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حَسْبُنَا اللهُ

GOD OUR SUFFICIENCY

A half-century of existence is enough to make this journal feel venerable amid the numerous other periodicals that have seen the light in the fairly recent past and have set themselves to deal with problems Islamic, Middle Eastern and Asian. Founded by the late Dr Samuel M. Zwemer in the wake of the great Edinburgh Conference of 1910 which marked the first notable landmark in 20th century ecumenical growth into mission and unity, *The Muslim World* celebrates its jubilee in a mood of modest satisfaction at its ventures and of sober realism about its frailty when measured by its aims. It has known only three editors during that half-century, Dr. Edwin E. Calverley spanning all three periods in his long and honored association with Samuel Zwemer and his continued co-editorship since 1952 when he retired from the post of Professor of Arabic at the Hartford Seminary Foundation. It was through his close personal links with both the Quarterly and the Foundation that they were brought together in 1947. The debts of the journal to the house of learning at Hartford, here most gratefully acknowledged, have been very great.

There is little need to *argue* the fittingness of the Quranic (and Biblical) phrase heading these lines to our situation after fifty years. The tensions and perplexities of inter-religion in the contemporary world are many and exacting. It is no small task to propose, as we do, a forum of Islamic study and of Christian interpretation among Muslims. The two obviously go together, though not all are prepared to admit the fact. There are those whose 'mission' makes them impatient of the pains and irresolution of scholarship: there are

the scholars who abjure any notion of ministry to the doctrines and peoples of one faith out of the dimensions of commitment to another. This journal, however, lives in the assurance that it is no right relationship to Islam to treat it merely as an entity for dissection and analysis and no part of Christianity to conceive of scholarship in an abeyance of communication. There is, of course, no pre-suppositionless study. And of all the settings out of which a man might address himself to the endlessly fascinating vistas of Muslim humanity and of Islamic heritage, none is more appropriate or more clue-yielding or more searching than the Christian. To be involved, however feebly and imperfectly, in the large and unceasing obligations of Christian theology and ministry vis-à-vis the most widespread other system of inheritance from Abraham, in Arab, Asian, African form, is to be at once humbled and exalted. There may be occasions in Editorials of this jubilee year, to reflect on other aspects of this vocation and its fulfilment.

Meanwhile, let us return to the Quranic affirmation of the adequacy of God. 'Sufficiency' seems, somehow, a rather awkward and archaic word, but there is no other in English that quite gives the sense of *Ḥasbunā Allāh.* We find it in Surah iii.173 on the lips of those who, in adversity and ridicule, affirmed their confidence in God. This may be contrasted with the refusal of the polytheists to step out into new faith, saying: "We find what our fathers found enough for them enough for us." That lack of trust is precisely what has been abandoned for reliance in the contrasted *Islām.* "Say: My sufficiency is God; the trustful put their trust in Him." (Surah xxxix.38; cf. lxv.3). The dependability of God answers to our dependence: His trustworthiness vindicates our trust. In Him is that after which human wistfulness yearns, that in which human interrogatives are satisfied.

Provided of course the inclusive interrogative is satisfied that has to do with Him Who must answer all others. God and trust in Him cannot be the answer of answers, without

His nature, and His relationships manward, being the question of questions. This is implicit in the very saying: "God is our sufficiency." If we are to resolve all uncertainties in the certainty of God, then that certainty is the most crucial thing. It cannot epitomise our salvation without also being the crux of our situation. If God is the one great circumstance in Whom and by Whom all other circumstances are met, then the knowledge of Him is not only perfect freedom when found but perfect crisis until found. Is it not this which is in mind in disciple Philip's urgent plea: "Lord, show us the Father and it sufficeth us."? If only we are satisfyingly reassured about God that will be enough for us. It might be fair to add that the word "Father" here crystallises just that quality of mingled wistfulness and urgency that underlies the question. Or in other words, never was so existential a question so expressively distilled into a single word. If God is truly "Our Father" the answer of answers satisfies. But shall we so know Him other than by the Son?

It is here, as so often, that a Quranic saying takes us beyond itself right into the heart of a Christian theme. Philip's question belongs quite evidently with the Arabic *Ḥasbunā*. What lies behind it and what answer did it receive? Is it not clear that it takes God to reveal God? Is not the Christian meaning of the Incarnation necessary to the true import of the Muslim phrase? Only God is enough for us. The soul of men's longing is for a knowledge of God in a shape we can understand, in a language where we are at home. A God *in absentia* is no sufficiency. But His revelation of Himself must be authentically His own: it must be He. For otherwise we are given some instrument, some prophet, some informant, some vehicle of news of Him that is other than He. If this is the sum of revelation, then what is offered to suffice us is not God. Here is the paradox. If *God* is our sufficiency we can be satisfied in none else: this is the human necessity. But if likewise He *is* our sufficiency, then His self-giving to us is

not withheld: this is the Divine grace. They meet together in the Word made flesh whose glory we behold.

The Christian, then, has dimensions of Divine adequacy, its costliness in God and its completeness for us, of which he is given both the measure and the assurance in the Gospel. When the famous painter Millet was at work on his well-known *The Angelus* one of his friends paid a visit to his work-room. Seeing the picture on the easel, he remarked with spontaneous admiration and recognition: "Why! it is the angelus!" Contented, the artist replied: "Then you can hear the bells.?" The situation is not unlike when the Christian contemplates Bethlehem and stands within earshot of the words from the Cross. It is there that recognition dawns. It is there that the soul in a wonder of discovery and assurance confesses: "Here is omnipotence." It is when the mind stands back in awed awareness of a Divine condescension, stooping to our low estate and walking as Man among men, that we recognise the adequacy of God. It is in the manger that we hear the bells of Heaven, in the Passion that we listen to the heart of God.

To have in the earthly scene these eternal warrants for the accessible reality of God is to know with sincerity and unmistakeably the sufficiency of God. For it is proved in deepest relation to that for which and within which the sufficiency is meant—this human situation in its grandeur and its horror, in its yearning after a satisfaction that has taken the full measure of its despair and the authentic reach of its hope. The Christian's faith as to God in Christ is faith in One Who in being Divinely Himself is perfectly ours. With this measure of His sufficiency, must we not relate ourselves to all men in sustained compassion for their fellow humanity and dedicated interpretation of their common wealth in Him?

THE RISE OF THE KARĀMIYYAH IN KHURASAN

I

The historian who ranges over eastern Islam in the period between the 9th and 11th centuries not infrequently comes across the Karāmiyyah sect. It was particularly strong in Khurasan, and in the early years of the 11th century reached the zenith of its fortunes in Nishapur. Although Barthold described the sect as "pietistic," in practice it was very activist and distinguished for its persecuting zeal; and in Nishapur at least it caused considerable social and political commotion. The sources for its history are all orthodox Sunnī ones and regard the Karāmī theological doctrines as crudely literalist. But even allowing for this bias, the sect and its leaders emerge as an assertive and, when occasion allowed, a violent force.

II

The founder was Abū ᶜAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Karām al-Sagazī al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 255/869), who was born in Sīstān of Arab descent, but studied and spent much of his time in Nishapur. He was an ascetic and hell-fire preacher, and his opponents alleged that he held the doctrine of anthropomorphism (*tajsīm, tashbīh*) to an extreme degree, His tenets were set forth in a treatise, "The Punishment of the Grave," *ᶜAdhāb al-qabr,* which is no longer extant but which in its day achieved considerable currency in Islam.[1] He began spreading his ideas in his native province of Sīstān, but was expelled by the local governor as an innovator in religion (*mubtadiᶜ*) who was stirring up and seducing considerable numbers of the common people. He then preached his ideas in Ghūr, Gharchistān and the rural areas of Khurasan, denouncing both Sunnīs and Shīᶜahs, and appealing especially to the peasants and riff-raff (*aghtām*) of those regions. Finally, he arrived in Nishapur with a group of adherents from Gharchistān, where he had just been working, comprising weavers and others from depressed classes. Hence it was probably the social and political aspects as much as the theo-

[1] See Margoliouth's Article "Karrāmiyya" in *EI*; Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al Shāfiᶜiyyat al-kubrā,* Cairo, II, 53-4, giving a biography of Muḥammad ibn Karām based on Ḥākim al-Bayyiᶜ's history of the *ᶜulamāᵓ* of Nishapur (see below, n. 22); and the entry in Samᶜānī, *Ansāb,* GMS facs., London 1912, ff. 476b-477a, which is especially important. Saᶜīd Nafīsī has assembled uncritically materials on the sect in the notes to his edition of Baihaqī's *Tārīkh-i Masᶜūdī,* Teheran 1319-32, II, 915-68. On the vocalisation of the name "K.rām," cf. *ibid.,* II, 953; although Samᶜānī, f. 476b, connects it with *karrām* "vine-tender," "karām" or "Kirām" seem more likely. The paronomasia of this name and the adjective "noble" (pl.), *kirām,* in Abū-l-Fatḥ Bustī's lines (see below, 4,) was noted as far back as 1858 by J. Reynolds in his translation of Jurbādhqānī's version of the *Yamīnī,* 472. On the sect's theological beliefs, see Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bain al-firaq,* Cairo 1948, 130-7. tr. A. Halkin. Tel-Aviv 1935, 18-30; Al-Sharastānī, *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal,* ed. Cureton, London 1846, 20, 79-85, tr. Haarbrücker, Halle 1850-1, I, 29-30, 119-27; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology etc.,* New York 1903, 170 ff.: A. S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology,* London 1947, index.

logical ones of Muḥammad ibn Karām's activities which attracted the wrath of Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir, governor of Khurasan 248-59/862-73, who imprisoned him for eight years. [2] At this time, the countryside of Persia and the east was highly disturbed by politico-religious sectaries, variously connected with extreme Shīᶜism, the deification or reincarnation of Abū Muslim, Iranian national feeling and neo-Mazdakite or neo-Zoroastrian currents. The leader of the Khurrāmdīniyyah, Bābek, had been captured and executed some twenty years previously in 223/838, but his followers persisted as a revolutionary element in several parts of Persia for at least a century. Many of these *Muḥammirah* were caught up in the Ismāᶜīlī propaganda activities of the 10th century, and it was not fortuitous that regions of north-eastern Persia like the Caspian highlands and Qūhistān became strongholds of the Bāṭiniyyah. [3] With this background in mind, it was not surprising that the Arab ruling class in Khurasan should have been suspicious of any new movement.

The sources record that it was Muḥammad ibn Karām's ascetic and pious life which attracted people and which preserved him from the ultimate penalty for his errors. It was never difficult in Islam for such a religious figure to gather a popular following, and it is clear that Muḥammad ibn Karām's in Khurasan was largely from the poorer classes. But the fact that he claimed to stand apart from the mainstream of orthodox Sunnī and Shīᶜah Islam may also be significant. The literalism of his doctrines ranges him with that attitude of mind and faith which in the 9th and 10th centuries hardened into the Ḥanbalī and Ẓāhirī schools. It is therefore tempting to see in the Karāmiyyah a Khurasanian counterpart to these attitudes popular in Iraq, Syria and the west. Further study may indeed reveal similarities of outlook and doctrine; but if these existed, they did not preserve Muḥammad ibn Karām in his own day, and his sect in subsequent centuries, from the sustained attacks of Sunnī theologians of all views, whether Ḥanafīs, Shāfiᶜīs or conservative literalists. It was a local traditionist and pupil of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who drove him out of Herat when he began preaching there; and the Ẓāhirī Ibn Ḥazm firmly denounced the sect. [4] The appeal of the Karāmiyyah in the east may well have lain in their comparative detachment from the Islamic religious "establishment," which to the Iranian masses was merely the religious aspect of the Arab ruling class and the Iranian landed and official classes who had made common cause with it. It may also be noted that the Karāmiyyah appear not only as a theological sect but also as a legal school, and could thus offer their adherents a full way of life. [5]

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[2] Subkī, *loc. cit.*; Baghdādī, 130-1, tr., 18-9; Shahrastānī, 20, tr., I, 29-30; Maqdisī, ed. de Goeje, 37-8, 40-1; Samᶜānī, f. 477a.

[3] cf. G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens,* Paris 1938, 229-80; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit,* Wiesbaden 1952, 200-4.

[4] Subkī, II, 53; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-faṣl fi-l-milal wa-l-niḥal,* Cairo 1320, 188-90.

[5] Later writers violently attacked some of Muḥammad ibn Karām's legal pre-

Despite official disapproval, the sect became firmly established in Nishapur from an early date. At the same time, it spread to other parts of the Islamic world. In the 10th century there were Karāmī groups and *khānqāhs* in Baghdad, Jerusalem and in Fusṭāṭ, where they even had their own quarter.[6] This indicates that Karāmī doctrines were now finding a sympathetic reception outside the urban lower classes and peasantry of Khurasan. The seeds were planted by Muḥammad ibn Karām's own residence and teaching in Syria and Jerusalem, where he ended his days, and other Karāmī divines studied and worked in the west as far as the Hijaz and the Yemen.[7] But the continuance of the sect here long after his death may also have been helped by the commercial connections of these cities of the west with Khurasan and the movements of merchants between them. If the converts in these cities included merchants and craftsmen — and it is hard to see how such Karāmī groups could have arisen and been maintained otherwise — then the sect and its beliefs must have had attractions for classes other than the lowest ones; and it may not be irrelevant to recall the wide appeal of the radical Ismāʿīlī movement, also at variance with strict orthodoxy, among the urban artisans and craftsmen.

But Khurasan remained the nucleus of the sect, with numerous adherents in the mountainous regions along the upper Oxus, where Muḥammad ibn Karām had first preached; in the 10th century their *khānqāhs* were to be found in Gūzgān, Khuttal and Ferghāna, as well as at Merv and Samarqand.[8] In the latter half of this century, the Karāmiyyah in Nishapur were led by Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq ibn Maḥmashādh (d. 383/993), famed for his preaching and evangelistic fervour; he is said to have converted over 5000 People of the Book and Zoroastrians in Nishapur. In 370/980-1 the heresiologist ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī disputed before the Sāmānid general Abūl-Ḥasan Sīmjūrī

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scriptions; cf. Saʿīd Nafīsī, op. cit., II, 936-43, where a Shīʿah divine is quoted as accusing Muḥammad ibn Karām of such things as laxness over ritual uncleanness before the *Ṣalāt*. Nevertheless, it is likely that theological prejudice in these writers made them exaggerrate the differences between the Karāmiyyah and the other legal and theological schools. In the course of his travels, the geographer Maqdisī had many contacts with the Karāmiyya, and was considerably exercised on how they should be considered; but he came down firmly on placing them within the bounds of orthodoxy. He refuted in advance criticisms of this eclecticism: "Someone might say, 'Did you not assert that there were no innovators (*mubtadiʿ*) in Biyār [in Qūmis, south of the Caspian], and then say that there were Karāmiyyah there?'. The answer is that the Karāmiyyah are an ascetic and godly folk, and they derive ultimately from Abū Ḥanīfa. Now everyone who derives from Abū Ḥanīfa or Mālik or Al-Shāfiʿī or the great traditionists, who holds no extremist views, is not excessive in his love for Muʿāwiya and does not anthropomorphise God or ascribe the attributes of created beings to Him, no such person can be considered an innovator." (365).

[6] Maqdisī, 179, 182, 202, cf. 238; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 393.

[7] e.g. a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Karām, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn Maḥmashādh (316-88/928-98) journeyed this far in his study of tradition (Subkī, II, 167).

[8] Maqdisī, 323.

with the Karāmī divine Ibrāhīm ibn Muhājir and refuted, so he says, some of his abysmal errors. [9]

From this period there emerges the emphasis of the Karāmiyyah on the propagation of their sectarian beliefs and on polemical and educational activity; it long remained one of their salient characteristics. [10] This missionary work and the ascetic lives of the Karāmī leaders appealed to the masses, and already in the 10th century the Karāmiyyah had in Nishapur a large popular following who were a turbulent element there, at odds with the orthodox Sunnīs and the Shīᶜahs. Al-Maqdisī relates how the factional strife in Nishapur between the western side of the city and the other side had gradually moved from a local to a religious basis, and had become in his time (c. 985) a Shīᶜah-Karāmī struggle. Similarly, the main *ᶜaṣabiyyah* in Herat was between the Karāmiyyah and the ᶜAmaliyyah (these last presumably received their name from their opposition to the Karāmī assertion that faith, *īmān,* was summed up entirely in utterance of the *Shahādah*). [11]

III

Abū Yaᶜqūb's son, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, succeeded on his father's death to leadership of the sect in Nishapur. The piety and asceticism of Abū Yaᶜqūb had made a deep impression on the Amīr Sebüktigin, founder of the Ghaznevid dynasty, when he was a Sāmānid commander in Khurasan, and had actually converted him to the sect's beliefs. Consequently his secretary and panegyrist Abū-l-Fatḥ Bustī penned the lines:

> "The only true legal system (*fiqh*) is Abū Ḥanīfa's, just as the only true religious system (*dīn*) is that of Muḥammad ibn Karām; Those who, as I observe, disbelieve in Muḥammad ibn Karām's system, are a vile lot indeed (*ghair kirām*)." [12]

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[9] Samᶜānī, f. 477a; Baghdādī, 133-4, 137, tr., 23, 29-30.

[10] It was suggested by J. Ribera, "Origen del colegio Nidami de Bagdad." *Disertaciones y opúsculos,* Madrid 1928, I, 379-82 (originally in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera,* Saragossa 1904, 3-17), that the *khānqāhs* and madrasas of the Karāmiyyah (the latter are mentioned specifically in the 11th century; see below, 8-10) were institutions for education and disputation; and that their existence presented a challenge to the orthodox in Nishapur and stimulated the growth of the orthodox madrasa movement there. His sole support for this is the biography of the scholar Abū Bakr ibn Fūrak Isfahānī in Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, II, 673-4. It is said here that the people of Nishapur built a house and madrasa for him to teach in; and that he was a great opponent of the Karāmiyyah and disputed with them at Ghazna (see also below, 7). To deduce a connection from this evidence alone is inadmissible. Nor need we seek with Ribera, *op. cit.,* I, 381-2, an origin for the Karāmī madrasa in the teaching methods of the Nestorian monasteries of the east. The use of rational and philosophical arguments in the teaching of theology and law grew naturally from Islamic *kalām* itself, even if the ultimate stimulus was certainly Greek.

[11] Maqdisī, 336.

[12] *Tārīkh-i Sīstān,* ed. M. S. Behār, Tehran 1314, 339; ᶜUtbī, *Al-Taᵓrīkh al-Yamīnī,* with commentary by Shaikh Manīnī, Cairo 1286, II, 310, Jurbādhqānī's version, ed. ᶜAlī Qavīm, Teheran 1334, 254.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna inherited his father's sympathetic attitude to the Karāmiyyah. For his part, Abū Bakr Muḥammad used this encouragement to forward his personal plans and to secure a temporal ascendancy in his home city. Already in 398/1006 when the Ilig Khan Naṣr's Qarakhānids invaded Khurasan and occupied Nishapur they feared the strength of Abū Bakr Muḥammad's party so much that they carried him off. He succeeded in escaping when the Sultan's army approached and became even more favored in the latter's sight. [13]

His prestige was such that at some time after the Qarakhānid invasion the Sultan appointed him to the *riyāsah* of Nishapur. [14] The appointment of a divine to this key office was unusual. The position of *raʾīs* or *zaʿīm* was especially important in Khurasan at this time, when the dynasties controlling the province like the Sāmānids and Ghaznevids normally had their courts and administrative organs outside Khurasan itself. Accordingly, they were compelled to leave the province with a considerable amount of local autonomy; the *ʿamīd* or civil governor, with a *dīwān* and staff of officials in Nishapur, was responsible for the direction of the fiscal system, whilst the military commander of Khurasan had an army to defend the frontiers and to secure internal tranquillity. Within the cities, the *raʾīs* was of prime importance. The central administration nominated him, and installed him with an official outfit or robe of honour, *ṭailasān* and *durrāʿah,* a horse and the title of "Khwāje-yi buzurg." He then became the channel between sovereign and subject, and was responsible to the former for the internal security of his city or town. When the sovereign visited the city, he marked out his *raʾīs* from the rest of the notables by special honours. The *raʾīs* was expected to organise official festivities for the reception of distinguished visitors. If he was specially trusted by the sovereign, he might be entrusted with a diplomatic mission. [15] But the *raʾīs* had also to be a man with a backing of per-

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[13] ʿUtbī, II, 77, 310-11, Jurbādhqānī, 182, 254. Concerning Maḥmūd's attitude towards the Karāmiyyah, there is an anecdote which appears in Saif al-Dīn Faḍlī's *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ,* India Office Persian Ms. no. 1569, ff. 111b-112a and in other sources, including ʿAufī's (facs. edn. of 15 chs. of Pt. I by Muḥammad Ramazānī, Teheran 1335, 392) *Jawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt.* In it Maḥmūd is their admirer, since they include "pious and wonder-working people" (*mardom-i parsā u ṣāḥib-karāmāt*), and his courtier Ḥasanek (see below, 8) their enemy, as being "a gang of tricksters and charlatans" (*jumle-yi muzawwar u ṭarrār*). Then the Sultan becomes their enemy when the "miracle" of a Karāmī anchorite is exposed as fraudulent. Since the story is set in the time when Abū ʿAlī Sīmjūrī was powerful in Khurasan, and depends for its point on this fact, we have here an anachronism and the anecdote must be unhistorical: Abū ʿAlī died in 387-997 and Ḥasanek is described as still a young man when he was appointed Vizier in 415/1024 (Samʿānī, f. 323b; *Āthār al-wuzarāʾ,* f. 113b). It reflects rather the state of affairs in the latter half of Maḥmūd's reign when he had clamped down on the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan.

[14] ʿUtbī, II, 311, Jurbādhqānī, 254.

[15] Baihaqī, *Tārīkh-i Masʿūdī,* ed. Ghanī and Feyyāz, Teheran 1324, 23, 208-9, 247, 610. For the term *zaʿīm,* cf. *ibid.,* 290, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Tornberg, IX, 296.

sonal wealth and status. Leadership in the organisation of public works and charities was expected of him. He had to patronise the *ʿulamāʾ* and literary men and keep open house for travellers and the needy. So his personal means had to be substantial.[16] Moreover, he had to be on good terms with the rest of the notables, for his leadership of them was more by persuasion and advice than by coercive power. It was therefore natural that the *raʾīs* should be chosen from among the class of *aʿyān,* the *haute bourgeoisie* of the city. From the middle of the 10th century the office in Nishapur had been held almost continously by members of the Mīkālī family. The Mīkālīs had a long tradition of service with the Ṭāhirids, ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, Ṣaffārids and Sāmānids, and achieved high favour with the Ghaznevids. Their extensive private wealth, derived from estates and family *auqāf* and also from trading and manufacturing interests, made them ideally suitable for supporting the dignity of the *riyāsah.*[17]

When Abū Bakr Muḥammad took over this office he added temporal power to the religious authority he had wielded as head of the Karāmiyyah. He now constituted himself the Sultan's aide in ferreting out Ismāʿīlī sympathisers in Khurasan. From Sebüktigin onwards, the Ghaznevid Sultans were implacably opposed to the religious and social radicalism of the Ismāʿīlīs. The threat from them to the *status quo* in Khurasan was probably exaggerated, and the Ghaznevids were in no direct danger from the political activity of the Fāṭimids. But the Sultans rightly felt that conservatism in religion was the best support for an autocratic state. Furthermore, Maḥmūd was anxious for prestige reasons to stress his support for orthodoxy and the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate in Baghdad. Because of these considerations, the straightforward, literalist theology of the Karāmiyyah, their obvious piety and their zeal against religious dissent, all appealed to the Sultan.

