

THE MUSLIM WORLD

VOL. L

APRIL 1960

NO. 2

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أُبْعَثُ حَيًّا

THE DAYS OF OUR LORD

It must always remain a theme of wistful Christian reflection that the most notable of the very few sayings attributed in the Qurʾān to Jesus should have to do with the three central events which are at the heart of Christian faith about Him and which stand as the pivots of the credal history. "Peace upon me," He is described as saying in the passage in Surah xix relating to the Nativity, "the day of my birth, the day of my death and the day of my resurrection." Birth, death, resurrection — here are the crises of the whole Gospel story, here is the Christian faith in its eventfulness, here are the fulcra of Christian conviction. Three great days — "the day (to take a more literal translation) I was born, the day I die, and the day I am brought again" — stand as they do in the Apostles' Creed: "Born of the Virgin Mary, suffered... dead and buried. The third day He rose again."

Yet they stand also differently: for their Quranic sense has necessarily to be taken in the light of other passages that have been traditionally held by Muslim commentary and theology to require an exegesis of this one in Surah xix.33 inconsistent with the Christian significance of the events in question. Study and speculation on the resulting problems take us far into the ramifications of pre-Quranic involvement on the Prophet's part with the deviations of dogma. These have their place in scholarship and some interesting developments are to be looked for in that debate. It is far from being as certain as it was for centuries rather supinely assumed to

be, that the Qur'ān negates undeviatingly what Christianity believes about the Sonship of Christ and His death. The service of this journal is patiently devoted to the tasks and stimulus of such essays in clarification. There is still too much in Islamic disqualification of Christianity that has mistaken both the Christian thing and its own Quranic document (as distinct from what the theologians have made of it.) And there is still too much Christian neglect of the far-reaching and positive Islamic affinity with Christian doctrines. Though "the days of our Lord" and what happened on them have been so large a factor in our mutual estrangement, it is there, by necessary paradox, that we must look for the point of our corrective encounter.

It all concerns the meaning of this "peace" which as Surah xix.33 has it, Jesus invoked upon Himself in birth, death and exaltation. In the shape of the Gospel that peace is an undivided whole, articulate and operative, where God visits and redeems humanity. How are we to understand it in the Quranic text? Is it merely affirming an immunity from the sin-implanting touch of Satan on the speaker in the moment of His new-born childhood? So Al-Baiḍāwī suggests, in comment on the passage. So too one might infer from the formula of peace, peace that is as security against demonic malice, traditionally invoked by Muslim piety on the threshold of this world that is the womb of birth. Does it mean, then, that Satanic conspiracy had no occasion against the infant Jesus such as might have marred His transmission of the Injil and His accomplishment of that prophecy which is pen-ultimate to the Qur'ān itself?

And the "peace" that belongs with the day of His death and presides over its eventful hours — what is that? Should we see in it this same notion of security, this immunity from evil, wrought by the intervening act of God? Is the peace of Jesus, at the moment of His confrontation by men with the gathered enmities of their rejection of His word, a peace of exemption from the throes of death? If so, then, clearly "the

day of my death" is to be taken here less than literally, denoting the day of supposed demise, the day towards which the whole logic of ministry moved in its pursuit of a suffering pattern of Messiahship and in dedication to truths which humanity in its wrongness would trample and destroy. The opposition to be sure *meant* a day of death for a preaching and a preacher that had disconcerted all their pre-conceptions of the terms of their own deliverance. In that sense the Qur^{ān} believes as emphatically in men's willing the death of Jesus as does the New Testament in the fact of it. Without an intention on men's part that He should be crucified, there is neither point nor place for intervention. So the "peace" of this day is seen to hinge upon whether its issue is survival by rescue or victory by travail. It is for the self-protective peace of security and inviolability that traditional Islam has opted in its understanding of the exaltation of Jesus.

Its view of Good Friday thus inevitably shapes the quality of the "third day," counted, of course, in the Quranic sequence of the invocation we are discussing, where there is no "third day" of the Gospels, no "tasting of death," no intervening sojourn in a real tomb. The gist of the glory that bypasses the Cross must necessarily be understood as the heavenly perpetuation of the immunity initiated in the garden, the eternal form of that Divine guardianship over prophethood in Jesus, which has its earlier forms in his pure birth and his only 'apparent' 'death.' It may not be unfitting exegesis to see all these implications in the force of the preposition "upon." For the popular usage of the same phrase in Muslim devotion is characteristically an invocation of security and wellbeing, even as it is in purely human salutation: *Al Salāmu ʿalaikum*. When in the *Taşliyah*, or invoking of benediction and peace upon the Prophets of God, Islamic piety greets these servants of the Lord, it has surely in mind the theme of their preservation in the dignity and sanctity fitting to their office. With this inviolability as the condition of their very mission, the act of devotion links the person of the pray-er, as the focus

of his own protection and a confession as to where his safety lies.

The peace that the New Testament associates, however, with "the days of our Lord" has to do with exposure rather than immunity, with initiative and travail rather than security and inviolability. It is a contrast which changes the preposition from "upon" to "through" and which informs the quality of those days of event, those moments of eternity, to which Surat Maryam refers. Some may feel that these contrasts are embedded in the whole characteristic ethos of the two faiths and that since these are irrevocably and perpetually themselves in a continuity of static self-identity, there is no point in elucidating them. Better a consecration, within these divergent "peaces," upon the business of mutual love and apprehension in a world where, given the new physical oneness, no faith, however it may see itself, can hope to be more than sectarian. Yet does not that very enterprise of realising human oneness need to be sustained and disciplined by all that it presupposes? The more urgently we admit our cultural partiality the more insistent we must be on our universal criteria. And this for the Christian must lead back to Christ.

Yet it is always in humility that the issue must be essayed. The peace of Christ's birth day is "upon" the world by virtue of the meaning of His presence as the reconciling Word made manifest. Birth is, after all, crucial to activity. "The greatest deed of the great" it has been said "is precisely their being born into the world." If this is so of the human great, how much more of a Divine enterprise that relates to this earth. A world where God has so intimately and authentically located His saving disclosure as the Incarnation proclaims, indeed has reason to be glad. It is in that Presence that it recognises its peace.

But birth fulfills its pledge of involvement with man only in the dimensions of suffering. The history that birth inaugurates, death consummates. "He came unto His own and His own received Him not." The antagonism proves that it is

authentically *this* world in which the birth has happened, not some idyllic world which, free of Herods and *Ecce Homo* crowds, has no affinity with ours. That antagonism, taken in the full compassion of redeeming love, meets the match that alone suffices to retrieve and save it. The shape of the encounter is the Cross. Its "peace" is one with the peace of the birth as fulfilment is to pledge, and accomplishment to prospect. Its advent and its agony come to open fulness in the peace of "the third day." There is, in the language of ancient Christian adoration "the womb... the sharpness and... the Kingdom opened." These are the days that mirror the eternities. Their peace is upon us: its meaning binds all recorded time in the acknowledgement. The sincerity with which we read the Quranic plea of 'Īsā in the peace of His days of birth and death and exaltation requires us to live in the New Testament dimension of their eventfulness.

That requirement must be joyfully faced in all the changing circumstances of our moving lives. Much has happened in the whole field of Christian relation to Islam since this Quarterly began in 1911. The externals of the world of Islam are almost everywhere transformed and there is a steady process of self-assessment in its interior life. In the western world, oriental studies have come to be involved much more widely than they then were in interests other than theological and scholarly. Sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and technicians of all kinds in their public relations' concerns, have entered the field, so that Islamics are seen from a whole new variety of angles.

This, under safeguards, is all to the good. But it makes all the more right and urgent that religious dimension of western relation to Islam, which, consecrated to its loyalty to Christ, this journal has through half a century been set to serve. Under its new Editor, it will take fresh heart, listening, if we may paraphrase Emerson, to "what the days of our Lord say to the centuries," and, listening, interpret.

MUSLIM ATTITUDES TO EDUCATION IN SIERRA LEONE

INTRODUCTION

In September 1958, the Extramural Department of Fourah Bay College, * Sierra Leone, organized a week-end conference to elicit Muslim opinion on educational issues. The chief Muslim groups in Sierra Leone were represented and the writers, who were responsible for running the Conference, think the views expressed of general interest. They illustrate West African Muslim opinion in a colony rapidly approaching independence and illustrate the difficulty involved in reconciling the demand to fill in the gaps in religious knowledge, consequent on haphazard proselytization, with encouraging Muslims to make maximum use of increasing opportunities for secular education.

Certain features of Sierra Leonean history have strongly coloured Muslim attitudes and should be borne in mind when examining contemporary opinion. Dr. E. W. Blyden,¹ the champion of Muslim rights, stressed that Sierra Leone represented an ambitious theoretical approach to the problem of culture contact, stemming from the social theories of evangelical Christianity, whereas other West African colonies were developed to meet simple economic needs. The road to officially sponsored advancement lay through acceptance of Christianity thus forcing Sierra Leonean Muslims into a radical dissenting position and to date they maintain a tradition of bitter protest against Christian privilege.

The first negro settlers—Nova Scotians, Black Poor and Maroons—were recruited outside of Africa but in the 19th century, the vast majority landed at Freetown by the Royal Navy were liberated Africans who had no experience of life outside tribal society save aboard ship. Many were Yorubas who preserved much of their traditional way of life after settlement. Some may have been converted to Islam before landing. Certainly many made rapid contact with Fulas, Mandingos and Susus who came to Freetown to trade from the Muslim areas to the north and joined with them to create a large Islamic community in East Freetown. At first all Yorubas were called Akus from their mode of greeting but the Muslims conserved their language and customs better than those who became Christianized Creoles and the term has been increasingly reserved for Muslim Yorubas. The Akus held a key position as intermediaries between official Christian Sierra Leone and the pagan and Muslim tribes of the interior. Two flourishing close-

* The College became, by Royal Charter, in January last, the University College of Sierra Leone.

¹ For Blyden's ideas, H. S. Wilson, *The Changing Image of the Sierra Leone Colony in the Works of E. W. Blyden. Sierra Leone Studies N.S. Number 11*, 136 ff.

knit Aku communities were built close to the mosques at Foulah Town and Fourah Bay in East Freetown which are still today regarded as key centres of Muslim culture.

Dr. Blyden's propaganda work for Muslim education began to take effect towards the end of the 19th century when it corresponded with a more positive approach by official British imperialism to non-Christian religions. Primary schools, or Madrasas, were set up mainly in East Freetown and staffed by a new Muslim teacher-training institution. Even though Blyden's plans were never fully implemented the change in government policy was warmly welcomed by Muslims.

When Islam gained this government recognition, it also enhanced its prestige in its main centre, East Freetown, by vigorous self-help. Mosque building and magic, corresponding to the amalgam of Muslim and pagan culture, were the informal means by which equality was asserted with the westernized Christian Creoles. The reputation for successful witchcraft still attaches to East Freetown, especially to the Akus. Shortly before the start of the Conference, one of the writers was warned by a nominally Christian Mende clerk not to go dancing there. "The girls are very beautiful but those Muslim men are very wicked. They tie charms round their wives' waists to make other men impotent." There is, therefore, a strong incentive to maintain pagan customs in an urban society where traditional morality has disintegrated and every man has to fend for himself or find his own witch.

The policy of separate educational provision survived till the nineteen-twenties when the government attempted to lay the foundations of a unified system of education in the "Amalgamated Scheme" of 1927. In the consequent process of bureaucratic standardization, existing Muslim education disintegrated when teachers were forced to resign because they lacked the requisite qualifications. Most older men look back to the period of separate provision, inspired by 'Blydenism,' as a golden age and are understandably bitter at its passing. Many young men, however, feel that standardization has helped them to climb much higher up the ladder of western education than their fathers and is helping to create a unified national community, though they did not express this view at the Conference in the presence of their elders.

Such constraint is striking. Throughout West Africa there is a scarcely disguised conflict between the generations and, at present, seniority continues to hold power in Sierra Leone. Muslim youth, traditionally more deferential than its Christian equivalent, masks its more radical views and enjoys the political rewards of docility. The political element enters into every conference but it would be rash to expect in such a pioneer assembly freedom of comment comparable with that obtainable in the liberal West. The Conference made articulate the opinions of the present, traditionalist ruling Muslim élite. But readers should bear in mind the possibility of a radical revision of the ideas guiding the Muslim community as younger elements replace it.

THE PLANNING OF THE CONFERENCE

The planning of the Conference, its program, speakers, and an invitation list, was the work of a small committee of young Muslim men presided over by the Academic Registrar of Fourah Bay College. These young men are closely associated with the Extra-Mural Department of the College and therefore, by definition, westernisers. On the other hand, they showed a sharp sense of the importance of their elders. A few notoriously conservative Alhajis were invited, and one at least, reputed the most gracious and diehard of all, attended. Thus it was by no means a Conference of westernisers only. In the upshot, the established Muslim organisations were well represented: the Muslim Association by its founder, the Muslim Reformation Society by its founder and several office-holders, the Muslim Congress by at least one office-holder.

Meantime, one young man grew restive at the tendency of the Tutor-in-Charge of Extra-Mural Studies, exercising a nervous supervision from England, to nominate for the Conference only men of known piety, orthodoxy or political influence in the Muslim Community. He gently insinuated to the Academic Registrar that most professed Muslims in Sierra Leone were pagans looking for a convenient label. Those as well, he felt, should be invited to attend. He himself was the only known representative of this group at the Conference, but there may, of course, have been others.

The Conference was, socially, a fair sampling of the community: the Civil Service, teaching, the priesthood, trade and the crafts were all present. Many different tribes and neighbourhood groups attended, though two groups were absent or barely represented, and this may have some significance in the light of the comments made elsewhere on divisions in the Muslim Community. These two groups were (a) the Hausas and Arabs, who, of course, are not indigenous, but who are well established in Freetown where the Hausas have their own mosque, and (b) the Akus of the Fourah Bay area. With this exception, the Akus supported the Conference in strength. There was only one Lebanese, of a family with a unique reputation for public spirit.

