling Pashas. Furthermore, the vast deserts, widely separated oases and scattered tribes made it difficult for the rulers to exercise rigid control. As a result there was much freedom in areas distant from the cities.

Into this situation, as the author shows in Chapter II, the Grand Sanūsī moved and set up his missionary activity, first in 1843 at Al-Bayḍā, a few miles east of Benghāzi, and later at Jaghbūb, Kufra and many other places in Libya. Today Al-Bayḍā is being made the capital of Libya.

In each center, a *zāwiya* (lodge) was opened with a mosque, a school

and other facilities for supporting life; and a ṣūfī order was established which had an appeal to all classes, from highly educated to illiterate. Under his son, Sayyid al-Mahdī, who succeeded him in 1859, the movement grew greatly especially in the Central Sudan among both Arabs and Negroes, until the French came to regard it as a threat to their rule and, in 1902, sent troops to suppress it. In 1911 the Italians moved into Libya and over the next twenty years fought the Sanūsī forces until their leader, the present King Idrīs and grandson of the founder, was obliged to take refuge in Egypt.

The life of the Grand Sanūsī, before he decided to settle in Libya, is discussed at length. His education and his travels back and forth from Algeria, where he was born in 1787, to Mecca and Yemen, are narrated, followed by a period in Cairo at Al-Azhar University, where he found his philosophy so much opposed by the shaikhs that he had to leave the city. His efforts to found *zāwiyas* in Egypt and Arabia were only partially successful because of official opposition, and eventually he returned to the deserts of Libya.

The chapter on Sanūsī philosophy mentions the Grand Sanūsī's writings and states clearly the ideals of the Order, which involve the unity of the intellectual and emotional sides of religion, allowing the scholar to experience the exaltation of the *dhikr,* frugality in living, avoiding all luxuries, abstinence from dancing, singing, smoking and coffee drinking, hard work and the acquiring of manual skills, and the building of a good community — all of which was to be accomplished within the scope of the Qur'ān in imitation of the Prophet.

The chapter on the organization of the *zāwiyas* shows the Sanūsī's skill in politics, involving both trade and defence with the avoidance of violence as much as possible. The sect was not militarily aggressive, but was very active in both spiritual and economic matters. The main emphasis was the return of Islām to the purity of the Prophet's time, and the happiness of the members in their constant contact with God. This is stated by King Idrīs as follows:

"The Sanūsī only aim at piety and nobility of heart. And how shall this be attained? By excluding everything but God from our thoughts, by moderation, and by abstaining from all enjoyments which do not bring us nearer to God."

The book uses source materials from Arabic, French and English, has copious footnotes and a very complete bibliography. While it gives a very fine picture of the Grand Sanūsī and his successors and the quality of their Order, it has serious defects in its composition and printing. It is rare that one finds a book so badly edited. There are numerous mistakes in the type, misspelled words, letters and words omitted, errors of tense, inconsistent spelling and capitalization, failure to use the English idiom, and inaccurate translations. A quick count shows a total of at least 113 such mistakes, all of which inclines to divert the reader's attention from the thought expressed. Three examples: (1) page 112, "there is a contraband trade ... in *female ivory* and ivory of less than fourteen pounds weight"; (2) page 41, "He whose commands are in apposition to these rites is ignorant and a rebel."; (3) page 95, "May God *pray* on our Master Muhammad." This is usually translated, "May God bless our Master Muhammad".

If one forgives these technical errors, it is possible to gain a very fine view of Al-Sanūsiyyah and their effective missionary strategy, method and spirit.

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W. Wendell Cleland

Lettres de Direction Spirituelle (Al-Rasāʾil al-Ṣughra). By Ibn ᶜAbbād al-Rundī, in Arabic, edited by Paul Nwyia, S. J. Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth, published under the direction of the Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth, Tome VII, 1958, distributed by Librairie Orientale, Place de l'Etolie, Beyrouth, Lebanon, pp. xxv, 143, paper.

This volume is the first critical edition of the smaller collection of sixteen letters (*Al-Rasāʾil al-Ṣughrā*) of ᶜAbd Allāh al-Rundī. Ibn ᶜAbbād was born in Ronda in Spain in 733/1333, lived for some time in Rabāṭ, and died in Fās, where he had been *imām* of the Jāmiᶜ al-Qairawiyyīn, in 792/1390. His larger collection of thirty eight letters (*Al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrā*) was printed in Fās in 1320 A.H.

These letters of spiritual guidance were written by Ibn ᶜAbbād to three of his disciples (*murīdūn.*) One of these, Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī, is named in the text of letter 16 as its recipient. The recipients of the other letters are not named, but the editor has been able to identify them as Muḥammad ibn Adībah (letters 1-6) and Yaḥyā al-Sarrāj (letters 7-15). Most of the letters were written in answer to questions raised by the disciples and cover a wide range of topics. These include an answer to a question concerning the chapter on fear (*khauf*) in the *Qūt al-Qulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (letter 1), the treatment of certain faults and sins (letter 2), an explanation of imitation (*taqlīd*) and innovation (*bidᶜah*) (letter 3), the ranks of people with respect to patience (*ṣabr*) and contentment (*riḍā*) during affliction (letter 7), what is required of the penitent in the way of acts (*aᶜmāl*) and states (*aḥwāl*) (letter 8), and the teaching of children (letters 10 and 11).

Several of the letters are of a quite personal nature and contain spiritual advice and guidance intended for a particular disciple in a specific age of spiritual development. In this respect the letters appear to be quite unique, for, although the works of other Sufi shaikhs often took the form of letters in answer to disciples' questions, they tended to be rather impersonal as though they had been written with publication in mind.

At the end of the sixteen letters comprising the present collection the editor has appended some additional letters of Ibn ᶜAbbād that do not appear in either the larger or smaller collections. One of these is published here for the first time; the others are reproduced from Al-Wansharīsī's *Kitāb al-Miᶜyār.*

Altogether the editor consulted eight mss. in preparing this edition. Only five of them were ultimately used in establishing the text since three were found to contain no variant readings. The footnotes are restricted to the variant readings and to the identification of verses from the Qurʾān appearing in the text. It would have been helpful to the reader had the editor identified as far as possible the persons and books mentioned in the text as well as some of the passages quoted from other

works. Certainly the quotations from *Qūt al-Qulūb* appearing in the first letter could have been identified in the footnotes. The publication of these letters is certainly an important contribution to the study of Sufism, particularly in North Africa and Spain. Undoubtedly a further contribution to Sufi studies will be the work on the writings of Ibn ᶜAbbād that is promised by the editor in the introduction to the letters.

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NICHOLAS HEER

The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān. By Wadie Jwaideh, published under the auspices of the George C. Keiser Foundation, Washington, D.C., by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, 1959. pp. xvi, 79, price 15 guilders.

The immense contribution of the Arabs to medieval geographical lore has found a true representative in the 13th century writer Yāqūt whose Geographical Dictionary (*Muᶜjam al-Buldān*) has long been the object of great attention among scholars and orientalists. As early as the Later Middle Ages, it was found appropriate to make a special abridgment of this tremendous work twice in succession for wider circulation. Two eminent authors did the work: Ibn ᶜAbd al-Ḥaqq and Al-Suyūṭī. In our time complete text of the *Muᶜjam* has been twice edited, first in Germany (F. Wüstenfeld, *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch,* 6 vols., Leipzig 1866-70), and secondly in Egypt (Amīn al-Khānjī's edition in 10 vols., Cairo 1906-7). These were followed by a series of sectional studies, the work by modern scholars such as F. Justus Heer, M. Amari, J. T. Reinaud, C. Barbier de Meynard, R. Blachère and N. A. Faris. But none of these, as the editor of the present work rightly notes, has devoted sufficient space to the introductory chapters of the *Muᶜjam,* outstanding in their value as the embodiment of Yāqūt's general philosophy of the subject of his study. This will be evidenced from a quick survey of their contents. Here lies the contribution of the present author in this small but highly interesting volume.