Under pretext of harrying Bāṭinī heretics, Abū Bakr Muḥammad and his followers set up a reign of terror in Nishapur, so that "people saw that his saliva was deadly poison and his delation meant ruin." The innocent and the guilty suffered indiscriminately; a favorite technique of his was to extort "hush money" as the price of silence about alleged heretical proclivities.[18] He played a leading part in the events leading up to the trial and execution in 403/1012-3 of an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* Al-Tāhertī. Al-Tāhertī came peacefully and openly on the traditional

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[16] Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāset-nāme,* ed. Qazvīnī and Chahārdehī, Teheran 1334, ch. IV, 26; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion,* London 1928, 234, and B. Zahoder, "Selçuklu devletinin kuruluşu sirasinda Horasan," tr. İ Kaynak, *Belleten,* XIX, 1955, 510.

[17] Saʿīd Nafīsī, *op. cit.,* III, 969-1009, has assembled much material on this important family; I hope myself to publish the results of research into the great families of officials and *ʿulamāʾ* in Sāmānid and Ghaznevid Khurasan.

[18] ʿUtbī, II, 311-12, Jurbādhqānī, 254. Maḥmūd himself used this ugly practice of extorting money from citizens in return for a certificate attesting to sound belief; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 283 (the first page of this numbering in Tornberg's edn.).

mount of a religious figure, a splendid mule with an irridescent coat, bearing a message to Maḥmūd from the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim. When he reached Herat, he was arrested and sent back to Nishapur. Abū Bakr Muḥammad interrogated him there, found some Ismāᶜlī books in his baggage and pronounced his doctrines false. He was then sent on to Ghazna and eventually executed.[19] The Karāmiyyah harried the Ashᶜarī scholar Ibn Fūrak, who had come to teach in Nishapur and was their opponent. They accused him of heresy and had him summoned before the Sultan at Ghazna. When Ibn Fūrak vindicated his orthodoxy, it was allegedly the Karāmiyyah who had him poisoned on the way back home in 406/1015-6. Abū Bakr Muḥammad's pursuit of anything smacking of unorthodoxy also brought him up against the Ṣūfī community of Nishapur, and in particular, against the famous Shaikh Abū Saᶜīd ibn Abī-l-Khair Maihanī.[20]

He was now at the peak of his power. He continued to parade hypocritically in the woollen cloak of an ascetic, but he had a numerous and well-disciplined following to attend him and execute his commands, headed by a personal adjutant (*ḥājib*).[21] In his efforts against the Bāṭiniyyah and Ṣūfīs, he had the support of the most prominent of the orthodox *ᶜulamāᵓ*, led by the Qāḍī Abū-l-ᶜAlāᵓ Ṣāᶜid ibn Muḥammad Ustuvāᵓī (343-431/954-1040). The Qāḍī was head of the Ḥanafīs in Nishapur and a scholar of international reputation. Maḥmūd had appointed him tutor to the young princes Masᶜūd and Muḥammad, and he had subsequently flourished under the patronage of the Sultan's brother, the Amīr Abū-l-Muẓaffar Naṣr, governor of Khurasan.[22] It now became obvious that two strong-minded personalities like the Qāḍī and Abū Bakr Muḥammad could not share the power in Nishapur, and events moved towards a breach. Although the struggle was to be fought out on the theological plane, the real question at issue was over temporal authority in the city.

After returning from his pilgrimage of 402/1011-12, the Qāḍī Ṣāᶜid came to Ghazna to deliver a message from the Caliph. In a theological disputation at court, the Qāḍī brought up the heterodox views held by the Karāmiyyah, their anthropomorphism and their consequent attribution to God of what did not befit Him. When summoned to reply, Abū Bakr Muḥammad denied holding such beliefs and thus saved his

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19 ᶜUtbī, II, 237-50, Jurbādhqānī, 237-9; Gardīzī, *Zain al-akhbār*, ed. M. Nazim, Berlin 1928, 71; Samᶜānī, f. 102b; Subkī, IV, 16, quoting the lost history of Herat by Qāḍī Abū Naṣr Fāmī.

20 Subkī, III, 52-4; Muḥammad ibn al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-Tauḥīd fī maqāmāt al-Shaikh Abī Saᶜīd*, ed. V. A. Zhukovsky, St. Petersburg 1899, 84 ff., cf. 119, 163.

21 ᶜUtbī, II, 311, Jurbādhqānī, 254; *Asrār al-Tauḥīd*, 89.

22 Baihaqī, 38, 198; ᶜUtbī, II 330-1, Jurbādhqānī, 260. See also on the Qāḍī Ṣāᶜid, Samᶜānī, ff. 31a-b. There is an entry on him in ᶜAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī's continuation of Ḥākim al-Bayyiᶜ's history of the *ᶜulamāᵓ* of Nishapur, *al-Siyāq li-taᵓrīkh Nīshābūr*, in Al-Sarīfīnī's epitome, Istanbul Arabic Ms. Köprülü 1152, ff. 74a-b (cf. H. Ritter, "Philologika XIII," *Oriens*, III, 1950, 72-6).

skin, but Maḥmūd ordered local governors and *ruʾasāʾ* in Khurasan to investigate members of the sect and to purge the madrasas and minbars of them. These too had to renounce their beliefs to save themselves. Both religious leaders were now free to go about their business. But Abū Bakr Muḥammad was thirsting for revenge, and the next stage was that he placed a formal deposition before the Sultan charging the Qāḍī with Muᶜtazilite views, and assembled a group of his own partisans to testify at court. Maḥmūd appointed the Chief Qāḍī of Ghazna, Abū Muḥammad Nāṣiḥī, to preside over a commission of enquiry of scholars and divines. At this, the Karāmī leader tried to retract, protesting that the accusations of heterodoxy he and the Qāḍī had thrown at each other had been made purely out of rancour, and that neither was really true. But tension again grew when he brought up his group of witnesses. Eventually the Amīr Abū-l-Muẓaffar Naṣr testified to his brother about the Qāḍī's pure Ḥanafī faith, and the Sultan was then convinced that the Qāḍī was too noble a man to have become tainted with Muᶜtazilism. He was thus cleared, but prudently retired to a life of teaching and scholarship in Nishapur, letting his two sons deputise in his judicial office.

Meanwhile, complaints of Abū Bakr Muḥammad's oppression and abuse of his position as *raʾīs* in Nishapur were coming in to Ghazna. For a time, the Sultan forbore to move, but in the end yielded to the pressure of criticism. The experiment of a divine as *raʾīs* was now renounced, and Maḥmūd once more appointed a layman from the Mīkālī family, Abū ᶜAlī Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, known by the hypochoristic "Ḥasanek." Coming from a collateral branch of the family which had espoused the Ghaznevid cause at an early date, Ḥasanek had been in Maḥmūd's court service since his youth and had become marked out for favour. He was born rich, and when he was later executed by Sultan Masᶜūd in 422/1031, he left extensive property in Nishapur and its environs. The *riyāsah* now returned to that class which by social position and tradition was best qualified to hold it. Ḥasanek took stern measures against the Karāmiyyah in Nishapur, with a severity, according to ᶜUtbī, surpassing that of Ziyād ibn Abīhi. The most tyrannical were jailed in fortresses; Abū Bakr Muḥammad's spoliations were recovered, and he was enjoined to fade away into a life of seclusion and contemplation. Ḥasanek then warned other members of the religious classes, especially the ᶜAlīds, that their favoured position and the respect they were accorded depended wholly on their obedience to the secular power. They for their part agreed, recognising that the Sultan was the Shadow of God on Earth, and that obedience and extreme circumspection (*al-mail ilā-l-ghulūw li-l-iqtiṣād*) should henceforth be their watchword. [23]

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[23] ᶜUtbī, II, 311-25, Jurbādhqānī, 254-8; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 289-90. For Ḥasanek and his ultimate fate, cf. Baihaqī, 178-89 (= Elliot and Dowson,

This was the end of the Karāmī bid for power in Nishapur, and so favourable an opportunity never presented itself again. The Sultan had been quite prepared to encourage the Karāmiyyah when he could use them in purging Khurasan of heretics, but had restrained them when they had attempted to establish a theocracy of their own in Nishapur which would have conflicted with the Erastian basis of the Ghaznevid state. Yet despite this check, the sect remained powerful and popular in Nishapur and Khurasan. In the town of Baihaq (modern Sabzavār), at some time just before 414/1023 a rich citizen, himself descended by marriage from the Mīkālīs, built there four madrasas. He allotted them impartially to the Ḥanafīs, Shāfiᶜīs, ᶜAlīds and Karāmiyyah, implicitly accepting the latter as meriting equal provision with the others.[24] In Nishapur, hostility long continued to be polarised around the families of Abū Bakr Muḥammad and the Qāḍī Ṣāᶜid. Ibn Funduq and Ibn al-Athīr record civil strife in Nishapur in 489/1096 between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiᶜīs on one side, led respectively by the Qāḍī Abū Saᶜīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Ṣāᶜid and Abū-l-Qāsim, son of the Imām al-Ḥaramain Juwainī, and the Karāmiyyah under Maḥmashādh on the other. The former groups sought aid from the nearby town of Baihaq, and spread the dispute thither, where fighting also broke out. The Karāmī madrasa in Baihaq probably perished at this time; whereas three of the madrasas whose foundation was mentioned above were still standing in Ibn Funduq's time (wrote 563/1168), the Karāmī one had gone without a trace. In Nishapur, the conflict ended with the killing of the Karāmī leader and the razing of their madrasa.[25] Even so, their rôle in Khurasan was not quite finished; and it is hoped to deal with their part in the conversion of Ghūr in another paper.

ADDENDUM

ᶜAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (see n. 22) often mentions the Karāmiyyah as the *Aṣḥāb Abī ᶜAbdallāh* [*ibn Karām*], and has an important entry on Abū Bakr Muḥammad (*al-Siyāq li-taᵓrīkh Nīshābūr*, f. 3b) which is translated here because it emphasises his ascendancy in Nishapur and his hostility to the more extreme Shīᶜah.

> "Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Maḥmashādh, Preacher, Teacher and Imām. He was an ascetic, and the son and grandson of ascetics. He was the chief and leader of the followers of Abū ᶜAbdallāh. In his day he had great influence with the Sultan. He held an exalted position and was one of Sultan Yamīn al-Daulah Maḥmūd's confidants. He was zealous in support of the Sunnah,

History of India, II, 88-100); Gardīzī, 96-7; *Āthār al-wuzarāᵓ*, ff. 111a-114a; Saᶜīd Nafīsī, op cit., III, 993-1006.

[24] ᶜAlī ibn Zaid, called Ibn Funduq, *Tārikh-i Baihaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār, Teheran 1317, 194-5, 220-1.

[25] *ibid.*, 194, 268-9; Ibn al-Athīr, X, 171, under, however, 488/1095.

and had the new mosque which the Shīᶜah (*al-Rawāfiḍ*) had built pulled down. Under his direction, the fortunes of the Karāmiyyah flourished, and the Sultan entrusted to him the building of a *ribāṭ* at a staging-post on the Serakhs road.[26] He was invested with a teaching post [in the madrasa of the Karāmiyyah] by the side of the stream [sc. the Wādī Saghāwar which flowed through Nishapur] in the year 405, and Al-Ḥuskānī and then Abū ᶜAmr ibn Yaḥyā acted as his assistant in lectures (*mustamlī*). He retained great prestige until he died in Shawwāl 421. He related traditions from Al-Ḥākim Abū Aḥmad."

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[26] This *ribāṭ* is probably the one for which Maḥmūd gave the money he had originally offered to Firdausī's daughter; cf. Niẓāmī ᶜArūḍī, *Chahār maqāla*, ed. Qazvīnī and Muᶜīn, Teheran 1333, 83, E. G. Browne's Revised translation, GMS, London 1921, 59.

THE THEOLOGICAL COLLEGES OF NAJAF

The holy town of Najaf is the site of the tomb of Imām ᶜAlī, fourth Caliph of Islam and the first Imām of the Shīᶜah sect. As a holy place in the Muslim world it ranks fourth following Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. It is the first holy city in Shīᶜah lands. People come to it for pilgrimage from all over the Shīᶜah world and in it they bury their dead whenever they can afford the cost of the journey.

Kufah, three miles from Najaf, is the site of the mosque of Imām ᶜAlī. Kufah was the first Islamic capital in Iraq and is well-known as a competitor to Basrah for its school of Arabic grammar. Najaf is thus a great centre of Shīᶜah religious learning. It is comparable to the Al-Azhar University in Cairo and Al-Zaitūnah University in Tunis.

Advanced theological scholarship for the Shīᶜah sect of Islam acquires special significance because of the necessity of Ijtihād in Shīᶜah religious life. Ijtihād is the attainment of such a high degree of scholarship in religion whereby the Mujtahid is able to re-interpret and re-deduce religious precepts from the Qurᵓān, Ḥadīth and Sunnah, or the utterances and practices of the Prophet, so that his interpretation or deduction may meet the changes of the times. A Shīᶜah is required to follow the teachings of a living Mujtahid. When a Mujtahid dies his teachings lose their authority. The Sunnī sects on the other hand usually follow the teachings of four great Imāms or leaders of theology, namely, Abū-Ḥanīfah, Al-Shāfiᶜī, Ibn Ḥanbal and Mālik, the four of whom lived in the Middle Ages. No new Mujtahids are required by the Sunnī sects. The Shiᶜahs, however, must always have their living Mujtahids, which requires, in theory at least, deep scholarship, original thinking, thorough examination and analysis of religious percepts.

Najaf is the main centre of Shīᶜah religious education. Samarrah, Kādhimain and Karbalāᵓ have their own theological colleges but they do not in general outrank Najaf in importance. Qum in Iran under the leadership of the great Mujtahid Burujurdī had come to occupy an important place in Shīᶜah theological education, but it does not yet compete with Najaf.

Najaf has some twenty-four colleges of which those of Burujurdī, Sayyid Kādhim ᶜAlī Tazdī, Akhund, Hindi, Qawam, Sadr, Aḥmadyeh, Kāshif al-Ghita, and Mahdiyah are among the best known. These colleges are attended by some two thousand scholars representing several nationalities. The greatest number come from Persia, but there are Iraqis, Pakistanis, Indians, Kashmiris, Afghans, Lebanese, Tibetans, and students from the Persian Gulf. The following are the statistics of the student composition in Najaf for December 1957: from Iran 896 scholars, from Iraq 326, from Pakistan 324, from Tibet 270, from India, Pakistan and Kashmir 71, from Syria and Lebanon 47, from Hasa, Qatif and Bahrain 20 students, total 1,954. This number fluc-

tuates according to the seasons and circumstances, for as we shall see later attendance is absolutely free.

It was some thirty years ago that the writer went deep into the study of education and educational methods, being aware of the uniqueness and importance of the Najaf system of education. As a matter of fact in choosing a thesis for a Ph. D. dissertation one of my proposals was to write a thesis on the system of education in the colleges of Najaf, a suggestion which gave way later to another subject, that of the education of the Bedouin tribes of Iraq. My acquaintance with Najaf and its system of education begins with my childhood when my father was a scholar there. My late father spent some nineteen years studying theology in Najaf. Later on at the age of fifteen, I started the same education myself but in Kādhimain, not in Najaf. As time went on my conviction became stronger and stronger that in Najaf we have a mine for educationalists which should be explored so that the whole world might come to know it, appreciate it and adopt some of its features. I have studied the major university systems of education of the West; I have visited German, British and French universities, Oxford and Cambridge included; I have had my own education in American universities. But none of these, not even the German universities which pride themselves on *freiheit* in education, match Najaf in its freedom, in its depth, in its development of personality and in putting its stamp on the individual.

To begin with, the twenty-four colleges of Najaf and the whole educational system are not under government influence, and they are not financed or supported by the government, nor is there a board or external authority which controls or directs these colleges. There are no presidents of colleges, no deans, no masters. Any person of any standard of scholarship who has the willingness to study and who can find an empty room in any of the colleges can go and live there. Religious piety and religious self-discipline are the only rules that guide the discipline of these colleges. Each college consists of an open court, usually square or rectangular, with a pond in the middle, sometimes with trees around the pond. The open square is surrounded by rooms which lodge one or two students each, the ground floor being something like one metre above the ground. In most colleges there is only one floor above this, and only one modern college, that of Buruyurdi, has a second storey. I visited some of the students' rooms. They contain no bedstead but the student has his mattress on a mat or rug. Some rooms have cross-ventilation either by a window or a chimney; others have no ventilation except through the door. Some of them contain portable electric fires. Most of the colleges contain sirdabs or underground cellars which the students use during the hot days of summer. Some Najaf sirdabs are noted for being more than one floor deep, in other words, one can go down into one, two, three sirdabs, one below the

other. The lower one gets the cooler it becomes. In the lowest sirdab one requires heavy clothing if one is not to chill.

All scholars usually wear a massive half-spherical turban, black or white. The black denotes that the wearer is a sayyid or Hashimite by descent. The wearer of a white turban can claim no such descent. There is usually a guardian and a janitor in each college. Scholars who live in the same college do their own cooking and laundry unless they have the means to eat outside or to pay to have their clothes washed for them. They get their bread free from religious donations which come from Shīᶜah benefactors who send these donations to the great Mujtahids. Āyatullāh Burujurdī, the great Iranian Mujtahid living in Qum, spends some ID. 6,000 a month in Najaf, Karbalāʾ and Samarrah for bread and in paying monthly allowances to some 500 scholars, usually ID. 1½ to ID. 2 per individual. Monthly allowances may go higher for some individuals and may even reach ID. 30 for prominent needy scholars. (One Iraqi dinar is about $ 2.80).

Scholars who have families and who live outside the colleges form something like half the number of the students in Najaf. They frequent the colleges for their studies and discussions. They are also recipients of financial aid when it is available. Students usually have to depend on financial help from their families or other benevolent sources fully to support themselves. Thus there is no fixed budget, no fixed income, for the colleges. A student studies free of charge and a teacher teaches with no pay. Most scholars in Najaf are students and teachers at the same time. An advanced scholar who studies with a Mujtahid teaches those who are below him; those who are below him teach those who are still below them, and so on. Thus anybody studying in Najaf soon becomes both a student and a teacher. There is no fixed number of years for education. A student may stay in Najaf for as many years as he chooses. Some spend their whole life studying and teaching there. An average educational attainment is made in fifteen years, but this is an arbitrary figure for there is no time limit. Students may desire to stay five, ten, fifteen or twenty years. There are no examinations to be passed. Najaf resembles a great fountain to which anybody can go and drink of its learning as much as he can and as long as he cares. Nobody requires him to drink if he does not choose to and no amount of drinking is required or prescribed.

The courses taken consist of a well-known defined curriculum in language, logic and theology, but other subjects like philosophy, astronomy, mathematics in their mediaeval form may be taken as well, but are left to individual taste. A student is at liberty to use his free time to study any subject, such as a foreign language or literature, if he chooses. The scholar is free to choose his colleagues and associates, to choose his own teacher from among the scholars, to agree with his teacher on the time of meeting and the place of study. The place of study may be in the colleges themselves, in a mosque, or in the teacher's

own home. The Al-Hindi Mosque, or the (Indian) mosque, is one of the biggest centers of teaching, whether it be in small circles or in a large lecture. Those who form a class may be two, three, up to twenty-four in number, unless it be an advanced course which is given in the form of a public lecture in the mosques usually. The lecturer normally sits on a pulpit. The rate of progress of a student differs with the individual; those who can move fast can do so freely and those who are slow can move at their own pace. There is no rushing in education for there is no time limit, there is no examination and no certificate. A slow student may spend his whole life if he wishes in Najaf with nobody dismissing him from the college. High scholarship and intelligence show themselves naturally. Once a scholar is noted for his achievement and intelligence he begins to attract attention and he becomes a center of attention for those who want to associate with him and study under him.

Teaching starts early in the morning after the morning prayer before sunrise and continues until an hour after the evening prayer. Thus a scholar chooses his own hours of study with the teachers he has selected. Several teachers may be teaching the same subject at the same time. Besides group teaching there are discussion and recitation periods where students studying under the same teacher meet to discuss with each other the lesson they have had and usually every day one of them recites that day's lecture, acting as the teacher himself, and is questioned by his colleagues. Besides, each scholar has his own hours of private study and preparation at his own convenience. Thus there is a good deal of grinding memory work and thinking.

Education in Najaf is divided into three stages. The first stage is the *suṭūḥ* or surface education. This includes the study of Arabic grammar, rhetoric and logic. A student starts with an elementary grammar book called *Ujrumiyyah*; the name itself is derived from the Greek word grammar. After finishing this, he studies a more advanced book of grammar called *Al-Qaṭab* which may be replaced by another book called *Jāmiᶜ al-Muqaddimāt,* or "the sum total of introductions." After that he moves on to a more advanced book of grammar which is a commentary on a thousand verses summarizing the whole grammar rendered by Ibn-Mālik. These thousand verses are usually memorised and they contain the essence of Arabic grammar. The most advanced book on Arabic grammar is *Al-Mughnī al-Labīb* which contains all the delicacies and intricacies of Arabic grammar. After finishing with Arabic grammar the student moves on to *Al-Mutawwal* by Al-Taftazānī, which is Arabic rhetoric. After that he moves on to logic in which he studies Aristotelian logic in a book called *Al-Ḥāshiyah* by Mullah ᶜAbdullāh. The time taken for this *suṭūḥ* stage is normally seven years.

The second stage of learning is that of Al-Fuḍalāᵓ or the wise men, which is comparable to the term sophomore used in American universities. In this stage the student studies methodology and jurisprudence. Methodology consists of the methods of examining evidence and original

sources of religious teachings. Religious jurisprudence consists of the rules and dictates of Muslim religion whether pertaining to ritual practices like cleanliness, prayer, fasting and paying alms, or social individual dealings like commercial transactions, marriage, heritage, etc. The books taught in methodology are *Al-Muʿallim, Al-Qawānīn, Al-Rasāʾil* and *Al-Kifay*. A student takes these successively and usually moves from the simpler one to the more complex. The books in jurisprudence are *Al-Tabṣīrah, Al-Sharāʾiʿa, Al-Lumʿa, Al-Makāsib* and *Al-ʿUrwat al-Wuthqā*. Here again the books rise in complexity and technicality.

After this intermediate stage the student reaches the third stage of study which is called the external stage, in which students attend lessons given in public lectures by the Mujtahids. These lectures consist of very highly specialised analysis and examination of religious teachings. Among the famous Mujtahids who give such lectures are Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm, Sayyid Ḥusain al-Hammānī and Sayyid Al-Qāsim al-Khui. I attended a few of these lectures in December, 1957. One of them was Al-Khui's lecture in the evening in Al-Ḥaḍrah Mosque. There were some 150 students attending, all sitting on the ground with legs crossed. The lecture did not last more than thirty minutes. It was on juridical methodology. I also attended a lecture by Sayyid Ḥusain al-Hammānī in the Al-Hindi Mosque. Some 150 students were present. The lecture was on a person's intention or decision, in relationship to prayer. The lecture here had to analyse the meaning of intention and its relation to the act of prayer. The discussion included a great deal of psychology as well. Another lecture I attended was given by Āyatallāh Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm in Al-Ṭūsi Mosque. It dealt with the wedding of slaves and the relation of that wedding to the consent of their masters.