As the proceedings were to be in English, it would have been pointless to invite men with no grasp of that language. At the same time, it appeared that Muslims of any public standing (i.e. not dependent upon their prestige in a particular mosque) have usually enough English for such purposes. We will now examine the themes which emerged during the Conference.

I. THE NEED FOR A BLENDING OF EASTERN AND WESTERN INFLUENCES

In its general aspect this theme was introduced early in the Conference by one of the main speakers, A. K. Ghazali, one of the success-

ful students sent to Al-Azhar on a Muslim Congress scholarship. He glanced at the attempts to interpret Islam to Muslims who had received a western education and praised particularly what had been achieved in Turkey and Egypt. He had fewer doubts about Turkey than about Egypt, but he thought both Al-Azhar and the three modern Universities in that country had done a good job. He called for the creation of more scholarships to enable suitable Muslim young men to study Islamics and Arabic abroad, and for more adult education. It was evident that he thought of this in terms both of Arabic and English.

The liberal trend of this speech was backed by a young Muslim teacher, trained at an independent teachers' College, but teaching in a Muslim School. His point of reference was the child under education: to "unlock" for the child the full resources of the culture to which it belonged, both sacred and secular training were needed. The same speaker later spoke of Muslim disabilities and the need for special Governmental help. Here a loyalty to his own people was accompanied by an equally resolute refusal to be sectarian or illiberal. Similarly, the Secretary of the Muslim Reformation Society pointed out that the Al-Azhar men could impart what they know inside the Extra-Mural Classes of Fourah Bay College. As the College was in the past a Christian Establishment,² and even now has certain Christian affiliations, this showed a kind of confidence which only liberal convictions could permit.

Again, in the matter of Scholarships, referred to by Mr. Ghazali, it was most significant that when the Conference finally adopted a resolution that Government should create scholarships in Arabic and Islamic Studies as in other academic subjects, there was no suggestion that these should be restricted to Al-Azhar; England and America were mentioned at least once in this context.

On the other hand, fear of western influence sometimes manifested itself, though it was referred back to the past. Thus it was stated that the Muslim Congress was originally formed out of anxiety for the young Muslims who went to the west and thereafter never returned to their own religious community. And one speaker, sincere though sophisticated, spoke with irony of the ignorance of a previous generation of Muslims who found it inconceivable that the same man was constitutionally capable of learning both Arabic and English. As the most conservative of the Alhajis went out of his way to come and express his delight to the organisers of the Conference, it must be assumed that the liberal trend was predominant. But it would be facile to assume that fear of the west was always set in the past; some ambivalence of attitude still remains.

Thus one Nigerian student, only a year short of his degree, took it for granted that a western colonial Government must be Christian

² One speaker expressed much surprise and gratification that he was allowed to speak at all in what he regarded as a Christian stronghold.

and, therefore, to some degree anti-Islamic. It was rather surprising that a highly trained and obviously honest man should make this connection in so crude a form.

2. THE INJUSTICES OF THE PAST AND THE UNFAIRNESS OF THE CHRISTIANS

One distinguished speaker, Aḥmad Alhādi, recalled that his own grand-father had built but one mosque, and this had been cast down in the days of Governor Doherty's persecution. The same speaker, however, hastened to add that official persecution had been rare and various Governors had taken a kindly and sympathetic interest in the special case of their Muslim subjects. Far more compelling were the evidences of social and educational discrimination against Muslims. Educated Muslims working among Christians, it was said, had been mocked and in some cases browbeaten into exchanging their Muslim names for Christian.³

The Missions were attacked with some show of reason. Bo Government School had been intended to cater for Muslims and once Arabic had been taught there, but when it had trained boys from the Muslim North the Northern Missions refused to employ them and they had to be posted to the South. (This speaker was obviously very well informed and made his points without any great animus).

When the Muslim Primary Schools, the Madrasas, charged fees, the Church Missionary Society started a free school, the C.M.S. Mohammedan School, in competition with them. One C.M.S. Secretary had lately said that C.M.S. would conquer Port Lokko (a Muslim strong hold) or die.

When the Government set up the Model School with the deliberate intention of providing for Muslims, Christian teachers in the school had connived with Christian parents to give most of the school places to Christians and so oust the Muslims. (This sense of having been conspired against may account for the extreme position taken by Aḥmad Alhādi in urging that Muslim children should be taught by Muslims only. The plea was not generally supported).

Following an account by a speaker from the People's Educational Association of the Workers' Educational Association in England, a middle-aged man drew an instructive comparison between the position of Muslims here and of English workers a couple of generations ago. Both were backward, and had often been socially and culturally frustrated. Both had a tradition of self-help and mutual aid. But the general dilemma of Muslim parents in dealing with Christian education was most forcefully put by a speaker who described himself, to the mingled consternation and delight of the Conference, as "Christian by

³ Exactly the same charges are brought by the men from the up-country tribes against the Creoles of the Colony.

circumstances." Islamic education as such did not fit its students for any remunerative or influential post; on the other hand, Muslim parents who committed their children as wards to Christian homes, in order that they should receive a secular education, knew how likely it was that their children would be lost to them. Thus the Muslim Community suffered in both cases.

3. THE LACK OF REWARD AND STATUS FOR MEN OF GOOD ISLAMIC EDUCATION

This issue became very particular in the case of the men from Al-Azhar. One of them, A. K. Ghazali, put his own case. In 1946, he said, the Muslim Congress appealed for educated young Muslims to volunteer for scholarships to Al-Azhar, but as no assured future could be promised them only three came forward. To volunteer meant six years' study at Al-Azhar, no certainty of any post to follow, and loss of pensionable service in jobs previously held. On his return he was himself employed in Junior Schools on a very unsatisfactory syllabus and had little teaching time with his classes. In return for this mis-employment he was offered £ 72 per annum in the first instance, and, it appeared, had now risen to the height of £ 15 a month! The speaker put his case with humour, fairness and urbanity.

There was widespread indignation at this injustice. A Nigerian student spoke of it as a gross example of Governmental ignorance or discrimination. On the other hand, one Muslim School Manager put up a defence of sorts. The Al-Azhar men were specially qualified in Arabic, but their Junior School posts gave no scope for Arabic teaching. Hence they were paid in proportion to their ability to teach "secular subjects."⁴ Here it was not difficult to recognise a slightly uneasy conscience.

However, the expression of opinion on this point was otherwise unanimous. M. S. Koroma, a self-educated bus-driver, himself a gifted linguist and Quranic student, said that Arabic Studies had not prospered here because there was no material encouragement for them. The men from Al-Azhar were a striking illustration of the gap between accomplishment and reward. He himself had been interested in Arabic teaching, but the fate of Mr. Ghazali had been a sufficient warning to him. People's Educational Association, University and Muslim speakers all chimed together. The Conference, therefore, passed a resolution that Government should reconsider the grading of these teachers, and that, if necessary, the Amalgamated Teachers' Organisation should be asked to press the case.

The Minister of Education privately undertook that the matter should be referred to England for an evaluation of the Al-Azhar qualifications.

⁴ In practice usually Religious Knowledge.

4. DIVISIONS AMONG MUSLIMS AND WEAKNESS IN MUSLIM LEADERSHIP

The same M. S. Koroma broke through the normal decorum of the proceedings with a bitter attack on divisions in the Muslim community and the egoism of the Muslim leadership. Every Muslim tribal group in Freetown, he said, thought it ought to have its own mosque; and even that it ought to have its own school. More loyalty was given to the tribal group than to the brotherhood of Islam. The Muslim leaders were selfish and irresponsible. The Muslim Congress and Muslim Association were excellent ideas, but they did nothing. For example money had been collected for schools, but the Congress had built no school.

Both these criticisms were taken up in a milder form by other speakers. Thus Ahmad Alhādi, the most senior in status of all those present, repeated the criticism of tribal divisions. Speaker after speaker, some young and some old, returned to a matter of £1500 which had been collected by private subscription and for which there was reputedly nothing to show—a suspicion much in the spirit of the country. One City Councillor seemed to feel a general obligation to defend the established hierarchy. He avoided a direct challenge, but argued that the achievements of the Muslims had been a matter for self-congratulation. In Committee, too, he showed signs of resenting sharply the exposure of Muslim divisions and inadequacies before a group which was not itself wholly Muslim.⁵

Here, as in the case of the Al-Azhar scholarships, there was in some quarters a vested interest in defending the established position but a more general tendency to criticise and attack, and certainly there was no attempt to deny the statement that the Muslim community had resolved itself into a number of local groups of a tribal character.⁶

5. THE NEED FOR SPECIAL HELP FROM GOVERNMENT TO THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

This demand was repeatedly and energetically expressed. The record of Government in catering for the education of Muslims was, as the Conference saw it, erratic and generally poor. The activities of Dr. Blyden were praised both in starting the Madrasas and in creating the Mohamman Education Committee. He was also credited with initiating the Muslim Training Class. But "within five years of his death all his work was undone." In 1924, the Department of Education ended religious teaching. Then the start of school was changed from

⁵ His hypersensitive reaction to criticisms of the established order should perhaps be related to the publication in a local newspaper the week before of a bitter attack on the Secretary of the Muslim Congress, another Sierra Leone People's Party Councillor. The attack upon S. L. P. Muslims later became more libellous and widespread and was maintained in almost daily instalments.

⁶ See L. Proudfoot: "Mosque-Building and Tribal Separatism in Freetown East." *Africa*, October, 1959.

10 a.m. to 8 a.m., thus eliminating the unofficial early morning classes in Arabic.

A more bitter sense of grievance was apparent in references to the system of Grants-in-Aid and to the Amalgamation Scheme. Thus Grants-in-Aid were described as "a premium for the best organised." Several speakers pointed out that the Mission Schools had been subsidised from abroad, and it was the advantage this subsidy gave which then qualified them for further subsidies from the Government. As for the Amalgamation Scheme, it had subjected Muslim teachers to tests of their western educational qualifications which they simply could not meet. They had had to abandon their profession and go trading.

On this theme of Muslim educational disabilities, and the shortcomings of Government, the speeches were often passionate and sometimes excessive. Thus Aḥmad Alhādi, himself a former Civil Servant, cited the example of the Indian Civil Service, where, in the Punjab, a benevolent Government reserved 58 % of places in the Civil Service for the Muslims even though educated men were few amongst them. The City Councillor already referred to, said that the example to follow in dealing with the weak was that of the Law Courts, who, if a man could not afford to retain an advocate himself, appointed one for him. There were several references to "the poor Muslim." The hottest challenge to the established order, however, came from a young man, who, addressing himself to no less a person than the Minister of Education, then in the Chair, said that the independence of Sierra Leone was fast approaching: if the Muslim community received no satisfaction to its just claims there would be danger of a strike.⁷

The Minister of Education produced a formidable counterblast to any attempt to look for salvation to others rather than to oneself.⁸ This, he said, had become a national vice; it was fatal to all hope of national advancement. As for the Grants-in-Aid system, it had to be applied equitably. Administrative fairness could not be established on a basis of making special concessions to special cases. Every case was a precedent for the next one. The actual proposals formulated by the Conference made no mention of Grants-in-Aid, but that seems to have been rather on grounds of timing and expediency than on principle.

The image of Government, with some historical justification, as we have seen, passed in and out of the images of the west and of Christianity. Though the City Councillor said that in speaking of Government he preferred to say "We" rather than "they" he was clearly identifying himself with authority in a way that most other speakers could not do.

⁷ A Strike (in local parlance "Trek") is any organised resistance to authority; it may vary from a down-tools movement to something very like rebellion under arms.

⁸ Typically, one of the questions addressed to a Northern Nigerian speaker was what help could a powerful Muslim Government, such as that of Northern Nigeria, give to a poor Islamic community such as that of Sierra Leone.

When the Conference looked to Government for help, it seemed to do so less in a spirit of hope and expectation than from a resentful consciousness of neglect. The prevailing liberal tone of the speakers must in part be attributed to a courteous sense of the hospitality that was being offered to them by a traditionally Christian institution, and should not obscure the evident danger signals which appeared in this discussion.

6. SELF-HELP AND THE NEED FOR ORGANISATION

Several speakers expressed pride in what had been achieved with the unaided resources of the local Muslim community. Mosques had been built, schools founded and maintained. "In worship, in charity and in education" as the City Councillor put it, a beginning had been made. It might not be sufficient, but at least it was the work of Muslims themselves. With this self-congratulation, there was some self-criticism. Councillor Kallay said that rather than blame Government, men should ask themselves: "What have I myself done." A middle-aged alfa noted that though several highly trained Muslims had lived in the country, they had often died with their knowledge unused: the young were not willing to learn from them. But generally, there was a feeling that self-help had done a good deal and more was to come. The one young Lebanese present urged that Muslims should rely upon themselves but that they should also join in general movements of amelioration like the People's Educational Association. If a single, powerful Muslim organisation were created to sponsor Islamic schools, help would surely follow.

Aḥmad Alhādi, too, pointed the contrast between the strong and concerted⁹ voice the Missions had always had, and the weak powers of advocacy of a divided Muslim community. A Nigerian student similarly urged that, as Government was always tough in negotiation, it had to be met by a united pressure group.

7. THE POSITION OF WOMEN

Two women attended the Conference, both from the People's Educational Association, neither from the Muslim community. Thus a topic which would probably not otherwise have been considered was brought to the notice of the meeting. The two women spoke and asked questions and it became incumbent upon the Conference to respond.

Two main responses emerged. Firstly, Aḥmad Alhādi pointed out that within the Muslim community itself one or two women had risen

⁹ The Missions have by no means always been unanimous; but certainly the Church Missionary Society by itself was, in the 19th. century, an extremely powerful lobby.

to positions of prestige and influence, even though they had little or no contact with western education. He cited one Fulah Town woman, who had risen as high as an Imām could go, and his own sister who was active and eloquent in the early days of the Sierra Leone nationalist movement. This led to a moving plea from the Chairman of the People's Educational Society, a greatly respected local headmistress, for more contact between different communities in Freetown. Although active in public life herself, she had never heard of either of these distinguished women. The sectionalism of life in Freetown, she pointed out, was a bar to progress.