That part of the work comprises an introduction and five chapters. The first chapter (pp. 19-37) describes the earth, the mountains, the seas, and other features thereof. Perhaps the most important subject-matter here treated is Yāqūt's survey of the theories of the Greek and Arab geographers on the shape of the earth, leading to the establishment and preservation of the idea of its sphericity. The second discusses (pp. 38-52) the seven climes and the disagreement of scientists as to the nature of the oecumene, as well as the etymology of the Arabic word *iqlīm,* derived from the Greek *klima* (inclination) and transmitted to the West in clime and climate. The third chapter (pp. 53-67) contains a very interesting survey of the interpretation and definition of twenty-three terms used in the book. These are: barīd, farsakh, mīl, kūrah, iqlīm, mikhlāf, istān, ṭussūj, jund, sikkah, miṣr, abādh, ṭūl, ᶜarḍ, darajah, daqīqah, ṣulḥ, silm, ᶜanwah, kharāj, fayʾ, ghanīmah, and qaṭīᶜah. The remaining two chapters (pp. 68-74, 75-79) are of minor importance. Chapter Four sets out some juridical views on the question of peaceful penetration as well as forcible conquest and the rules of division of booty. Chapter Five contains some curious notes on countries.

The translation of the text is very well done, and it is indeed hard to make any comments on the work after its revision by some of the illustrious scholars of our time whose names are recorded in the list of acknowledgments. The reader will, however, be struck by the exaggerated bulk of the notes. References to current encyclopedias and dictionaries might have been curtailed. The book contains no index. We hope the author will follow it with more substantial and extensive attempts of more comprehensive parts of the *Muᶜjam* for the benefit of orientalists, geographers and historians of science and of Islamic civilization in one of its luminous phases.

Princeton, N. J. AZIZ S. ATIYA

Al-Bābu-al-Ḥādī ʿAshar. By Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf ibn ᶜAlī ibn-al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, translated from the Arabic by William McElwee Miller, Published by The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, sold by Luzac and Co., Ltd., 46 Great Rursell Street, London, 1958, pp. xiv, 104.

A review of this book, first published in 1928, may be found on p. 213 of the April 1930 issue of this Quarterly. The presence of Shīᶜism in Iran and other parts of the world and a sustained interest in its theology on the part of Muslims and non-Muslims alike would be sufficient justification for this new edition. But the work has intrinsic value to commend it, coming as it does from the pen and careful scholarship of one who had lived in Iran before he began the translation and who has continued his career in that land to the present. His place of residence is now Teheran. The project of translation was suggested and aided by the late Dr. D. B. Macdonald of Hartford and the manuscript was corrected by the late R. A. Nicholson of Cambridge. If an understanding of the religion of a people is basic to an appreciation of its culture, a comprehension of its theological system is fundamental to a grasp of the religious situation. This treatise on the principles of Shīᶜite theology is an aid to that grasp. As the title indicates, it is chapter 11 of Al-Ḥillī's (d. 726/1326) work *Minhāj al-Ṣalāḥ,* one of the 500 books ascribed to him. Donaldson calls him "the leading systematic theologian of the Mongol period" and mentions several other works by him (The Shīᶜite Religion, p. 296). As the stock of the first edition was destroyed during the bombing of London, the appearance of this reprint is all the more appreciated.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

A Reader in Modern Persian. Compiled by Mark J. Dresden and Associates, Program in Oriental Languages, Publications Series A — Texts — Number 6; American Council of Learned Societies, New York 1958, distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, pp. 393, paper, $ 4.00.

It is quite easy to find numerous grammars, primers, manuals and beginner's texts in the well-known languages of the Middle East. On the other hand, it is quite a task to find good reading matter that will help the student to make the transition from the primer to the standard or conventional written matter in those languages.

A Reader In Modern Persian will be welcomed by all of those who have developed facility in using the spoken language but who are preliterate as far as the traditional orthography is concerned. "The

purpose of the book as originally prepared was to provide a selection of written materials in modern Persian that the student could study after completing Units 1-12 of the FSI course (Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State) *Spoken Persian* ... No account was taken, however, of vocabulary introduced in Units 13-30 ... since the book was suitable for use either concurrently with the FSI textbook (or other suitable textbook in the spoken language) or independently by those wishing to concentrate solely on written materials."

"Material is presented in build-up fashion; that is, new items of vocabulary are presented and defined just ahead of the full sentence in which they first occur. The build-ups can be identified by the fact that they are indented from the margin in the column in which they appear."

"All material is given in four forms, reading from left to right across facing pages: English translation, typewritten Persian, handwritten Persian, and romanized transcription." Several persons contributed specimens of their handwriting which range from the rapid cursive style to the more formal type of writing.

Each one of the twelve units contains three different types of content material. For example, Unit I introduces the reader to: A — The Thieves (a typical Persian story), B — History (Achaemenian Empire), and C — United Nations (Aims and Basic Principles). Or again, Unit VIII presents: A — The Indian Palace, B — Iranian — Soviet Dispute, and C — Newspaper Clipping.

A dozen pages of the Reader serve as an introduction to the Persian Writing System. This is quite helpful especially for those who are not acquainted with or do not have access to *The Writing System of Modern Persian* by Herbert H. Paper and Mohammad Ali Jazayery (American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, 1955). If it is true that languages cannot be taught but must be learned, then Mark Dresden and his associates have provided the student of written Persian with a useful tool. Readers of this type can do much to remove the blocs and frustrations which many individuals encounter as they attempt to communicate in another language.

Hartford Seminary Foundation J. Maurice Hohlfeld
Hartford, Connecticut

Spoken East Armenian. By Gordon H. Fairbanks and Earl W. Stevick, pp. xxiii, 403, paper $ 5.00.

Spoken West Armenian. By Gordon H. Fairbanks, pp. xvi, 204, paper, $ 3.50. Both published by the American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1958; distributed by Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

These textbooks, intended for adult learners of Armenian, are produced on the lines of the Henry Holt Spoken Language Series, and use translation, transcription and conventional Armenian orthography, though the latter does not represent the revised spelling now used in Soviet Armenia. Both books require a native speaker to act as a model for imitation.

The introductory chapter in each book contains a concise statement

of the phonemic system of the language, forming the basis for subsequent exercises, and providing adequate drill for segmental phonemes as well as intonation and stress patterns. *Spoken East Armenian* contains thirty lessons to the fourteen of the other. A typical lesson consists of a series of basic sentences, pronunciation practice, grammatical notes, exercises on these, "Listening In", and more exercises. Unfortunately some typographical errors mar both books.

Vocabulary items are based on such situations as Getting Around, A Place to Live, In the Bank, Sightseeing in Yerevan, and so on. However, the readings in the last six lessons of *Spoken East Armenian* contain largely new vocabulary, over fifty percent of the items in the Glossary occurring only in these lessons. Also, it is difficult to tell whether such expressions as *pʿaron* and *tʿikʿin* and the comparative rarity of newly-borrowed European words represent current usage in the spoken Armenian of Soviet Armenia. *Spoken West Armenian* gives generally an excellent picture of standard, if slightly formal, usage.

The grammatical analysis in both texts is based on usage in the sentences covered, and it is very well presented, ample provision being made for varied and interesting exercises. It is difficult in so short a space to do justice to the careful work done on the structure of both languages. Both texts should prove valuable, and *Spoken West Armenian* should be a very welcome and stimulating textbook for adult classes of English-speaking Armenians in the United States.

Arlington, Massachusetts SERAPI OHANNESSIAN

A Word Count of Modern Arabic Prose. By Jacob M. Landau, published in cooperation with the School of Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, by the American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1959, pp. xx, 453, 20 in Arabic, 13 in Hebrew, paper, $ 7.50.