There is no limit of years for this stage of study. One may continue it for life. The aim of great scholars is to reach the high stage of Ijtihād, which may be compared to a doctorate in theology. Thus the Mujtahid has the ability to make his own religious judgements based on his own mastery of methodology, examining all opinions and judgements and the texts of the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth on religious issues. The stage of Ijtihād is reached not by learning alone but in addition by gaining an insight which is God-given. For learning to them is not to be measured by amassing information but by the light which God instils in a scholar's heart. A Shīʿah, unless he be a Mujtahid, has to follow in his daily life the teaching of a Mujtahid, and he is called a Muqallid, which means a follower or imitator, A scholar who reaches Ijtihād, but is not standing for leadership, remains in abeyance and is called a Muhtat or reserve. There are many Muhtats in Najaf whose Ijtihād may one day be recognised in public. Najaf possesses a number of great Mujtihads, some of whom are very learned and impressive leaders of the Shīʿah world. Some of these Mujtahids take on public duties and deal with human welfare; others concentrate on scholarship.

I visited a number of colleges recently and talked to students about

their studies, their lives and their home countries. One student, Shaikh Muḥammad Riḍā Shams-al-Dīn, I asked to relate to me his schedule for one day. He told me that he rises from bed half an hour before sunrise to offer his morning prayer. After sunrise he attends an external lecture in jurisprudence with Sayyid ᶜAbd-al-Qāsim al-Khui. After that he teaches rhetoric. Then he studies Islamic philosophy in a book called *The Explanation of the Eleventh Chapter* by Miqdād al-Suisī. Then he attends another external lecture with Shaikh ᶜAbbās in jurisprudence dealing with the subject from the well-known book *Al-Sharāᵓiaᶜ*. Then a third external lecture studying the subject of Zakāt or alms from the same source. Then he attends still another external lecture with Sayyid ᶜAlī Qani al-Isfahānī. Besides this he has to study personally and attend to prayers and his own life. This is certainly a very full schedule. In other words, a scholar may over-work himself if he so chooses, or he can go easy if he pleases. There is no external driving force.

Another brilliant student whom I visited in Al-Qawam College was Shaikh ᶜAlī al-Karāmī. He is an external student also. This young man attends the lectures of Shaikh Ḥusain al-Hillī, and is also studying philosophy. He has a good literary ability and a fine philosophical mind. He teaches rhetoric. His brother is a well-known scholar and author in Islamic philosophy.

The basic features of education in Najaf are the following: —

1. Education is not controlled by any external authority. No government interference and no board decisions.

2. Anyone who goes to study in Najaf goes for learning for its own sake. Learning is not to be aimed at for any extraneous motive. Only piety and serving the purpose of God should be the guiding force. This is why a good scholar in Najaf must combine piety and scholarship.

3. Another feature of Najaf education is that of contentment and asceticism. Students in Najaf do not lead luxurious lives although all those I met demonstrated generosity. Whichever room I visited I was entertained to tea, coffee or some beverage or other. A student from Harat, Afghanistan, who received me in his room, soon left his room when I refrained from taking any of the soft drinks available, and brought in a dish of pomegranate. Simplicity, generosity and friendship are in the atmosphere.

4. Najaf education is completely free. There is no limitation on discussion or enquiry. Within the bounds of Islamic faith, complete freedom of study and research is the rule.

5. Najaf education has solved the problem of individual differences. Here a student can move according to his own pace and choose the subject, the books, the colleagues, the teachers of his own liking. The fact that learning is for its own sake and there are no limited periods for study makes the student go to his studies naturally. This education

does not suffer from the curse of prescribed books and prescribed number of hours.

6. In Najaf colleges the problem of examination does not pester the lives of the students or their teachers. Ability and mastery show themselves to the person himself as well as to his colleagues. An Iraqi student of theology in Najaf has to show some elementary ability to pursue his studies before a committee so that he may be exempted from military service, but this is in no sense an examination of a student's achievements.

7. The development of personality and character is fostered by good example and good associates as well as by religious precepts, for one of the fundamentals of Najaf education is that a student should observe his religious exercises diligently, although I heard some complaints that weak characters who are selfishly inclined are found occasionally among the scholars of Najaf. In other words, the material needs of the age have weakened the character of some scholars and intimidated some of the leaders who would otherwise have been more influential in a bigger sphere.

8. An important feature of Najaf education is thorough scholarship. The same subject, studied and re-studied in successive books, certainly leaves a lasting impression on the student. Moreover, a student teaches what he has studied over and over again. It is my personal experience that there is no better way of mastering a subject than teaching it.

Some of the problems which arise from this system of education are the following:

First, the content of education is mediaeval and archaic in character. The scholars of Najaf certainly have very little access to modern thinking, modern science, modern philosophy, modern psychology, modern hygiene. Some of the colleges still contain the pond in which all wash communally; a very unhygienic practice. I had many discussions with scholars and the great Mujtahids about the need for introducing new subject matter like modern philosophy, psychology, sociology, some hygiene and elements of natural science. The response was generally negative. I remember talking to a professor of Islamic philosophy about the philosophy of Henri Bergson. I found him unacquainted with the name. Thus the scholarly product of Najaf falls very short of meeting the spiritual challenge of modern times. This is a very serious observation on Najaf.

A second observation is that of licensing the graduates and the scholars. As I have just said, there are no examinations, no requirements, no control of attendance; everything is freely done, which is a great asset. But at the same time one cannot avoid meeting people leaving Najaf who are not qualified and yet claim religious leadership. It is left to the public to discover whether a religious man is worthy of his claim or not, and of course piety and personal charm may well become a substitute for scholarship in public functions. Some kind of licensing

and evaluation of a person's attainment is required if the public is to be better by the products of Najaf.

Third, the problem of material need. As we have seen, there are no fixed budgets and no fixed sources of income. They fluctuate according to circumstances. This may make a student's life subject to material hardship and fears, and the material conditions may not be adequate enough properly to feed a student, clothe him and attend to his pocket money.

On the whole, Najaf faces the same problems which face the Shīᶜah world as a whole. Is the Shīᶜah world going to have its religious life resurrected and better organised? Is it going to have its religious leaders modern and responsible? Or is religious life going to remain aloof from public needs, public conditions and public thinking? To my mind, Shīᶜah leaders with leaders of other sects of Islam must concert their effort to face spiritual life in the Muslim world and make it consonant with modern development throughout the world, so that understanding, tolerance and brotherhood may develop among the Shīᶜah and those of other Muslim sects as well as with peoples of other faiths all over the world.

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THE BIRTH-HOUR OF MUSLIM LAW?

AN ESSAY IN EXEGESIS

Islamic religion is characterized by the prominence of legal conceptions in its system: The Sharīᶜah, or holy law, is its very essence, and Fiqh, or religious jurisprudence, is its science (*ᶜilm*) par excellence. The minute observation of many commandments is its most conspicuous practical aspect; the free fellowship of religious scholars, who do not need authorization by any government to interpret, develop, and apply its law, is its most representative body, and even the purely legal sections of the Fiqh are studied reverently as an act of worship.

All these features are so familiar to the student of Islam that they seem to be natural and need no explanation of their provenance. In fact, however, their origin and early formation are far from being fully known and may partly elude our knowledge forever. There is, of course, a striking resemblance between early Islam and Judaism in all the aspects mentioned above. However, as many of these seem to originate from parallel developments rather than from borrowing, the similarity between the two religions poses problems rather than solves them.

During the last few years there has been a considerable amount of discussion on this question of the origin and early development of Muslim law. At the third international congress of Comparative Law, held in London in August 1950, Professor Joseph Schacht surveyed the problem in a paper entitled "Foreign Elements in Ancient Islamic Law" (*Journal of Comparative Legislation,* 1950), which stressed in particular the parallels between Islamic and Roman Law. Shortly afterwards, Professor S. Vesey Fitzgerald of London published an article in the *Law Quarterly Journal,* January 1951, pp. 81-102, the very name of which ("The Alleged Debt of Islamic to Roman Law") betrays the author's opinion that Islamic jurisprudence was not influenced by Roman legal science. It is not surprising, therefore, that one scholar, Professor Bousquet of Algiers, speaks about the mystery surrounding the genesis of Muḥammadan legal science (in his article "Le Mystère de la Formation et des Origines du Fiqh" in *Revue Algérienne ... de Législation et de Jurisprudence, Algiers,* 1947, pp. 66-80).

The present paper is not concerned with the origin of Fiqh, the science of Muslim Jurisprudence, but with that of Muslim law itself, i.e. the legal parts of the Sharīᶜah. As everyone knows, the Sharīᶜah does not differentiate between purely legal matters, such as contracts or the laws of inheritance, and religious duties, such as prayers and fasting; all alike are part of the Holy Law. Through detailed interpretation of a significant passage in the Qurᵓān, this paper tries to answer the question whether this particular character of the Sharīᶜah

goes back to the founder of Islam himself, and if so, at what juncture of his activities did a tendency towards it become evident.

It has often been stressed that the Qur'ān contains comparatively little legal matter and that the little it contains is entirely unsystematic and haphazard; or as an article on the subject put it: "It is evident that Muḥammad himself made no attempt to work out any comprehensive legal system, a task for which he seems to have been singularly ill-suited; instead, he contented himself with what went little beyond 'ad hoc' amendments to the existing customary law" (J. N. D. Anderson, *The Muslim World,* Vol. xl. 1950, p. 245). A number of modern authors on Muslim Law have repeated a statement, obviously going back to Count Ostorog's book *The Angora Reform,* p. 19, that of the 6236 verses of the Qur'ān, no more than about five hundred, less than one-twelfth, could be considered as having legal import.

However, these statements need some qualification. The average length of a verse in the Qur'ān varies from one to three lines (in the Egyptian edition), while those of legal content usually comprise three to six, and some are considerably longer, e.g. verse 282 of the second Surah, which stretches over fifteen lines. Thus, from the purely arithmetical point of view, legal matters occupy a far larger part of the Qur'ān than assumed by the aforesaid estimate. And there is another very important point to be considered. As is well known, the Qur'ān teems with repetitions; the same thing seems to be said over and again, often in the same words; in legal matters, however, repetitions are rare, and when they occur, they usually contain some progress in legislation. According to the view of the Muslim theologians, expressed for instance by Al-Ghazālī in his *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān,* strictly speaking, no repetitions occur in the holy book of Islam. In any case, if one condenses its subject matter to its mere content, under the five main headings of preaching, polemics, stories, allusions to the Prophet's life, and legislation, one will reach the conclusion that proportionately the Qur'ān does not contain less legal material than the Pentateuch, the Torah, which is known in world literature as "The Law."

The accepted view of Muḥammad's career as a law-giver seems to be that while in Mecca he acted solely as preacher and prophet, whereas in Medina the requirements of an ever-growing community forced him to give legal decisions from time to time. This view is based on the fact that Muḥammad sincerely and most vehemently believed that the Last Judgment and the end of the known physical world was imminent. What purpose was there, then, in expounding an elaborate legal system, when all human beings were to come to an end soon? It is true that even the earliest parts of the Qur'ān are not devoid of legal matters; for instance, when Muḥammad enjoins the true believers to keep to their pledges and contracts, to stand by their testimony (Surah lxx. 32-33) and to be just in measure and weight (Surah lxxxiii. 1-3), or when he objected from the outset to usury, i.e. the taking of interest (Surah

xxx. 39). However, these prescriptions are religious and moral commandments rather than pieces of formal legislation.

On the other hand, Tor Andrae has rightly shown (in his book *Muhammad, The Man and his Faith,* Chapter 6) that even in Mecca Muḥammad conceived the religious community as a social and even political unit, *ummah* — a conception which no doubt has to account for the astonishing fact that soon after his arrival at Medina, he was able to organize the whole population of the town, Muslims and non-Muslims, as one body politic, called *ummah* [1]. Muḥammad's biographer, Ibn Isḥāq, has preserved the document constituting this *ummah,* and even the most critical minds do not cast doubt on its authenticity. This document, which contains forty seven paragraphs, betrays a highly legalistic and even formalistic mind — a fact which is not surprising in a son of a flourishing city of merchants. The same holds true of the many treaties contracted by him with Arab tribes, discussed in special studies by Wellhausen (Skizzen IV, 1889) and Jacob Sperber (Die Sendschreiben M's), and in the well-known books of Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh.

In contrast with this, one has to concede that many Medinan Surahs, which are contemporary with the deeds just referred to, contain little or no legal material, while it is abundantly clear from the testimony of *Ḥadīth, Sīrah* and *Tafsīr,* as well as from inner evidence, that many legal questions must have been brought before Muḥammad and decided by him at that time. For according to the Arab as well as the old Israelite conception, law is not a fixed order imposed and exercised by the power of an organized community and need not be created by a king or a legal assembly. Law is a truth, which exists forever and which has only to be discovered by a wise man; the judge in pre-Islamic Arabia was called *al-ḥakam,* cf. Hebrew *ḥākhām,* the wise man who is inspired by the spirit of God. The vast literature on Arab tribal custom shows that in many cases the judges were not the chiefs of the tribes or other persons of authority, but wise men, often from some distant locale, who were famous for their inspiration and experience.

To this may be added the astonishing fact that during a prolonged study of the language and life of the Jews in Yemen, the writer came across quite a number of cases where, in out-of-the-way areas, the Jewish ᶜāqil, i.e. the headman of the local community, was approached by Arab tribesmen to settle minor disputes of theirs. Similarly, Kaᶜb ibn al-Ashraf, one of the prominent Jews of Medina, used to serve as a judge to non-Jews. However, Muḥammad was the outstanding spiritual authority in the town, and according to Arabic conceptions, it was only natural that he should act as a *ḥakam* not only for Muslims, but also,

[1] W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina,* Oxford 1956, p. 227, assumes that "the Constitution" — as he calls the document under discussion — was promulgated after year 5 of the Hijrah. For many reasons, which cannot be discussed here, this surmise is unacceptable.

as we shall see, for unbelievers, including Jews, although these had, as the Qur'ān reports, their own *rabbāniyyūn* and *aḥbār* (in Hebrew, *rabbānīm* and *ḥavērīm*), rabbis and scholars, who guided them in legal matters.

Why, then, were so few of these legal decisions incorporated in the many Surahs of the early Medinan period? To my mind, the answer to this question can only be that it occurred to Muḥammad only at a relatively late period that even strictly legal matters were not religiously irrelevant, but were part and parcel of the divine revelation and were included in the heavenly book, which was the source of all religions. I believe that we have an exact account of this most fateful development in the Prophet's career in a lengthy Quranic passage namely Surah v. 42-51, to the discussion of which the rest of this paper will be devoted.

In verses 42-43, Muḥammad expresses his astonishment that the Jews of Medina applied to him as judge, although they were in the possession of a divinely revealed law. God says to Muḥammad: "When they come to you, you may act as a judge between them or you may turn away from them; ... (43) But why should they make you their judge, seeing that in their hand is the Torah, containing the judgment of God? ... (44) Verily, we have sent down the Torah containing guidance and light, by it the prophets ... gave judgment for the Jews, as likewise did the rabbis and the scholars by such portion of the Book of God, as they were entrusted with; ...[2] (45) Therein We have prescribed for them: A life (verbally soul) for a life, an eye for an eye, etc.; ...[3] (46) In their footsteps we caused Jesus, son of Mary, to follow, confirming the Torah which was before him, and we gave him the Gospel, wherein is guidance and light; ... (47) Let the people of the Gospel judge by that which God has sent down therein. Who so do not judge by what God has sent down, such are evil doers. (48) And unto you we have sent down the Book with the Truth, confirming whatever Book was before, and as a watcher over it; so judge between them by what God has sent down and do not follow their inclinations away from the truth which has come to you, for each one we have made a fixed way and an open road." After this there follows again an admonishment to judge only according to the divine law, and the passage concludes with the exclamation (50) "Do they then desire the (mode of) judgment of the Time of Ignorance? But who is better than God in judgment to a people who have certainty in their belief?"

The import of these lines seems evident. Some members of the Jewish community of Medina had applied to Muḥammad's court, but there arose difficulties; perhaps one party refused to accept his decision. As may be learned from the end of the passage, and from other verses

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[2] By that time, Muḥammad was well aware of the fact that in addition to the *Taurāt* or Bible, the Jewish scholars used other books which they believed to contain God's commandments.

[3] An illusion to the well-known passage of the Pentateuch.

of the Qur'ān, in particular from the eighth Surah, and from various stories reported by the *Ḥadīth*, among the Muslims, too, there were some who had *ahwā'*, inclinations, i.e. took a critical attitude towards the Prophet's judgments. Owing to the close connection between spiritual leadership and the role of a judge, such an attitude was dangerous. Hitherto, according to our hypothesis, Muḥammad had not regarded his judicial activities as part of his prophetic office. This was now to change. From that time onward, *ḥukm al-Jāhiliyyah*, the mode of judgment of the Time of Ignorance, had to be given up. The decision of legal questions was now a matter of one's religion, exactly as the beliefs about God or resurrection or Muḥammad's prophetic mission. That is why this passage is followed by another one, in which the true believers are enjoined not to take Jews or Christians as their patrons (*awliyā'*), as had frequently been the case before, because each community was to be regarded as a completely separate entity in itself. Religion had become totalitarian, comprising all departments of life, including the hitherto neutral aspect of law. Muḥammad regrets this fact; "If God had wished," he says, "he would have made all mankind one community" (Surah v. 4a). But, for the time being, such was God's will, and humanity was bound to comply with it.

It would, of course, be extremely useful if we knew exactly when these verses were first promulgated. As usual, the Muslim commentators and other authors dealing with the *asbāb al-nuzūl*, the occasions of the promulgation of parts of the Qur'ān, differ widely on this point. Some make the whole fifth Surah the last of the Prophet's utterings, and in this they are followed, e.g., by Professor Blachère in his new, chronologically arranged, French translation, Vol. III, p. 1110 (1951), though he states, that the various parts of this Surah seem to belong to considerably different times. Another widely diffused traditional view connects our passage with a contest of nobility between two Jewish tribes, which would entail a very early date. My own opinion is that the repeated references to the Jewish rabbis and scholars can only fit a time when there still remained a considerable number of Jews in Medina, i.e. before the end of the fifth year of the Hijrah, while the complete confessional segregation of Christians, Jews, and Muslims, here advocated, points to a rather developed stage of Muḥammad's activities. The most suitable date for this passage would therefore be the fifth year of the Hijrah, five years before Muḥammad's death, a date suggested, for other reasons of course, by such eminent Muslim authors as Al-Zuhrī, Al-Wāqidī, and Al-Ṭabarī (cf. Noeldeke, *Geschichte des Qur'āns*, I, p. 231, note 1).

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that this passage indicates the birth-hour of Muslim law. As has been shown here, more legal material is contained in later parts of the Qur'ān than is usually believed. But this is not the decisive point. What matters, as Professor H. A. R. Gibb has emphasized in his *Muhammedanism*, is the attitude

which regards everything, including, seemingly, religiously irrelevant legal matters, as emanating from God through His true prophet. This attitude, as we believe, was first clearly conceived and expressed in the passage just discussed, approximately halfway through the ten years which Muḥammad passed in Medina.

There remains the question whether this conception of the heavenly origin of law came to Muḥammad from outside or was developed by him independently. Here the historian may meet the theologian halfway. According to the tenets of the predominant Muslim theology, the Qurʾān, like God himself, is eternally pre-existent. The historian may find that ideas which at a certain date found expression in the Qurʾān were pre-existent in Muḥammad's original preaching, as is to be found in the early chapters of the Qurʾān. This is indeed the case with the idea of the Sharīʿah. It is contained in Muḥammad's original view of the religious *ummah* as a social and even political entity, in his early idea of the prophets as lawgivers and in his own first attempts at the codification of basic socio-religious duties, contained in Surahs xvii, 23-38 and vi. 151-152, which Al-Thaʿālibi in his *Kitāb al Ārāʾis* already recognized as a replica of the Biblical ten commandments. [4] However, it is a far cry from these early beginnings to the conception of Islam as a separate denomination exacting all-embracing duties, as expressed in the passage from Surah v discussed above. For this elaborate address clearly indicates a complete change of attitude, a turning point, in the thinking of the Prophet on the relation between law and religion. As was usual with Muḥammad, a thorough pragmatist, the change came about in the wake of some practical problem which he had to solve. Some Jews had come to litigate before him and something went wrong with the case. God then gives His prophet the permission to refuse to act as a judge for non-Muslims, if he chose to do so. This particular incident, however, served as an occasion for a far wider ruling: the Muslims and the adherers of other religions had to have different laws altogether, for law was a part of the prophetic message, with the consequence that the followers of different prophets could be properly judged only by those who believed in their respective revelations. In pagan times, people did not care what religion their judges had, as long as they were competent and inspired men. With Islam — according to the new conception — law, even civil law, had become part of the message which was contained in one heavenly Book, but was sent in different forms to different peoples.

The emphatic and detailed exposition of the new idea in the passage under discussion; the repeated references in Surah v to the Jewish rabbis and scholars who gave judgments according to the Law revealed by God; the quotation from the Pentateuch, which deals not with

[4] H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches,* p. 81. H. Grimme, *Mohammad,* II, pp. 115-118.

theological matters, but with questions of criminal law; and, finally the very occasion which gave rise to the promulgation of Surah v. 41-52, suggest that Muḥammad, at a certain stage of his prophetical and political career in Medina, suddenly became aware of the fact that the scriptures revealed before him contained not only religious and moral injunctions, but also detailed laws concerning matters which were religiously irrelevant. This new knowledge, together with some difficulties incurred in practice, created in him the belief — which was well in line with his original idea of religion as a constitution for a body politic — that he, too, had to recognize the details of civil law as inseparable constituents of God's message. In other words, the idea of the Sharīᶜah was not the result of post-Quranic developments, but was formulated by Muḥammad himself.

The results obtained here seem to be at variance with the conclusions of Joseph Schacht's penetrating study *The Origins of Muhammedan Jurisprudence,* Oxford, 1950. Schacht assumes that during the first century of the Hijrah, law still fell outside the sphere of religion and was brought into its orbit only during the 2nd century, when Muslim jurisprudence, properly speaking, came into being.

There is, however, no basic contradiction between the two views. As Goldziher in the first chapter of his *Muhammedan Studies,* called *Dīn* and *Muruwwa,* has shown, it took generations, until the Muslim spirit of "religion" replaced the pagan conception of "virtue" as the essential quality of a man. In the same way, it is only natural that *ḥukm al-Jāhiliyyah,* judgment according to arbitrary opinion or established local practice, did not disappear immediately and altogether after Muḥammad denounced it, but was replaced only gradually — and, as is well-known, never completely — by a legal system worked out on religious lines. However, it seems to emerge clearly, from our analysis of the lengthy passage in Surah v, that it was Muḥammad himself who envisaged law as part of divine revelation.

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THE FĀṬIMID LEGAL CODE

The first article in this series (October, 1959, Vol. xlix. 4) has dealt with the origins of the Fāṭimid Caliphs, who established their rule in North Africa during the first part of the 10th century. This second article is concerned with the code of Jurisprudence which the Fāṭimids used in the place of the orthodox Sunni systems.

The fourth Fāṭimid Caliph was Al-Muᶜizz, who reigned from 952 to 975 A.D. and was famous for his conquest of Egypt. His principal legal authority was a jurist named Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Nuᶜmān ibn-Muḥammad, who spent most of his life in the region of Qayrawān near ancient Carthage, although he died in Egypt after it had been conquered by the Fāṭimids.