The second response was one of tough criticism by the liberals of the local Muslim attitude to women. One of these, a senior Government servant, Assistant Secretary to the Minister of Education, who was then present, quoted chapter and verse from a Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. The authors pointed out that Muslims in West Africa were dubious about the education of women. In coastal areas, particularly in the semi-matriarchal societies, women had their own recognised scope and influence. Elsewhere, they were somewhat excluded from social life and their employment as teachers was hedged about with difficulties. On the other hand, the speaker pointed out, the old Mohammedan Training Class had trained at least two women teachers, and the Freetown Secondary School for Girls was a fine example of the participation of girls and women in national education.

The same young Muslim teacher who had formerly pleaded so strongly for a union of Eastern and Western influences in education, gave a satiric account (which caused a good deal of amusement) of the attitude of most of his co-religionists towards their women. He paraphrased roughly: "We are backward; our women must not get ahead of us! therefore, they must be even more backward than we are."

These exchanges illuminated very clearly both the ignorance of the Christian community about the Muslims, and the tension in the Muslim community itself between the young liberals and the old order.

CONCLUSION

To summarise: it was apparent that the Muslim community was divided amongst itself by tribal and neighbourhood loyalties, but that there was a strong sentiment in favour of unity. None of the Muslim organisations had quite managed to achieve this unity, but they had aroused hopes, which though disappointed, were still alive and vital. For these disappointments there was some inclination to condemn the old leadership, but equally there was a sense that no one was free from responsibility in the matter. Government, the Colonial Power, the west and the Christians were concepts which interpenetrated, and it was easy to transfer hostility from one to another. Only in the case of the Colonial power there was, in one or two speakers, e.g.

Aḥmad Alhādi, a desire to exempt it from any condemnation except in the days of Governor Doherty. Resentment against the native Christians and the Missions was bitter. Ability to identify the Muslim individual or his community with Government (in spite of the fact that Sierra Leone has an all-African Cabinet, partly Muslim in membership) was extremely rare. There was some self-pity, and the two ideas, that Muslims must help themselves, and that they needed special help because of their late educational and social development, were held with equal tenacity and regarded as complementary. Suspicion of the west was by no means dead. Liberalism usually held the chair and the floor, but there were signs enough of active discontent. Doubtless there would have been more of these, but for traditional Muslim good manners, combined with the feeling that the College which was their host had gone out of its way to meet them. The young westernisers were evidently in a difficult position. On important matters of sensibility, such as the position of women, and the desire for reconciliation with the west, a few came out without reserve, but that apart, they were cautious of offending their committed elders.

In dealing with the educational issue itself, the conference created a convincing impression of inconsistency and insensibility on the part of the old Education Department. The Muslim community had been confronted with a dilemma: to abandon its children to the Christians, or to limit their education and so their own influence in the state. The response to this dilemma had been confusion and the accumulation of bitterness against those who had created it.

Yet a glance at the proposals finally adopted¹⁰ will show that, however they may have been tailored by University Lecturers, they could never have been adopted at all (and they were adopted after full discussion in which not one was seriously challenged) had there not been a continued desire for an accommodation with the official order of things and fair hopes of its eventual achievement.

Finally, although on many issues there was general agreement, there were indications enough of party feeling. National independence did not seem to be in the forefront of the debate. But certainly fears existed that Muslims, once sovereignty was attained, might be a penalised group, and that they would develop unevenly in Freetown, where the Extra-Mural Department was already effective and in the Provinces, where extra-mural work was just beginning.¹¹

*Fourah Bay College, Freetown,
Sierra Leone.*

L. PROUDFOOT,
H. S. WILSON.

¹⁰ See appendix.

¹¹ The major part of the Department's work in Freetown, including classes in English, Arabic, Politics, Economics, Ecclesiastical History and Philosophy, has been located in Muslim centers and largely patronised by Muslim men.

APPENDIX
FOURAH BAY COLLEGE
EXTRA-MURAL DEPARTMENT

18th. September, 1958.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF A CONFERENCE ON "EDUCATION AND
THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY"

Representatives of the Muslim Community meeting in Conference at Fourah Bay College on the invitation of the People's Educational Association, arrived at the following recommendations, which, in agreement with the People's Educational Association, they humbly wish to bring to the notice of the relevant authorities.

1. FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS:

- (a) Sample curricula dealing with the teaching of Islam should be obtained from regions where Islamic education has been more fully developed (e.g. Nigeria, Somaliland, the Sudan).
- (b) In Muslim primary schools the teaching of Islam through English should go on throughout. In the groups from Class I to Standard II inclusive this is all that should be attempted, except for simple Arabic prayers.
- (c) Arabic as such should begin in Standard III and continue to what will be Standard V in the new educational scheme.
- (d) More time should be allocated for these studies than is at present allowed.

2. FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS:

(Given that Government is already committed to the creation of a new Muslim Secondary School): —
Throughout the Secondary Schools of the country Arabic should, wherever teachers are available, be offered as an optional subject on the same basis as all the other languages (e.g. Latin) which are recognised for G.C.E.

3. TEACHER TRAINING:

Wherever possible Arabic and Islamic studies should be provided in the existing training colleges.

4. FOURAH BAY COLLEGE:

Besides applying the recommendation in Paragraph 3 above, Fourah Bay College should create a Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies in the University Department. Moreover, it is respectfully requested that a special place of worship should be set aside for Muslim Students.

5. STATUS OF THE MEN FROM AL-AZHAR:

The Conference felt that a cruel injustice had been done to the men trained at Al-Azhar. It requested Government to reconsider their very lowly grading; their qualifications had been grievously undervalued. The Conference felt that if need be, the Amalgamated Teachers' Organisation should also look into this matter.

6. SCHOLARSHIPS:

The Conference requested Government to provide Scholarships for Arabic and Islamic Studies, enabling suitable Muslim Students to study abroad.

7. FRIDAY PRAYERS:

The Conference held that it was desirable that all Schools should close at 12 noon on Fridays, so that Muslim pupils could go to their devotions.

8. TRAINING FOR ILLITERATES:

Government should seek to set up occupational Training Courses for independent craftsmen and teachers. Women too should be provided for. Such courses might be given in the various Madrasas.

9. MUSLIM RELATIONS OFFICE:

A Muslim Relations Office should be set up to study and diffuse knowledge of the religious and social conditions of Islam elsewhere.

Distribution f.i. & n.a.:

The Minister of Education & Welfare,
The Principal, Fourah Bay College,
The Director of Education,
His Worship the Mayor of Freetown,
The Secretaries of the Muslim Congress & the Muslim Association,
The Secretary of the People's Educational Association,
The Secretary, Amalgamated Teachers' Organisation,
The Academic Registrar, Fourah Bay College,
The Tutor in-charge, Extra-Mural Department, F.B.C.

RASHĪD RIḌĀ AND ISLAMIC LEGAL REFORM: AN IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

PART I. METHODOLOGY

I

The development of modern secular codes of law in many Muslim countries, and the increasingly secular tendencies of theory and attitude in the field of law, seem to have rendered interest in the Shari'ah and its possibilities of methodological reform of very little, if any, practical importance. Who now seriously imagines that in the foreseeable future any of the more advanced Muslim states will place its entire structure of law squarely and frankly and exclusively on the basis of Islamic doctrine? In Pakistan the effort to produce an "Islamic" constitution has made no net progress; in Turkey secularism has been celebrated for a generation as the symbol of modern enlightenment; in Egypt the last stronghold of canonical jurisdiction, the field of law relating to personal status, has been effectively breached by the abolition in 1956 of the religious courts.

In these circumstances not only do the traditional doctrines and practices of Islamic jurisprudence appear to retain a mere historical importance relevant only to an understanding of a past age, but also the attempts made in the present century by various reformists to breathe new life into them are now increasingly looked upon as passing episodes. Attempts may still be made to assert the progressive and humanist nature of Islamic law, but does not this serve only the psychological purpose of apologetics, rather than any practical purpose of reform?

Attention has increasingly been drawn in recent years to the ideological character not only of modern Muslim apologetics but also of the traditional doctrines of jurisprudence and constitutional organization inherited from the early centuries of Islam. It appears now that the doctrines surrounding the institutional procedures of the Caliphate — the election of the Caliph, his qualifications, the source of his authority, and the delegation of his authority to other officials — grew historically from the need to justify the record of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties.¹ It appears also that the traditional rules of legal reasoning (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) were evolved as justifications for the borrowings by Islamic law from pre-Islamic practices in Syria and Iraq,² and maintained through the centuries by successive generations of jurists not so much as a practical basis for judgment as for the purpose of maintaining their professional hold on the law against the threat

¹ See for example Emile Tyan, *Institutions du droit musulman public*, vol. I: *Le Califat*, Paris, 1954.

² Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1950.

of arbitrary interference by predatory or wilful rulers,³ and to solidify the established position of the four Schools against renewed interpretation.

A number of efforts have been made by Muslim modernists of this century to demonstrate the applicability of earlier doctrine to modern needs, if only it can be cleansed of the "false" accretions of rigidity and obscurantism and refreshed with its "true" original spirit of humanism and utilitarian dynamism. These have for the most part been put forward only as apologetics, for the purpose of defending the reputation of Islam and stimulating confidence among doubting Muslims. In other cases the effort has been made to reformulate traditional doctrine as a practical modern instrument by working out a definite methodology and proposing the institutional means of its application. This effort has been most sustained and come most closely to grips with actualities in Pakistan, but it has also been made by the Muslim Brethren in Egypt and immediately before them by their ideological godfather, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. This second category of modernists have of course contributed to apologetics, but are distinctive in their desire to make their ideas the basis of a program of action for the future, rather than simply an idealized justification of the past. The intended program is therefore a revolutionary one of replacing or transforming existing institutions, rather than dignifying what has already been done or conserving the sphere of jurisdiction already assigned to the Sharī'ah. Here they differ from traditional dogmatists as well as from purely apologetic modernists.

The unique position of this group presents a special doctrinal problem which, quite understandably in the nature of the case, they themselves have not been fully aware of. The problem results from their effort to apply inherited teachings to objectives radically different from those for which they were originally evolved, and from the consequent tendency to distort the spirit and even the content of those doctrines, reading into them what was not there, in order to use them for the new purposes, while claiming that this is only a restoration of their original character. But in addition to this — and here this group parts company from the mere apologists — the practical implications of the new interpretation, once they begin to take shape, are often likely to prove unacceptably secular to the proponents of the interpretation themselves, who owe an unrecognized debt to traditional modes of thought. The end result is that the program of action remains only vaguely defined, or, when it is spelled out concretely by others, it is repudiated. Thus the reformer, however politically activist he may be, ends by offering not a plan but only an ideology, as the inconclusive constitutional debates in Pakistan and the airy sloganizing of the Muslim Brethren in Egypt bear witness.

³ See the elaboration of this point by H.A.R. Gibb, "An Interpretation of Islamic History," *Muslim World*, xlv, 1955, pp. 4-15, 121-133.

It is in the context of this problem that the intellectual career of Rashīd Riḍā is of particular interest. Where Riḍā succeeded as a journalist, he failed as a reformer. While it may be argued that no amount of doctrinal theorizing could possibly have kept pace with secular progress in 20th century Egypt, it would be more to the point to say that he suffered an intellectual failure dictated in advance by the nature of his assumptions. If this is true of Riḍā, who was involved very little in political activity, it would be the more true of those sharing his views who have been heavily involved.

The two installments of this article are an attempt to illustrate this thesis by an examination of Rashīd Riḍā's attempt to reform and revive the Sharī'ah on the basis of a utilitarian methodology.

II

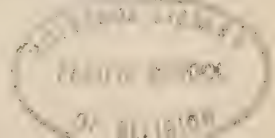
Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā was a Syrian by origin, born in 1865 near Tripoli. As a young man he emigrated to Cairo, where he immediately became a disciple of the modernist reform leader Muḥammad 'Abduh. After the latter's death in 1905 he established himself as a leading heir to the movement by publishing a voluminous biography of 'Abduh⁴ and completing the commentary of the Qur'ān which 'Abduh had begun.⁵ His career in Cairo was almost entirely devoted to the publication of his journal *Al-Manār* ("The Lighthouse") which he founded in 1897 and which continued to appear until a few years after his death in 1935. His numerous books are all reprints of collected articles from *Al-Manār*; of these the most important for our purposes are *Al-Khilāfah aw al-Imāmat al-ʿUẓmā* ("The Caliphate, or Greater Imamate"), written in 1922-1923 in reaction to the abolition of the Sultan's temporal powers by the Kemalists, and *Yusr al-Islām wa Uṣūl al-Tashrīʿ al-ʿĀmm* ("The Accommodating Spirit of Islam and the Sources of General Jurisprudence"), published in 1928.

Rashīd Riḍā's legal doctrines follow from the view — inherited directly from Muḥammad 'Abduh and indirectly from the Mu'tazilite theologians of early Islam — that the justice of the Sharī'ah is natural justice, and that the precepts of the Sharī'ah tend toward the same conclusions in rules for behavior as do the precepts of what might be called sophisticated prudence or enlightened self-interest. There can, therefore, be no conflict between the teachings of Islam and those of science. Nor is there conflict between the obligations of the Sharī'ah and natural human moral disposition (*al-wijḍān al-ṣādiq*). Islam teaches men to conform to justice, rather than creating for the first time otherwise invalid standards of justice.⁶

⁴ *Tārīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām al-Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh* (3 vols.; Cairo, 1921).

⁵ *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Hakīm* (3rd printing, 12 vols.; Cairo, 1948-1956).