In an effort to relate this statistical study to the teaching of Arabic the author explains the shortcomings of most textbooks, such as undue stress on grammar or "an over-optimistic drive to teach it by the direct method without providing the relevant means." The literary-colloquial dichotomy is acknowledged. But the greatest problem in all primers and readers is vocabulary selection. In view of this the author and his colleagues have here presented a word count of modern Arabic prose selected from a cross-section of 20th century works, including the well-known list by Brill based on the Arabic of the newspapers and published in 1940. The prose works selected were of Egyptian origin. Sixty books were chosen and the number of running words to be counted were fixed at 136,089, the same as that of Brill.

From the count resulted 11, 284 specific words, almost twice the number of Brill (5,981). The two combined lists, words common to both appearing but once, have been published in this volume, a total of 12,400.

The work is divided into two parts. Part I contains the list of Arabic words arranged alphabetically with their frequencies, transliteration in Latin characters and meanings ascribed to them in the text from which they were taken. A warning is sounded that the presence of glosses does not give the book the character of a dictionary.

Part II consists in a frequency list of the same words, beginning

with those of highest frequencies. Heading the list is *fī* with a total frequency of 11,871 while tht last word was *yāqa* with a frequency of 2. Still there remained 3,431 words of single occurrence out of the total of 12,400. These were not listed.

The author is cautious in suggesting the justifiable conclusions that may be deduced from analysis of these lists. The conclusions are none the less valid and valuable. For example, the first 25 words of highest frequency represent 23.7 percent of the total number of running words. The first 1,000 words of highest frequency represent 70.02 percent of the total.

These figures symbolize more than dry statistics to the student of Arabic linguistics. They have their practical value. Among several practical advantages the author suggests their utility in the writing of primers and graded readers for foreign students of the language. He might well have added their value in creating primers and easy readers for new literates of the Arabic tongue in connection with literacy programs now being conducted in various Arabic-speaking lands. For henceforth no student or writer in these fields can afford to ignore the results of the laborious efforts represented in this volume. It is to be hoped that its utilization will lead to more effective teaching of Arabic to both foreigners and people of the tongue.

Hartford, Connecticut — ELMER H. DOUGLAS

A Kurdish Grammar. Descriptive Analysis of the Kurdish of Sulaimaniya. Iraq. By Ernest N. McCarus, American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1958, pp. ii, 138, map. $ 3.00.

The overwhelming importance of Arabic in the Middle East has tended to push into the background all other languages, though some of them are spoken by large and important populations. Kurdish is one of these that has received far less attention than it deserves, many outside of the Middle East being hardly aware of its existence.

McCarus's grammar should help to make basic information on the language more widely available. It seems to be thorough, a bit more comprehensive than what linguists have come to call a "sketch," but falling short of a full treatment. It gives a better picture of the phonology than has been available, and in particular has the first usable treatment of stress and intonation. The morphology seems to be adequately outlined without recourse to difficult technicalities, but at the expense of an occasional lack of rigor. As is all too often the case, the syntax is only briefly described, and the structure is not always made clear. It contains two short texts in Kurdish script and transcription with literal and free translations. Past work on the language has not been neglected, and there are brief critical comments on several of the older grammars.

Everything considered, McCarus's work will be rated as a valuable contribution or our understanding of an important language. Congratulations to him, and our thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies which has made possible this and several similar works in recent years.

Hartford, Connecticut — H. A. GLEASON, JR.

The Development of Manufacturing Industry in Egypt, Israel and Turkey. Published for the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, by Columbia University Press, New York, 1958, pp. 131, paper $ 1.50.

This is a valuable collection of data set in a framework that illuminates the complex conditions of modernization in our time. Here are three countries moving rapidly toward modernity and exhibiting, therefore, the secular trends toward urbanization, industrialization, communication (via mass media). But the tempo and balance of effective change are still a function of the initial conditions under which modernization began. It may well be that these three nations will converge on a common social style and economic level in some long-run future. Today, the variants are striking, particularly the sharp differences of input required to obtain comparable outputs.

The underlying condition is defined by the very first table which, corrected to 1958, shows the man-land ratio to be about 10 in Egypt, as compared with 5 in Israel, 1 in Turkey. Turkey is favored by a low birthrate and a long headstart in modernization under the great leadership of Ataturk; Israel is favored by a highly skilled modern population and relatively easy access to foreign exchange in Europe and America. Egypt's burden is a birth rate which rapidly engulfs every gain of modern technique. Such a nation, as the Red Queen told Alice, must run all it can to stay in the same place. "If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!"

Under these variant conditions, the development of manufacturing industries, which is the spearhead of modernization, exhibits different rates, sequences and results in the three countries. This volume shares the hazards of all such statistical enterprises, particularly in the collation of time series: "As between countries, a great impediment has been the lack of international comparability of a large part of the available statistics, on labour force, employment, national accounts and even foreign trade; only in recent years have some of these series been prepared according to a standard international classification."

Nevertheless, this is a serious and successful effort to establish statistical comparability on indices of industrialization among Middle Eastern countries. The text, organized mainly around 73 tables on the principal factors of production, is clear and judicious. A statistical appendix presents 55 additional tables in which strict comparability was not possible. The whole makes an important contribution to available information and should stimulate comparative analysis of trends in the modernizing of the Middle East.

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DANIEL LERNER

SHORTER NOTICES

The Spirit of Islam. By Ashfaque Husain, Asia Publishing House, Nicol Road, Bombay 1, India, 1958, pp. 76, price Rs. 4.75.

The author, Oxford-educated lawyer, teacher, writer in English and Urdu, and more recently occupying various positions of responsibility in the India government service, here undertakes an English summary of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's commentary of the Fātiḥah as contained in the latter's *Tarjuman-al Quran.* Ashfaque Husain explains that he does this because he has found this commentary more stimulating and rewarding than others he had consulted for an understanding of the Qurʾān. It is his hope that it "may be of some interest and profit to those who wish to understand the main spiritual teachings of Islam and are unable to read the original." (p. 7) In view of this aim he has succeeded.

He has extracted from the well-known words of the Fātiḥah the essence which he believes to be the element of permanent value of the Qurʾān and of Islam itself. Here are the fundamentals of religion for all mankind. The reader recognizes a desire on the part of the author to reinterpret Islam in such a way as to command the respect of thinking and serious men of faith, even to present it as the unique universal religion. Such a religion should strengthen the bonds of world brotherhood as all men come to worship the one God, Cherisher and Sustainer.

Al-Ḍāʾiʿ min al-Mawārid al-Bashariyyah. Department of Arabic Studies, American University, Beirut; 1958, in Arabic, pp. viii, 185, paper.

Four valuable papers are here presented on the theme of the utilization of human resources in Arab lands for the good of the people. In the first Dr. ʿAlī al-Wardī discusses the differences that exist betbetween Bedouin and urban societies, with special reference to conditions in Iraq. Though he writes with a sense of humor, he goes to the depth of problems.

Dr. Yūsuf Ḥittī writes on medical problems and points out some of the differences between certain Arab countries and lands of the West. One could have wished for more factual data, though Egypt was more generous than other Arab states in supplying needful information.

The longest paper (87 pages) comes from the pen of Dr. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Muntaṣir who, after treating the various Arab states, compares them all with the United States and Russia in respect of culture and technical training. The fourth study, on economic questions, is by Burhān al-Dajānī who deals especially with the problem of unemployment. The symposium sheds light on four fundamental aspects of life in Arab countries and reveals the general need of better statistical apparatus.

Connaître l'Islam. By Louis Gardet. No. 143 in collection "Je Sais-Je Crois," Librairie Arthème Fayard, 18 rue du St.-Gothard, Paris XIV, 1958, pp. 160, map, paper, Price 350 frs.