Dr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee has quoted from an old book entitled *ᶜAyūn al-Akhbār* the following paragraphs: "Once at the court of Al-Muᶜizz, Nuᶜmān was present at a large gathering consisting of a number of *dāᶜīs,* when the conversation turned upon the differences regarding reported traditions, and how on account of this a number of erroneous opinions had come into being as innovations. Imām Muᶜizz spoke to them about correct opinions and legal propositions, and how his community would necessarily follow the previous generations closely. He repeated the curious tradition of the Prophet: 'Verily, you will follow the paths of previous generations like unto a horseshoe follows upon a horseshoe, or an arrow feather an arrow feather: to this extent that if they (the previous generations) entered the hole of a serpent, surely you too will follow them.'

"Then Muᶜizz reported the well known ḥadīth of the Prophet: 'When innovations appear in my community, let the learned man make manifest his learning; else the curse of God be upon him,' and turning to the Qāḍī he said: 'You, O Nuᶜmān, are the one indicated by this saying in these times.' He then commanded Nuᶜmān to compose the *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām* and explained to him the 'roots' (uṣūl) and the 'branches' (furūᶜ) of the law, and related to him authentic traditions from his forefathers, the Imāms of the House of the Prophet, and the traditions of the Prophet himself, and distinguished those concerning which the reporters differed."

"Qāḍī al-Nuᶜmān composed the book as planned by Imām Muᶜizz and used to get it revised chapter by chapter and paragraph by paragraph by Muᶜizz, who rejected what was unsound and corrected and retained what was right. Thus there came into existence a book, short yet authoritative, which is a miracle of Muᶜizz through the instrumentality of his *dāᶜī* and 'friend' (*walī*), Qāḍī al-Nuᶜmān." [1]

Dr. Fyzee is rendering a great service by publishing this textbook of

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[1] Qāḍī al-Nuᶜmān, the Fāṭimid Jurist and Author, p. 20. by Dr. A. A. A. Fyzee, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1934.

Fāṭimid Jurisprudence, which has as its title *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām*. The first volume was printed in 1951 by the Dār al-Maᶜārif Press at Cairo; the second volume is due to appear shortly. The table of contents is as follows: [2]

Volume I. Al-ᶜIbādāt (Religious Duties), 466 pages.

Faith
Ritual Purification
Prayer and Funeral Rites
The Poor Tax.
Fasting and Ascetic Seclusion
The Pilgrimage
The Holy War

Volume II. Al-Muᶜāmalāt (Secular Affairs)

Trade
Oaths and Vows
Food
Drinks
Medicine
Clothing
Hunting
Sacrifice and Division of Meat
Marriage
Divorce
Freeing Slaves
Gifts
Legacies
Division and Inheritance
Penalties and Indemnities
Punishments
Stealing
Apostasy and Heresy
Violence
Lending
Things Picked Up
Dividing Property and Rights of Building
Witnessing
Legal Procedures
Training of Judges

In general this code is similar to the Sunni systems of the Sharīᶜah Law, but three important variations must be mentioned.

In the first place, unlike the Sunnis, the Fāṭimids refused to accept any traditions derived from the first three Caliphs or the other Companions of the Prophet. They only regarded as authoritative things which were said and done either by Muḥammad himself, or by the members of his own family.

In the second place, the Fāṭimids recognized seven Pillars of Islām, whereas the Sunnis only acknowledged five. It should be noticed that the seven Fāṭimid pillars form the subjects described in the first volume of *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām*. [3] The Sunni and Fāṭimid Pillars of Islam may be compared as follows:

Sunni	*Fāṭimid.*	
The Confession.	Faith.	*Imān* or *Walāyah*
-------	Ritual Purification.	*Ṭahārah.*
Prayer.	Prayer.	*Ṣalāt*
Poor Tax.	Poor Tax.	*Zakāt*
Fasting.	Fasting.	*Ṣaum.*
Pilgrimage.	Pilgrimage.	*Ḥajj.*
-------	Holy War.	*Jihād.*

[2] *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām*, (Eng. Intr.), pp. 1-3; (Arab. Intr.), pp. 7, 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, (Eng. Intr.) p. 1.

In the third place, the Fāṭimids differed from the Sunnis, in that they upheld the doctrine of the Imāmate.

As Professor Muḥammad Kāmil Hussain of Cairo University has explained, "The Imāmate was the most important dogma of the Fāṭimid articles of faith and also of the doctrines of the Shīᶜahs as a whole, as well as one of the Pillars of Islam. The Imāmate was also the axis around which the Shīᶜah doctrines turned. From their point of view there could be no religion for anyone, who did not believe in the Imāmate of the chosen Imāms of the family of the Prophet. God does not accept the actions of a Muslim, unless he acknowledges and trusts the *walāyah* (of the Imāms) and obeys them in accordance with their obedience to the noble Apostle and to God the Exalted. These three obediences are joined and linked together, for Allāh, the Exalted commanded in his noble Book (Surah iv. 59) 'Obey Allāh, and obey the Apostle, and (obey) those charged with authority among you." Those charged with authority are the Imāms." [4]

As it is impossible to describe in detail all of the contents of *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām* the two first chapters must serve as examples. It begins by invoking the blessing of God on the Prophet and the pure Imāms of his family. Then, after speaking of false doctrines and the obligation of the author to tell the truth, it goes on to say that "Faith is testifying that there is no god but God, who is unique without an associate, that Muḥammad is his servant and apostle, that heaven is true, that Hell is true, and that the resurrection of the dead is true; that there is no doubt about the coming hour (Day of Judgment) or about belief in the prophets of God, in His Apostle and in the Imāms. This embraces a knowledge of the Imām of one's own generation, with faith in him and submission to his rule, as well as performance of those things, which God commands His servants to do and avoidance of the things which He prohibits." [5]

Faith requires observance of the ordinances which affect the body, but which cannot be valid unless the observance springs from a pure heart, created by God for understanding. [6] Thus the tongue should express what the heart feels and the ear should refrain from listening to false doctrines. Seeing, moreover, should not be used to gaze upon sexual organs with immoral desire; the hands should not be used for violent assault, but for cleansing before prayer and the Holy War; the feet should be used to walk in the way of God, to go to prayer and to encircle the Kaᶜbah at Mecca; and the face should be used to turn Mecca-wards and to touch the ground before God in prayer. Many

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[4] *Kitāb al-Himmah fī Ādāb Atbāᶜ al-Aᵓimmah,* p. 19, free translation. This book was written by the author of *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām,* edited by Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Hussain and printed at Dār al-Fikr al-ᶜArabī.

[5] *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām,* p. 1, 5.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 6-11.

quotations from the Qurʾān and the Shīᶜah authorities are given to explain these points.

The next passage is about degrees of faith and the way in which some believers get ahead of others, as some horses beat their competitors in a race. [7] Then there follows an important discussion about the difference between faith (*al-īmān*) and Islam. "Faith shares with *al-Islām*, but *al-Islām* does not share with it." [8] All believers belong to Islam, which is like an outer circle, but only some of them enter into the faith (*al-īmān*) which is like a small inner circle. In other words, all who believe in God and His Apostle are members of Islam. But only the members of an inner circle, who also believe in the Imām and obey him, share the faith (*al-īmān*).

This passage leads to a discussion about the *walāyah* of ᶜAlī ibn-Abī Ṭālib and the Imāms who followed him. [9] ᶜAlī related that on one occasion when he was meeting with the members of the family of the Prophet's grandfather, ᶜAbd-al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet Muḥammad said: "Oh sons of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, it has been granted to me that you should be kings and governors of the earth, for God does not send a prophet unless He provides for him an heir, a vizīr, an inheritor, a brother, a deputy. So which one of you will be my heir, my inheritor, deputy, brother, vizīr?" [10]

"As they were silent he explained the matter to them, one after the other. As none of them accepted the responsibility, there was no one left except myself (ᶜAlī) although I was one of the youngest among them. Then when he made clear the matter to me I said: 'Am I the one, Oh Apostle of God?' He replied: 'Yes, you Oh ᶜAlī.' "

After the incident at Ghadīr Khumm the Prophet assembled the people together for prayers and said to them: "Oh people, know that ᶜAlī is to me as Aaron was to Moses. After my time he will not be a prophet, but he will be your governor." Then the Prophet raised his hands and prayed: "Oh our God, protect whoever protects him, assist whoever assists him, forsake whoever forsakes him and surround him with truth wherever he turns." [11] The author of *Daᶜāʾim al-Islām* then asks: "What appointment to authority could be more definite than this acknowledgment and *walāyah*?"

Although it is impossible to mention all of the statements in this part of the first chapter, one passage must be described, as it shows how the Scriptural stories were used to strengthen the claims of the Fāṭimids.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 15, 16.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 17 ff. The word *walāyah* gives the idea of custodianship on the part of the Imām and of surrender (*taslīm*) and devoted obedience on the part of his subjects. It implies an acknowledgment of the inherited right of the Imām to rule and to interpret the Law.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[11] This tradition is contained in the collection of Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal as well as in the Shīᶜah books.

"'Abraham was a model (*ummah*), devoutly obedient to God and true to the faith.' Abraham was alone as a model. Then he was joined and made great by Ishmael and Isaac, to whose seed were given prophecy and the Scriptures. Likewise the Apostle of God, may God bless him and give him peace, was a model alone by himself, but he received ᶜAlī and Fāṭimah as associates and his seed was increased by Ḥasan and Ḥusain, just as that of Abraham was increased by Ishmael and Isaac. Then as a sequence to his prophetic mission, he established the Imāmate among his descendants, who were the seed of Ḥusain ibn ᶜAlī." [12]

"As prophecy was first with the descendants of Isaac but ended with those of Ishmael, so the Imāmate began with the offspring of Ḥasan ibn-ᶜAlī because he was the elder brother. But God, Mighty and Glorious, said about this that 'The foremost will be the foremost and those nearest to God.' So although Ḥasan was older than Ḥusain, God, Mighty and Glorious, transferred the Imāmate to the offspring of Ḥusain, as he transferred the prophecy from the seed of Isaac to that of Ishmael." [13]

In order to understand this passage it is necessary to realize that the Muslims honor Ishmael as the ancestor of the Arabs and the founder of the Kaᶜbah. According to the Islamic tradition he is, therefore, more important than his brother, Isaac.

Another interesting passage deals with appointing the successor of a prophet. After explaining the ideas of different schools of thought in early Islām, the Shīᶜah doctrine is described. The Sunni practice of election (*al-bīᶜah*) is condemned, whereas the Shīᶜah theory of appointment is upheld. It is made clear that the ruler of Islam must belong to an unbroken chain of succession from the Prophet himself, each member of the chain being formally appointed by his predecessor. It is also emphasized that it is the Imāms of the Fāṭimid Dynasty who belong to the official sequence of successors, which started with Muḥammad and ᶜAlī. [14]

Some important sentences speak of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad as the great prophets. Although Prophecy was sealed by Muḥammad, the members of his family are destined to be his heirs and custodians until the Day of Resurrection. [15] Then, after a discourse about false and true leaders and actions, the Sixth Imām is quoted as saying: "We have from our God a rank which is not bestowed on anybody other than ourselves, and which is not the right of any one else. For we are the light from the light of God." In the future we shall be neighbours of God in His abode. Whoever accept us and obeys us is

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 45. The verse quoted at the beginning of the paragraph is from Surah, xvi. 120.
[13] Surah lvi. 10-11.
[14] *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām*, pp. 48-54.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

related to heaven, whereas he who obeys an unbeliever or a liar is related to hell." [16]

"When people go to hell it is through us. Through us is worship of God; through us is obedience to God; through us is opposition to God; for whoever obeys us obeys God and whoever opposes us opposes God. Obedience to us has gone forth as a command of God to His creatures. He does not accept any one's good works except through us. He does not show mercy to any one except through us, or punish anyone except through us. For we are the doorway of God and His proof, the custodians of His people, the guardians of his secret knowledge, the safe deposit of His learning: whoever interferes with our rights cannot prosper." [17]

After this discussion about the importance of the Imāms there follows a section about affection (*al-mawaddah*) for the Imāms. The key note of this topic is struck by a passage in Surah xlii. 23 which says, "No reward do I ask of you - - - except the love of those who are near of kin." Then there follows a quotation from Al-ᶜAbbās, who reported that "The people said to the Apostle of God, may God bless him and give him peace, 'Oh Apostle of God, who then are those whom we should love?' He replied, 'ᶜAlī, Fāṭimah and her children.' " [18]

This section about affection for the Imām is followed by the two final discussions of the chapter. One of them deals with the subject, "Those who seek knowledge," and the other with a statement about "He from whom knowledge should be derived." A line from Surah xvi. 113 introduces the first topic with the statement, "Ask those who recollect, if you yourselves do not know." Then the Prophet is quoted as saying, "The importance of the members of my family for you is like that of Noah's Ark. Whoever embarked on it was saved, but he who was separated from it drowned. Seek knowledge from the well versed members of my family, for whoever obtains knowledge from the highly informed members of my family is rescued from hell." [19]

Other quotations are also cited to prove that the members of the Prophet's family possess the true knowledge. The Sunni Caliphs and the great Sunni legal authorities did not really know the truth. This is evident as they contradicted themselves and caused confusion. [20] Many examples are given to explain this point. Several of the leading schools of Sunni Jurisprudence, for instance, interpreted puzzling legal questions by means of analogy. If the Qurʾān and the Traditions did not explain a legal point clearly, a comparison was made with some similar case or precedent. The following lines of the Surah v. 4, are then quoted to emphasize the fact that the truth does not come from reasoning of

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 84.
[19] *Daᶜāʾim al-Islām*, p. 99.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 103 ff & 107 ff.

this sort, but rather by divine revelation. "This day have I perfected for you your religion, completed my favor towards you, and chosen for you Islam as your faith."

In other words, the Fāṭimids claimed that reasoning by individual insight and analogy could not explain the Law, which could only be interpreted by means of the knowledge given by God to the Prophet and passed on to the members of his family. Illustrations then follow to explain how human reasoning cannot comprehend the Divine Law.

The revealed law, the Sharīᶜah, for instance, only requires a superficial washing after passing urine, but demands an entire bath after sexual intercourse. No reasoning by analogy can be applied to this matter, because obviously urine is more impure than semen. Moreover, according to the Law only two witnesses are required to determine a case of suicide, whereas four are needed to prove a charge of adultery. But all agree that suicide is a greater offense than adultery. Then again, although prayer is more important than fasting, a woman during her period of menstruation is ordered to fast, but not to pray. As, therefore, the ordinances are not in accord with what a human being would expect, it is evident that they must have been revealed to man by a higher intellect, that is by God. It is only the Imāms and not the Sunni scholars who understand God's revelations. [21]

The first chapter of *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām* ends with the following paragraph. "Thus have we mentioned the people's acknowledgment of ignorance and wavering in error, as well as the need for refraining from imitating them, from accepting their knowledge and from using individual insight and analogy, which are not based upon the Qurᵓān, the Sunnah or the sayings of the Apostle of God, (may God bless him and give him peace) or of one of the Imāms of his family, ordained to be obeyed. We have described the high rank of the Imāms of the family of Muḥammad (may God bless him and give him peace) and how God, Exalted and Glorious, demands obedience to them, learning from them, and submission both to their rule and to what is demanded on their behalf. This proof and guide suffices, thanks be to God, Lord of Mankind. May God bless His Apostle, our Master Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets, as well as the Imāms of his lineage, who are righteous and pure." [22]

These statements and quotations make it clear that the first chapter of *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām* contains an ideology, which is opposed to the Sunni doctrines. The remainder of the book, however, is much more conventional. The Fāṭimid system was a blending of heresy and orthodoxy. On the one hand, there were the heterodox dogmas connected with the Imāmate, while on the other hand there was a pious observance of the ordinances contained in the Qurᵓān. As one Fāṭimid scholar wrote,

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[21] *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām*, p. 111.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

"Actions based on the Sharīᶜah emanate from the faith. To neglect them is to neglect the faith and with God the faith is Islām." [23] Another quotation shows how much piety and repentance were valued. "God has seventy shields for each believer, who if he sins has a shield withdrawn. But if he repents and asks for pardon, God, Mighty and Glorious returns the shield for him." [24]

As has already been pointed out, the first volume of *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām* is devoted to the Pillars of the Faith, from which the book derives its title, while the second part deals with secular matters. As in the codes of Sunni Jurisprudence, the subjects are explained in great detail. In order to explain how detailed these explanations are, the following examples are given from the second chapter of the book.

This second chapter fills thirty-seven printed pages. As it is about ritualistic purity (*Ṭahārah*) it is interesting to compare it with the 12th and 15th chapters of Leviticus. After a pious introduction the ordinances of ceremonial ablution (*wuḍūᵓ*) are described. Washing is prescribed both before and after eating. In preparation for prayer it is necessary to wash the face, hands and feet, and to cover the private parts, which for a man means the body between the navel and the knees, and for a woman the whole body. [25]

In connection with bowel movements and urinating nothing is left to the imagination. The pious phrases to be uttered, the means of preserving modesty, the prescribed washings and other practical points are explained with meticulous detail. Rules are also given for ritualistic cleansing during and after menstruation, for washing away the taint of idolatry at the time of conversion, and for purification after a trance or attack of insanity.

Ceremonial ablutions are also prescribed for the pilgrimage, for feasts, for certain occasions during Ramaḍān and at time of death. Then details are given as to how men and women should bathe their whole bodies after sexual intercourse and how they should wash garments made ceremonially impure by semen or urine. There are also sections about cleansing the teeth, as the Prophet used to do, and instructions for using clean earth or sand for washing, when water is not available.

Certain ordinances deal with purity in connection with food and

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[23] Dr. Ḥusain al-Hamdānī, *Al-Ṣulaihiyyūn* p. 244, Al-Risālah Press, Cairo, 1955, quoting *Kitāb al-Maqālid* of Yaᶜqūb al-Sijistānī.

[24] *Kitāb al-Himmah,* p. 114.

[25] *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām,* pp. 121-158.

Note. In 1957, L'Institut Français de Damas published a composition of the Qāḍī Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Nuᶜmān ibn-Muḥammad, which condensed into a small space the important material contained in *Daᶜāᵓim al-Islām.* The title of the book is *Al-Iqtiṣār.* It has been edited by Muḥammad Waḥid Mirzā of the University of Lucknow. The French introduction gives a very clear, but somewhat controversial, account of the origin of the Fāṭimids, as well as an excellent résumé of their history. This little book is especially interesting, because in 975 A.D. the author's son, ᶜAlī ibn-al-Nuᶜmān, started to dictate it to a large attendance at Al-Jāmiᶜ al-Azhar. Thus, except for the Qurᵓān it was probably the first textbook used at Al-Azhar.

drink and how to avoid things contaminated either by death or by insects. Circumcision is prescribed with proper ablutions and there are also instructions for trimming the hair on the face and the body. Other rules explain how to observe ritualistic purity on special occasions by abstaining from sexual intercourse with concubines. It is, moreover, forbidden to eat the meat of a dead animal, although it is permitted to use the wool, provided the hide is not used as a prayer mat.

As the chapters which follow describe every phase of mediaeval life with similar detail, *Daᶜāʾim al-Islām* like other great codes of Jurisprudence, forms a complete manual for religious and secular behavior.

Princeton, N.J. BAYARD DODGE

MUSLIMS IN THE AMERICAN MID-WEST

It was 2.30 am. when we finished the Turkish coffee in Detroit and bid "maᶜ salāmah" to the leaders of the American Muslim communities in the Mid-West. The hour and a half trip back to Toledo was filled with religious and political discussion as had been the first stage of the journey some nine hours earlier. Through the courtesy of Mr. Qasim E. Olwan, then president of the Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada, and still my neighbor around the corner from St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Toledo, Ohio, there had been a most profitable and helpful evening of free discussion with Muslim men and women from five mosques in the Detroit area.

Provincial Americans frequently think of the Muslim as an inhabitant of a mission field in the Middle East. They seldom recognize the Muslim, co-religionist from one of the great monotheistic faiths, as also a citizen of the United States. Perhaps this is because the Muslim immigrant to the United States and Canada until very recently had no unifying voice and frequently was living in isolation from his brother Muslim. Even more to the point, Muslims in America are not selling bonds, taking up collections or lobbying in behalf of any Middle Eastern foreign state. They are for the most part small independent business men or factory workers taking their place in the community along with any third and fourth generation American family.

The early Muslim settlers came to North America in the 1860's to escape Turkish domination, especially in Syria and Lebanon. This very early wave of Arab immigration also brought many of the Arab Christians to these shores. [1] The next major immigration was at the turn of the century. These people came impelled by the same reasons that others came; theirs was the great American dream of plenty and prosperity for all. They were, of course, poor — there was no reason for the rich landowner of the Middle East to migrate. Today their children's children are participating in the social upheaval which is part of the American heritage. In the mosques there are now all types of occupations: doctors, lawyers, engineers, dentists, merchants, car dealers, grocers, sheriff's deputies, clerks, secretaries, factory workers, common laborers, etc. Ironically, many American Muslims are in the bar-restaurant business. Now, after three or four generations, their descendants have lost their knowledge of Arabic, but are becoming more and more interested in their ancient heritage. Arabic Schools even for adults are on the increase.

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[1] For a quick survey of earlier and later Muslim migration, see Nadim Makdisi "The Moslems of America" in *Christian Century,* August 26, 1959. See also Charles S. Braden, "Islam in America", in *The International Review of Missions,* July, 1959; Frank T. Simpson, "The Moorish Science Temple and its Koran," in *The Muslim World,* January 1947; Mehmed A. Simsar, article "Muslims in the United States", in *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,* 1955.

A European Muslim migration to America took place after World War II. The Albanian and Yugoslav communities consist mainly of refugees. They 'read' the Qurʾān but with rare exceptions cannot translate it or speak Arabic. For the most part these European Muslims do not fraternize with the Arab societies. However, a Yugoslav served as *imām* in the Toledo mosque which was almost entirely Arab in constitution. A Pakistani migration has also come of late and centers in the great port and coastal areas. In recent years pseudo-Muslim missionary movements have been making some headway in Negro communities through the strong emphasis on brotherhood.

There are more Muslims in America than most people are aware. Estimates vary from fifty to eighty thousand with the realistic figure near the high side, including some seven thousand Negroes. About ten thousand live in the Detroit-Windsor area. It was suggested to the writer that if the Christian Arabs and the Muslim Arabs got together politically they could probably control the city of Dearborn. Growth by immigration has slowed up considerably, but growth by family increase is that of the average American family. The increase in mosques and in Muslim communities is largely due to this natural birth factor and to the successful gathering together of the formerly isolated Muslims into the society of Muslims of various groups. Without an authoritative interpretation, the place of birth-control remained unsettled in our discussion of Muslim growth. There were those who felt the Qurʾān forbade all such efforts, since children were the gift of God, "inshʾallah." Others allowed for a more liberal family limitation practice. In American Muslim society women are equal to men after the first generation. In fact, in many cases they are educated equally with the men and are often more accultured than the men. The vivacious secretary of the Federation is the highly respected secretary of the Dearborn City Hall. Women's societies are one of the main-stays in the fund-raising for building mosques and purchasing equipment. As in Christianity, the attendance of women at the Sunday services is higher than that of men, but men still predominate at the Friday services.

The majority of American Muslims are regular Sunnī. There is a large community of Shīʿahs in Detroit with their own mosque and *imām*. However, it was unanimously felt that no Muslim mosques are divided on sectarianism, and that the few traditions which are kept will not be divisive. No mosque in the Federation is divided on sectarian doctrine, practice or tradition. Only the Chicago Negro group under Elijah Muḥammad [2] is isolated and viewed with suspicion — not because of Muslim sectarianism, but because of race hatred and bigotry as taught by Elijah.