⁶ *Manār*, iv, 216: "Islam is the religion of natural disposition and cannot possibly contradict the laws of creation, nor can its customs contradict those of



This being the case, the social rules of the Shari'ah (as distinguished from the rules of purely devotional and ritual behavior) are subject to a broad measure of human interpretation and adaptation to changing circumstances. This is true first because reason can go far in determining what is just, and secondly because the primary purpose of the social rules is to secure man's welfare. The religious aspect of this sphere of law lies simply in the fact that God wills the welfare of all men, and has therefore laid down certain general guiding principles and, occasionally but not as a rule, certain specific regulations, to counteract the imperfections of human reason and motivation which are likely to distort natural justice. These guiding principles are laid down in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah (exemplary behavior of the Prophet). Within these broad confines, it is man's right and duty to determine for himself what concrete rules will produce the greatest social benefits in his particular circumstances.

To understand the revolutionary doctrinal significance of Riḍā's views on legal methodology and application, it is first necessary to set forth a few observations on the character of the traditional concepts. From the rise of the four great Schools in the second and third centuries of Islam onward, the assumption prevailed that the Sacred Law had been revealed to man as a criterion (*furqān*) of good and evil. All individual rulings of the law were therefore theoretically deductible by logical reasoning from the primary revealed sources, namely the Qur'ān and Sunnah. The chief means of rational elaboration was to be found in analogical reasoning (*qiyās*). This method was closely circumscribed by rules whose purpose was to prevent loose reasoning and the intrusion of the jurist's personal preferences and thereby to exclude human value judgments and preserve the revealed character of the law. Detailed procedures were listed, for example, for determining the relevant feature of the already established ruling on which an analogy might be based. This feature, called *'illah* (efficient cause) or sometimes *amr jāmi'* (common element), acquired its relevance from the divine wisdom (*ḥikmah*) underlying the established ruling. Thus in the prohibition on wine, the intoxicating property is the *'illah* leading by analogy to the banning of other intoxicants, while the evil of intoxication is the *ḥikmah*. It is not necessary to understand the *ḥikmah* (why intoxication is evil) in order to apply the analogy, but only to identify the *'illah*. Whether the *ḥikmah* has any rational basis at all, in fact, is strictly speaking irrelevant, since it is not the function of the jurist to investigate value judgments but only to elaborate those already revealed. This can be done by various procedures,⁷ all of which are clearly designed to exclude or minimize speculation on values.

nature, for everything is from God." See also *Manār*, i, p. 589 ff.; iv, p. 864-5; ix, p. 54-5.

⁷ The methodology of analogy in its various categories is admirably discussed in the following works: N. P. Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*,

It was recognized, however, that jurists did not, and in fact could not, in all cases avoid some consideration of utility or convenience, and hence a limited loophole was provided by the concept of *maṣlahah mursalah* (benefit or utility not entirely based on a revealed value judgment). The method of applying this concept was called *istiṣlāḥ*, and consisted in the determination by the jurist of reasonable human interests and judging the case at hand in a manner calculated to promote them. This notion derived from the assumption that the Shari'ah was revealed for man's material as well as spiritual welfare, and that, therefore, this purpose ought to be facilitated by the manner of interpreting the law.

This might appear to give free rein to the utilitarian judgments of the jurist, but the rules worked out to govern the method were carefully designed to restrict the scope of its application, by stipulating that the interests and purposes which it promoted must be implicit in the revealed sources of the law. Either *istiṣlāḥ* was sanctioned as an extended version of analogy, as in the case of Ibn Taimiyya's view that conduct which contributes to the performance of a legally required act (*dharī'ah*, plural *dharā'i'*) thereby also becomes obligatory, provided this does not contradict explicit existing prohibitions;⁸ or *istiṣlāḥ* was allowed to override the requirements of Qur'ān and Sunnah in cases of dire necessity (*ḍarūrah*), provided (as Al-Ghazālī argued) the object is to promote a presumed general purpose of the law such as preservation of religion, life, reason, offspring, or property, and provided further that the benefit is a matter of clear-cut certainty and universal applicability.⁹ When subjected to restrictions such as these, therefore, *istiṣlāḥ* was no more than a supplement to the revealed sources, and could only be considered as a tool of interpretation, not a substantive source in its own right. Viewed in this light, *maṣlahah mursalah* was not really *mursalah* (that is, not really independent of the textually revealed values), and *istiṣlāḥ* was not really utilitarianism.

No doubt, these doctrines of *qiyās* and *maṣlahah* are far more rigorously insistent on logical deduction than was the case in the actual judicial practice of traditional Islam. However, it is not the practice but the ideological spirit, and the purpose served by this spirit, that matter, since these are what Rashīd Riḍā sought to reformulate. The ideology was one of profound conservatism. On the one hand, the integrity of the law (and the professional prestige of the lawyers) was protected against arbitrary interference in long periods of political

New York, 1916, pp. 77-86; H. Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de Taki-l-Din Ahmad ibn Taimiya*, Cairo, 1939, pp. 14-15; 'Abd al-Wahhāb Khallāf, *Maṣādir al-Tashrī' al-Islāmī fīmā lā Naṣṣ fīhi*, Cairo, 1955, pp. 40-55; O. Pesle, *Les Fondements du droit musulman*, Casablanca, n.d., pp. 108-126.

⁸ See H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-l-Din Ahmad ibn Taimiyya*, Cairo, 1939, p. 249.

⁹ Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Al-Mustasfā min 'Ilm al-Uṣūl*, Cairo, 1938, I, pp. 139-144.

anarchy or despotism. On the other hand, general reverence for the religious origin and ultimate sanction of the Sharī'ah prompted the same pietist attitude that it still does today in conservative Muslim circles: the attitude that God's revealed Word is not to be lightly manipulated or set aside, but must be studied with intellectual humility and scrupulous care. For the less pious, it was at least necessary to keep up appearances.

III

It was Rashīd Riḍā's chief objective in his proposals for the revival of Islamic jurisprudence to enable the Sharī'ah to become in practice what it was always supposed in theory to be, namely a comprehensive legal system with jurisdiction over not only matters of personal status, family affairs, and philanthropic endowments, but also general civil and criminal matters. The Sharī'ah must be the foundation of the entire legal structure, and piecemeal implementation of it in a few restricted areas could, he insisted, only distort its true function.¹⁰

Recognizing that this would necessitate a methodology more responsive to practical social needs than the traditionally defined modes of reasoning, Riḍā accordingly reversed the established relationship between the textual sources of law and considerations of utility, and championed an extensive resort to *istiṣlāḥ* that would make this principle the very basis of jurisprudence, limited only by the liberally interpreted meaning of Qur'ān and Sunnah. This adaptable and evolutionary approach would free jurisprudence from the shackles of the highly technical and rigid procedures that had traditionally governed the use of both analogical and utilitarian reasoning.

The new methodology would open the door to a dynamic process of positive legislation, in accordance with the needs of the Community. The fixed rules of the Sharī'ah were seen to be neither so elaborate and detailed that there would be no room for development, nor so limited in significance that only ritual observances and family affairs could be derived from them. In response to the latter view Riḍā wrote:

"This is the opinion of those who are ignorant of the fundamental principles of the Islamic Sharī'ah and the basis of legislation in it. They do not distinguish between the (traditional) juristic usage and the modern usage of the word 'legislation' (*tashrīc*), so that the difference in usage hides the truth from them. That is because the terms 'religion' (*dīn*) and 'law' (*shar'*) can be used as synonyms, although they are respectively general and particular terms. For these ignorant persons often restrict *shar'* to mean judicial or practical rules to the exclusion of the fundamentals of doctrine, authority, and ethics, which are principles of religion and are related to the welfare of both this world and the next. Thus they divide jurisprudence into two parts,

¹⁰ *Khilāfah*, p. 100.

ritual observances (*ʿibādāt*) and social transactions (*muʿāmalāt*), and the jurists themselves distinguish between religious faith and the execution of justice, saying, 'This is permissible from the legal but not from the religious point of view.' But practical rules are called 'religion' in consideration of the fact that God is served by their observance and they are followed in submission to His commands and prohibitions. It is in this sense that the term 'lawgiver' (*shāriʿ*) is applied to God; it is applied to the Prophet only in the sense that he is the transmitter and elucidator of the law...

"The real truth is that all this (i.e., both religious faith and the execution of justice) is of particular religious significance, having been legislated to enable man to come close to God in the case of ritual, and to avoid evil and 'disapproved' actions and observe the truth in the case of social transactions; and both together are a means of purifying the soul and of preparing it for the life to come. Among the social transactions there are those acts which have a religious importance, such as respect for the person, honor, and property of others, giving them sincere advice, and abstention from sin, oppression, aggression, deceit, treachery, and predatory consumption of other persons' property.

"As regards other things than these, such as formulation of policy, the organization of judicial administration, conduct of government, tax-collecting, and the rules of warfare, all of which do not involve piety and closeness to God in their various applications beyond good intentions — in all of these the Prophet was a legislator (*mushtariʿ*) for his own time by his own interpretative endeavor, being commanded by God to consult the Community in these matters, particularly those in authority who are the repositories of its confidence in its general interests and who represent its will, from among the *ʿulamāʾ*, chiefs, and other leaders..."¹¹

The true distinction between religious and non-religious law, then, is not between the *ʿibādāt* and the *muʿāmalāt*, but between *ʿibādāt* plus those parts of the *muʿāmalāt* that have a moral significance on the one hand, and on the other hand those parts of the *muʿāmalāt* which are purely questions of administrative organization or practical convenience and have no moral importance. The function of the religious law in Islam, properly understood, is to regulate *all* human actions having any connection with religious morality.

But the distinction between ritual and social behavior is nevertheless valid in another way, and it is here that we find the basis of the Community's power of progressive legislation. This other distinction is explained in a series of articles that Riḏā published in early numbers of *Al-Manār* entitled "Debates Between the Reformer and the Slavish Imitator." The young reformer (who, of course, speaks for Rashīd

¹¹ *Khilāfah*, p. 91-2.

Riḍā) takes the view that the fixed legal principles in cases of *mu^cā-malāt* are only of a general character, allowing for considerable adaptation by successive generations of Muslims in the light of the demands of their worldly welfare, while it is only the *‘ibādāt* that do not admit of interpretative change:

“The principles of the Islamic religion are true belief, formation of good character, self-cultivation, and worship of God in the prescribed manner, as well as the general fundamentals of the *mu^cāmalāt* such as protection of life, honor, and property. All these principles were laid down in the Prophet’s lifetime... Creed and ritual were completed in detail so as to permit neither additions nor subtractions, and whoever adds to them or subtracts from them is changing Islam and bringing forth a new religion. As for the rules governing social transactions, beyond decreeing the elements of virtue such as the necessity for justice in laws and equality in rights and the prohibition of rebelliousness, aggression, deceit, and treachery and establishing penalties for certain crimes, and beyond imposing the principle of consultation, the Lawgiver delegated the detailed applications of affairs to the leading *‘ulamā’* and rulers, who must according to law possess knowledge and moral probity, to decide by mutual consultation what is most beneficial for the Community according to the circumstances of the times. The Companions of the Prophet understood this without need for a textual revelation from him, as we know from the ḥadīth of the mission of Ma^cādh ibn Jabal to Yemen... Indeed it is related that the Companions, whenever they saw benefit in anything, used to judge in favor of it, even if this opposed the usual custom followed, for they saw that the correct principle was to adopt whatever course was beneficial rather than to cling to the details and subsidiary rules of law...”¹²

The Ḥanafī principle of *istiḥsān* (judicial preference, similar to *istiṣlāḥ*), continues Rashīd Riḍā’s “reformer,” is essentially an application of this spirit. “*Istiḥsān* means that ruling in which a benefit to the Community is confirmed;” it is not really a “hidden analogy,” as was sometimes alleged; the latter explanation was only invented to escape the ḥadīth partisans’ allegation that *istiḥsān* raised personal opinion to the status of an independent source of law.¹³

Some years later Rashīd Riḍā developed this theme so far as to imply that much of the structure of law traditionally built up through the meticulous processes of analogy, semantic study of texts of the Qur^ʿān and ḥadīth, and examination of ḥadīth chains of evidence, was merely a round-about way of arriving at the same conclusions that could be reached by the equally valid (but much simpler) process of *istiṣlāḥ*. This suggestion is made in a discussion of the Spanish Muslim jurist Al-Shāṭibī (d. 790 A.H.) whom he characterizes as exceptionally out-

¹² *Manār*, iv, pp. 209-210.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 211 and 860.

spoken in his defense of *istiṣlāḥ*. After citing ten examples given by Al-Shāṭibī of decisions based on *maṣlaḥah*, Riḍā notes that many of these decisions could also have been drawn strictly by deduction from the Qurʾān or Sunnah or from analogy.¹⁴

The same holds true, he continues, for most questions of public interest falling under the jurisdiction of political rulers:

“It is quite clear that (these questions)... all fall under the principle set forth by the ḥadīth “no injury and no counter injury” (*lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār*)¹⁵... From this is taken the principle of averting evils and conserving interests, with due regard for what is known from textual sources and for what is known of the intent of the law... However, the main body of the jurists always declared that all ordinances are derived from the previously mentioned principle (i.e., deductive reasoning from the revealed texts)...

“Most of the ‘ulamā’ of the Community avoided explicit reference to the principle (of *maṣlaḥah*) because of their fear — as Al-Qarāfī¹⁶ says — that tyrannical leaders would take it as an excuse for following their own desires and imposing their absolute power on the property and persons of the population. The ‘ulamā’ therefore thought to guard against this by tracing all laws back to revealed sources, even when this necessitated recourse to (so-called) hidden analogies. They converted the notion of *maṣāliḥ mursalah* into one of the most technical forms of the ‘illah in analogical reasoning, so that it was not subject to the interpretation of princes and governors. This fear was justified at the time, but the Community did not thereby guard itself sufficiently against the desires of its rulers, for every tyrant could always find corrupt ‘ulamā’ to prepare the way for him to follow his own inclinations to some extent.”¹⁷

The solution to the problem, he concludes, is to reform the political structure so that decisions of public law and policy will rest in the hands of qualified persons acting in consultation with one another, to whom the ruler should be responsible.¹⁸ This is preferable to “denying the principle of *maṣlaḥah* or narrowly restricting the derivation of legal ordinances from it.” If this is done, “then there will be no reason to fear that the *maṣāliḥ* will be considered a means for corruption... and no need to restrict the means of deducing legal ordinances, as the great mass of the jurists have done.”¹⁹

The problem, then, is a political one, and the highly technical metho-

¹⁴ *Yusr al-Islām*, pp. 73-5.