A compendium in miniature of the Islamic sciences is here presented, spanning the entire period from Muḥammad to the present and including the historical development of Islam with treatment of its credal, theological, sociological, ritualistic and legal aspects. Two chapters deal especially with the contemporary scene and one with the confrontation of Islam and Christianity. Abundant footnotes render the work useful to the student. But the non-initiated in things Islamic will also discover in this succinct study a well-organized and sympathetic exposition. It is the author's wish that this study serve to diminish the incomprehension that prevails with regard to Islam and that the investigation of Muslim culture cease to be an affair uniquely of specialists and become open to a wider public. The author, by his former works published in Paris, Cairo and Tunis, as well as by his contribution to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* needs no introduction.

Islam and the West. By Khurshid Ahmed. Published by Jamaat-i-Islami, Lahore, Pakistan, 1957, pp. viii, 46, paper.

The great need of the moment, according to the author of this pamphlet, is that the west should come to a true and sympathetic understanding of the Muslim people. Requisite to a just understanding is a comprehension of the causes of discontent, among them western imperialism, economic exploitation, imposition of western systems of education regardless of intellectual and cultural aptitudes of Muslims, dominance of western culture, propagation of Christianity to the detriment of non-Christian religions, and direct attacks on Islam.

Furthermore, western writers of the past, by ignorance or prejudice, are said to have misrepresented Islam, though modern scholars are more sympathetic in their approach and acknowledge Islamic achievements. There have been gross mis-representations of the person of Muḥammad, prejudiced conceptions of the Qur'ān, mistaken notions of the real nature of Islam by sincere scholars. Criticism of Islam should not be silenced but evaluation should be just, unbiased and founded on what Muslims themselves think and believe.

The Scientific Work of Snouck Hurgronje. By Johannes Pedersen. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1957, pp. 31, portrait, paper, price 1,75. guilders.

In an address delivered on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936) Johannes Pedersen, late Professor in the University of Copenhagen, reviews the scholarly achievements, covering some fifty years, of a great student of Islam. The reader is initiated into the career of the scholar, writer, teacher, explorer, linguist as he pursued his research not only in books but by personal contact and keen observation with accurate recording in Mecca, Indonesia and Turkey. Though only an initiation, it reveals Hurgronje as the wise builder of scientific foundations for the study of Islam and a scientist to whom all future scholars in this field have been indebted.

The Soviet Union and the Muslim World, 1917-1958. By Ivar Spector, University of Washington Press, Seattle 5, Washington, 1959, pp. xii, 328, illustrations. $ 5.00.

The first mimeographed edition under this title, published in 1957, was reviewed in the October 1958 issue of this Quarterly (p. 323) by Professor Matthew Spinka. To his comments on this informative, timely and well-documented historical study the reader is directed. This work has now been published in definitive form and amended to include the most recent data. Among the latter are the results of conversations with former Turkish leaders of the period of Kemal Ataturk and authorities on Soviet-Turkish relations at that time. The author's conclusions have relevance for those whose concern is economics, religion, military strategy or political theory.

La Théologie d'Elie bar.Šénaya. By Emmanuel-Karim Delly, Apud Pontificiam Universitatem Urbanianam de Propaganda Fide, Rome 1957, pp. 95, paper.

The author, a Chaldean priest, presents a critical study of the Trinitarian and Christological theology of Elias (born A.D. 975), Metropolitan of Nisibis (from earlier centuries a Christian academic center through which Greek thought penetrated into the Arab world). Elias was "one of the greatest writers of the Syrian-oriental Church of the 11th century." The present work is part of a more inclusive thesis on this church leader, his literary activity in the field of Muslim-Christian controversy, and an exposition of his theology. The object of this publication is to provide a brief survey of the career of Elias and a general view of his doctrines of the person of Jesus and the Trinity. The work includes also the translation into French of two conversations which Elias records having had with the Muslim vizier, Al-Maghrabī, on Christian doctrine. These conversations disclose not only the conviction of Elias but the attitude of the whole Nestorian community, and as such are valuable source material for a reconstruction of Nestorian thought of the Syrian-oriental church in this golden period of Arab-Christian literature.

Catalogue of Orienta Manuscripts. By John Macdonald, the University of Leeds, England, pp. v, 62, mimeographed, paper.

The University of Leeds has contributed to the facility of research by the publication of this catalogue which contains indices and descriptions of a collection of about 400 manuscripts covering the field of Arabic and Islamic studies, and including some Persian, Turkish, Samaritan and Syriac material. The collection was made for the University by the Rev. John Bowman, D. Phil., Head of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures. Each work has the usual indication of title, author, date, reference, number of folios, size and other details of presentation and condition, with original text of beginning and ending of MSS. Besides indices of titles and authors it has an index of subjects, an arrangement enhancing its usefulness.

Islam and the Netherlands. By G. F. Pijper, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1957, pp. 37, paper, price 1,75 guilders.

The author, who is professor of Arabic in the University of Amsterdam, sketches the development of Islamic studies in the Netherlands from the time of Olivier van Keulen, whom he calls the first Dutch orientalist, dating from the Crusades, to the present. He notes Relandus who wrote "the first truly scholarly book about Islam published in Europe," Albert Schultens in a sense "the founder of comparative Semitic philology," Bilderdijk, Snouck Hurgronje and others. Of significance is his insistence that "the connexions between culture and religion are so intimate that it is a hopeless task to study Oriental culture without a knowledge of the religion." Though Muslims living under the Dutch flag have diminished from seventy million to sixty-six thousand the hope is expressed that Dutch oriental studies will continue and flourish.

Al-Tarbiyah al-Siyāsiyyah, By Fuʾād ʿAmmūn, Adīb Naṣṣūr, Muḥyī al-Dīn Naṣūli, Admūn Rabāṭ, Department of Arabic Studies, American University, Beirut, 1957, pp. viii, 103, paper.

This book presents four articles dealing with the formation of the "good citizen." Though applicable to the Arab countries in general, the studies have special reference to the Lebanon. They treat successively the various factors entering into the making of a good citizen — the state, the outstanding personalities, the press. For readers mindful of the urgency of good citizenship these studies provide an abundance of arresting statements. For example, Dr. Naṣṣūr declares that the Arab countries were concerned with revolutionary literature during the period of revolution. Now it is necessary to be concerned with "citizenship" literature side by side with the revolutionary (p. 38). A fair bibliography is given. Certainly research in this field is timely.

The Indian Village Community. By B. H. Baden-Powell, Behavior Science Reprints, Human Relations Area Files Press, Yale University, New Haven, 1958, pp. xiv, 456. Price $ 3.95.

This is one of a series of reprints "designed to make available selected works of continuing value to the scholar." That Baden-Powell's work should be included is certainly justified. It is a pioneer work, the basis on which a great deal of subsequent research is founded. It was so well done that it has been a secure foundation, and from time to time has served as a standard bringing later work to severe judgment.

Readers of *The Muslim World* will naturally seek what light Baden-Powell may shed on Islamic history and institutions in India. There is less than one might wish for, but what there is gives a perspective all too often lacking in histories oriented toward dynasties and military campaigns. Indian village life is set forth as a complex of patterns varying from area to area and from group to group, but everywhere preserving traces of past social history and local conditions. For such a view it remains extremely valuable.

Al-Tarbiyah wa nahḍat al-rīf al-ʿarabī. A. H. Kūrānī, editor, Beirut, Lebanon, 1958, pp. xviii + 407.

The education department in the American University of Beirut,

with the help of the Ford Foundation, has studied some important aspects of education in the Arab countries. This book, the outcome of the fourth study made, contains the papers read and the discussions that took place during the conference.

Dr. Kūrānī illustrates the problems that face the rural areas in seven different countries other than the Arab lands. Some countries have been able to find satisfactory solutions, others are on the way, and still others are in the process of beginning. The latter part deals with rural aspects of life in the Arab states including their educational and administrative problems. The book is a valuable contribution and should be available to all who are interested in education in the Arab countries.

Egypt. T. Little, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1959. pp. 334. $ 6.50.