The familiar cry of Protestantism and Catholicism is heard among American Muslims: "We need more leaders." The cry for full-time,

[2] Cf. *Time*, August 10, 1959, pp. 24 ff.

native-born imāms is more persistent than the call of the muezzin. Many at the Detroit meeting felt that this is the only hope of American Muslims. At present there is no American-born, properly trained, full-time *imām*. All have been foreign-born. Some have come as natural immigrants. A few have been brought over from Arab lands to serve in American communities. The former are usually successful because they have developed with their communities along the American pattern. The imported *imām* is usually unsuccessful, primarily because of the language barrier and because customs which are accepted by American Muslims seem foreign to the *imām* and seem to be like "changing the religion." A Lebanese *imām* was able to stay in Toledo only several months. Neither he nor the Toledo Muslims could make the mutually necessary adjustments.

Mosques are without full-time *imāms* all over the United States and Canada. Vacancies exist in London, Edmonton, Toledo, Cedar Rapids, Michigan City, Chicago, Dearborn (two), Windsor, South Bend. Two mosques in Detroit are filled, one with an Arab Shīᶜah, the other with an Albanian. Two mosques in Chicago are filled with Yugoslavs. Mr. Olwan and his successor went in August, 1959 to Cairo seeking help from Al-Azhar. [3] This help would be based on recognition of the Federation of Islamic Associations as the only Muslim organization in North America. It would supply books, and perhaps teachers, for American Muslim communities, and accept an American Muslim as a student in Cairo if such could be found. When the Washington Islamic Center was first envisioned, many hoped it would become a training center, but financial and political problems have so far prevented this needed development.

The *imām* can help to organize the community better when he is on a full-time basis. He can teach in the Sunday School, the Arabic schools and lead the Youth Groups. He can speak to Protestant organizations and increase the American awareness and understanding of the Muslim faith. He can develop his own texts for study for both children and adults. He can help the people deepen their religious life and especially increase their stewardship. Kamil Avdich, a Yugoslav *imām*, served in Toledo for sixteen months and was able to accomplish many of these things. He returned to Chicago when foreign aid and local gifts were not sufficient to support a full-time *imām*.

[3] Since the completion of this article information has been received personally from Mr. Olwan, as published in the New York Times for September 20, 1959, to the effect that "Al-Azhar has promised to send four English-speaking Imams to the U.S.A. before the end of the year. They will go to Toledo, Chicago, Detroit and Cedar Rapids. Toledo will finance its own program, but the other four will be helped in the first five months with a subsidy from the Arab organization *waqf*.

"In addition, seven mosques will receive complete libraries: 80% of the books in English and 20% in Arabic. A letter exchange of pen pals is to be set up for international relations. President Abd al-Nāṣir invited the Association to hold its 1961 Convention in Cairo. It probably will do so."

None of the mosques at present operates on a budget, although Toledo is almost at the point of preparing one. Some think an American-born *imām* will make this type of financing possible. The average annual expenses of the mid-western mosque, such as at Toledo, Detroit or Dearborn, are about $ 4,000. Over and above this is the expense for building and the possible salary of an *imām* if one becomes available. Most of the money is raised by the dues paid to subsidiary organizations (men's, women's, youth), by donations at social affairs, and by special money-raising projects. There is little need for charity to American Muslims, and, if they needed it, their co-religionists feel they would refuse to accept it out of pride. However, some benevolence through special affairs has been raised by the societies and contributed to Refugee Relief, Algerian Liberation Committee, Red Cross, Polio, Leukemia, etc.

The Federation of Islamic Associations is the official organization in the United States and Canada. It is the nearest thing to a synod although it is primarily concerned with Muslim society and not narrowly to "church affairs." It developed out of the dreams and torments of a young Muslim soldier in the United States armed forces in World War II. He had difficulty with the "dog-tag," since he did not wish to be Protestant (the usual government term for anything non-Catholic). But just as surely he was not a "blank," with no religion. When ᶜAbdallāh Igram from Cedar Rapids, Iowa, was discharged in 1945 he kept working on his problem and a dream. He became a successful owner of a supermarket, as so many others before him. He is now the father of five children and in 1958 was named "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" by the Cedar Rapids Junior Chamber of Commerce. In 1952, the Cedar Rapids Muslim community issued an open invitation to Muslims for a convention to be held there. It was an appropriate place, since in 1933 the first Muslim mosque in the Western Hemisphere had been erected in Cedar Rapids, although it was not the first building used as a mosque. More than four hundred Muslims responded and on June 28, 1952, the International Muslim Society was created. Naturally, Mr. Igram was elected president and served for three years.

The second convention was held in 1953 in Toledo, Ohio. More than one thousand persons from the United States and Canada attended the various sessions. A committee to draft a constitution was appointed. Because of the enthusiasm engendered and the cohesion gained, the Toledo community began a drive for a new mosque which was dedicated in 1954. The Chicago convention of 1954 saw the realization of a strong organization with the adoption of a constitution and the statement of the broad purpose of the organization. On July 10, the new name, "Federation of Islamic Associations in the United States and Canada" was officially adopted. Previously, the entire assembly elected officers

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[4] Unfortunately it was overlooked by the *Christian Century* article noted above.

and they bore the full responsibility. Now a Board of Directors was added which gave proportionate representation to individual societies so that local groups would feel a part of the program and promote its purposes. Mr. Igram would not run again, and so in London, Ontario, Colonel Hassen Abraham, of South Bend, was elected president in 1955. He presided over the next two conventions which were exceptionally large: New York, 1956 and Detroit, 1957. During these years the convention was the responsibility of the host community. At the Detroit convention in 1957, Mr. Qasim Olwan was elected third president. He had been treasurer from its inception. With this meeting the Federation assumed responsibility for its conventions in cooperation with the local societies. From this time on, the Board of Directors' meetings have been opened to any who wish to listen or to speak.

A youth movement was beginning during these years, and some believed it would do well to remain independent. But it had a tendency to go off into political issues and to become an Anti-Zionist platform. So, wiser heads prevailed and at the Washington Convention held at the new Islamic Center in 1958, the Islamic Youth Association was directly affiliated with the Federation. It now holds regional meetings which are largely social. The Washington convention was handled completely by the officers of the Federation while previous conventions were in charge of local societies, any profit being divided 50-50. At the 1959 convention, held in Michigan City at the end of July, Mr. Olwan would not stand for re-election. The fourth president is Mr. James Kalil. The next convention in 1960 will be held at Windsor, Ontario.

A folder of the Federation, published under Mr. Olwan, concluded: "Six years ago, there was no central organization to speak in our behalf in the Western Hemisphere. Today our organization is strong, but there is much to be done. We need your support. These are the objectives which we are sure you will help implement for the betterment of our Muslim brothers on this continent." The objectives are: 1. To promote and teach the spirit, ethics, philosophy and culture of Islam to Muslims and their children in the United States and Canada. 2. To participate in, and contribute to, the modern renaissance of Islam. 3. To establish contacts and strengthen the relationship with the Muslim world community. 4. To expound the teachings of Islam. 5. To point out the common beliefs which other religions share with Islam. 6. To provide a media for religious, intellectual and social needs of Muslims.

The leadership of the Federation has been largely Lebanese and Syrian, but recently Yugoslavs and Albanians have become interested. The Pakistanis are attending largely as individuals. There is no strong effort to link up with the Muslim foreign students in American universities although many attend the local mosques. There are recognized Negro Muslim societies in New York, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In several other mosques of Arab origin in Chicago, Youngstown, Akron, etc., there are Negro members. Ahmad Jamīl, the jazz combo

player, is one of these, and recently protested against the use of "Muslim" by Elijah Muḥammad of Chicago. These other groups are affiliated with the Federation, and Negro delegates are at the conventions and on the Board. An average of 25-30 Negroes have attended each convention. The Negro society in Chicago led by Elijah Muḥammad is not affiliated and it is not recognized as truly Muslim. Although he conducts the largest Arabic school in the United States and claims to use the Qurʾān as the basis for his teachings, the Federation officers (along with the FBI) have remained suspicious of him. They do not believe he could subscribe to the objectives of the Federation listed above.

The *Christian Century* article recently described something of the New York community. A brief survey, more in detail than that, may be made of some of the Mid-West Societies which are affiliated with the Federation. The Toledo mosque was made possible by the stimulation from the Federation convention in 1953. Located just off one of the busy, through-streets in town, it is in an old neighborhood just about a mile from downtown. Its members come from all over the district. They have frequent social events to which non-Muslims are invited, as well as certain cultural interchanges. The mosque, which cost about $ 100.000, is now free of debt. It is a true mosque, with upstairs for religious purposes only, and downstairs for social and business activities. There were no pledges but various men's, women's and youth organizations raised the funds by dues, suppers, bazaars, dances, etc. It is legally incorporated by the laws of Ohio as a religious society. Its officers are volunteers who serve as a Board of Trustees. There are about six or seven lay preachers who give the sermon now in the absence of a full-time *imām*. When Mr. Avdich was present, the Friday sermon was given in both Arabic and English. Now it is only in English. Arabic classes are held for children. The Sunday School is conducted at 11 a.m. and during the winter months averages 150 persons from four years to adult. Three lay teachers are in the elementary department. Mr. Avdich recently published a text for use with young people and adults, which is being adapted by teachers of small children. The second great need of American Muslims is for educational materials. There is no library in this mosque. The *imām's* personal library was used when he was available. The mosque is open all day for prayer. The Toledo mosque has the only resident paid custodian in an American mosque. The leaders are highly respected members of Toledo society and their greatest desire is to find a full-time *imām* as soon as possible.

Already in 1912 a hall was purchased in Detroit for a Muslim society. Some sixty families are active now in the new Highland Park mosque which is one of the best equipped along with Toledo's. It was a long time in being completed, since, following an old Protestant tradition, a basement was built first, and it was not until the impetus of the Detroit convention that the super-structure could be completed. Windsor Muslims were very active in the financing of this new mosque.

Charles Alawan is one of the active Sunday School teachers here and in Dearborn. His enthusiasm for his religion and for its Americanization is so great that his compatriots call him "evangelist." There is no sermon on Friday during the summer but the men are fairly regular all winter and spring. There is no Arabic school in Highland Park. In addition to this Detroit mosque there is the Albanian mosque and the Shīᶜah mosque. Both of these have full-time *imāms*.

There are two strong societies in Dearborn. It is estimated there are about 1000 Muslim families in Dearborn. These societies are both about thirty-five years old. The Sunday School is strong with over 300 in attendance. It is suspended for summer months as seems customary elsewhere. Arabic education is growing rapidly. It is taught on three levels with about one hundred at present enrolled, the youngest being seven. Several years ago a special five night school of religion was held for intensive Muslim education. It is hoped another can be conducted soon.

The Detroit Islamic Council was organized to handle the convention, but continues as a public relations council (or a Muslim Council of Churches). It tries to correct mis-information in the press, but all the members present in our discussion did not appreciate my analogy to the "Anti-Defamation League." In the Council the Detroit societies have come together not only for the convention, but for aid to refugees, support of Algerian freedom, local welcomes to Arab and Muslim dignitaries. They were most enthusiastic over the national press coverage they received for their convention when the Detroit mayor publically snubbed the Federation. Because of this bigoted incident, the convention received coverage even in towns with no Muslim citizens. The council was active in getting Arabic recently added to the curriculum of Wayne State University. They have succeeded in getting "excused absences" from Dearborn public schools for Ramaḍān and other holidays. They have protested against the press treatment of "Allāh" as some sort of idol or sectarian god, rather than the "universal, beneficent creator." They protested strongly against the photographs of shoes outside of mosques, even in the Eisenhower visit to the Islamic Center in Washington during the dedication ceremonies. One member told me it would be like taking a picture of the coat rack at the cathedral. [5] The Detroit Free Press recently published an article on the Islamic faith written by one of its own reporters (The *Toledo Blade* had an article of a similar nature written by a Pakistani exchange reporter).

The Windsor society is five years old. At present the members come to Dearborn or Detroit for worship, but there is a building rented permanently for social purposes in Windsor. It is hoped the 1960 con-

[5] Perhaps this was a new-world kind of susceptibility. I have taken many pictures of mosque portals and shoes in Asia and Africa and never had a protest. They are a fascinating sight to the imaginative and of course these is nothing uniquely Muslim about the custom of doffing them. Ed.

vention will give them the financial nest-egg and inspiration to build their own mosque. In Windsor the new society *Assalaam* has been started. This is a joint Arab-Christian and Arab-Muslim society. It is too young to say much about it as yet.

Edmonton had the first mosque in Canada. There is also a society in Winnepeg. In Nova Scotia the society is over twenty years old. There are no full-time *imāms* in all of Canada, but some well educated part-time *imāms* serve excellently as in the United States.

Michigan City has the second oldest mosque in the United States. It was completed in 1933. But it too needs an *imām*. The forty families of Michigan City were hosts to the Federation this year with the aid of neighbouring Gary and South Bend. The newest mosque is now under construction at Gary and is expected to be completed by the end of 1959. Two Yugoslav mosques in nearby Chicago are highly organized and respected by all. An Arab mosque in Chicago is another of the many vacant mosques looking for an *imām*. Cedar Rapids has the oldest true mosque in the United States. Its large colony of prosperous merchants has made an impact on the city. The first convention of the Federation was held there and the first president still works there.

The Islamic Center in Washington was planned first of all as a center for the use of diplomatic personnel. Seventeen Arab countries originally contributed to the Center. However, its support is now largely from the United Arab Republic (Egypt-Syria) and Saudi Arabia. It has a secondary purpose of becoming a center for American Muslims. Because of its inadequate library and small staff, this purpose has yet to be achieved. Many unused classrooms speak of this unfulfilled ideal. A lecture series has been conducted the past two years at which visiting Muslim and Christian lecturers are presented to the Muslim community and to others who attend in the Washington area. The present writer spoke there a year ago on "Moses in Early Christian and Islamic Tradition." [6] The two directors have frequently visited the midwestern mosques and delivered fine lectures on the Muslim faith. It is hoped that eventually this center may become a pre-seminary for American-born *imāms* who would then complete their training at Al-Azhar in Cairo.

The Center and the many local mosques have helped Protestant Christians to understand their Muslim neighbors. What Christian denomination has in its purpose and constitution anything similar to the fifth item above? Many Muslims are interested in the Muslim-Christian Continuing Committee. ᶜAbdallah Igram, the first president of the Federation, is a member of the Continuing Committee. The teachers in Detroit and Dearborn have spoken in Protestant Churches and public schools about their religion. In all the mosques, invitations have been

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[6] Published in *Journal of Bible and Religion*, April 1959, pp. 102 ff.

issued to clergy and to youth groups for visitation. The Dearborn Muslim Youth attended an Ann Arbor Methodist youth meeting.

All the Muslims of the writer's acquaintance hope for better understanding, and regret that both the Continuing Committee and the American Friends of the Middle East appeal only to the so-called intelligentsia of Christians and Muslims. The group meeting with me felt it was the average Muslim and Christian layman who needed more help in mutual understanding and brotherhood. Yet at the dedication of the Toledo mosque when the executive secretary of the Council of Churches and other Protestants were present, a prominent Presbyterian minister took strong exception to this official recognition of "Pagans." Obviously, understanding is needed also by the clergy and not just out of fear of Negro conversions to Islam as hinted in the *Christian Century*. Although Orthodox Christians have accepted invitations to Muslim affairs along with Protestants, and have likewise returned the gracious hospitality, no Roman Catholic invitations have been received and no official visits made. Of course the Arab-Christian and the Arab-Muslim have been brought closer together by the establishment of Israel and by the protracted Algerian problem.

A debate similar to that on birth control took place on the subject of mixed marriage, which could arise through some of the interchange. The Qurʾān seems to suggest that no true Muslim will enter a marriage with a Christian or a Jew. [7] But one Ḥadīth seems to suggest that mixed marriage is prohibited for women, but possible exceptions may be made for men. Incidentally, some of those present thought it necessary to remind the American Christian that there is no polygamy among American Muslims.

Literature is an important means of communication, education, and cohesion. It is unfortunate that the fine article by the United States Information Agency on American Muslims is not made available to Christians in the United States, but is used only in Arab countries. This series would be most valuable for home as well as overseas consumption.

Muslim Life is a quarterly now published by the Federation. It was originally founded and privately published by Vehbi Ismael, the Albanian *imām* of Detroit. After several years he found it too difficult to keep subscribers and to pay costs. For a brief period it suspended publication. Then, in 1956, the Federation of Islamic Associations took over. Vehbi Ismael edits and publishes the quarterly on behalf of the Federation. It consists largely of news items such as would interest the various Muslim communities. The articles are usually written by Imām

[7] In addition to Mr. Olwan, those gathered in the Statler Hotel were Husain al Hajj, Albert Farris, Ida Farris, Faye al Haje, Amelia Khalil, Camella Alawan Ḥusain Makled, Nayef Jasey, Charles Alawan, Zehia Khalil and James Khalil. The ms was examined by six Muslims and the debate was recorded accurately, despite Surah v. 7.

Ismael himself, but a few guest articles have appeared, and occasionally a digest is made of an Arabic article. As of the moment, no articles by non-Muslims have been published. Vehbi Ismael writes well, and his library is reputed to be the best private Muslim library in the United States. The Youth Association now affiliated with the Federation publishes a monthly newspaper. It has about three thousand subscribers but is subsidized by the Federation. An Arabic newspaper published in Detroit is one of the oldest unifying factors on the Muslim scene. It has been the voice championing Arab causes, religious and political, through the years. It is independent and not related to any mosque or Federation society.

The Caravan is a Brooklyn weekly with Christian sponsorship. It urges Arab unity and is similar to the newly organized *Assalaam* in Windsor. It is strongly nationalist and, like most American Muslims, supports ʿAbd al-Nāṣir. There are no authoritative or systematic treatments of the Muslim faith available to the American Muslim. Mr. Avdich's book *The Outline of Islam* was privately printed and is having some popularity in Sunday Schools. Perhaps the new Ronald Press book on Islam by Muslims edited by Kenneth Morgan will be of value. [8] The second president of the Federation, Ḥasan Abraham, published a book intended for elementary school children entitled *Five Major Prophets.* There is an addendum for the Sixth. It is hoped this survey of Muslims of the Mid-West will serve the Christian student as an introduction to a fellow citizen, a neighbor and a believer in a "most merciful God." The Protestant can sympathize with the great needs and aspirations of the Muslims of America.

St. Paul's Lutheran Church C. Umhau Wolf
Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A.

[8] *Islam — the Straight Path,* reviewed in *The Muslim World,* Vol. 49 (1959) pp. 54 f.

ARTHUR JEFFERY - A TRIBUTE

Arthur Jeffery began his service in Cairo in 1921 as a Professor in the newly-formed School of Oriental Studies (S.O.S.) of the American University at Cairo. The S.O.S. had been preceded by and grew out of the Language Study Center of the American Mission, a non-academic institution training missionary candidates for service in Egypt. When the Language Study Center was transformed into the School of Oriental Studies, the scope of its work was broadened. The American University at Cairo had been conceived as a "bridge of understanding," linking the Muslim world and the West. In the other faculties of the institution, Egyptian and eastern students would be introduced to the best in western educational experience. It was the conviction of the University's first President (Dr. Charles R. Watson) that there should also be a faculty in which the westerner would be introduced to the best in eastern and Islamic culture. To meet this need the S.O.S. was launched in 1921, becoming one of the four major departments of the University's work. While it continued as a center of practical language study for missionaries, business men and diplomats, its larger objective was to become a center of research in Islamic subjects, where scholars of the Muslim community could meet scholars of the Christian community within the atmosphere of university life.

In the staff of the newly-formed S.O.S. much of the teaching was carried by members of the various mission groups operating in Egypt, chief among them being Dr. Samuel Zwemer, Dr. Earl E. Elder, and Canon Temple Gairdner. But in addition to such part-time work the School needed the services of a competent orientalist with professorial status. After careful search Dr. Watson selected Arthur Jeffery, a young scholar then unknown in the circles of Islamic studies. At the time Mr. Jeffery was teaching at Madras Christian College, in India. It was typical of his quiet modesty that, when approached by Dr. Watson, he disclaimed the ability he felt the position offered would require. In answer to the University's invitation, Arthur Jeffery wrote that he had doubts about his own fitness for the position since he "was not yet a qualified Arabic scholar and had only a working knowledge of some half dozen languages" — which he considered insufficient preparation for the position. Arthur Jeffery never lost this modesty, which was based upon both true humility of spirit and high regard for the rigorous standards of scholarship. Even when he became widely recognized as one of the most brilliant and penetrating students of Islam and headed the Department of Near and Middle East Languages at Columbia University, he never put his erudition on display, keeping it for the quiet and exacting tasks of teaching and research.

Dr. Jeffery's service in India began during the First World War. Being rejected for military service he found in the Madras Christian College an opportunity to relieve British personnel, as well as render

certain types of non-military war service. In addition to his teaching he began that cultivation of linguistic and philological interests in eastern languages which became his scholarly preoccupation and his great contribution to Islamic studies. Arthur Jeffery studied at the University of Melbourne, Australia, where he received his university degrees (B.A. 1918, M.A. 1920), and a degree in theology (B.Th. 1926). His interest in philology dated from student days and was quickly developed in India where he took the opportunity to master several of the local languages. After joining the School of Oriental Studies, in Cairo, Near Eastern languages became his field. With his brilliant mind and indefatigable industry he developed a scholarly ability in them that placed him in the first rank of Western Orientalists. In 1929 he received his Ph.D. (with special honors) from Edinburgh University and followed this with a D. Litt. (summa cum laude) in 1938 from the same institution.

Arthur Jeffery's contributions to the development and reputation of the School of Oriental Studies were many. He was a superb and exciting teacher, never wearying of giving himself to students and rigorous in holding them to the highest standards of scholarship. To sit under his instruction was an experience never to be forgotten. As a lecturer he had the gift of taking abstruse academic subjects and making them a matter of absorbing interest, both as intellectual adventures and gateways into understanding the life of the Muslim world. As a research scholar he produced a growing series of articles, reviews and studies which laid the foundation for his later and more extensive work at Columbia University.

One of his major interests was the textual criticism of the Qur'ān, and on this he continued to work throughout his career. His first work in this field was *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān,* published in Leiden in 1937. This was followed in 1938 by *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān,* published by the Oriental Institute of Baroda, India. Both studies were based upon work done for his doctoral dissertations.

Another outstanding contribution of Arthur Jeffery was the development of the Research Library at the School of Oriental Studies. Believing that primary sources are the basic materials of scholarship, he gradually built up a collection of books that contain many rare and out-of-print volumes whose ensemble formed a unique instrument for Islamic study. The collection was the reflection of Dr. Jeffery's own methods, research standards, and exhaustive knowledge of available texts. He had a deep personal feeling for it and students who wanted a particular book would be directed by Dr. Jeffery to its exact location in the Library. "You will find what you want," he would say, "in the third book on the fourth shelf of the second tier on the west side of the Library."

But Dr. Jeffery's service to Cairo reached for beyond the walls of

the Library and the classrooms of the University. As a minister of the Methodist Church, he was devoted to the missionary enterprise and exemplified in his own life and interests a deep Christian concern. His scholarship had a Christian purpose, for he believed that only by a painstaking and exacting study of Islamic materials could the content of that faith be understood and a Christian contribution made to those who followed it. This same scholarly Christian concern was expressed in his preaching. Drawing from his extensive knowledge of history and language, Dr. Jeffery would throw fresh illumination on the meaning of Scripture and the content of basic Christian convictions. None who heard his series in the American Mission Church on "The Apostle's Creed" can forget the penetrating and challenging views of the Christian life he presented.