¹⁵ The ḥadīth on the basis of which an elaborate theory of *istiṣlāḥ* was built by Najm al-Dīn Ṭawfī, a jurist of the 14th century to whom Riḍā had referred in the passage of *Yusr al-Islām* immediately preceding the one quoted here. For further comment on Ṭawfī see the forthcoming installment of this article.

¹⁶ Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī, Mālikī jurist of the 13th Christian century and author of *Tanqīḥ al-Fuṣūl*, Cairo, 1306 A.H.

¹⁷ *Yusr al-Islām*, p. 75-6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 76.

¹⁹ *Loc. cit.*

dology of jurisprudence can be immensely simplified once the 'ulamā' no longer need to consider themselves the sole guardians of the law against governmental corruptions. The solution is to place political authority in the hands of jurists; however, when Rashīd Riḍā tried to develop this solution in his work on the Caliphate, his definition of "those in authority" (*ūlū-l-amr*) involved conflicting considerations and failed to lead to any clear conclusion.

In regard to legal methodology, the burden of the above passages is that considerations of utility or welfare can in public matters be substituted for the complex traditional methods of formal deduction, without the revealed content of the Sharī'ah being jeopardized. *Maṣlahah*, then, becomes a basic source of legal interpretation in its own right and is no longer dependent on the particular indications of textual sources. Logically, the elaborate traditional methods of reasoning involved in *qiyās* seem open to drastic simplification or even total abandonment: the *'illah* on which the analogy is based must, in matters of social transaction at least, be an attribute contributing to social utility, and therefore does not need to be identified by deductive reasoning from some specific indication. And indeed, if *maṣlahah* is taken as a legal source in its own right, *qiyās* itself can often be dispensed with, and positive rules can be decided upon directly on utilitarian grounds without the use of analogy, for the "wisdom" (*ḥikmah*) behind the revealed law is no longer inscrutable. But these are only implications, and they are not spelled out by Rashīd Riḍā himself. When such conclusions were explicitly drawn by others from premises similar to his own, he was often moved to object strenuously. The reasons for this will be discussed in the concluding installment of this article.

American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

MALCOLM KERR.

ON THE ETHICS OF THE BRETHREN OF PURITY

(IKHWĀN AL-ŞAFĀ WA KHILLAN AL-WAFĀ) ¹

I

In the second half of the 4th century of the Hijrah, the Islamic state had fallen apart: the governors and provinces of the outlying districts had cut themselves loose from the central government and no longer recognized the Caliphate's authority. These petty principedoms arose on the fringe of the empire and were soon setting themselves up at the door step of the Caliph's capital. With this waning of the Caliph's power and the absence of any other force to keep the empire together, the self-made princes began to quarrel with their neighbours each of whom saw an opportunity to recapture a lost province. In the people,

¹ Literally, the Brethren of Purity and Friends of Fidelity, an association of men, founded in Basrah, about 350 A.H. and whose *Rasā'il* (Treatises) were known in 373 A.H. There is wide disagreement about the meaning of their name. I. Goldziher has suggested that the name was inspired by a passage in Ibn Al-Muqaffa's *Kalilah wa Dimnah* where Dabshalim, the King, asks Baydaba, the philosopher, "Tell me about the brethren of purity, how their bond is constituted and how they enjoy one another's friendship." Baydaba then relates the story of the doves who fell in a net and liberated themselves by flying in concert and carrying the net away with them. (*Über die Benennung der Ikhwan al Safa*, *Der Islam*, Vol. I, 1910, pp. 22-26.) Carra de Vaux has suggested that the name was inspired by the Greek "*philo-sophias*" or love of wisdom and was intended to mean "brother of wisdom" in the plural form, "*les confrères de la sagesse*". (*Penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris, 1923, Vol. IV, p. 102, fn. 1.) The relationship of the Ikhwān with Pythagoreanism seems to corroborate Carra de Vaux's suggestion by adding to the denotative emphasis of their name the connotative meaning of "society for ethical culture." In this article we shall call them by their Arabic name, *Ikhwān al-Şafā*.

The identity of the Ikhwān—authors of their treatises, the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Şafā*, has been established by diaries of Abu-Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414 A.H.), a contemporary of the Ikhwān. These diaries were edited by Aḥmad Amin and published under the title of *Al-Imtā' wa al-Mu'ānasah* in Cairo (1939-1944). Tawḥīdī mentions Zayd ibn Rifa'ah, Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad ibn-Ma'ashar al-Bistī (alias Al-Maqdisī), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Hārūn al-Zanjānī, Abū Aḥmad al-Mihrajānī and Al 'Awqī as members of their fraternity and authors of the *Rasā'il* which he has read, taken to his teacher and discussed with them and others in 373 A.H. According to the *Rasā'il*, the Ikhwān were many and widespread; yet their organization was close-knit. "We have Ikhwān and friends among the notables and virtuous, scattered all over the country. Some are of royal blood, some are viziers, governors, men of letters; others are noblemen, merchants, ulema, jurists, artisans and their children. To every class of these we have delegated a worthy and wise *Akh* (singular of Ikhwān) to serve and counsel them. (*Rasā'il*, Dar Sadīr—Dar Beirut, 1958, Vol. II, p. 165.) However, the above—mentioned are the only identified members. Claims for additions to this list are many. T. J. De Boer (*History of Philosophy in Islam*, tr. by E. R. Jones, London, 1933, p. 82.) suggests "Abdallāh ibn Maimūn, head of the Karamatite Party, as the originator..."; H. F. al Hamadani ("Rasā'il Ikhwān al Şafā," *Der Islam*, Vol. XX, 1932, p. 297.) lays the claim, after Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's *Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, that Aḥmad, son of 'Abdallāh ibn Maimūn, was the author of the *Rasā'il*; 'Arif Tamir ("*Haqiqat Ikhwān al-Şafā*", *Al Mashriq*, 1957, pp. 135-8.) suggests 'Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad; but none seems to have established a solid case. Long before our time, Al-Qiftī (d. 646 A.H.), facing the same issue, wrote: "As the authors have not disclosed their identity, people disagreed about them.

incompletely converted to the new culture though professedly Muslims, the old loyalties and partisanships better known as *shu'ūbiyyah* were stirring with renewed vigour. The empire had grown to such proportion that it could be neither effectively administered nor defended. In the absence of capable Caliphs a process of disintegration of political authority had set in which contributed to, and was strengthened by, the rise of these principalities.

The Caliph was, however, a symbol. His power and prestige were an expression of the people's faith in themselves and their culture. The heterodoxy of the empire and its size, the non-assimilation of millions of its subjects into Islamic culture and hence, into the body politic, had sapped the foundation of that faith, and estranged the people in their own eyes. The weakness and defencelessness of the Caliphate added to this estrangement by introducing doubt in the righteousness of the state and of the *Ummah's*² political destiny. Unlike the former generations, the present one suspected that the will of God was no more witnessed in the unfolding of history, and this gave rise to the fear that the Caliphate was forsaken by Him.

The cultural concomitants of this development were to be seen in the development of civilization, the progress of science, industry and the arts and in the introduction of a motley of ideologies, interpretations and philosophies. While civilization expanded, the leaders of thought sought to rationalize the original legacy, to expand and enrich it. The truth, however, was that the *energie vitale* supplied by that legacy was diminishing, and their attempts were meant to revitalize that which otherwise should itself have been the source of life. Accordingly, the new philosophies were taken for what they were: endless labyrinths of lifeless hair-splitting analyses.

Disappointed at the weakening of the Caliphate and therefore of the *Ummah* and by the thinkers whom he could not even understand, appalled at the injustice, disunity, disloyalty and faithlessness around him, the individual turned from the *Ummah* to himself. *Areté* changed its focus from the *Ummah* to the individual; and the human ethos sought to feed itself no more on the values that make the *Ummah* great, but

Some said that the *Rasā'il* were the work of some descendants of 'Alī; others said they were the work of Mu'tazili philosophers of the first period. None were able to establish their claim by any manner of means; for it is all guesswork." (*Tārīkh al-Hukamā'*, ed. by J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903, p. 82.) Confirming Al-Qiftī's insight, modern scholarship has ruled such claims out on the grounds that the persons in question have all lived and died before a number of poets and thinkers (Ibn al-Rūmī, Al-Mutanabbī, Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī) whose authorship of many verses and quotations in the *Rasā'il* is beyond question (L. Massignon, "Sur la Date de la Composition des Rasā'il Ikhwān al Ṣafā," *Der Islam*, Vol. IV, 1913, p. 324.) and on the evidence which the discovery of Tawhīdī's diaries has brought.

² No English word conveys the meaning of the Arabic (*Ummah*) which comprehends at once the social, political, cultural and religious signification of a people. Hence, our use of the Arabic word.

on those that make the individual cultivated. The petty kings vied with one another in the chase, in personal prowess, in court splendour and salon rhetoric and thereby supplied the example of human excellence. Chivalry became the measure of perfection—it printed an indelible mark on the whole Middle Ages, even in Christendom which readily succumbed to its charms. Charming indeed was everything to be seen or heard. The old Bedouin iron will which compelled the moulding, at the risk of breaking, of man into the picture God had dictated, the ethical sense which threw the Muslim upon the values God had laid out before him, had weakened and become soft. Charm had replaced awe.

To anybody seriously engaged in the cause of man's ethical vocation, this transvaluation of Islamic values was alarming. It was the root-cause of the disintegration of the *Ummah*. The moral imperative which hitherto determined man's *ethos* caused him to lose himself in the realization of a model-community, and in such self-losing it created and achieved an Islamic *typos* of man in which it compressed every value of its *Ummah* vision. The new ethic reversed this order. It commanded and achieved the realization of the perfect person but lost, in the process, the values of the *Ummah*. The superlative heights which this Islamic individualism had achieved could not conceal its inherent remoteness from the ethicalizing springs of the Islamic *Ummah*-vision. In the eyes of the moral observer, the 4th century of the Hijrah was establishing the fact that individualism condemns itself to an ever growing vacuity when it seeks to raise itself into a philosophy. It taught the lesson that individualism can remain rich only when it is not the first principle, but a byproduct, of an ethic determined by the *Ummah*. On the other hand, the *Ummah*-ethic which is fundamentally restrictive and demands extraordinary sacrifices on the part of the individual, can guard itself against superficiality and crass collectivism only by keeping contact with the Divine Self to which it is essentially related. Furthermore, since God dictated an *Ummah*-ideal and commanded man to realize it, or to put it in religious terms, to be His vice-gerent, He has established a necessary connection between the ideal vice-gerent which is the ideal of individual manhood and the universalist ideal of the world-*Ummah*. Both these ideals can only be realized or violated together. The new individualism broke this connection and strove after an ideal type, not only independent of the *Ummah* but, at least in the more advanced stages, opposed to it as an ethical ideal by its own right. It was rightly feared that the man-ideal of the new culture, despite its superlative height and civilizing power, lacked the ethicalizing roots of Islam. The political and social facts of 4th century life did everything to corroborate this suspicion.

The Ikhwān al-Şafā were rightly indignant. But their disagreement with and opposition to the new individualism was only one half of their problem. They were equally indignant at the men of religion who spu-

riously brushed off the challenge of individualism.³ These had rightly suspected the roots of the new culture, but had not met its challenge. They had allowed religious truth to be abused by denying it a rational interpretation which would make contention and refutation possible. By holding solely to the letter of holy writ, they had deprived the Muslims of an understanding which evolves and develops and thereby forced a clash between the advocates of reason and those of revelation. The very gap itself between reason and revelation was of their making. By refusing all methodology other than authoritarian traditionalism, they had struck a wedge between the new liberal rationalism and the truths of revelation; between individualism and the ethicalizing universalism of the *Ummah*. Consequently, the Ikhwān sought to achieve two tasks: First, to enable the forces of individualism to recover, in the main spring of value that is the *Ummah*, its original Islamic ethical significance; and secondly, by infusing the Shari'ah with liberal rationalism, to enable it to determine a recalcitrant, awakened human intellect which refuses to adopt imperatives without inner, personal, rational conviction. We have it on the authority of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī that the Ikhwān came together to "elaborate a philosophy which, they claimed, brought them close to God's grace. The Shari'ah, they said, had been mixed up with falsehood and there was no way to purify it except through philosophy because only philosophy can give doctrinal truth and practical wisdom. For when Greek philosophy is harmonized with the Arab Shari'ah, there is perfection."⁴

Beside confirming Al-Qiftī's quotation, the discovery of Tawḥīdī's diaries⁵ shed further light on the nature of the Ikhwān's argument with the traditionalists. They speak of the Ikhwān as regarding the Shari'ah as medicine for the sick and a means to restore to them their lost health. They considered philosophy as medicine for the healthy, meant to preserve health and enable man to acquire virtue and prepare him for divine life and heavenly eternity.⁶

Thus, according to the Ikhwān, philosophy grants the Shari'ah a place in its scheme though the latter repudiates the former.⁷ With Shari'ah man would come closer to God's grace by mere obedience; but with wisdom he wins that grace by grasping God's power and providence in the cosmos.⁸ It is a proof of God's goodness that there exist two mutually complementing ways for salvation, reason and revelation.⁹ Thus each would add to the excellence of the other: philosophy by giving the pious proof of the truth, conviction and wisdom;

³ This seems to me to be the root of their double dispute with the philosophers on one hand and with the men of religion on the other, not their allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān, as De Boer seems to think. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 95-6.)

⁴ Quoted by Al-Qiftī, *Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, p. 82.