This is an easily read book that gives a rapid exposition of the history of Egypt since the time of the Pharaohs. The author deals in some detail with recent developments in Egypt and concludes with the conviction that Egypt will continue its forward direction. The volume would have been enhanced by a consistent system of transliteration. On p. 102 the author confuses Kemal with Kāmil. However, the book may be recommended as a background for further studies.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Spiritual Revival Needed. Dr. Charles Malik, President of the United Nations General Assembly, former foreign minister of Lebanon, recently declared in a public discourse in Washington, that in his opinion what is needed is a mighty spiritual revival. "So far as the Western world is concerned, the deepest thing at stake is its faith in its values and its ability to justify and defend them. Free representative government, the primacy of the human person, the moral law, the continuity of history, freedom, truth and God — it is these things that are at stake today. They are all rejected and opposed from without and some of them are doubted or compromised from within. Is life worth living without them? And yet if people do not wake up, life will not be worth living."

"A mighty spiritual revival therefore is needed. For much more than peace is at stake. The revival must take hold not only of individuals here and there, but of whole institutions; not only of the leaders, but of the grass roots. Those who keep on talking about aggression and about territorial integrity and political independence, as though these were the real worries, are either naïve or hypocrites or not living in this age or only using these terms as temporary expedients. I am persuaded that there are virtually infinite possibilities, both material and moral, wherewith to vindicate freedom against unfreedom, joy of living against tyranny, man against all that is subhuman and inhuman, truth against darkness and falsehood, and God against the Devil and his works. The only question is whether the realms of freedom will prove worthy of its possibilities."

The Religious Turkish Press. Recently the mantle of religious concern has been taken away from the Millet Party, and has been assumed by the government party. Several years ago the Millet Party was considered the religious party, but today pro-government religious organs scold it and attack it along with the Halk Party. This is very significant in the struggle of the government party to rally independents and disaffected to its ranks.

But the government has not allowed its religious interest to interfere with its serious economic concern. It has resisted the very popular move of allowing foreign exchange for those who sought to make the pilgrimage this year to Mecca. Last year only a half-dozen Turks went to Mecca, this year if any Turk made the pilgrimage, he will have done it on non-Turkish capital.

Though the religious groups are pleased with their gains, what else concrete do they want? Some of the more fanatical talk about a return to the religious law, but do not seem to be very serious about this. Some insist that Islamic Law be made a part of the legal training of Turkish lawyers.

More and more there are demands that the religious education pro-

gram be extended to include the Lise. Already there are religious lessons in the primary and middle schools. This is one of the most mentioned desires of the religious group.

There is also a sentiment toward making Aya Sophia a mosque again. Quite a few articles have been appearing this year which have made this demand. The government could please an Islamic centered group by dramatically converting the museum back into the services of a mosque.

While some call for religious lessons in the schools and others ask to be allowed to pray in Aya Sophia, still others demand that the *hojas* and *imams* be allowed to wear their religious dress freely on the street. As the law reads now, they can only wear it inside the mosque while performing their religious offices. This group would allow the *hojas* to wear their robes and turbans freely.

The New Mosque for Ankara. There is still an occasional mention in the press of the new monumental mosque and Islamic Center to be built in Ankara. This mosque will be built in Yenişehir, in the center of the "revolutionary" city which Atatürk built on the outskirts of old Ankara. A picture of a model of the mosque shows an interesting modern adaptation of the traditional dome. Four minarets are also shown in the picture. The articles also mention the fact that Prime Minister Menderes has donated 100,000 T.L. to the building fund.

Turkish Poetry and Politics. For centuries the Gazi was a model of the Turkish soldier who before the rise of the Ottoman Empire kept the frontier watch between the Roman and the Islamic empires in Anatolia. Many scholars have claimed that the Gazi complex, that is the image of a soldier of the faith, alert and ready to lash out in aggressive warfare against the non-Muslim, is one of the central factors in understanding the rise of the Ottomans to power. Was this same tradition the one in mind when the pro-government magazine *Ataʿnin Yurdu,* published a long, near-epic, poem entitled "Gazi Menderes?" The reason for the poem was his escape from the air plane crash near London. Menderes is a Gazi, according to the poem, because he has carried the modern Turkish nation to a victory. But this victory turns out to be not one against a national enemy, but a victory over technical backwardness. This is an interesting adaptation of an old form to meet modern conditions. So often industrialization depersonalizes as it succeeds. The author of the poem seeks to fill the impersonal victory of industrialization of Turkey with some of the old symbolic warmth of former days.

A Turkish Philosopher on Current Issues. One of the most interesting articles to appear in a long time in a Turkish newspaper was published in the feature section of *Cumhuriyet* recently. It was written by Hasan Ali Yücel, philosopher, spokesman for the modern Turkish intellectual class, and former Minister of Education under the Halk Party in their days of power, and is addressed to the graduating classes of the Turkish lise and universities. It clearly summarizes what a Turkish intellectual sees at stake in the future development of Turkish

culture. It is to be noted that this article, though not self-consciously Islamic, states the problem in typical Islamic terms. The moral direction of life is seen as a "road", which the individual "sees", believes in and sets out on. Before this can be accomplished, however, there must be the "authority", who makes the individual "see" the road, and who leads the individual up to the road and sets his feet down upon it.

In general the sum of the article is this: will Turkish culture, as it is lived and created by this generation, be the "road" of the directions of the Atatürk Revolution, or will it be a road which will by-pass the revolution, so-to-speak, and be "created" and pointed out by some other force.?

Taking a measure of the times, Yücel seeks to plot the future in terms of 7 either/ors which he sets before the youth of Turkey to think about and ponder. (1) Will the women of the future be again closed up in the harem, and veiled: or will they continue to be open, and will the female influence be felt in future Turkish culture? (2) Must the government mix in religious matters, or should it keep a hands-off policy? (3) Must Turkish children learn other letters than the present ones? (This is the issue of whether Old Turkish should be taught or not.) (4) In law should the personal status laws continue under the present principles (based upon European law), or should the law be changed and be based upon the old Islamic law? (5) Should there be a freedom to return to the old dress and headgear which in the past was based upon religious rank? (6) Will Turkey continue on the road of "National independence", or will it become involved in a Pan-Turkism or a Pan-Islam movement? (7) How will we be able to chose between what we want and do not want to absorb from Western techniques and ideas?

The above list well sums up the intellectual problems facing Turkey in the summer of 1959. Present in these questions is the whole meaning of the Atatürk revolution, and its relation to the western culture to which it turned, and to the Islamic culture it sought to modify and remold.

Israel. The Ministry of Religious Affairs in Israel publishes various bulletins, among them one on Druze affairs and another on Muslim affairs. They are bi-lingual — Arabic and Hebrew. Illustrative of these is the Bulletin of Druze Affairs, (*al-Akhbār al-Durzīyah*), Vol. I, no. 4, December 1958, the majority of whose articles are designed to show different aspects of Druze life within the State of Israel. An article signed by S. H. Fallāḥ treats progress in education. The writer advises not to send all children to secondary schools or to give them a higher education, for all individuals are not constituted in like manner and all have not the same capacities. Another article signed by Y. R. Fakhr al-Dīn compares the Druze in Israel with those in the Lebanon where the Durzī "sells all that he owns in order to educate his children . . ." Other aspects of social life are discussed, such as marriage, the law, etc.

The articles in the Bulletin of Muslim News (*al-Akhbār al-Islāmīyah*) Vol. 6, no. 4, November 1958, follow a different pattern. The first

article is written by N. R. Ushtum, Chargé d'Affaires for Turkey in Israel, on religious life in Turkey. Another discusses marriage customs and a third deals with the value of cleanliness in Islam. The verse quoted on p. 16 requires amendment. The style of Arabic is sometimes weak.