In 1923, Arthur Jeffery married Miss Elsie Gordon Walker, then secretary to the President of the American University at Cairo. Their home quickly became a center of gracious and extensive hospitality, reflecting the many and stimulating interests they shared. Here came some of the most notable scholars in the Islamic field, and here too were held monthly "Shakespeare readings" which had nothing to do with Islamics and were therefore the more delightful to those immersed in the Muslim world and its problems. Dr. Jeffery left Cairo and the School of Oriental Studies in 1938 to occupy the Chair of Near Eastern and Middle East Languages at Columbia University. His scholarship deserved this wider setting and naturally expanded the circle of his influence, teaching and research. But in his going, the American University at Cairo and the scholarly community in Egypt — both Egyptian and foreign — lost an influence that has never been replaced.

New York, N.Y. JOHN S. BADEAU

On his advent to Cairo, when I first came to know Arthur Jeffery, he had the reputation of having assimilated a different Indian language during each of the five years of his sojourn in Madras. He stood in a gifted succession of Australian linguists and soon added Arabic to his store. It was a slight comfort to learn that he did find Arabic one of the more difficult among the languages he mastered. Rumour had it that it was the nineteenth. (There is substantial corroboration of the rumour in the Index of *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*). My knowledge of him and Mrs Jeffery deepened on their visits to Jerusalem in the days before they became denizens of the American School of Oriental Research. The first such visit was to participate in a Summer School in Islamic studies in the middle twenties. The early mornings found him with books, usually a grammar, and in answer to what book it was on one such occasion came the reply: "Well, before we left Cairo, I said to myself, 'Jeffery, you are going to have a great opportunity to rub up your Aramaic verbs.'" There were no wasted oppor-

tunities; for his conception of the value of time was Australian rather than Semitic. Later on, after the establishment of the Newman School of Missions, they came again and his typed lectures on "Prolegomena to the Study of Islam" were left in Jerusalem for others less instructed to use. These lectures were given in the evenings without the typescript in the courtyard at the back of the house. People came night after night to fill our hundred and more chairs. There were friendly Muslim scholars and one such remarked as he left: "This man knows more of the beginnings of Islam than most of us."

Insistent over details, Jeffery was naturally emphatic, whether it was a conversation, or a lecture, He was one of those to whom, in things academic or spiritual, it was happily and fruitfully natural to mingle ideas with a kind of enthusiasm. He was a man truly alive with a soul on fire with thought, love and purpose.

Redhill, Surrey, England. ERIC F. F. BISHOP

Arthur Jeffery came to Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University in 1938. It was my good fortune to arrive at the same time and to live in the same hall at Union for the next twenty years. My wife and I count it one of the greatest privileges that have come to us that we were thus brought into close neighborly relation with the Jefferys. Their home was a rendezvous for his students, and for visiting scholars, from far and near — Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and others. One met there, from time to time, some of the most eminent of foreign scholars, British, European, Near Eastern, Middle Eastern, Oriental; or outstanding students whose record is still to be made — and surely will be made. There was a certain formality about these teas, dinners, and evening gatherings. Conversation never sagged to the level of gossip or personalities. On the other hand, there was a warmth and *bonhommie* too, which everyone felt — especially if Dr. Jeffery could be induced to tell some of his inimitable stories, for example the famous "Copper-bottom-ing-um-mum" which he told with never a slip. Elsie Jeffery was a perfect hostess, and her arrangements for even a simple tea were impeccable. I mention this because I think the "democratic" trend in social relations leaves out something that is really priceless for the student, who is still forming his outlook on life and setting up the standards he will maintain in later years. What his students got from Arthur Jeffery was not only the academic discipline of accuracy, width of range, soundness of judgment, but the personal dignity and decorum of a great scholar who was also a great gentleman, always kind and sympathetic, but never sentimental. Too many of our leaders seem to believe it necessary or advisable to omit formalities. As R. W. Emerson once said — or was it said about him? — "He was a good neighbor, and kept his fences up."

Of his literary and scholarly publications, experts in his chosen field

can speak with more authority than I: for example of his permanently valuable work, published in India, on *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*. Not everyone has seen his beautiful translation from the Qur'ān, published in a *de luxe* edition in New York, or the anthology of Islamic religious literature recently published in the series known as "The World's Religions." He was in constant demand as a book reviewer, author of articles in journals and reference works (several not yet published, e.g. in the new edition of Hastings' *One-Volume Bible Dictionary*), and as a consultant and expert advisor to authors, editors, and publishers in the United States and elsewhere.

Reluctantly, but with notable success, he offered courses in the General History of Religions at Union Theological Seminary (disclaiming, characteristically, his competence outside his own field of specialization), and in Biblical Literature, especially a very popular course on the Hebrew Psalter and one on Early Eastern Christianity, which qualified students elected to their lasting advantage. One hopes that his Haskell Lectures, which were to have been delivered at Oberlin in the spring of 1960, were fully written out and may be published posthumously. In his careful and orderly way of doing things, it would have been only natural that the lectures should be written out well in advance of delivery. His modest self-estimate was not shared by his friends and associates, and he not only headed his Department at the University but has also been Chairman of the section on History of Religions in the Joint Committee on the Ph.D. degree in the field of Religion, offered and administered by Union and Columbia.

For him religion was much more than the academic study of sacred literature (chiefly the Bible and the Qur'ān), religious History (chiefly Islam and Christianity), or the analysis of theological concepts. His religion was simple and earnest, and glowed at the very core of his life as a scholar, teacher, writer, lecturer, and neighbor. You could find him at chapel in Union Seminary every morning at 8.30, and usually on Sundays at eleven, though he often went away to preach, especially at colleges and boys' schools where he was very popular and returned year after year. His sermons began, as a rule, with a story — from ancient literature, history, or tradition, whether Near Eastern, Byzantine, Arab or Egyptian. Then as he went on you began to see how the story was related to his text. Finally you caught the thrust of the whole: it meant something for *you*; it came home to your own private "business and bosom" (he rarely preached on public or social themes). I remember well the morning in chapel when he described Guadalcanal, three days after the American landing. For he himself had once been a missionary there, and he knew the place intimately and its people. Perhaps the best words to use are from the best definition of preaching, that by Phillips Brooks: his preaching was clearly the "imparting of truth through personality." His message was full of meaning for his hearers because it was full of meaning for himself.

Over a lifetime spent in clerical and academic circles, I cannot recall anyone else who reminds me of Arthur Jeffery, or of whom he reminded me. He was unique, in his simplicity, his charm, his devotion, combined with his profound learning and clear exposition of ideas, his sometimes terrifying standards (especially for unprepared students in the qualifying doctoral examinations in languages, of which he had charge), his "meekness and gentleness" after the New Testament pattern of Christian piety. At both Columbia University and Union Theological Seminary, Arthur Jeffery has been one of the brightest luminaries of our time. I do not expect ever to find his like again.

Union Theological Seminary, New York FREDERICK C. GRANT

BOOK REVIEWS

Islam and the Arabs. By Rom Landau, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1958; pp. 299, Price £ 1-10-0.

The purpose of this book, as the author himself defines it, is to give "a fairly rounded image of Islam and the Arabs." He succeeds partly but not wholly in this, and, although not the best, his book is far from being the worst of the large number of introductory books on the Middle East which have appeared in the last few years. Mr. Landau makes a serious attempt to cover the general history of Islam and the main aspects of Islamic civilization — law, philosophy, science, literature, and the arts. He gives a large amount of information, most of it accurate, although there are more slips and misprints than there should be (including, in a footnote, a mis-spelling of his own name.) The arrangement is clear and logical, but there is one serious defect of proportion. Mr. Landau, like many other writers, under-estimates the importance of the Ottoman Turks in Islamic and Arabic history. They ruled most of the Arab countries for four centuries, and during the first two at least they made good laws, built beautiful buildings, encouraged learning and administrated their provinces with care and precision. But Mr. Landau gives them two pages only, and says little about them except that they gave the "death-blow" to "the creative spirit of the Arabs."

The author of a general survey of this type faces a problem similar to that of the teacher writing school-reports on his pupils; he must try to say something significant about a large number of subjects in a small number of words. On the whole Mr. Landau's comments are sensible, but sometimes he is satisfied with a vague generalization or an analogy which is not so helpful as it may seem at first reading. To say, for example, that Al-Ghazālī's "position in Islam is comparable to that of St. Thomas Aquinas in Christianity" is to avoid the whole problem of the function of theology in the two religions; and to praise Gibrān for doing much "to interpret the Arab mind to the West" would only be just if a very special meaning were given to the words used.

If an introductory survey is to help its readers really to understand its subject, it must be based on some principle which will give order and unity to the facts and explain their significance. Mr. Landau has such a principle, and it can be seen at work in passages like the following: "... Islamic science never became dehumanized — as it did in the West — but always was at the service of man. Likewise, while Western science at a comparatively early age was forced into specialization, each of its branches functioning more or less in isolation, Islamic science remained universalist, striving towards unity, a unity in which not only the physical universe but both God and man played their decisive parts."

Statements like this raise many questions. They imply a sharp contrast between what Mr. Landau clearly regards as the falsity of modern Western ideas and what he regards as the core of eternal truth in Islam. The contrast seems too sharply drawn, and in the process beliefs and attitudes are attributed to Muslims which in fact existed only among a certain school of Islamic thinkers. Mr. Landau's Islam is that of Ibn ᶜArabī and the mystics of monistic tendency. "The Muslim," he asserts,

"does not feel that God is 'up there' but rather is found within himself." Mr. Landau has a right to his own religious convictions; but has he a right to attribute to "the Muslim" — that is to say, to all Muslims, and to Islam as such — such a sweeping denial of the transcendence of God?

St. Anthony's College, Oxford

ALBERT H. HOURANI

L'Islam et les Musulmans d'aujourd'hui. By Pierre Rondot, Editions de l'Orante, 23, rue Oudinot, Paris, 1958, pp. 375.

The author, who has hitherto dealt with particular issues and situations of the contemporary Islamic world from Tunis to Pakistan, to Indo-China, has here passed from the specific to the general and presents to his public an introductory manual of real merit. Although he himself characterizes it as "a general survey, brief and elementary," this book has remarkable scope and evinces a solid background of scholarship.

Pierre Rondot was prompted to undertake this guide to the living entity which is Islam today by the realization that the whole Islamic world is in ferment, that the Western world is sadly in need of guiding principles to orient itself in the delicate and explosive contacts it must have with the awakening giant, and more particularly that France's relation to the Muslim community is undergoing tragic tensions in North Africa. The urgency of the need is great for the general public in France and elsewhere in the west to gain an understanding of the forces at work in this community of Islam.

The discussion starts, not with the origins of Islam, but with the contemporary Muslim community, its geographical and strategic position in the modern world, and the mood and tenor of life in this community. In the second, third, and fourth parts the author moves on to the roots of Islamic sensibility, beliefs and practices, to the Muslim institutions that create the sense of community, and to some patterns of historical development, the rise of sects, mysticism, and the brotherhoods. In the fifth part, we consider the transforming powers at work in the recent and contemporary periods, reform movements and evolutionary trends. Finally in the last section two notable deviations from the main Islamic tradition are discussed at some length, i.e. the Turkey of Mustapha Kemal, and Islamic states under Soviet control. An extensive bibliography prepared for the interested layman, some charts and tables of historical interest complete this valuable piece of work.

This book stands in contrast to most introductory manuals in that it deals less with the classical forms of Islam and more with the living actuality. Instead of a cold, dispassionate and critical analysis of the basic theological ideas, examined in the abstract, the author has sought to present the complex of faith, way of life, and community as it is seen, felt, lived and loved by present-day Muslims. If we are to gauge the power and effectiveness of Islam as a world force, we must see it not merely in critical objectivity but through the eyes of the faithful. This approach does not eliminate a consideration of the basic beliefs and practices of traditional Islam, or a survey of its historical development. It does avoid tedious chronology and insignificant detail, however, by subsuming these to the live implications they have for the present age.

The social and psychological consequences of beliefs and practices are consistently stressed. Frequent illustrations drawn from contemporary newspaper articles, speeches, radio broadcasts emanating from Algiers, Tunis, Cairo, Damascus, Beirut or Baghdad sharpen the impression that we are dealing not with dead ideas but with living, dynamic, though at times confused, human realities.

A timely feature is found at the end of the book where the author deals with Islamic communities in the USSR and with the Soviet policy towards Islam. This reviewer has looked without success for some such work in English as a text for an introductory undergraduate course on Islam and the present-day world. This book, if translated, would provide a near-ideal manual for that purpose.

Some critical comments need to be made. The author depends almost exclusively for documentation on works appearing in French. This of course would lessen its value in translation for a non-French reading public. On one or two topics this also reduces the breadth of his presentation. In dealing with Islamic mysticism for instance, Rondot depends entirely on Massignon's interpretations. These need to be balanced by the views of German, English and Spanish scholars or orientalists, who have written in these languages. Mysticism is almost identified with asceticism; yet in the Islamic development the two were not necessarily joined.

Although the communal nature of Islam as a complex of religion, social institutions, political orientation, and psychological bias is duly noted, the author does not make it clear that these combined factors in themselves could give rise to nationalistic fervor. He tends to trace all nationalism back to western sources and may thus mislead some into thinking of Arab and other Muslim nationalisms as essentially of the western type. This would be a grave error.

A last comment is colored entirely by personal bias and would be directed at most works dealing with cultures and civilizations other than our own western variety. Why does Pierre Rondot, why do all of us, seem to assume that the western-type secular state, marked by parliamentary government, checks and balances of power, separation of church and state, is the ideal prototype of all future states and in that sense "modern"? Rondot analyzes extensively the Turkish deviation from the Islamic norm and one detects in his treatment the assumption that this is a hopeful deviation because it is more or less patterned after the western norm. Is it possible that this prototype may prove to be only one type and that the future configuration of states may be multiform rather than uniform?

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HAROLD B. SMITH

Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema. By Jacob M. Landau, University of Pennsylvania Press, 3436 Walnut St., Philadelphia 4, Pa., 1958, pp. xiv, 290, $ 6.00.

Drama, although not an ancient Arabic literary form, has in modern times become an important element in the cultural picture of the Near East. As a literary art and as produced on the stage contemporary Arabic drama is now of sufficient importance to demand serious study from those who are interested in the Arab world. Western students of

modern Arabic literature are aware of the scarcity of material in English. Knowledge of the theater has had to come through the tedious process of collecting scattered articles and examining the few plays which have been translated; or, better, it has been acquired by reading a large number of plays in Arabic as well as spending extended time in such centers as Cairo or Beirut. Such should be sufficient to indicate that the appearance of this first serious study of the Arabic theatre in English is a welcome thing.

Dr. Landau is an Israeli scholar who has written much dealing with cultural and political aspects of the Arab world. In this volume he surveys the development of drama in the neighboring Arab countries by discussing three phases of the theater: (1) shadow plays, (2) drama proper, and (3) the Arab cinema. It is right to look to the shadow play and other "near dramatic" forms in the Arab past as background for the modern theater, although it is well recognized that contemporary drama finds its origin primarily in the imitation of Western plays. Dr. Landau is, of course, well aware of this as he presents, in the second and most important section of his book, a survey of Arabic drama. Here will be found a good history of the development of playwriting, summaries of some published plays, and short sketches of the life and works of a few playwrights. The Arabic cinema is a thriving new industry centered almost entirely in Egypt. The reader will be interested in the facts and résumés which the author has collected from the press concerning this most popular form of the theatre.

For the average reader the text of this volume will serve as a good survey. For the serious student the most valuable part will be the bibliographical references in the footnotes and the extensive list of books and articles at the end of the volume. He will also find a long list of plays (some 800 titles), including both those which were written originally in Arabic and those which have been translated into that language from Western sources.

Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. KERMIT SCHOONOVER

Jordan, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. By George L. Harris, in collaboration with others. Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1958, pp. x, 246, $ 5.50.

One of a series of monographs seeking to further "a fresh approach to the study of societies, culture, and social behavior," this volume concentrates on the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan — the little, artificial, divided, impoverished country, most directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Published at a time when the short-lived Arab Federation of Jordan and Iraq was still in force, the book is definitely dated, but the authors wisely attempt no prophecies in regard to the Federation or its significance for Jordan.

This is a sociological analysis in the best tradition of objective research, full of facts with a minimum of subjective observation. Each chapter is a self-contained essay, so there is some duplication of facts as they bear on different subjects, but this repetition adds to the educative value of the whole study. As just about every facet of human interest is presented, there is something here for every reading taste. Any tourist to the Holy Land would get more understanding out of his visit if he had this book in one hand as he carried Father Eugene

Hoade's *Guide to the Holy Land* in the other. Here we get at people in all their multiformity of belief and action.

The crisis of the whole Middle East is brought to a focus in the special problems of Jordan. With its artificial origin, dependence on foreign economic aid, East Bank-West Bank cleavage, acute refugee problem, immediate confrontation with Israel, it seems a marvel that Jordan still exists as an entity on the international scene. Yet all the conflicting forces presented here suggest an ambivalence that is as indicative of survival as of destruction.

A number of valuable maps and tables add to the usefulness of the volume. One thing is missing for the Christian reader in this objective study. There is no weeping over Jerusalem. Let us hope that this type of survey may produce the understanding we need in this world that hurt people may be helped.

Davenport, Iowa ALAN TICHENOR

Avicenna, His Life and Works. By Soheil M. Afnan, George Allen & Unwin, Museum St., London; in the U.S.A. the Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Ave., New York, 1958, pp. 298, bibliography, index, $ 6.75.

This book is to be recommended on many counts. In the first place, Dr. Afnan, himself a Persian, has studied his famous countryman in the socio-political setting of his time, so that Avicenna is presented as a man of flesh and blood rather than as an encyclopedia of ideas. This approach helps the reader to understand his man, and it also gives the reader an insight into the character of the author — for in singling out various features as important Afnan reveals a concern for the kind of critical scholarship that does not gloss over religious differences within one's faith.

Another feature of the work is its historical scope. We see not only the march of events within the Muslim world, but we are led to see that coincident with this history events of a similar nature were taking place within the Christian world as well. It is extremely helpful to find a book which is able to relate these to one another; and while this is not one of the primary purposes of the author, he does achieve this end in the later chapters of his book. The book should prove useful to Muslim and Christian philosophers alike, since the problems with which Avicenna dealt were the metaphysical and epistemological problems which came to him from Aristotle. The chapter on metaphysics may prove interesting to many western thinkers who are dissatisfied with the narrow limits of contemporary philosophical analysis.

Avicenna was born in Persia in A.D. 980 (Ṣafar, 370 A.H.), and spent a life which was characterized by constant restlessness. Afnan suggests that this may well have been due to persecution, for by the time of his birth religious orthodoxy was beginning to quench the intellectual freedom which had reigned for a time previously. According to the author, Avicenna was a strikingly handsome man, rather opinionated and short-tempered toward his intellectual inferiors, passionate in nature, and unduly fond of alcohol. It was his independence of mind, however, that made him the target of criticism and caused him much discomfort.

With Averroës, Avicenna shares the major credit for restoring Aristotle to both the Eastern and the Western worlds; while the former was

primarily a commentator (and critical at many points of Avicenna's interpretation of Aristotle), the latter attempted to grapple in much the same way as did Thomas Aquinas with the metaphysical and epistemological problems raised by the rediscovery of "the Philosopher." The three chapters which form the heart of the book deal with these issues.

Both the scholar and the general reader will find this profitable reading. It will serve as a particularly valuable contribution to Christian scholars who are concerned with the development of Scholasticism and its sources in Muslim thought.

Hartford, Connecticut WILLIAM L. BRADLEY

Tahāfut al-Falāsifah. (Incoherence of the Philosophers). By Al-Ghazāli. Translated into English by Sabīh Aḥmad Kamālī, Pakistan Philosophical Congress Publications, No. 3 (distributor, Mohammad Ashraf Darr, 8 McLeod Road, Lahore), 1958, pp. viii, 267, Rs. 15.

The purpose of the translator is evidently to let the work speak for itself in the main, for while the translation occupies 250 pages, there are only 5½ pages of notes, many of which are of a formal nature. A short introduction tells how the work, which was eventually submitted as an M. A. thesis at McGill University, began and proceeded. Mr. Kamālī has not stated which text he used in preparing his translation, but from some of his notes and from a comparison with the Arabic text with a full *apparatus criticus* published by Maurice Bouyges (Beirut, 1927) it is clear that this is the one he has followed. Occasionally he indicates in his notes that he has preferred a variant reading given by Bouyges to that of the text.

Averroës wrote a reply to Al-Ghazāli entitled *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence) of which Dr. Simon Van den Bergh has published a translation with Introduction and Notes (2 Vols., Gibb Memorial Series, 1954). This includes a translation of much of Al-Ghazāli's work, for Averroës generally quotes his words in detail before making his reply. But towards the end he is content to summarize Al-Ghazāli's argument and make a brief reply. Mr. Kamālī has performed a useful service by providing a translation of the whole work.

Al-Ghazāli's method is to present first the argument he means to disprove and then give his reply. This is not an easy book to translate, for there are difficulties relating both to meaning and to style; but the translator has succeeded in overcoming these very effectively, and he is to be complimented on providing a translation which is both accurate and readable. Al-Ghazālī deals with twenty different questions of which the first two on (i) the eternity of the world and (ii) the everlasting nature of the world, time and motion, occupy almost a quarter of the book. He makes is clear that he means only to refute the views of the philosophers and not to supply a solution to the problems (e.g. pp. 53, 120). The argument is often difficult to follow, and therefore the translator would have increased the value of his work if he had provided many more notes in elucidation of the thought.

There are some slight omissions from Bouyges' text, and sufficient care has not been taken in the correction of proofs; but while this is said, one must add that the translation is a welcome contribution. A Bibliography and Index are supplied.

Glasgow JAMES ROBSON

Le Statut Légal des Non-Musulmans en Pays d'Islam. By Antoine Fattal, Imprimerie Catholique, Beirut, Lebanon, 1958, pp. xvi, 394, paper.

If Muslim religion and law are inseparably intermingled, then what provision does Muslim law make for non-Muslims within a Muslim society? The response is obviously a special status, that of *dhimmīs* which should not be compared with the modern concept of colony or protectorate. Antoine Fattal proposes to investigate this special status. His sources are the Qurʾān, traditions (to a lesser extent the works of jurisprudence), and especially the historical and geographical works of both Muslims and non-Muslims.

The study covers the Arab period up to A.D. 1517. In the area included are Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Arabia especially, and other lands incidentally. The commendable spirit which animates the work is expressed thus: "One must strive for strict impartiality, an attitude of spirit which aims to love in order the better to understand and never repulses an error without saving its essence of truth." (p. xv).

Before discussing the *dhimmīs* in particular Fattal sketches the historical development of Muslim relations with non-Muslims according to Quranic sources, especially the Prophet's dealings with the Jewish tribes of Medina, his "embassies" charged with invitations to accept Islam, the instauration of the *Jihād,* concerning which Surah ix. 29 contains in germ the whole status of the *dhimmī,* the treaties negotiated between Muḥammad and non-Muslims of Arabia (in the case of Najrān taking exception to the conclusions of Lammens), treaties contracted between the first caliphs and the conquered peoples in Arabia, Palestine, Armenia, Persia, Egypt, Nubia, North Africa and Spain; finally the so-called "Convention of ʿUmar" for the belief in the apocryphal nature of which the author gives ten reasons.