⁵ Al-Tawḥīdī, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

and revelation, by giving the wise, piety, temperance and love of God.¹⁰

For according to the Ikhwān, as we shall see,¹¹ that which gives ethical significance to man's deeds is the total commitment of his whole being to value. This is the true worship of God, the "seeking of His face," the "acquisition of His grace," namely, the conscious premeditated dedication of man's whole life to the pursuit, not of any one or group of values, but to the whole realm of value as such. The separation of reason and revelation, of the individual and the *Ummah*, of philosophy and the Shar'īah, violates this primal condition of Islam, which regards any departmentalization of human life as a warping of its ethical character and likewise, any non-deliberate pursuit of value as unethical. The 4th century revealed how great was the need for a return to the valuational hierarchy as a whole, for a will to value, which, by focusing all its vision and effort on the *Ummah*-ideal would ethicalize the humanist pursuit of the individual-ideal. By its universalism on the one hand and, on the other, its concentration on the totality of value, the *Ummah* ideal is designed to produce that chemical transformation in the qualities of individuals in order first to bring them into affinity with itself and then to instill into them its fire and vision. Under its influence, the individual would become worthy of being the means of God's purpose, as well as of being, through his membership in the *Ummah*, the very end of that purpose. For Islam, as well as for the Ikhwān, there is no worth or value outside this connection of the two which the 4th century was well on its way to breaking.

II

In attempting to answer the questions, what ought man to do and what ought he to hope for, which in the Islamic tradition have always been joined together though they belong to the different spheres of ethics and religion, the Ikhwān began by looking into the question, what is man? and, what is his *raison d'être*? In doing so, they conformed to a tradition which goes back to Pythagoreanism through a number of Christian and Islamic thinkers. Equally, their answer echoed the Qur'anic theory of man. "God created man not in vain,"¹² they write, but that creation might be completed. According to the Qur'ān, God desired a vicegerent in this world to carry the divine trust and replenish the world with creativity.¹³ He offered this trust to the angels but they refused it because they judged themselves incapable of performing such a task. Consequently, God created man and endowed him with such faculties as are necessary for realizing that end.¹⁴ The

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹ *Infra*, p. 18.

¹² Surah xxiii.115, *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 329.

¹³ *Rasā'il*, Vol. ii, p. 297.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

purport of man's lieutenancy is the emulation of God, the endeavour to become like Him.¹⁵

God's fashioning man in this preconceived manner and his endowment with the necessary faculties do not make of him a moral puppet, predetermined to a certain conduct. On the contrary, his predetermination is precisely that he will be free. God so constituted man as to be able to adopt any morality he may choose.¹⁶ In fact, man's freedom of choice in matters moral has resulted in a multiplicity of widely-divergent moralities;¹⁷ and in order to vindicate itself any morality has to use commands and prohibitions, persuasion and dissuasion, reward and punishment, as well as any emotive means it can control.¹⁸ No morality can guide man's action without his consent. Islamic morality had to come down clothed with all kinds of promises and threats in order to win man's consent and adoption.

That man may achieve his destiny, God equipped him with instincts and passions which by their continuous motion guarantee his existence¹⁹ and worldly happiness, his persistence in the best of states and the actualization of his tendencies.²⁰ For the instincts have no purpose other than to work for the body's welfare and to protect it against its enemies.²¹ Here, the Ikhwān articulate the most basic value, namely, human existence, which conditions the realization of any other, indeed, all value.²² In the case of man and at its lowest stage, it is merely the will to be, to be real, to live. As it achieves being, *i.e.*, life, and develops, it seeks satisfaction of its subsidiary instincts, *i.e.*, happiness, and beyond this, in order to serve the same end, it comes to plan for a future. As yet it is not ethical; for the fact that it is a conditioning prius of all value confers upon existence elemental status only. Indeed, life on the level of the will to live is bestial and unworthy of man.²³ Though it may have become futural, it still operates on instinct, is innate²⁴ and devoid of freedom or rationality. Such life may possess the rationality of utility, but not that of ends.²⁵ Unless, therefore, it is a means for the realization of value, life loses its significance. Thus, to become worthy, the pursuit of worldly existence and happiness

¹⁵ "Al-Tashabbuh." The Ikhwān quote the Bible approvingly that God commanded man to become like him, even in the matter of creativity and eternity: "O son of Adam," God is supposed to have said, "I have created thee for ever and I am eternal; obey my commandments and prohibitions and I shall make thee eternal. I am capable of commanding a thing to be and it is; if thou obeyest me, I shall cause thee too to command a thing to be and it will be." (*Ibid.*)

¹⁶ *Rasā'il*, Vol. ii, p. 306.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 316.

²³ "They eat like cattle and fire shall be their abode." (*Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 332.)

²⁴ *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 332.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

ought to be the free exercise of a soul determined by rational (*i.e.*, ethical) considerations.²⁶

There should, therefore, be in man another will, equally fundamental, whose object is such as to give value and significance to the achievement of the first. This is the will to the good, to rationality in its general sense. It often conflicts with the will to live, condemns its desires, and projects ideals not of nature's choosing, which nature is then coerced to pursue.²⁷ Secondly, rational acts enjoy a measure of poise and deliberateness. "Every rational act is a decision, rather than a response that a stimulus has willy-nilly evoked," and as such, it enjoys a dignity of freedom.²⁸ Whereas the natural propensities work for the body, the rational ones work for the soul. Body and soul, matter and spirit, worldly and other-worldly in continuous tension against one another—that is the nature of man.²⁹ His body is of the world; hence, he desires eternity in the here-below. His soul is of heaven; hence, he desires to return to the celestial sphere whence it came.³¹ As if to forestall any charge of misplaced concreteness, the Ikhwān remind us that when either the soul or the body pulls, the whole man is pulled.³¹ The human being is neither the one nor the other, but both, integrated within a single entity. They liken him to an inhabited house, then to a city, and finally to the world; and all these are in turn likened to him.³²

Like Plato, the Ikhwān have compared the instincts to the workers and artisans and reason to the ruler. They have worked out this simile in great detail and to interminable length,³³ always emphasizing the disparity of the two natures, yet they have never lost sight of the ethical significance of this disparity or of the concrete unity of the person in whom the tension resides. Both natures have needs to which the person must attend: food for the body and knowledge for the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 333. "Rationality commands truthfulness, fidelity and self-exertion where the will to live would seek forgetfulness, interest and peace; courage, perseverance and pardon where the latter would counsel retreat, impatience and revenge; chastity and purity where the other would urge indulgence." (*Ibid.*, p. 332.)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, p. 260.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 261: True to their allegorical interpretation of everything, the Ikhwān understood by "heaven" a moral kingdom, a supernal plenum in which man's soul is a constitutive member when it is in good standing. "The virtuous souls are angels potentially; and when they leave their bodies, actually." (*Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 378.) Hence, the tension between the soul and its body, the so-called "yearning" of the soul to return to its land of origin, is ethical and consists of a will seeking to realize the ethically-imperative in spite of the opposition of the instincts.

³¹ *Rasā'il*, Vol. ii, p. 260.

³² *Rasā'il*, Vol. vi, pp. 378, 383, *et seq.* The Platonic inspiration of this, *Phaedrus*, p. 245 ff., *Phaedo*, p. 100 ff., is unmistakable. See Fr. Dieterici, *Einleitung Und Makrokosmos*, Leipzig, 1876, and *Der Mikrokosmos*, Leipzig, 1879.

³³ *Rasā'il*, Vol. vi, p. 383 ff.

soul.³⁴ Just as the body is nourished by food which the arms and fingers produce and cook to keep it alive and healthy, so is the soul nourished by knowledge which the senses gather and the reason organizes³⁵ to keep the soul healthy to will and to achieve the good to which its nature points. Since the soul is by far the more important and valuable of the two, knowledge which is its nourishment must be sought first. Indeed, the Ikhwān give every human activity the value of being instrumental to the soul's enrichment with knowledge. But what is the nature of knowledge that they valued it so highly?

III

Much of the *Rasā'il* was devoted to the praise of knowledge and of its pursuit, to which the Ikhwān assigned first place among the virtues. Not one of all the duties imposed by the Sharī'ah is more necessary, worthier, or closer to God, once He and His prophets are recognized, than knowledge, its pursuit and propagation.³⁶

This enthusiasm for knowledge carried them to a perfect Socratism where knowledge, the good and virtue are identified with one another. First, knowledge is declared to bring in its train every good virtue and moral and material advantage. It makes the miser generous and gives the weak strength, the lowly grandeur, the proud humility.³⁷ The Qur'ān is quoted³⁸ and the prophetic tradition is added³⁹ to confirm that moral goodness follows necessarily from knowledge.

The identification of virtue with knowledge is further corroborated by that of evil with ignorance. This second identification may not explain the phenomenon of evil which is often found side by side with knowledge. Hence, the Ikhwān use the terms "illusion" and "misrepresentation"⁴⁰ and apply this to the men of knowledge who are

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 390-1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 387-8.

³⁶ *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 346. Quoting the Prophet, they write, "Seek knowledge; for its acquisition is the fear of God, its pursuit is worship, its discussion is prayer, the search for it is holy war, its propagation is charity, its teaching is fraternity. For it is the index of right and wrong, the lighthouse of the road to paradise. It provides consolation in loneliness, friendship in estrangement, fidelity through thick and thin, protective arms against the enemy, rapprochement towards the foreigners, decor among friends... For their friendship, the angels seek the men of knowledge, caress them with their wings, remember them in their prayers... By knowledge is God obeyed, through it He is worshipped... In knowledge the good is revealed, loved and implemented, for it is the prius of action, the first principle of every good deed." (*Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, pp. 346-7.)

³⁷ *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 348.

³⁸ "Are then those who have knowledge and those who do not of equal worth?... Those with minds ought to tell... Of all men, it is those who have knowledge that fear God... The man who is blessed with wisdom is blessed with a great good indeed." (Surah xxxix.9; xxxv.28, and ii.269.)

³⁹ "Whoever becomes more knowing but does not *ipso facto* become more humble to God, more compassionate to those who do not know and more friendly to those who do, will be all the more separated from God." (*Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 348.)

⁴⁰ (*Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, pp. 349-50.)

"The people were misled by the misrepresentation of the love of passion, of women, children and hoarded wealth." (iii.14. *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 350.)

not virtuous, ascribing to them the fault of falling under the illusion, the "lure" of this-worldly pursuits and thus going astray from the straight path. ⁴¹

The Ikhwān, moreover, following their allegorical interpretation of the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth identify *Iblīs*, or Satan, with evil-doing and then define this as blind belief in false opinions without knowledge or insight. ⁴² They contrast the good soul—the "speaking," "reasoning," "distinguishing," "enlightened" soul which is so on account of its "genuine knowledge" and "true opinion"—with the evil soul—the "passionate" and "excitable" soul which does all its bad work "without thought" or "deliberation." ⁴³ And the conclusion they draw from such comparison is that "all ethical deeds and moral acts attributed to the rational soul are the results of that soul's true knowledge and beautiful beliefs," ⁴⁴ that "all true knowledge and belief is the result of *ijtihād* and deliberation." ⁴⁵ To the man who seeks salvation, they counsel a self-purification through "washing off of false opinions" and deliverance from the "darkness of untruth." ⁴⁶ For education, *i.e.*, enlightenment, is the main—nay the only—business of society and state. They commend at first and at last, that knowledge be taught to brother and neighbour assuring us that this is the way to obtain mercy and love and be the ethically best neighbour. ⁴⁷ The Ikhwān's "neighbourly love" consists not in charitable and altruistic sacrifices or in willing ethical results in the persons of others, but first and foremost, in educating one's neighbour, in bringing to him knowledge, man's most precious possession. That is ethical *par excellence*; to teach and educate and spread knowledge is the very essence of everything good. They were particularly interested in teaching the young, because these are "pure in heart" and "anxious to win paradise" and "beginners in science." The older people, on the other hand, are "blindly attached to their sect, overconfident and prejudiced." They emphasized that teaching should proceed "in stages in proportion to the assimilative capacity of the candidate, with kindness and sympathy." ⁴⁸

Following Plotinus, the Alexandrian School and the Pythagorean tradition, ⁴⁹ the Ikhwān recognized that, since the good life cannot be

⁴¹ *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 349.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 365.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* *Ijihād* is here used in its general meaning of endeavour of the learned to understand, elaborate and interpret holy writ.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Rasā'il*, Vol. x, pp. 50-1.

⁴⁹ It is not known which source books of Plotinian or other Alexandrian philosophy were at the disposal of the Ikhwān. The opinion is not without foundation that a careful study of these texts would reveal direct or indirect quotations which could help in identifying these source books. It is regrettable that little of the research so far conducted on the subject of the Ikhwān is concerned with the content of their work, hardly any, with a critical appreciation of their thought.

lived in isolation from the world and that it necessarily involves man's relations therewith, these relations, their nature, problems, and terms ought to be fully discovered and possessed. Accordingly, they considered that knowledge cannot be fragmentary, but indivisible, that its parts stand in necessary relation to one another. Hence they endeavoured to cover all the sciences of their times and organize in a *summa* all the departments of knowledge bound together by a single structure. The *Rasā'il*, fifty-three in number,⁵⁰ cover the field from

⁵⁰ The first complete edition of the *Rasā'il* was published in Bombay in 1306 A.H. (1888 A.D.). This was corrected by Nūr-al-Dīn Jiwa Khān, an Ismā'īlī, and was mistakenly ascribed to Ahmad 'Abdullāh. It included fifty-two tracts, and failed to mention the manuscript from which it had been taken. Another edition was published in Cairo in 1928, edited by Khair al-Dīn al-Zirikli, from a manuscript in the National Library in Cairo. A third edition has just been completed in Beirut by Dar Sadir—Dar Beirut and *Al-Risālah al-Jāmi'ah* was published by the Arab Academy of Science in Damascus in 1948, edited by Prof. Jamil Saliba. Doubtless, F. Dieterici, I. Goldziher, A. Sprenger, P. Casanova and G. Flugel's research and Dieterici's publication of several tracts of the *Rasā'il* between 1858 and 1879, as well as of *Al-Risālah al-Jāmi'ah* have helped us recapture the works of the Ikhwān.