New Water from Old Sands. Reclamation of the Western Desert of Egypt for agricultural purposes has become part of the government program for economic improvement. It is called the New Valley Project and consists in bringing to the surface the water that lies under the sands of western Egypt. It has been estimated that thus some five million acres of land now containing only five small oases may be brought under cultivation to provide subsistence for several million people.

In the words of Foster Hailey (New York Times, March 7, 1959), "Only water is needed to make a large part of this dead area bright with palm trees, wheat stalks and cotton plants. It was once so. Old records indicate that 2,000 years ago 8,000,000 people lived in the roughly defined valley, or depression, that stretches through the middle of the Western Desert from the Kharga Oasis west of Assiut to the Siwa Oasis not far from the Mediterranean.

"The water is still there, but 1,000 to 2,000 feet below the surface now, slowly flowing through porous rock from the upper reaches of the Nile and the great lakes of Central Africa. Its presence has been long attested by the small oases, which now support a population of about 40,000 against yesterday's 8,000,000. A plan to bring this water to the surface and again make the desert bloom is being formulated. Tests have indicated that there is enough water to irrigate perhaps 5,000,000 acres and provide a new life for 6,000,000 to 8,000,000 people in over-populated Egypt.

"Its reclamation possibilities are far greater than those of the High Dam at Aswan, about which there has been so much controversy. The High Dam waters, it has been estimated, can bring back to cultivation not more than 2,000,000 acres. The Western Desert reclamation also can be done a little at a time. It does not require an immediate outlay of $ 400,000,000 to $ 500,000,000, as does the High Dam. Yet when and if it is completed, it will be what Dr. Mahmud Yusuf el-Shawarbi, of the faculty of Agriculture at Cairo University, says it is, the greatest reclamation project of our century."

The Coptic Church. On Sunday, May 10, 1959, in the presence of three thousand witnesses who were gathered in St. Mark's Cathedral in Cairo, the coronation of a new Patriarch of the Coptic Church took place. The bearded Patriarch, fifty-seven years old, was known as Mina Al-Mutawaḥḥid (the solitary), as he had been a monk and archpriest in one of the monasteries of Old Cairo. He is esteemed by those who know him personally for his wisdom and high spiritual life.

Traditionally the Patriarch is elected. But Mina was chosen by lot. This is one of the very few cases in the long history of the Coptic Church where this means has been employed to determine the head of the community. The reason for this unusual procedure seems to be that after the death of the former Patriarch Anba Yūsāb II in 1956 there

was a difference of opinion with regard to the manner of election. The deadlock lasted three years. Finally it was decided that the people vote for three monks instead of one from among whom one should be chosen by lot. The election took place on April 17th. On Sunday, April 19th, at the close of the worship service, a prayer was said by the oldest bishop, Anba Athanasius of Beni-Souef, who was temporarily acting as head of the Church during the vacancy. Immediately after the prayer a seven-year-old subdeacon was brought forward to choose one of the three papers on which the names of the three monks were written. As soon as the name of Mina, the Solitary, was announced, all those in attendance were delighted as they knew that this archpriest was deserving of the honor bestowed upon him by the choice. After the coronation he was called Anba Kyrellos VI. He is now the leader of the Coptic Orthodox Church, which is the indigenous church of Egypt, and of the Church of Ethiopia, Sudan, Nubia, Jerusalem and West and South Africa. One of his first acts was to send a delegation to Ethiopia to strengthen the ties with the Church in that land. This relationship started in the fourth century when Frumentius preached successfully the Christian faith in Ethiopia and was consecrated as bishop of the Ethiopian Church by the Coptic Patriarch Anba Athanasius I. The delegation, which consisted of three bishops and several laymen, flew to Ethiopia on June 1st. On Sunday, June 14th, the Patriarch consecrated a new bishop for Jerusalem, a monk in the monastery of St. Anthony near the Red Sea, who this year was granted his doctorate in Church History at the Seminary of Athens.

Africa and Islam. Two articles linking Africa with Islam recently published in The Christian Century deserve special notice. They are "Islam Gaining in Africa" by Cecil Northcott and "The Challenge of Islam in Africa" by Leo Silberman. The former appeared in the Feb. 25, 1959 issue and the latter in that of March 25.

Cecil Northcott has made several trips of observation to Africa in the past seven years. He sees there a religious revolution now going on. There was a time when Christianity assumed the responsibility for providing the good things of life to Africans, not the least significant of which were hospitals and schools. Now, however, African youth show signs of indifference to Christianity as a religion, though they owe much of what they are and have to the advantages of this faith. "The creep of secularism," he writes, "is becoming a gallop in Africa." Difficulties are encountered in recruiting men for the ministry. Church leadership is not keeping pace with economic and social developments. Yet Islam is gaining. "All along the west coast," he continues, "Islam is progressing ten times as rapidly as Christianity. Islam gains because it appears to be a genuinely African religion, without race-consciousness, a bond which ties Muslims solidly together in brotherhood. Islam is now an alternative religion to Christianity in Africa. Its success in the great cities of West Africa, its appeal to the secularized intellectual as well as to the dweller in the bush, and its identification with African social life (which austere, monogamous Christianity has never managed), are signs of its mighty forward movement. Anyone who spends a few days

in Ibadan in western Nigeria (where one count gives over 600 mosques) will quickly sense the inner power of Islam. I can never forget the experience of looking one Friday through the huge glass window-walls of the Accra Community Centre and seeing the building ringed by the faithful at prayer. It was symbolic of what is happening to the old strongholds of the Christian faith along the west coast, and inland through the Sudan belt of sub-Sahara Africa."

Leo Silberman, who writes on the challenge of Islam, is a native of the Union of South Africa, former lecturer in sociology at the University of Witwatersrand, at present visiting associate professor at the University of Chicago. He mentions the observation frequently made that Islam is making more converts than Christianity in Africa, even while the Christian missionary forces are numerically greater and their activities more highly developed. But without answering the question why this should be so, he points out that Islam is also gaining ground in the United States, especially among Negroes. Racial segregation in the United States is an abetment to the Negroes' susceptibility to the appeal of Islam's brotherhood.

In Africa the penetration of Islam is aided by the current spirit of anti-colonialism, while at the same time Muslims recognize the benefits derived from former colonial policies. The writer warns against thinking of Islam as a religion characterized by doctrinal uniformity and strict adherence to traditional Islam. Much of African Islam is superficial. Pagan practices and ideas lie underneath. Furthermore there is a certain indigenous opposition to Islam derived from the fact that states like Ghana and Mali, for example, were brought to Islam through force centuries ago. There are Christian groups of long standing, especially in the highlands of eastern Africa. The presence of a predominant Muslim population in western Africa, as well as the extension of Islam elsewhere, is a matter of concern for Christians in Africa, and for states such as Ghana which are disinclined to fall entirely into the "Arab" camp. It must be recognized that the cause of independence today is being championed by Muslim states or states with a strong Muslim population. Africa, then, by virtue of the presence of Muslim and non-Muslim groups, is a divided land.

The writer sees in the Islamic world elements that foster inter-Islamic cooperation and unity in spite of apparent Middle Eastern disunity and failure of the 18th-century pan-Islamic movement to attain its expectations. He cites, for example, financial aid of Saudi Arabia to other lands and the presence of Egyptian school teachers in many Muslim lands.

So Islam advances with ease without the resources, methods and organization of the Christian missionary enterprise. But what is the Africans' reaction? "In an effort to discover their destiny in their present crisis, which is also ours, Africans look both backward and forward."