In his discussion of the juridical nature of the *dhimmī* status the author sees a parallel in the early Roman *deditio,* or treaty concluded between a representative of Rome and a conquered city, or in the Roman *peregrine* who enjoys the hospitality of a Roman city, or in the *métèque* who was accorded the hospitality, with certain rights, of Athens.

A model of contract, supposedly of Al-Shāfiʿī, mentions in detail the rights and obligations binding Muslims and *dhimmīs.* The conditions under which the contract may be dissolved, according to various Muslim jurists, are described. In face of frequent and erroneous assertions touching the treatment of conquered peoples by early Muslims the chapters dealing with various categories of liberties — individual, family, economic, spiritual, civic — are instructive. Taking up the tradition relative to the expulsion of non-Muslims from Arabia by the second caliph ʿUmar, on the death-bed recommendation of the Prophet, the author reminds his readers that Christian European authorities, on various occasions during the same era and later, expulsed Jews with ignominy and severe loss to the latter. Furthermore, the writer's examination of the sources leads him to the conclusion that Prophet's recommendation to expel non-Muslims from Arabia, as tradition relates, is extremely doubtful.

But that *dhimmīs* suffered restrictions and humiliations cannot be denied. Prescriptions relative to distinctive garb, insignia and practices

were real, though varying in nature and severity according to time and place. Yet the author expresses doubt that discriminative marks were invented by Muslims. Individual liberties suffered restrictions in matters of punishment for criminal offenses; discriminatory measures were the norm. Our author shows however that the application of the law often depended on the discretion of the judge. Similarly in cases of marriage, divorce and inheritance, between *dhimmīs* themselves or between *dhimmīs* and Muslims, the jurists differ. In principle, according to Muslim law, the *dhimmī* enjoyed the inviolability of his property and freedom in commerce and industry. But even here were exceptions. In the professions *dhimmīs* often held the choice positions, for example, as teachers and physicians.

In spiritual matters disabilities were of a more serious import. The author declares: "Liberty of conscience, in the sense intended by 20th century constitutionalists, does not exist in Islam." (p. 160) Non-Muslim religious systems were only tolerated. However, the apparent harshness of this generalization is mitigated by the author's reminder that "the ideas and events that gave birth to 'césaropapisme' in Christian lands and in Iran are also the sources of Muslim theocracy." (p. 161).

Limitations were imposed upon *dhimmīs* in the matter of erection or repair of places of worship. Yet, the author suggests, even these restrictive regulations had their precedents in Christian Byzantine interdictions with regard to Jewish edifices. As one might expect in Muslim-*dhimmī* relationships, temporal and ecclesiastical powers were interfused. "But," Fattal comments, "one should recognize that the interference of Muslim authorities was measured and discrete, compared with that of the Byzantine emperors and Sassanid satraps." (p. 218).

Lack of consistency in information derived from Muslim sources has heretofore resulted in misunderstandings with regard to treatment of *dhimmīs*. Our author has shown repeatedly in this study how the pronouncements of the legists on a particular point may be, and were, clearly contradicted by the facts of history. An instance in point is the role of *dhimmīs* in public affairs. The jurisconsults, basing their judgments on the Qurʾān and the Traditions, proclaimed that *dhimmīs* should be excluded from public functions. Yet we know that for more than a century the majority of the public servants of the Muslim state were *dhimmīs*. Only later did their exclusion occur.

Chapter seven contains a detailed and well authenticated study of taxes incumbent on *dhimmīs*. Of special importance is the author's examination of the theory of the Byzantine origin of the early Muslim tax system with an evaluation of the ideas of Wellhausen, Becker, Caetani and Daniel Dennett.

The Muslim juridical system, likewise, comes under the author's scrutiny. He shows how the conquering Arabs maintained in general the principles they found in operation under the Byzantines and conserved the judicial systems prevalent in the non-Muslim groups. Thus was the judicial competence of *dhimmī* ecclesiastical courts recognized. Yet in practice through the centuries *dhimmīs* could be tried in Muslim courts, with attending disabilities, the details of which the author describes.

Whatever advantages, then, might have accrued to the *dhimmī* as a member of a "protected" group, he has always occupied a position of inferiority in Muslim society. During the period of the Turkish Empire, which our author does not treat (but which was thoroughly investigated in an unpublished thesis by Dr. Alford Carleton, of which some aspects were presented in this Quarterly for July, 1938; also treated in an article by Lootfy Levonian in the April, 1952 issue), the status of the *dhimmī* continued legally unchanged, according to the author, until 1774 (p. 366), and was not finally abolished until 1923 (p. 367). In conclusion the writer remarks that the study of the Jihād remains today in the curriculum of Muslim universities and declares that "Islam will not find a way out of this impasse until its doctors take the initiative to open wide the door of *ijtihād* (p. 373).

Antoine Fattal is a graduate of the Institute of Semitic Studies of the University of Paris. The latter's School of Law judged this work of research worthy of the Robert Dennery prize. Ample annotations and an exceptionally rich bibliography of primary sources assure the usefulness of this volume to students of Christian-Muslim relationships.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Al-Qisṭās al-Mustaqīm. By Al-Ghazālī. Edited with introduction (in Arabic) and notes by Victor Shalḥat, Catholic Press, Beirut (Librairie Orientale), 1959, pp. 104, paper.

This is a well produced critical edition based on an early manuscript in the Kastamonu collection and compared with a later manuscript in the Escurial collection as well as with the Cairene edition of 190. The editor's introduction is comprehensive. Judicious paragraphing and the provision of sub-titles in brackets facilitate the reading. However, no index of names and terms is provided.

Of Al-Ghazālī's writings on logic, *Al-Qisṭās* is the most interesting. In this dialogue, where he pits himself against a Taᶜlīmī and his doctrine that true knowledge is only attainable through the teachings of the hidden infallible imām, Al-Ghazālī gives a theological justification of logic. The "balance" (*al-mīzān*) in the Qurʾān, Al-Ghazālī maintains, is the balance of true knowledge. This he identifies with the various syllogisms of Aristotle and the hypothetical syllogisms of the Stoics. Arguments in the Qurʾān are then exhibited to possess the forms of such syllogisms. Sophistical arguments, induction, the misue of individual opinion (*raʾy*) and analogy (*qiyās*), and methods to induce men of varying intellectual capacities to follow correct doctrine are then discussed. *Al-Qisṭās* is also splendid prose, not without quiet sarcasm and parody.

University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada. MICHAEL E. MARMURA

Index Islamicus (1906-1955). By J. D. Pearson, W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, England, 1958, pp. 897, xxxvi, £ 5-5-0.

Islamic scholars will be indebted to the compiler of this volume and his colleagues of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for providing a tool which may prove to be indispensable

in the field of Islamic research. It is not a bibliography, the Preface states, but a catalogue of articles published over a period of fifty years from periodicals, Festschriften, as the *Macdonald Presentation Volume,* other collective works, as *Mélanges Islamologiques,* and special publications of congresses, as *Indian History Conference,* 1938, to chose a few titles at random.

The compiler is librarian of the S.O.A.S. To produce this uniquely valuable work he and his colleagues examined some twelve thousand issues of 510 periodical titles in addition to 120 Festschriften and seventy volumes of congress proceedings. It contains 26,076 separate entries.

Titles occur in most of the European languages including Russian and Hungarian. The geographical area included is global. An attempt is made to cover the entire field of Islamic subjects: bibliography, religion, theology, law (1,248 entries), philosophy, science, art, geography, ethnology, anthropology, literature, education, demography, folklore, all phases of Islamic history, North Africa in all of its aspects (3,590 entries), all Middle Eastern countries, India (1,534 entries), Afghanistan, Central Asia, Spain, Italy, and Iranian, Arabic, Turkish and Berber languages. But "Pakistan and South East Asia are in the main, left for the attention of other bibliographers."

An index of authors is provided. Furthermore the "Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies retains a complete index of the articles arranged alphabetically under their authors and the use of this is offered freely, by personal visit or correspondence, to all who find the labour of tracing down an individual article intolerable. A similar author index will be kept in the Library of Congress." (p. ix).

It is the intention of the publishers to keep the Index up to date and to issue supplements thereof every five years. If this aim can be realized, its usefulness will be perpetuated indefinitely as will also the gratitude of scholars.

Hartford, Connecticut. ELMER H. DOUGLAS

Islands of the Dragon's Blood. By Douglas Botting, Wilfred Funk, Inc. 153 East 24th St., New York 10, N. Y., pp. 251, illustrations, maps, 1959, $ 3.95.

This book gives an account of a two-months visit to the island of Socotra in 1956 by six young members of the Oxford University Exploration Club. It is a readable, entertaining, and fascinating journal rather than a scientific treatise. More than once we are told that "Socotra is like a prison. There's nothing to do and nowhere to go" (pp. 76 & 230), while on page 168 we are told that "it was not The Abode of Bliss it was made out to be."

References to Islam are meagre and far from adequate to enable us to assess in depth its characteristics. In lighter vein the author says: "I found two boys sitting in the corner reciting the Koran at the very top of their voices ... both were reciting parrotwise different parts ... In the middle of this chaos slept the schoolmaster, flat on his back ... snoring very quietly." And "that was the extent of Socotran education, the Koran learnt parrotwise in sporting competition with the boy sitting next to you." (pp. 79-80). No doubt similar incidents could be found in many other Qur'ān Schools in many other parts of the world.

More helpful for our purpose are these comments. "Although they were Muslims by name at least, it seemed to me that they were not very enthusiastic or well-informed Muslims." (p. 214). Again, "they are ignorant of even the most elementary of Muslim practices, such as prayer" (p. 214). "I suppose one might call their religion pago-Islam." (p. 214).

It is obvious that during the centuries the people of this isolated island "prison" have encountered pagan, Christian, and Muslim influences, and that Islam is now the dominant faith. But the people "seem ignorant of the true doctrines of this faith as their ancestors were of the true doctrines of the Christian faith." (p. 216). This last sentence seems to sum up the religious situation of this "Island of the Dragon's Blood".

Salisbury GEORGE C. GRANT
Southern Rhodesia

The Middle East. 7th edition, Europa Publications Limited, 56 Bloomsbury Street, London W.C. 1, pp. xvi, 491, 1959, $ 13.50.

The seventh edition of this reference work follows the general plan of its predecessors, the first edition of which appeared in 1948. (See reviews in the Quarterly for October 1948, October 1955, October 1958).

The countries included are Arabia, Cyprus, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, the Sudan, Turkey, United Arab Republic. Fourteen pages are devoted to an outline of the physical and social geography of the Middle East. Each area is developed according to its various aspects. For example the chapter on Libya treats: physical and social geography, history, economic survey, statistical survey, the constitution, the government, the legal system, religion, the press, radio, finance, trade and industry, transport, education, libraries, museums, university, bibliography.

The editors have aimed to keep information abreast of the swiftly moving scene of events. They have included the 1958 Constitution in the section on the United Arab Republic, recorded the birth of the Republic of Iraq after the July 1958 revolution, and published the draft constitution of the newly proposed Republic of Cyprus, to mention a few of the recent developments.

In addition, it contains a brief Calendar of Events of 1958 to April 2, 1959, fifty-eight pages of Who's Who in the Middle East, a succinct statement of the elements of Islam, two pages on the refugees in the Middle East, mention of the major oil concessions, basic information on the Arab League and the Baghdad Pact Organization, and short bibliographies of books and periodicals.

Hartford, Connecticut ELMER H. DOUGLAS

SHORTER NOTICES

Nasser of Egypt. By Wilton Wynn, Arlington Books, Inc., 30 Arlington St., Cambridge 40, Mass., distributed by Taplinger Publishing Co., New York, 1959, pp. x, 213, Price $ 3.95.

Wilton Wynn, once a teacher of journalism in the American University at Cairo, and since 1951 Middle East correspondent for AP, has followed closely the career of President ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir since the Egyptian Revolution of 1952. He describes the Free Officers Movement, their resentment at the corruption which had led to defeat in the Palestine war of 1948, and their resolve to use the army as a means of cleaning up the government of Egypt, including the expulsion of King Farouk. The struggle behind the scenes that resulted in the forced retirement of the popular General Naguib from the presidency is clearly set forth, as well as the events which led up to the Suez war of 1956.

Wynn's main theme is that the social and political revolution in Egypt and the adjacent Arab states has been a steadily growing movement during the past century and that ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir's qualities happened to fit him to be the leader at this time. The style has wit and is colorful. The book is informing and gives the reader a feeling of intimacy with great events.

Middle East Economic Papers, 1958. Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, Dār al-Kitāb, Beirut, Lebanon, pp. 114, charts, paper.

In this annual publication specialists in economy have presented articles on: administrative barriers to economic development in Iran: manpower distribution in the Sudan; relations between economic and institutional aspects of economic growth; origins of land ownership of Syria; reflections on nationalism, internationalism and economic development; pilot agricultural linear programme for the re-allocation of land to eight important crops in Egypt; a case for banking reform in Lebanon.

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Economic Literature on the Arabic Speaking Countries of the Middle East. 1957. Supplement. Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb, Beirut, Lebanon, 1959. pp. xiii, 111, paper.

This volume brings up to date the periodical and bibliographical material in the Middle East economic field according to the plan of the several previous publications under this title since 1954. In this issue only works that appeared in 1957 are mentioned. Titles are in English, French and Arabic (transliterated). Only a few entries have been taken from indices, bibliographies or periodical book reviews. Most of the works mentioned are available in Beirut at the American University, office of UNRWA, the British Middle East Office, or in private collections. The system of classification used in previous issues has been maintained. Short annotations of many of the titles serve to explain the contents. With this supplement, then, added to earlier issues, information on source material in this particular field for the period 1938-1957 becomes readily available.

Report on Current Research on the Middle East, 1958. The Middle East Institute, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 1958, pp. 76 paper.

Six informative, timely and authoritative articles are here presented: (1) An Anthropological Frame of Reference for Research on the Middle East, by William D. Schorger; (2) The Organization of Western and Central Asian Studies both in the Occident and in the Orient, by Z. V. Togan; (3) The Harvard-Brandeis Cooperative Research for Israel's Legal Development, its Operation and Methods, by Norman Abrams; (4) European Archives as a source for Later Ottoman History, by Roderic H. Davison; (5) Armenian Works on Historic and Modern Armenian Communities, by Avedis K. Sanjian; (6) Present State of Arabic Studies in the United States, by Menahem Mansoor. Two previous publications under this title have been annual. The survey will be continued on a biennial basis, the next issue to appear in 1960. Information in Appendix (p. 75) for Hartford Seminary Foundation is incomplete. See Notice on Kennedy School of Missions on back cover of this Quarterly.

Our Blind. By Gwen Gaster, The Highway Press, London, 1959, pp. viii, 63, paper, Price 4/.

The real heroes are those who serve their fellowmen. Heroism is exemplified in this story of a school for the blind in Isfahan, Iran, which had been founded by Pastor Christoffel before the Second World War. In 1946 its direction was assumed by the writer. With simplicity she relates her work of mercy as she treads the daily round to bring the benefits of education and character training to children and women deprived of physical sight. Heartaches, financial problems, political disturbances, are disconcerting incidents, but clouds, however somber, do eventually pass. The effort to bring spiritual and intellectual light to the blind is attended by problems to test the most resolute soul, but with it is also the assurance that "underneath are the everlasting arms."

The Way Prepared (Al-Ṭarīq al-Mumahhad). The Middle East Centre for Arab Studies, Shemlan, Lebanon, Dar al-Cutub, Beirut, 1958, pp. 82, paper.

Those acquainted with the previous works in Arabic Study published by the Centre will welcome the present booklet. It is a reading book in modern Arabic based on a selective and controlled vocabulary from contemporary books, periodicals and newspapers. The basic principle is frequency. It contains fifty short sections. Complete vowelling is observed in the early sections, partial vowelling occurs as the reading progresses, and the final section remains unvowelled. A real help is here provided for those desiring to increase their reading ability of a style of Arabic used in the press, radio, correspondence and business.

Tell in the Wilderness By Max Warren, The Highway Press, 6 Salisbury Square, London, 1959, pp. vi, 105, paper. Price 2/6d.

God at work in the lives of individuals devoted to the cause of Christ is essentially the theme of this C.M.S. "Book of the Year." From Africa, Muslim lands, Southeast Asia, Japan, comes the witness of the

power and leading of the living Christ as He is presented, or sometimes misrepresented. Problems noted, though pertinent to C.M.S. situations, are common to all missionary effort. The wilderness is the place of encounter, of successes and disappointments, of hope and fulfillment, as the Church, in its state of union or disunion, takes root, grows, integrates itself in community life, and directly or indirectly accomplishes its task of service, sacrifice and love in a needy world.

The Verb in Harari (South Ethiopic). By Wolf Leslau, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958, pp. 86, paper. $ 1.75

Professor Leslau, now of Brandeis University, is an unusually competent scholar in the Semitic languages. In this south Ethiopic dialect his competence is probably unique, for this speech is contemporary, limited in geographical spread to the immediate environs of the city of Harar, and of no known literary importance. These circumstances increase the linguistic significance of its study, for the unsophisticated living speech whose change is little inhibited by letters may offer the best laboratory materials for understanding other branches of Semitic development.

The verb in Harari is here presented fully and clearly, a sound foundation for all further study. While the pattern of most Semitic dialects is strongly focused upon the verb, the verbal inflexion of the Ethiopian branches is remarkably full, as if the scheme of the Hebrew or Arabic verbs were extrapolated to their farthest limit.

To Semitic scholars generally and to linguists, Professor Leslau's work is of technical importance. To persons working in Ethiopia it is immediately practical, for the presentation is so orderly that it can be used by those who are not professional linguists. An index-vocabulary of some 600 Harari verbs adds greatly to the practical value.

The Horn of Africa. By John Buchholzer, trans. from Danish by M. Michael, Angus and Robertson, London, 1959, 18 shillings.

An intriguing account of travels in Somalia, the third chapter of which offers a penetrating analysis of Islam in African context, this work focuses attention in an entertaining fashion on yet another of the sectors of the Muslim world that is arriving at political independence in the near future. The author has some incisive comments on patterns of life and society in the horn of Africa.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Purpose of the Pilgrimage. What is the purpose of the pilgrimage to Mecca? What is its rightful function? Though a reply to these questions is not here intended, editorial comment from the cradle of Islam is of significance. The editor of a Medinan newspaper admits that he has always utilized the annual rite to discuss Muslim questions. The Pilgrimage, he says, consists in more than circumambulating the Kaʿbah and standing on ʿArafāt, though the benefits derived from these acts are justifiable as a personal matter between the worshipper and God alone. But there are benefits for the Muslim group as a whole that should accrue from the Pilgrimage. The writer says that the occasion was meant to be a congress for all Muslims. To obtain this benefit, he recommends that every Muslim country should send a mission, aside from the usual pilgrims, to meet in congress to discuss questions of common interest. The writer suggests as subjects that may well be discussed: Algeria, Palestine, Buraimi, Aden, Uman. There are also the questions of Muslims in Europe, the United States, and other non-Muslim lands. Only as these matters are faced in congress on the occasion of the Pilgrimage can benefit from the rite be fully realized.

From another Saudi paper of June 1959 the information is gleaned that the Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Shaikh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, seized the opportunity afforded by the pilgrimage to invite a group of Saudi and non-Saudi religious scholars to a banquet where, after dinner and prayer, many speeches on religious subjects were delivered. Shaikh ʿAbd al-ʿAziz of Najd suggested that on each annual pilgrimage the conference be renewed.

A Private Diary. A recent private publication (which does not, therefore, fall for normal review among books) of great interest to students of Muslim-Christian themes, is the *Chronicle,* by his wife, of the late Professor John Clark Archer, author of: *Mystical Elements in Muhammad* and a sometime contributor to this journal. Professor Malcolm S Pitt, of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, writes:

"John Clark Archer died on July 7th, 1957, his death bringing to a close a unique career as scholar, teacher, missionary, author, and sensitive humanitarian. He is best known to many through his major writings, *Faiths Men Live By* and *The Sikhs,* but to the fortunate few who were his students at Yale College and the Yale Divinity School where he was the Hooker Professor of Comparative Religion, he is remembered also for the rich fund of pertinent anecdote which grew out of his genius for going to the sources, literary and personal, for data in his chosen field.

It is this latter aspect, a view of the man himself and his method, which is so warmly welcomed in this intimate *Chronicle* of his life written by his wife, Cathaline Alford Archer. Mrs. Archer has sketched delightfully the outlines of a complete biography, but has been

primarily concerned that the flavor and content of three of Professor Archer's remarkably revealing diaries be not lost in dusty archives. We are most grateful to her, for in these diaries are shown the catholic interests, the concern for people, the methods of research and discovery, and the essential person-to-person relationships which were the bases of J. C. Archer's scholarly pursuits.

The diaries used are those written in 1917-1918 when he was the educational secretary of the Y.M.C.A. with the British army in Iraq; in 1937 when he studied the Sikhs from the vantage point of lecturer at the Khalsa College in Amritsar; and in 1946-1947 when he was in India on leave from the Yale Divinity School.

Several points emerge from the reading of this chronicle which corroborate the findings of a long personal friendship. Professor Archer was a committed Christian, a missionary whose interpretation of his vocation included a dedication to honesty in his meeting with those of other faiths. This meeting and 'conversation' were necessary. For the meaning and implications of a faith could be gained only in direct communication, and without presuppositions. Needless to say, this conviction often clashed with the pre-judgments of others, but was held courageously against the ill-informed.

As corollary to the above, the facts of human experience he found in non-Christian faiths were shared by writing and teaching, directed not alone to those of Christian vocation, but also with deep concern toward the local churches that they become aware of the realities of the Christian movement abroad. To this end he devised imaginative means of imparting information, unusual in its day, based on a respect for the possibility of a mature attitude toward the truths of non-Christian religions understood in the spirit of Christ, but independent of doctrinal absoluteness. A further conviction was evident in all of Professor Archer's words and works — that the study of the religions of the world was an active sharing in a common search, and the strength of his Christian commitment contributed to his eagerness to learn of others."

Tragedy in Morocco. Surplus aircraft oil sold from the American Air bases in Morocco, which are being disbanded, has been mixed by local merchants with cooking oil. The resulting mixture, sold at cheaper prices during the ʿId al-Fitr feast of last year, has proved extremely deleterious to health. It is reported that over nine thousand people have suffered a form of paralysis in the lower limbs, traceable to consumption of the 'oil.' The Government declared the situation a national calamity. About thirty Moroccan merchants have been arrested and face the death penalty under a law relating to "crimes against the health of the nation." It is feared that the paralysis cases may prove incurable. Sales of the aircraft oil from the bases have been terminated, though it is clear that no blame attaches to the U.S. forces for uses subsequently made of the purchased oil. Eight hundred tons of contaminated oils on the market for human use have been confiscated.

Election in Israel. The late autumn election in the State of Israel has resulted in an unexpected triumph for the party of the Prime Minister, Mr Ben Gurion. At least the decree of his victory was unlooked for, and his majority constitutes his biggest electoral success.

The Mapai party has increased its representation in the Knesset from forty to forty eight, out of 120 members. The General Zionist group has dwindled from thirteen to eight, partly owing to internal squabbles but also for long standing external causes. One interesting feature is the fact that Mapam, the party with the greatest reservations about the Sinai aggression, held its ground. The National Religious Party increased their seats from eleven to thirteen and with the Agudas Yisroel group remaining at six, these two together could be the second largest element in the Knesset.