Relying on Shahrazūri's statement as reported by Al-Qiftī, *op. cit.*, A. Sprenger held that the *Rasā'il* were the minutes of discussions between the five philosophers mentioned by Tawhīdī, redacted by one of them, *viz.*, Al-Maqdisī. ("Notice of Some Copies of the Arabic Work Entitled *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safa*," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XVII, 1848.) *Al-Jāmi'ah* treatise is ascribed to Maslamah ibn Ahmad ibn Qāsim al-Majritī who died *circa* 395 A.H. He or his pupil, Al-Kirmānī, was responsible for the introduction of the *Rasā'il* into Spain; and since these make reference to *Al-Jāmi'ah*, this treatise must have been written during his travels at which time, it is presumed, he had come to know and join the Ikhwān's association. It is not impossible that the Ikhwān may have trusted him with the writing of *Al-Jāmi'ah*, convinced as they were of his loyalty and capability, and have therefore satisfied themselves with mere allusions to it in the fifty-two treatises. Prof. Saliba has argued against this view from the fact that the style of *Al-Jāmi'ah* is different from that of other known works of Majritī. (Jamil Saliba, *Al-Risālah al-Jāmi'ah*, pp. 6-7. See also the Introduction. Al-Qiftī, *op. cit.*, p. 326. Ahmad Zaki Cairo Edition of the *Rasā'il*, Introduction, pp. 37-8. M. Stern, "The Authorship of the Epistles of the Ikhwān al-Safa," *Islamic Culture*, Vol. xx.4, October, 1946. H. Hamdani, *op. cit.*, p. 281 ff.)

The table of contents (*fihris*) of the original Cairo manuscript (*Rasā'il*, Cairo edition, Vol. I, p. 9 of text.) lists fifty-two treatises, and actually contains that number of them. But this does not include *Al-Jāmi'ah*. In the fifty-second treatise (Vol. xi, pp. 283-4, 312.), we read that it is the fifty-first and in many other places we read that their number is fifty-one. (Vol. i, p. 282. Vol. iii, p. 327, p. 361. Vol. ix, p. 538. Vol. x, p. 64. Vol. xi, p. 186.) At others, we read that the number is fifty-two. (Vol. i, p. 44, p. 77.) *Al-Jāmi'ah* mentions the number of the treatises of which it is the summary as fifty-two on pp. 18, 20 of Vol. i; and as fifty-one on pp. 2, 393 of Vol. ii. But the actual summaries are fifty-two. Al-Qiftī, in *op. cit.*, p. 82, said they are fifty and so did Tawhīdī, who made no mention of *Al-Jāmi'ah* whatever, thus giving grounds to the view that it is a later addition. But the *Rasā'il* contain many allusions and references to it as if it was part of the whole as originally planned. Finally, to add to this confusion, Ivanow, in *A Guide to Ismā'īlī Literature*, London, 1953, p. 31, has suggested that Ibn-Fātik (d. 480 A.H.) has re-edited the whole work.

The date of the writing of the *Rasā'il* is as much the subject of controversy as their authorship and number. L. Massignon, in an article entitled "Sur la Date de la composition des *Rasā'il Ikhwan al Safa*," (*Der Islam*, 1913, p. 324.) suggested that "on n'aît pas étudié... à quels auteurs appartiennent les fragments poétiques qui s'y trouvent cités..." and cited a verse by Ibn al Rumi (d. 283 A.H.). This he took as a *terminus a quo* of a period of writing of the *Rasā'il*.

mineralogy, botany and gynaecology to ethics and religious law. That the unifying structure is ethical is obvious. Even number is studied not as pure quantity, but as interpreting natural phenomena and this significance of number is cosmos-pervading.⁵¹ The sciences are classified by order of their ethical significance, the highest being that which brings man knowledge of the divine kingdom; and the lowest, that which instructs him about objects in this world. The animal kingdom is ordered on an evolutionary basis, but not with regard to the physical characteristics of the species, *à la* Darwin, but to the order of rank of the values each species has realized. Thus for their fidelity, memory and nobility of disposition, the horse and elephant rank far higher, and therefore closer to man, than the apes despite the closer physical resemblance of the latter.⁵²

By order of the avenues of sense and thought leading to them, the sciences are empirical (having to do with the reports of sense), discursive (having to do with pure thought like logic and mathematics), rational (ethical and valuational knowledge and the divine world-law), and illuminative (bestowed by God and directed to His nature and to the cosmic mysteries).⁵³ Since the last science cannot be sought and is the prerogative of prophets, man's energies should be directed to the highest possible, to ethical knowledge, for it is the prerequisite for ethical excellence and the object of the noblest endeavour. What is this rational knowledge which they identified with virtue?

This knowledge is that of the good and of the right. It is the answer to the questions of what ought to be and what ought to be done, of axiology and deontology.⁵⁴ It is not the easiest, but the most

He suggested the date 317 A.H., which, being the death of Al Battani whose school's definition of the sine of trigonometry was not that used by the *Rasā'il*, could be used as a *terminus ad quem*. Against this *terminus ad quem* stands the fact that the *Rasā'il*, quote on p. 48 of Vol. x, from a poem which Al Mutanabbi composed in honour of Kāfūr, in 349 A.H. M. Casanova thinks they were written between 418 and 427 A.H. on the basis of calculations he made with astronomical suggestions given by the *Rasā'il*. ("Une date astronomique dans les Epitres des Ikhwan as Safa," *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. v, 1915, p. 16.) But if this were so, Tawhidi could not have known of them in 373 A.H. Massignon's suggestion is, therefore, the more probable. To say, as we must, that the *Rasā'il* were written during the period 283-373 A.H. is all that is possible considering the present stage of research on that question.

⁵¹ De Boer, T. J., *op. cit.*, p. 87.

⁵² In a transport of enthusiasm for value they even declare that just as some humans are so perfect that they acquire angelic souls, some animals are so perfect that they acquire human souls. (*Rasā'il*, Vol. iv, p. 108. *Rasā'il*, Vol. v, p. 220.)

⁵³ *Rasā'il*, Vol. x, pp. 128-9. De Boer, *op. cit.*, p. 86, mentions only three combining the third and fourth in one. The text of the *Rasā'il*, however, leaves no room for doubt.

This is obviously different from the ethical knowledge which is deliberate, acquired and the pursuit of which is commanded by God.

⁵⁴ Since the right in Islam is a religious right, the good should not be sought in philosophy but in religious science. In the Islamic tradition, the studies which direct themselves to the question, why does the *Shari'ah* (the law) command such and such, which is precisely the subject matter of axiology, are usually known as sciences of the causes of revelation. The Ikhwān speak of the mysteries

important discipline. The methodology of this knowledge is rational. God has endowed man with the faculty of reason so that, by its application, the conditions of salvation and felicity can be met. Indeed, He has commanded a universal application of reason by requiring that any realization of the good, any salvation, must be conscious and deliberate if it is to enjoy any ethical value at all. The Ikhwān never tire of repeating the Quranic verse; "Whoever is saved may be saved in conviction of the truth and whoever perishes may perish in conviction thereof,"⁵⁵ and of describing the saved ones as "having discernment, knowledge, conviction and truth"⁵⁶ and "being fully convinced of the truth."⁵⁷

Rationality, however, has its own pitfalls; at any rate, it is subject to the pitfalls of the humans exercising it. In conformity with the Islamic tradition of which they are a part, the Ikhwān regard rationality as an exercise essentially wholesome and fulfilling its promise in every respect. There is no room for any anti-rationalism in their teaching. But they have no illusions about man's capacity to exercise this faculty and to do so with perseverance in a discerning and consistent manner.⁵⁸ Therefore, they argue, God has revealed the *Nāmūs*⁵⁹ to man through His prophets in order to "assist" him in his endeavour to reach an ethic of freedom through the exercise of his rational faculty. The purpose of this breakthrough into history by God was not to reveal an irrational metaphysical remainder which no human reason could discover, but to complement, not a rational activity *per se*, but a concrete, fallible activity of a certain person or people.⁶⁰ The Ikhwān agree with Plato and Aristotle that the exercise of the rational faculty is desired for the sake of truth and is felicitous in the measure it has discovered and possessed truth; but they add a new dimension of value to rationality, unknown to either Plato or Aristotle, namely, the measure to which it accords with the *Nāmūs*.⁶¹

of religion or, more generally, of Tawhīd. The Ikhwān, for example, regard this science as the crown of all ethical knowledge. See below, fn. 61.

⁵⁵ Surah viii.42.

⁵⁶ *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 374.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 335.

⁵⁹ De Boer has translated this as "Divine World-Law." (*History of Philosophy in Islam*, p. 90.)

⁶⁰ *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 335.

⁶¹ *Rasā'il*, Vol. ii, p. 320. "Namus" (from the Greek *nomos*) does not, for the Ikhwān, mean simply the moral law, but the moral law as revealed by God through His Prophets and in His Books. The Ikhwan recognize that, for knowledge, the *Namus* is a spiritual realm standing on eight constituent pillars: the readers who recite, teach and thus preserve the *Namus*; the recorders who register and convey its traditions; the jurists who know its rules and provisions; the exegetes who explicate the meanings of its words and traditions; the champions who protect the land and people where it is observed and thus preserve its historical reality; the leaders who guide and set the people into its observance; the teachers (ascetes, orators and preachers) who by word or example remind the people of it and of the need for its observance; and lastly, the interpreters, well versed in divine knowledge (especially the knowledge of the *Namus*) who are the anointed, wise and just leaders. (*Rasā'il*, Vol. ii, pp. 322-23). All eight

Furthermore, the *Nāmūs* is not fragmentary, that is to say, complementing man's rational activity where it has faltered, but complete in the sense that it has furnished man with a perfect ethic, a set of principles whose jurisdiction encompasses every branch of human endeavour.⁶² However, by being complete, the *Nāmūs* has not supplanted rational activity. It provided a background against which, and a final court in which, man's rational findings are either confirmed or returned to reason for further deliberation and revision. Certainly it is possible to forget rationality and observe a ready-made ethic, an infallible law such as the *Nāmūs* has offered, those who do so will not have erred, but will have achieved a considerable measure of goodness—indeed, of salvation. But as we shall see in the sequel, those who follow the *Nāmūs* as a matter of course are not the occupants of the foremost ranks in heaven. Above them stand those whose rational activity has brought them to the principles of the *Nāmūs* and whose observation thereof is at once intellectual and pious.⁶³

*Institute of Islamic Studies,
McGill University, Montreal.*

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pillars are important. (*Ibid.*, p. 322.) Nonetheless, it is obvious that a progressively greater measure of importance and worth has been assigned to them in the order given. The *Namus* is not the *Shari'ah* which is the body of provisions and ordinances elaborated, on the basis of the *Nāmūs*, by man, whose observation is designed to help man satisfy the requirements of the *Nāmūs*. Nor is it the *Sunnah* (the Prophet's example), for this is an illustration of it, a human exemplification in which the *Namus* has been realized as perfectly as it is possible for it to be realized in a human life. The *Nāmūs* is not the *Qur'ān* but is *in it*, as a meaning is in its expression. (*Al-Jāmi'ah*, Vol. ii, p. 310 ff.) For, since beginners could not be expected to have a genuine representation of revelation, (*Ibid.*, p. 319.) the *Qur'ān* came clothed in such forms as would make it readily understandable to them but requiring allegorical interpretation of its words and phrases to make its meaning clear to the initiates. The *Nāmūs* is the divine command which calls man for the recognition of the one God, for His worship, for the replenishment of the earth and of man with goodness; it is the "path of light," opened for the salvation of man. (*Ibid.*, p. 310.) This is as close to the philosophic concept of value of modern times as can be expected of the *Ikhwān* to come without the advantage of the conceptual tools of today. The *Nāmūs*, to modernize the *Ikhwān's* 10th century language, is the body of values of which the *Shari'ah* is the legal expression; of which the *Sunnah* is the exemplified realization and the *Qur'ān*, the sublime statement. Obviously then, knowledge of the *Nāmūs* is the highest desideratum of ethical life.

⁶² *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 336.

⁶³ Surah iv.165; viii 42. *Rasā'il*, Vol. iii, p. 350. Indeed, there is in this verse an abasement of salvation-without-reason that verges on condemnation.

THE AZHAR AND SHĪ'ISM

The present Rector of the Azhar, Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt, was appointed by Presidential Decree dated Oct. 21, 1958¹, after serving as Acting Rector (*Wakīl*) from November 1957. According to the Azhar Journal², he was born in 1893 and studied at the Alexandria Religious Institute (an Azhar affiliate), where he taught from 1919 to 1928. After moving to Cairo he became professor of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) at the Azhar, but was dismissed in 1931 on account of his support in books and articles for the reforming efforts of Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (Rector 1928-29 and 1934-45, and a disciple of Shaikh Muḥammad °Abduh). He took up law and journalism, and in 1935 became Deputy Director of the Shari'ah College affiliated to the Azhar. In 1950 he was made Head of the Azhar's Islamic Culture and Research Department. He spoke on Islamic law at an international conference on comparative law at the Hague in 1937, and has held various governmental assignments, as Inspector of Religious Institutions and in the broadcasting and foreign cultural relations fields. His numerous publications deal with *fiqh*, *shari'ah*, "the Quranic Program and the Social Structure," war, women, birth control, international relations in Islam, and comparison and rapprochement between the sects (*madhhabs*).

Since assuming office, the new Rector has taken three remarkable steps. (i) Introduction of the study of six foreign languages — English, German, French, Indonesian, Urdu and Swahili, with one of the first three languages as a compulsory subject for students in all departments.³ (Persian was already studied at the Azhar). (ii) A widely reported statement⁴ to a woman representative of the "National Union" describing men who repudiate or divorce their wives without serious cause as guilty of abominable immorality (*fisq*) and accordingly worthy of the Quranic penalties for *fisq*. (iii) A decision to introduce into the Azhar's curricula the study of Zaidite and Twelved Shī'ah (Ja'farite or Imāmite) *fiqh* on a par with the *fiqh* of the four Sunni schools (*madhhabs*). This last step is one which the new Rector had long ago advocated in his earlier writings; according to the Azhar Journal,⁵ he and Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī frequently adopted the Shī'ah view rather than any of the Sunni views on disputed points of *fiqh*. A Sunni-Shī'ah Rapprochement Society (*Jamā'at al-Taqrīb*) was founded as long ago as 1948, on the initiative, it is said, of an Iranian Shī'ah named Shaikh Muḥammad Taqī Qumī; and this society, under the leadership of an Iranian named Shaikh Kāzīm, continued to enjoy the Azhar's sponsorship.