A Conference for African Christian Clergy on Islam. At Legon, Nigeria, a discussion session was recently held among Christian clergy from the surrounding districts of Western Nigeria relating to their

contacts with Islam. It was preceded by a questionnaire in which the pastors were invited to give their views on the history and spread of Islam in their territory. The Rev. J. E. Yarqah laid stress on the way in which festivals were celebrated. Most of the celebrations take place, not in the mosque, but in the home and become a 'neighbourhood' affair to which many are attracted by the color, music, dancing and by the simplicity of the occasion. The Rev. I. A. Amaning wrote: "Islam spreads by means of marriage. The saying: 'Be fruitful and multiply' is regarded as both a Divine blessing and a binding injunction by every Muslim and they take two or more wives in order to fulfill the command." The Rev. H. Y. Henry referred mainly to trade and commerce. "The merchant teaches Islam even while he is selling Coco Cola." The ministers also reported that Muslims of their acquaintance almost invariably thought of the doctrine of the Trinity (if they knew anything of it at all) as a teaching about three gods. Also Muslims sometimes add: "The implication of the Sonship of Jesus is that God has a wife and who is she?" The Rev. T. H. Sintim noted here: "The man who said this to me came to me in my garden and asked for a sucker of a special species of plantain, which bears only one bunch, known as *osakoo*. The sucker is generally called in Twi *br de ba* (son of plantain). I asked him 'who and where is the mother of the sucker?' " Muslims in Nigeria are quite loathe to think of suffering as in any way compatible with Jesus as Messiah.

However, the practical importance of theological questions, experience showed, should not be over-rated. The crucial issues were social, moral and ethical. Often it is said that Christianity holds an impossible ideal of relationships between men and women. The equal dignity of women and the indissolubility of marriage are not such as to be feasible for the average man. It was stressed that one, perhaps honorable, practical disability of the Church was its instinct to resist anything that is even remotely pagan, so shunning all that is indigenous. The Muslim proselytizer, by contrast, comes as one African to another and leaves his convert rooted in the old ways. It is true as some can remark of Islam: "Il est le grand frère du fétichisme" but the secret of indigenization seems to lie in its hands.

It was pointed out that when a young man from an animist background in the North ("not every white-gowned northerner is a Muslim" writes Mr. Essamuah) comes to find work in a large town in the south, so far as the Church in the south is concerned, he may as well not exist. Being uneducated and desperately poor that young northerner can go neither to Church nor to the Y.M.C.A. No Christian comes to him. He is nearly always befriended by Muslims and returns to his own people to spread his faith and does so far more effectively than the Christian missionaries, usually white men, who all the time have been sitting near his home village in the north, on a hill-top in a large house or driving about in a car. It is ironic that these white men have probably been sent to the north at the orders of African-run churches in the south who do nothing for the northerners on their own door-step.

Questions regarding their knowledge of the Qurʾān showed that a number of people at the course knew something of its nature and con-

tents. The position of woman in Islam, of the effects of Islam on politics and on the development of an emergent country were also discussed.

Education in Morocco. Moroccan authorities are keenly aware of the indispensability of education to the realization of progress. It appears that in the two years after independence (1955) half a million new pupils entered the primary schools of Morocco. But an educational program requires teachers, and for the lack of qualified teaching personnel the development of instruction in Arabic has been retarded. It has been estimated that three thousand new teachers are needed each year to keep pace with growing needs.

French teachers still serve usefully. In February, 1959, the French teachers employed in Morocco held a conference at Fez and discussed their part in the educational program. Consideration was given to the place of the religious element in instruction.

The Minister of National Education, Mr. M. A. Benjelloun, speaking at the closing session of the conference, said, "I am of the opinion that education is the best means of understanding between peoples as well as the best instrument of peace between nations. I shall do the utmost to develop complete and productive harmony between French teaching personnel and young Moroccan educators... Education in Morocco is currently undergoing an essential reconversion for the purpose of modernizing and pursuing the evolution already begun. There is much to reform and to adapt. There must not exist two competitive educational systems. Our country must have one system only — a synthesis of our traditional Arabic and Islamic teaching associated with that of nearby Europe.

"Our country," concluded the Minister, "is determined to take all that is desirable from the undeniably beautiful French civilization and to introduce it into our educational system, thus adding to our traditional Muslim civilization everything enriching that it can absorb."

Education for children in Morocco, however, is insufficient. Adults must be taught to read, and in the sphere of adult education Morocco is advancing. Apparently as early as 1950-1951 a campaign against illiteracy was opened in certain large cities, notably Rabat and Casablanca, a national literacy committee having been formed with this objective. The political situation, however, hindered progress. In 1956 the committee reorganized and renewed its efforts. Other educational, sport, feminist and social groups lent their support. A Moroccan League for Fundamental Education and Literacy was formed. The president of its Board of Directors is ʿAbd al-Salām bin ʿAbd al-Jalīl. The first campaign of the new League was opened in April, 1956. Ten thousand instructors taught 250,000 students, many of whom were women, for two months. A second campaign was launched a year later and others have followed.

In the literacy campaign of 1957 forty thousand were awarded certificates out of 137,000 enrolled, including 13,000 women. In the campaign of 1958 thirty-five thousand were awarded certificates out of 125,000 enrolled, including 25,000 women. At present there are 225 centers of study. A campaign is planned for April-June 1959.

A unique project in connection with this adult literacy program is the publication of a weekly newspaper designed particularly for the new literates. Its title is *Manār al-Maghrib* (Lighthouse of Morocco, Shāriᶜ Tamārah, Rabāṭ). It has eight pages measuring twelve inches by fifteen and three-quarters. The characters are large and are completely vowelled. Articles are short and varied, educational in value and touching on those aspects of daily life that are bound to hold the interest of new readers. Illustrations enhance its attractiveness. Its sale price is modest. As a vowelled newspaper it is probably unique in the Arab world. Undoubtedly this program will be the means of opening to thousands new vistas and affording new insights into the wonders and possibilities of the modern world.

Miscellanea The Heads of the various Christian bodies in Cairo met recently to concert the publication of a life of our Lord for Arab countries. The Rev. Father Jaques Jomier, O.P. was commissioned to write it. He has lately visited Jerusalem in connection with the work. He is wellknown for his publications on current Islamic topics and has regularly contributed to *Melanges de l'Institut Dominicain des Etudes Orientales aux Caire*, notably a research article on the observance of Ramadan in Cairo.

In response to the request brought before him by the Hongkong Muslim workers and officials of the local United Nations Association during his four-day stay in the crown colony on his way home from a state visit to Japan, Tengku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, offered to help resettle most of the estimated 3,000 to 4,000 Chinese Muslim refugeees in Hongkong by opening the gates of the Federation to them.

The offer made by the Malayan Prime Minister was hailed by Muslim and civic leaders as a "good gesture" of sympathy and friendship. Commenting on the Tengku's action, Mr. Ma Man Fei, chairman of the U.N.A. said, "This is the first step by any government to help Hongkong Chinese refugees. If countries of Christian, Buddhist, and other faiths followed Malaya's example, the refugee problem in Hongkong would have an easy solution."

Readers and friends of this Quarterly have been saddened to learn of the death, at his summer residence in Nova Scotia, on August 2nd last, of the Rev. Dr Arthur Jeffery, Professor of Arabic at Columbia University, New York, a very eminent Quranic scholar and for many years one of our most valued Associate Editors. His work on the *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾan* had become a classic in the field and the fruits of his life work on the Quranic text had been eagerly awaited. His loss is irreparable in the field of Islamic and oriental scholarship. Born in Melbourne in 1893, he received his M.A. and B.D. degrees from the University of his home town and took his Ph. D. and D. Litt. degrees at the University of Edinburgh. It is hoped in a later issue of the Quarterly to print a more extended summary of his life and achievement. His passing leaves a great gap in the whole area of thought and study with which his name had come to be so intimately and honourably associated.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

L'Arabe littéral et la language de Hammourabi. E. Dhorme. *Mélanges Louis Massignon II,* Paris. pp. 7-15. Compares ancient literary Arabic with Akkadian form.

Die arabischen papyri des Topkapi Sarayi-Museums in Istanbul. Albert Dietrich. *Der Islam,* Berlin. October, 1957. pp. 37-50.