One other notable feature was the fact that the Communist representation was reduced by fifty per cent. This may, or may not, be explained by Arab defections in the Nazareth region, reflecting a switch in the Arab Communist Party away from ᶜAbd al-Nāṣir. The new Knesset has three Arab members only, as compared with five in the previous one. This resulted in part from the splintered lists of Arab candidates.

Despite its resounding success the Mapai Party will still not be able to fulfil one of its objectives, namely, the abolition of proportional representation, for which there will still be no majority. Israel is not likely, then, during the life of this Knesset, to adopt a constituency electoral system on the British model.

Literacy achievements in the Sudan. A recent Government report from Khartoum indicates the encouraging progress which has been made in Sudanese literacy campaigns despite immense difficulties. The percentage of literacy among boys between ten and fourteen is 32 whereas the rate for men over sixty-five is less than four. Since about half the population is under fifteen years of age, the statistics are not saddled with liabilities that affect average proportions in certain other countries. Literacy among men in general in the Sudan, irrespective of age, stands at 23 per cent. The figure for women is only 4.4 per cent but eleven per cent of girls between ten and fourteen are literate.

The figures have been achieved despite the obstacles provided by the facts of climate, vastness and multi-lingual diversity — (there are 115 languages in the Sudan) and so on. Sixty years ago there were no schools other than the Quranic kuttābs. The Sudan today spends 14 per cent of its budget on defence but 16 per cent on education — (surely in this respect a most exceptional country.)

Within the Ministry of Education, the Department responsible for these achievements is the Department of Adult Education, which with UNESCO's help sponsors literacy campaigns, village social work and boys' clubs. It has been in existence for only nine years and carries on the impetus provided by a private institute founded in 1934. The patterns of operation follow closely those employed in Christian voluntary ventures of teaching to read elsewhere in the world. Simplicity, contagion of interest, self-help — these are the watchwords. It costs only about $ 6.00 to make a person literate. The Ministry meets forty

per cent of the costs, the local councils sixty. There is of course one unending battle behind all these figures — that to retain literacy once acquired. It is all too easy to fall back into illiteracy unless there is the stimulus of available reading matter within one's competence.

Universities in Turkey. The higher educational monopoly long held by the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara in Turkey may soon be ended if current trends in Turkish Education continue. As a part of a general plan to divide cultural institutions more evenly over neglected parts of the country, the Turkish government, after several years of planning, has opened the Ataturk University in Erzerum, a city in eastern Turkey.

The Ataturk University is significant not only because it is a "frontier" cultural center, but also because it is an attempt to adjust American land-college patterns to the Turkish educational scene. The University of Nebraska, operating under a general governmental-aid plan, has worked with the Ministry of Education in setting up the school. At present the government is concentrating on an agricultural school, but plans are laid to add a school of general arts and science, law and medicine.

Besides the Ataturk University, the Ege University in Izmir is the other existing university in the regional plan. The Ege University has been in operation for five years. It is located in Bornova, a few miles outside of Izmir. The Ege University was set up by staff members of the University of Istanbul, and its faculty often commuted between Izmir and Istanbul. The government has also hinted that it will open a university in Konya, in central Anatolia, and in Edirne in European Turkey. Meanwhile the government also is struggling with the problems of lower education. The teacher-classroom shortage is great. A recent report read at a meeting of primary and secondary teachers in Turkey stated that out of 3,500,000 primary students ready for school this year, 1,500,000 will not be able to attend class.

Islam the Answer to World Problems. On May 3, 1959, the President of the Republic of Pakistan, General Muḥammad Ayūb Khān, delivered a challenging address to the Muslim scholars of Dar-al-Ulum Islamia convened at Tando Allahyar near Hyderabad.

Deeply concerned by the conflict in the world between Communism and the materialism of the West, the President presented two arguments to his co-religionists with clarity and urgency. The first made an appeal to the scholars to reconsider Islam *per se*, to re-evaluate its current faith and practice against the background of the early state and its prestige prior to the 13th century. The speaker directed his concern to the potential role of Islam in solving the dilemma posed by the lengthening tentacles of Communism in the world today.

If present-day Islam is to confront Communism successfully, it must, emphasized the President, take a long look into the source of its early strength. He urged his listeners to realize that "the miracle of Islam was that it destroyed idolatry, and the tragedy of Muslims has been that they rendered religion into the form of an idol." Consequently

through the centuries, the alert, progressive, thinking Muslim has been characterized as unorthodox and a disbeliever. The individual who, through the ages, adhered to form, creed and custom established in the early days of Islam has been, and is today, revered and respected. He enjoys the authority to criticize and judge the affairs of men.

Why did Islam lose the dynamic of those early centuries? The President offers to answer his own question, first by naming one contributing element, sectarianism. Whether Muslim scholars wish to accept this or reject it, is not the issue. Sectarianism exists within Islam and this fact must be recognized. Another consideration is the limited intellectual scope enjoyed by Muslim scholars. The speaker declared it to be the duty of the ʿUlamāʾ to widen the horizon of their scholarship in order to include the study of progress in the fields of science, philosophy, economics and contemporary history. The President also made imperative the inverse, namely, that Muslim students in the above fields should be familiar with the tenets of Islam.

Furthermore, this spokesman for reform within Islam urged the Muslim leaders to work for better balance between religious and secular education. It is incumbent on Muslims to be aware of the problems facing men in the laboratories and classrooms. Islam must express itself in a modern idiom if it is to meet the felt needs of men. If Islam should succeed in so doing, it will, in the President's mind, be the answer to Communism. The President of Pakistan looks to the ʿUlamāʾ for very substantial assistance in this matter of reaching into areas of the past and adapting them to meet the contemporary needs of Muslims. Then Islam will be ready to face the challenge of Communism creeping over the world of Islam and elsewhere.

President Muḥammad Ayūb Khān, in referring to his own country, admitted the existence of numerous problems. He is firmly convinced of the necessity of a clearly defined goal in life and identified with "principles based on unity, discipline, charity, decency, honesty and integrity." If these traits, which are incorporated in Islam, are inculcated in the peoples of Pakistan and whenever Islam is upheld, then, according to the President, goodwill and peace will follow.

Pakistan. Law and Education. Twelve years after its advent as a new nation numerous words and acts attest to the growth of Pakistan into a nation state. Commissions for development of law, language, education, and local government, among others, have been established to carry out the process of adapting foreign institutions to a Pakistani culture.

The English origins of law, language and education are now being modified to fit an old people who have a new nation. The Law Commission, holding its final sessions in Karachi, has emphasized publishing new laws and translating present laws into Urdu from English so they may be more easily understood by the common man. Strong suggestions are being made that legal systems now in effect in the subcontinent should be replaced by the Shariah in Pakistan. Each of the Commissions has among its members those who stress the Islamic nature of the Pakistan nation state.

The Minister of Education, recognizing this feeling among the people, stated recently that since Pakistan was achieved on the basis of Islamic ideology, any system of education void of that ideology was no good for the country. The stress upon replacing English with Urdu as the literary language and as the medium of instruction in colleges as well as secondary schools is underlined by the recent grant of 50,000 rupees by the West Pakistan Government to the University of the Punjab for its Urdu Encyclopedia of Islam project during the current year and its promise of additional help for the ensuing five years.

Underlying the development of Pakistan into a nation state is the grandiose plan of giving the people of the village an opportunity to govern themselves. High government officials have been touring the country in recent months explaining the "basic democracies" plan. This plan emphasizes the need for people living in the villages to educate their children so that they might be able leaders in the future.

In the budget announced recently for West Pakistan (1959-1960), education was the largest single beneficiary. The planned increase of 500 schools per year cannot begin to meet the estimated increase of 85,000 children each year. Mission schools are filled to overflowing. With relatively high standards and better trained teaching staffs the mission schools will be of considerable service in Pakistan for years to come. The mission schools have far more Pakistanis on the teaching staffs than five years ago. There is an effort on the part of the minority groups to give wholehearted loyalty to the national development of Pakistan. Consequently the existence of mission schools and other minority organizations is not incongruous with the national aspirations of the Republic of Pakistan.

Indonesia. From Jakarta comes the report that the University of Indonesia has recently graduated the largest number of medical students in its history. Of the ninety-seven new physicians, twenty-one are women. Forty-five are Muslims, thirteen Protestants, nine Catholics, one Hindu-Bali, one a Buddhist. Twenty-eight graduates, all of Chinese origin, professed no religion.

The curriculum followed by these new physicians was one worked out in collaboration with the University of California and initiated in 1954. Under this new system the period of required study has been reduced from seven to six years, during which students are obliged to sit for periodic examinations and engage in practical work. The ninety-seven accessions to the medical profession may seem small by western standards, but they represent about a 10% increase for Indonesia, since the estimated number of practising physicans in Indonesia is about 900, not counting the approximately 400 physicians of foreign origin. Even so, for a total population of some eighty-eight million souls, the number is obviously inadequate.

"Today's graduation ceremonies," the report states, "took place in a large rectangular conference hall crowded with parents, Indonesian professors, visiting American professors and Government officials. The most unusual of the oath-taking ceremonies was that of the Hindu-Bali graduate. With a multi-colored sarong wrapped around his teal blue

graduation suit the new physician stood before burning joss sticks and bowls filled with fruit offerings to the gods and took an oath administered by a Balinese priest. Sacramental water was sprinkled on the new physician and a delicate white flower placed behind each ear."

Professor Sudjono Ppae Pusponegoro, dean of the medical school, expressed appreciation and gratitude to the University of California, to the professors and technicians it had sent and to the I.C.A. for a 'very successful' affiliation program. A similar affiliation program with the University of California is scheduled to begin next year with the medical school at Airlangga University in Surabaja.

Poland. A new orientalist review has recently been inaugurated by the Orientalist Commission of the Section of Krakow of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Its title is *Folia Orientalia.* It will be published semi-annually at Krakow. Languages used will be those customary to international conventions. The first issue has articles in French, English and German.

The scope envisaged by the editors is indicated in the introduction, as follows: "It will present a variety of studies, notes, critical bulletins, and book reviews concerning the study of the languages, literature, political history and civilization of the Orient in its broadest sense, giving special consideration to Arab, Turkish and Iranian lands. We intend especially to give attention to research projects concerning the oriental sources of the history of eastern Europe, relations between Europe and the countries of the Muslim East, and oriental numismatics. These are the problems which are of particular interest to the orientalists of the Krakow center." (p. 1).

The main articles in this first volume are entitled:
Les Ibāḍites dans l'Arabie du Sud au Moyen Age; The Arabic Texts from al-Duwaym (Sudan); The Influence of Turkish upon the Macedonian Slavonic Dialects; Quelques Remarques sur la Mission de Meḥmed Aga en Pologne (1707); Die Krimkaraimischen Sprichwörter; Le Modernisme dans l'Oeuvre de Moḥammad Reḍā ʿEšqī; An Attempt to Reconstruct Pre-Tocharian; Bushman Texts.

These are followed by a section on documents and communications and a section on book reviews. The contributions are well annotated. The printers happily have the facility of inserting Arabic texts. However it lacks a table of contents and identification of authors. This Quarterly wishes for *Folia Orientalia* a long and useful career.

Miscellanea. The Directorate General of Pilgrimage of the Saudi Arabian government has announced that this year (A. H. 1378/A. D. 1959) a total of 557,801 pilgrims performed the pilgrimage. From this number 350,630 came from Saudi Arabia itself while 207,171 came from other Arab and Muslim lands.

Brigadier General Qāsim, ruler of Iraq, has announced his intention of performing the Ḥajj in the coming year.

Agreement has finally been reached between Egypt and the Sudan concerning the Nile waters. It is reported that the two countries have amended the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1929 on the subject so

that Egypt receives 72,592 million cubic yards of the Nile's discharge and the Sudan 24,197. This means a yearly increase of 9,809 million cubic yards for Egypt and 18,964 more for the Sudan. This surplus of 28,772 million cubic yards above the figures hitherto will be available when the High Dam at Aswan is built. Until the completion of these schemes Egypt will borrow annually 1,961 million cubic yards from the Sudan and will have ten years thereafter to repay the loan. Any future schemes for increase of available waters will be shared equally, both as to cost and benefits. Egypt is to pay $ 42 million as compensation to the Sudan for towns and lands flooded as a result of the High Dam development.

The first television network in Africa was opened in November, 1959, in Nigeria by Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Prime Minister of Western Nigeria. Overseas Rediffusion Limited were the technical advisers and contractors to the Government. Impartiality is strictly laid down in the new laws regulating the television service and its use by political parties. The Premier welcomed the new development as a major contribution both to the pace and scope of Nigerian education.

Continued from p. 80

Union of Jordan with Iraq and recoil. *Middle Eastern Affairs,* New York. December, 1958. pp. 370-393. Comments on developments from May, 1957 to September, 1958.

VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

Le Protestantisme au Proche-Orient. Le Pasteur J.-M. Hornus. *Proche Orient Chrétien,* Jérusalem. Janvier-Mars, 1959. pp. 42-55. The first part of a study. This section covers the work of the American Board and the Presbyterian Board in Syria and Lebanon.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

by Sue Molleson Foster

I. GENERAL

Auf dem wege zur türkischen Republik. G. Jaeschke. *Die Welt des Islams.* Münster. 1958, part 3-4. Comments on the Turkish Constitution.

Central Asian history, 1917-1924. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1958, part 3. pp. 272-279. Analyses several publications of regional Academies of Science.

Developments of the Quarter: comment and chronology. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Spring, 1959. pp. 170-192. Covers December 16, 1958 to March 3, 1959 and has accounts of the prospects of Cyprus and Somalia.

Documents. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Spring, 1959. pp. 193-200. Dr. Leonard Binder translates and comments on the Constitution of the Arab Resurrection (Baʿth) Socialist Party of Syria.

Inscriptions mobilières de l'Égypte musulmane. Gaston Wiet. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 237-285. Text, translation, illustrations, and copious notes about various sumptuous works of the period.

Riyadh: ancient and modern. H. St. John B. Philby. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Spring, 1959. pp. 129-141. In a little less than one hundred years, the primitive city has been changed amazingly thanks to the foresight of its rulers and to the oil revenues of to-day.

Le roman historique dans la littérature arabe. Henri Pérès. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger,* Algiers. 1957. pp. 5-39. Covers the period of Antar through that of Jirji Zaydan.

Russian materials on Islam and Islamic institutions. Rudolf Loewenthal. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1958. pp. 280-311. A selective bibliography.

Sir William Jones's Persian linguistics. Garland H. Cannon. *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* New Haven. October-December, 1958. pp. 262-273. Evaluates the scholar's contribution.

The spice trade in Mamluk Egypt. Walter J. Fischel. *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient,* Leiden. April, 1958. pp. 157-174. Tells of the Kārimī, an Egyptian merchant group, who were active from the 12th to the 15th century.

II. ARABIA

Saudi Arabia: the new statute of the Council of Ministers. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Summer 1958. pp. 318-323. Comment and translation by H. St. J. Philby on a decree (May 11, 1958) aimed at stabilizing the currency.

A strange new plan for world oil. Gilbert Burck. *Fortune,* New York. August, 1959. pp. 94-97; 146-148. Shaikh ʿAbdullāh Tarīkī of Saudi Arabia and Dr. Juan Pablo Perez Afonso of Venezuela plan to join forces with Middle Eastern oil producers to limit overproduction and thus prevent the decline of world prices.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

ʿABD AL-MUʾMIN À LA CONQUÊTE DE L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. Ali Merad. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger,* Algiers. 1957. pp. 109-163. Tells of conditions from 1130 to 1163.

L'ADMINISTRATION ET LA VIE URBAINE DANS LA HONGRIE OCCUPÉE PAR LES TURCS AU COURS DES XVIe et XVIIe SIÉCLES. Charles Eszlary. I.B.L.A., Tunis. 1957, part 4. Turks and Hungarians developed mutual understanding and friendship during this period.

LE KHARIJISME BERBÈRE. Chikh Bekri. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger,* Algiers. 1957. pp. 55-108. Although Kharijism did not unify North Africa, it was instrumental in the spread of Islam there.

KHAYR AL-DIN. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. 1957, part 4. Three articles on this exceptional 19th century Arab statesman by A. Demeerseman.

DIE LANDWIRTSCHAFT ÄGYPTENS IN DER FRÜHEN ʿABBASIDANZEIT. Dieter Müller-Wodarg. *Der Islam,* Berlin. September, 1958. pp. 310-321. Gives table of contents and index.

MOSLEM MISSIONS IN AMERICA. Charles S. Braden. *Religion in Life,* New York. Summer, 1959. pp. 331-343. Describes the background and spread of the Aḥmadiyyah Movements of Islam in the United States, where direct missionary endeavors have built up centres in most of our large cities.

THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1958, part 4. pp. 378-385. Gives the historical background of the area.

SOVIET MOSLEMS TODAY. Richard Pipes. *New Leader,* New York. December 29, 1958. pp. 8-11. Islam in Russia is under constant pressure for secularization which causes it to become increasingly nationalistic.

TSARIST POLICY TOWARD ISLAM: A SOVIET VERSION. *Central Asian Review,* London. 1958, part 3. pp. 242-252. Comments and quotes from a Communist article on the anti-Islamic attitudes of Tsarist military governors.

TURKEY AND ISLAM TODAY. A. L. Tibawi. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. March, 1959. pp. 27-31. Describes the resurgence of religion and religious teaching in the mosques and also in the primary state schools.

DEUX ESTAMPILLES ET UN GROS POIDS AMAYYADES EN VERRE. Aimée Launois. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris. 1958, part 3. pp. 287-312. A study of fiscal matters under the administrations of ʿUbaydallah b. al-Ḥabḥāb al-Sulūlī, his son Qāsim, and ʿIsā b. Abī ʿAṭā. Notes and illustrations.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARABIC HISTORIOGRAPHY. Joseph de Somogyi. *Journal of Semitic Studies,* Manchester. October, 1958. pp. 373-387. The science began with the biography of the Prophet and the first wars of Islam; it flourished under the ʿAbbasīds; continued until the days of Ibn Khaldūn and then became a matter of annalists.

IV. QURʾĀN: TRADITION: THEOLOGY

" 'L'HOMME VOLANT" D'AVICENNE ET LA "COGITO" DE DESCARTES. E. Galindo-Aguilar. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. 1958, part 3. pp. 279-259. The

author compares the two great philosophers but finds them dissimilar.

Moses in Christian and Islamic tradition. C. Umhau Wolf. *The Journal of Bible and Religion,* Boston. April, 1959. pp. 102-108. Cites many references to show the close connection between the two prophets and explains how, to Christians, Moses is the prototype of Christ.

Zurvanism again. Richard N. Frye. *Harvard Theological Review,* Cambridge. April, 1959. pp. 64-73. Comments on religion in Iran under the Sassanians.

V. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIFE

La Conférence des Pétroles Arabes. Pierre Rondot. *Études,* Paris. Juin, 1959. pp. 393-399. No drastic changes occurred and the West remained predominant — not yet superceded by the U.S.S.R.

The distribution of six ratios with special reference to internal migration in Turkey. Erol Tümertekin. *Review of the Geographical Institute,* Istanbul. 1958, part 3-4. pp. 9-32. Research shows that males predominate except in purely rural sections.

Une importante réalisation tunisienne: la réforme de l'enseignement. M. Lelong. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. 1958, part 3. A detailed account of improvements.

The Juhaina Arabs of Chad. Frederic C. Thomas, Jr. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Spring, 1959. pp. 143-155. The Juhaina, emigrating from the Sudan in the 16th century, preserve their tribal and nomadic way of life. They number about 800,000.

The labor movement in Syria. A. Aziz Allouni. *The Middle East Journal,* Washington. Winter, 1959. pp. 64-76. Beginning about 1925, the movement is still weak though the Government has backed it since 1945 by legislation and by helping to settle labor disputes.

Médicine d'hier et médicins aujourd'hui. J. Magnin. *I.B.L.A.,* Tunis. 1958, part 4. pp. 393-416. The medical tradition of Tunis is outstanding and so are the skilful doctors of the present day.

Pakistan: revolution on the land. *The Round Table,* London. June, 1959. pp. 297-300. Discussion of the land reforms underway to curb the power of landlords holding immense estates.

Recent developments in labour relations in Bahrayn. Willard A. Beling. *Middle East Journal,* Washington. Spring, 1959. pp. 156-169. Statistics and comment on the recent progressive labor legislation due in large measure to the Labor Law Advisory Committee.

Relations between labour and management. Yusuf A. Sayigh. *The Islamic Review,* Woking. March, 1959. pp. 31-34. Considers conditions in Iraq, the Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt.

A socio-economic opinion poll in Beirut, Lebanon. Lincoln Armstrong. *Public Opinion Quarterly,* Princeton. Spring, 1959. pp. 18-27. Statistics showing the thinking of 170 upper-class Lebanese drawn from business, the professions, government workers and white-collar employees in various fields.

La vie intellectuelle et artistique en Tunisie — le peinture

M. Lelong. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1958, part 3. pp. 61-75. An illustrated account of the progressive enthusiasm for painting.

What war means to an Algerian village. Henry Tanner. *New York Times Magazine*, N.Y. July 19, 1959. pp. 5; 18-21. Personal talks with army, clerical, and Berber inhabitants of Djeymaa, an all Muslim mountain village in the heart of Kabylia.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

British policy in Central Asia in the early 19th century. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1958, part 4. pp. 386-407. Gives a Russian interpretation of Captain Richmond Shakespeare's mission to Khiva in 1840.

Demographic and ethnographic changes in Transcaucasia, 1897-1956. Richard Pipes. *Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1959. pp. 41-63. An analytical article with many tables of statistics of population.

Great Britain and Iraq. *The Round Table*, London. June, 1959. pp. 266-279. Covers the years 1914 to 1958 and, among other things, gives considerable information about the million Kurds in the country.

Libya: seven years of independence. *World Today*, London. February, 1959. pp. 59-68. The development of the new state has proved far more stable and satisfactory than was at first anticipated.

Middle East crises. Harold Lubell. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York. November, 1958. Looks forward to 1965 and the possible blocking of the trans-Arabian pipelines.

Mulla Ibrahim Nathan, 1816-1868. Walter J. Fischel. *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati. 1958. pp. 331-375. The article clarifies Britain's and Russia's struggle for control of Central Asia. Nathan was a Jewish agent of the British.

Negotiation from strength? A reappraisal of Western-Arab relations. Charles Issawi. *International Affairs*, London. January, 1959. pp. 1-9. Should Arab nationalism be humoured or should a few oil acres be defended to the limit by the West?

Oil companies and the Middle East. Garland Evans Hopkins. *The Christian Century*, Chicago. May 27, 1959. pp. 641-643. "The exorbitant profits Western oil companies take are no longer justified and jeopardize world peace and economic stability."

Ottoman concern about Western economic penetration in the Levant, F. S. Rodkey. *Journal of Modern History*, Chicago. December, 1958. pp. 348-353. A well-documented study covering the years 1849-1956 and based on unpublished British archival material.

Persia under strain. *The Round Table*, London. March, 1959. pp. 122-130. The defection of Iraq from the Baghdad Pact leaves Turkey and Iran bearing the weight of Russia's cultural and economic pressures.

La Syrie, province de la Republique Arabe Unie. Simon Jargy. *Orient*, Paris. 1958, part 4. pp. 17-32. The author feels that Syria has not received the political and economic advantages it expected from its union with Egypt.