Die arabischen urkunden des staatsarchivs von Dubrovnik (Ragusa). F. Bajraktarevic. *Der Islam,* Berlin. October, 1957. pp. 135-141. Describes a collection of 10,000 Turkish and 23 Arabic items of the 16th-18th centuries.

Baghdad to Istanbul. W. O. and M. H. Douglas. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. January, 1959, pp. 48-87. Illustrated account of a two months' trip.

Chant populaire et musique savante en proche orient arabe. Simon Jargy. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 107-122. Deals with various types of Arab popular music.

Contemporary collectors, XVIII. R. J. Hayes. *The Book Collector,* London. Autumn, 1958. pp. 253-264. Surveys the Chester Beatty Library, now in Dublin, which has an outstanding collection of Arabic, Armenian, Persian, Greek, and Indian MSS.

The dawn of history in Southern Palestine. Jean Perrot. *Archaeology,* New York. March, 1959. pp. 8-15. An illustrated account of diggings and finds (4th millenium B.C.) near Beersheba.

Études sur le verbe arabe. H. Fleisch. *Mélanges Louis Massignon II,* Paris. pp. 153-181.

Excavating the city which Alexander the Great's troops besieged for a month. Sir Mortimer Wheeler. *Illustrated London News,* London. February 7, 1959. pp. 232-235. Describes work and discoveries in the Mound of Charsada near Peshawar.

Heinrich Barth and the Western Sudan. R. Mansell Prothero. *The Geographical Journal,* London. September, 1958. pp. 326-339. The article commemorates the centenary of the principal explorations of Barth (1821-1865), one of the great African pioneers.

Islamic studies in India. A. A. A. Fyzee. *Mélanges Louis Massignon II,* Paris. pp. 183-214.

Ein jahrhundert morgenländisches studien an der Münchener Universität. F. Babinger. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden. August, 1958. pp. 241-269. Covers 1826-1926.

Stress continuity in Iranian. Eric P. Hamp. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Baltimore. April-June, 1958. pp. 115-118.

Studien zur Geographie des alten Mesopotamien. Margrete Falkner. *Archiv für Orientforschung,* Graz. 1957. pp. 1-37. An elaborate study with maps.

Le théâtre persan et ses origines. E. Cerulli. *Le Nouvelle Clio,* Brussels. 1955-1957. Indian influence is plainly shown.

Überblick über den vor- und fruh-islamischen türkischen versbau. T. Gandjei. *Der Islam,* Berlin. October, 1957. pp. 142-156.

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II. ARABIA

L'Arabie séoudite à l'heure du choix. François Laurent. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 89-100. The future of Saudi Arabia may be linked with that of Lebanon despite the efforts of the former to be neutral.

Problèmes yéménites. Robert Surieu. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 43-53. The Yemen needs help and advice for various problems which have been caused by the rapid modernization of the country.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Arab-Byzantine relations under the Umayyad caliphate. H. A. R. Gibb. *Dumbarton Oak Papers,* Cambridge. 1958. No. 12. pp. 219-233. In spite of much warfare, literary evidence shows that trade was carried on during the period between Syria, Egypt, and Byzantium.

Byzance und die herrschaftszeichen des Abendlandes. J. Deér. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* München. 1957, part 2. pp. 405-436.

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The city that Joshua destroyed. Yigael Yadin. *The Illustrated London News,* London. March 21, 1959. pp. 479-481. A report of finds made during 1958 in the temple area of Hazor. Illustrated. Plans.

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L'idéologie sociale de la révolution égyptienne. Francis Bertier. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 2. pp. 49-72. Discusses ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's program and the causes of the revolution of 1952.

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The rising of Ishaq Khan in South Turkestan. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1958, part 3. pp. 253-263. An abridgement of an historical article by N. A. Khafine, which appeared in 1955, and covers the rebellion of Ishaq Khan against Abdurrahman, the ruler of Afghanistan.

IV. QUR'ĀN TRADITION. THEOLOGY.

AL-ĪLĀF, ou les rapports économico-diplomatiques de la Mecque pré-islamique. M. Hamidullah. *Mélanges Louis Massignon II,* Paris. pp. 293-311.

DIE MUBĀHALA IN TRADITION AND LITURGIE. R. Strothmann. *Der Islam,* Berlin. October, 1957. pp. 5-29. A thoroughly documented historical and exegetical study.

LE TASAWWUF ET L'ÉCOLE ASCÉTIQUE MAROCAINE DES XIe, XIIe, ET XIIIe SIÈCLES DE L'ÈRE CHRÉTIENNE. Adolphe Faure. *Mélanges Louis Massignon,* Paris. pp. 119-131. Abū Yaᶜqūb Yūsuf al-Tādīlī, who died in 1229, wrote this still unpublished work on the lives of 276 saints popular among the Berbers.

DIE WUNDER DER DERWISCHE. H. J. Kissling. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* Wiesbaden. August, 1958. pp. 318-361. A collection of texts on the psychological experiences of dervishes.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

DEVELOPMENT IN KUWAIT. E. A. V. de Candole. *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. January, 1959. pp. 27-38. Under the enlightened rule of H. H. Shaikh ᶜAbdulla al-Salim Al-Ṣabāh, amazing progress is being made in town planning, adequate water supply, education, free medical service as well as trade and industry.

ECONOMIC TRENDS: ALGERIA, SAHARA, etc. Guy Devernois. *Civilisations,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 388-410. A statistical article.

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GREEK OR TURK, BUT NOT YET CYPRIOTE. Seth S. King. *New York Times Magazine,* New York. June 7, 1959. pp. 24: 26-30. Even though they may be far apart in their thinking, the Cypriotes will have to practice self-government when the British leave the island in 1960.

L'IRAK DEVANT LA RÉFORME AGRAIRE. Pierre Rossi. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 81-93. The author discusses some published studies on the subject and he believes that agriculture is basic to Iraq's economy.

LA NATION KURDE EN FACE DES MOVEMENTS ARABES. Pierre Rondot. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 55-69. Since recent liberal measures have helped the Kurds in Baghdad and Teheran, perhaps they may begin to be a more important element in the Middle East.

RAMADAN. James Morris. *The New York Times Magazine,* New York. March 8, 1959. pp. 42-44: 47-50. A description of this important season and its effects upon the Muslims.

SCHULREFORMEN IN MZAB. Karl Suter. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leyden. 1958. pp. 235-244.

Das tunisische personenstandsgesetz. Eric Pritsch. *Die Welt des Islams,* Leyden. 1958. pp. 188-205.

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VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Baghdad et Téhéran au lendemain du coup d'état irakien. André Ribaud. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 25-28. The Iraqi coup shook Iran and still offers a great challenge to the Shah and his Government.

Le conflit arabo-israélien peut-il s'apaiser? P. Rondot. *Études,* Paris. Mars, 1959. pp. 379-387. The author suggests that if Israel definitely cut herself off from the West she might gain tolerance from her neighbors.

Crisis in Kuwait. James P. O'Donnell. *The Saturday Evening Post,* Philadelphia. March 7, 1959. pp. 31 : 81-85. An account of the fabulous changes ten years of oil bonanzas and a generous ruler have caused.

Égypte et Inde : deux conceptions du neutralisme. Régis Agostini. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 2. Egypt's neutrality is self-interest; India's a matter of principle.

Jerusalem. John Scofield and Brian Brake. *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. April, 1959. pp. 492-531. Stresses the pity of a divided city which contains so much that is sacred to Christians, Muslims and Jews.

The lesson of Irak. William R. Polk. *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston. December, 1958. pp. 49-54. The author believes that the United States should accept the new rulers of Iraq and break with Jordan as the best way to prevent war.

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Perspective irakiennes. François Laurent. *Orient,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 17-24. Notes the differences between the Iraki and the Egyptian revolutions.

Storm clouds over the Horn of Africa. Bernard Braine. *International Affairs,* London. October, 1958. pp. 435-443. Considers conditions in Somalia where the British Government should act vigorously and speedily to stem anti-Western sentiment.