¹ Text in *Majallat al-Azhar*, Oct. 1958, supp. (p. 1). In this article 'Shī'ah' is used as both noun and adjective.

² Biography in *Ibid.* (p. 4-6).

³ Text of decision in *M.A.*, Sept. 1958, supp. See also *M. A.*, Aug. 1959, p. 351.

⁴ *Daily Telegraph*, London, Oct. 26, 1959.

⁵ *M.A.*, Sept. 1959, p. 383.

Particulars of the decision were given by the Rector in a press interview reported in the August 1959 issue of the Azhar Journal:⁶ "We have introduced into the Shari'ah College a new program based on the comparative study of *fiqh* among the different Islamic *madhhabs*, as follows: (i) The different *madhhabs* will be studied with no distinction between Sunnah and Shi'ah. Particular attention will be paid to clear exposition of the theological arguments in support of the four Sunni *madhhabs* and of the Twelver Imāmite and Zaidite *madhhabs* respectively. (ii) The arguments will be analysed without regard to the adherence or non-adherence of the professor or student to a particular school. By this means it will be possible to realize the benefits of comparative study, namely that the predominant opinion be ascertained when there are many opinions, and that blameworthy fanaticism be eliminated. (iii) As regards sources of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), particular attention will be paid to matters on which there are differences of opinion between the above-mentioned schools, and the reasons for the differences will be clearly expounded. (iv) As regards the materials and authorities of Sound Tradition (*ʿilm muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth wa rijālihi*), the course of study will include materials, authorities and Companions of the Prophet recognized by the Imāmites and Zaydites as well as by the Sunnis. In the higher course at the Shari'ah College these subjects will be studied in greater detail." The Rector also said: (i) "There is no validity in the statement made in some books to the effect that the *madhhabs* which may be legitimately followed are limited to four, nor in the statement that the follower (*muqallid*) of one *madhhab* may not shift to another. (ii) The word *Shi'ah*, by which the followers (*atbāʿ*) of ʿAlī and his family are generally known ..., has been applied to many sects which oppose Islam in many of their fundamental beliefs and precepts, and these may not be followed (*taqlid*) on account of their secession from the circle of Islam. (iii) There are other groups attached (*muntasib*) to ʿAlī, namely the rightly-guided Shi'ah, who are innocent of any connection with these misguided groups and who judge the latter to be unbelievers and curse them; among these sound Shi'ah is the sect (*ṭāʾifah*) known as the Jaʿfari or Twelver Imāmite. (iv) This commendable (*maʿrūf*) group has its principles based (*mustanad*) on the Book of God and on the Sunnah of His Prophet as related by their Imāms. In their creed (*ʿaqidah*) and law (*shari'ah*) there is no greater difference between them and the Sunni *madhhabs* than there is between the Sunni *madhhabs* themselves ... (v) Their school of law (*madhhab fiqhī*) is documented (*mudawwan wa muḥarrar*) and possesses books, evidences (*asnād*) and proofs (*adillah*). Those who undertook the compilation of these books and those who derived help from them are favorably known, for the memory of their services to knowledge and of their standing as theologians has been preserved among the *ʿulamāʾ*. From this it

⁶ *M.A.*, Aug. 1959, p. 239-241.

follows clearly that: firstly, Islam does not oblige any of its followers to follow a particular *madhhab* but grants to every Muslim the right to adhere initially to any *madhhab* which has been correctly transmitted and whose precepts are documented in specific books, and that the adherent of any of these *madhhabs* may shift to another one without there being any objection to his so doing; and secondly, that the *madhhab* known as the Twelver Shī'ah Imāmite is one in which worship (*ta'abbud*) may be legally performed on a par with the *madhhabs* of Sunnis." "Muslims should know this and refrain from fanaticism in favour of a particular *madhhab*. God's religion and law do not belong and are not confined to any one *madhhab*. They are all earnest seekers for truth (*mujtahidūn*), rewarded and accepted by God. It is permissible that anyone not qualified to have insight or to search for truth (*ijtihād*) should follow one of them (*taqlīd*) and carry out the prescriptions of its *fiqh* alike in worship and in conduct (*'ibādāt wa mu'āmalāt*)." ⁷

In an article in the August 1959 issue, ⁷ Professor Muḥammad al-Sharqāwī observes that the Azhar has hitherto ignored the Zaidite, the Imāmite and the defunct Awzā'ite schools and has virtually ignored the Wahhābī school; but he thinks that the Azhar might find in these schools "some acceptable opinions which would help to give *shar'ī* solutions to the endless problems encountered by people in modern life." "As regards the deviating *madhhabs*," he continues, "my view is that the Azhar could only benefit from studying the reasons for their deviation and through warding off the evil of them." Among the deviators, he mentions the Bābīs and Bahā'īs and presumably includes (though he does not mention) the surviving sects of Bāṭinī Shī'ah, such as the Nizārite and Musta'liite Ismā'ilīs (Khojas and Bohras), and the Druzes, Nuṣayrīs ('Alawites) and Ahl-e Ḥaqq.

These pronouncements, coming from so important a source of Sunnī learning, should certainly evoke a sympathetic response in Shī'ah circles. At the same time there are signs that current political preoccupations have entered in. In a speech on "Islam, the religion of unity," reported in the February 1959 issue, the Rector said that "correspondence between Shī'ah Imāmite leaders and himself had produced agreement on the need for rapprochement and for eliminating any fanaticism between the two sides, such fanaticism having been exploited by enemies and imperialists among the Islamic peoples in Egypt, Iran and Iraq." ⁸ And in a press interview: "Imperialism is rooted in the principle of divide and rule, and has exploited certain differences of *madhhab* in order to give effect to this principle." ⁹ In his already cited article, Professor Sharqāwī writes: ¹⁰ "We have seen

⁷ *M.A.*, Aug. 1959, p. 143-144.

⁸ *M.A.*, Feb. 1959, supp. (p. 22-24).

⁹ *Ibid.* (p. 18).

¹⁰ *M.A.*, Aug. 1959, p. 145.

how wicked communism nearly broke through in an attack designed to uproot the true faith in a neighboring country and to destroy its most sacred customs and traditions. When the people of the country became aware of this attempt ..., its Shī'ah *ulamā'* addressed themselves to the Azhar clamoring for help, and the Azhar and its Rector gave help by all possible means. The difference of *madhhab* and creed did not prevent the Shī'ah *ulamā'* in Iraq from having recourse to the Sunnī Azhar." Following the execution on September 20 1959 of 13 allegedly pan-Arabist Iraqi officers (together with an ex-minister and 3 other servants of the Hāshimite regime), the Rector of the Azhar pronounced a fatwā ¹¹ declaring General Qāsīm to be deserving of the penalties of Surah v. 33: "But the reward of those who make war against God and His Apostle and attempt to do evil in the land is that they be killed or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on alternate sides or be exiled from the land. That is the disgrace which they will have in this world, and in the next world they have great suffering." The murder of King Fayṣal I and Nūrī al-Sa'īd was, however, applauded by the Azhar ¹². Iraqi Shī'ahs and Sunnis who continue to believe in Islam, but who sincerely disagree with the United Arab Republic's policies towards their country, may well feel that the Azhar acts as a political mouthpiece. Yet as already mentioned Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt has a record of sympathy for Shī'ahs and zeal for Sunnī-Shī'ah rapprochement ante-dating the Egypto-Iraqi tensions of recent years.

More than two hundred years ago an attempt to incorporate the Ja'farī Shī'ah into Sunnī Islam as a fifth *madhhab* was made by Nādir Shāh of Iran (1736-47) ¹³. With the help of an army containing many Sunnī Afghans and Turcomans, this great general restored the Iranian empire and temporarily added to it extensive territories inhabited by Sunnis. He also knew that the Ghilzai Afghan revolt which had overthrown the Ṣafavid empire was provoked by Shī'ah persecution of the Sunnis. He was able to force the *ulamā'* of Najaf to endorse his plan, but in his peace treaty of 1746 with Turkey he failed to gain Ottoman recognition of the fifth or Ja'farī *madhhab*. His motives were solely political, and after his death the *ulamā'* and the Iranian people reaffirmed their allegiance to the Shī'ah. Since then much time has passed. Iranians no less than Egyptians were influenced by the ideas of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī, known as "Afghānī," who was probably by origin an Iranian and a Shī'ah. Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn's "pan-Islamism" meant cooperation, above all against Western dominance, between the Sunnī Ottoman and Shī'ah Iranian empires, both of which he hoped to see strengthened and modernized. In 1906 Iran

¹¹ Text in *M.A.*, Sept. 1959, p. 359.

¹² *M.A.*, July, 1958, p. 107-109.

¹³ Laurence Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, pp. 4-5, 99-102, 232-234, 279-281.

entered her modern age with the winning of the Constitution. One clause in this declares Islam of the Ja'fari Twelver *madhhab* to be the state religion, and another declares that the Constitution shall remain in force until the re-emergence of the Imām of the Age. Nationalism, however, has replaced sectarianism as the keynote of modern Iran. There is a renewed pride in the Achaemenid and Sāsānid achievements, but above all Iranians glory in their classical literature; and they are aware that most of their favorite authors such as Niẓāmī and Sa'dī, though pious Muslims and Ṣūfīs, were not Shī'ahs. In Iran the old anti-Sunnī fanaticism has virtually disappeared.

Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt has expressed the view that sectarian conflicts are a sociological phenomenon.¹⁴ In respect of Iraq, he is certainly right. Until recent years, the Shī'ahs, who form half of Iraq's population, were educationally, economically and politically weaker than the Sunnis. Ottoman policy had excluded them from the army, civil service and political life, and after 1918 the opposition of the *ulamā'* of Karbalā' and Najaf to any form of 20th century government resulted in Sunni predominance during much of the Hashimite period. Subsequently the Shī'ahs began to catch up. They won success and distinction in economic life, in the civil service and in literature, and between 1947 and 1958 provided four of Iraq's prime ministers. But the old communal tension, though diminished, has not disappeared. Parents, for instance, whether Shī'ah or Sunni, usually oppose mixed marriages by their children. This absurd communal tension is repulsive to the younger educated Iraqis and is probably one reason why many of them are inclined to religious scepticism and why some of them are inclined, to communism. Similarly in the Lebanon, the Mutawālī or Twelver Shī'ah community, though possessing some distinguished individuals and families, is as a whole far behind the Sunnī, Druze and various Christian communities in economic and educational status. In both Iraq and the Lebanon, a Sunnī-Shī'ah rapprochement might do a lot of social good.

Concern for social aspects, and an appreciation of the value of comparative jurisprudence in the study of law, may perhaps explain why Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt's pronouncements refer solely to Shī'ah *fiqh* and *shari'ah*. But the disagreements between Sunnī and Shī'ah on legal questions — such as the proper form of foot ablution, or whether adultery should be punished by stoning or the lash — are of little interest today. Even the disagreement on *mut'ah* (temporary marriage), which the Shī'ah allows, is relatively unimportant when divorce is unrestricted. Egyptian opinion, including Azharite opinion led by Shaikh Maḥmūd Shaltūt, is now moving in favor of restricting divorce. Iranian opinion seems to be moving in the same direction, and the legal reforms foreshadowed by the Shah in his important

¹⁴ *M.A.*, Sept. 1959, p. 382.

speech of Aug. 20, 1959,¹⁵ may perhaps venture into this field. From the point of view of the *‘ulamā*, such reform will necessitate revision of the traditional interpretations of the Quranic precepts, and *ijtihād* will be the instrument of such revision. *Ijtihād* (initiative in the search for truth) has always formed an essential element in the Shī‘ah *uṣūl al-fiqh*; in theory it is the function of the Imām and during his absence the *‘ulamā* (*mujtahids*) try to act for him, though in practice it cannot be said that they have done very much in this direction. Traditionally, the four Sunnī schools regarded the “gate of *ijtihād*” as having been closed, but the reformists of the school of Muḥammad ‘Abduh and of the school now prevalent in the Azhar insist that it be reopened. Concerning *Itjihād* there is thus no longer any difference between Shī‘ahs and Sunnis.

The Iranian Shī‘ah thinker, Rizā Qulī Sangalajī known as “Shārī‘at” (d. 1943), is said to have arrived independently at conclusions similar to those of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, namely that *Ijtihād* must be revived and conservatism (*taqlīd*) eliminated, and that Islam calls for the pursuit of science and social justice. At the same time Sangalajī upheld the distinctive beliefs of the Twelver Shī‘ah. These are generally considered to be as follows¹⁷: (i) that God is just and that men have free will, (ii) that God accordingly provides in every age an infallible Imām to guide and intercede for men, if they choose to give him allegiance, (iii) that the first eleven Imāms of the Islamic period were martyred by wicked men, and (iv) that the Imām of the present age disappeared but does and will re-emerge. The first of these beliefs is shared with the Mu‘tazilite school, which was rehabilitated in modern Indian Sunnī thought by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898)¹⁸ and in modern Arab Sunnī thought by Aḥmad Amīn (d. 1954).¹⁹ The fourth belief is paralleled by the popular Sunnī beliefs in the eventual coming of a Mahdī.

Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusain Kāshif al-Ghīṭā²⁰ of Najaf (d. 1954), in his book on the “Origins and principles of Shī‘ism,”²⁰ uses scholastic

¹⁵ *Iṭtilā‘āt*, Tehran, Murdād 20, 1338/Aug. 20, 1959. Quoted in *Oriente Moderno* XXXIX, 8-9, Aug.-Sept., 1959, p. 632.

¹⁶ In a thesis presented to McGill University, Montreal, in 1954, Amīr ‘Abbās Ḥaydarī (now an assistant at London University) has studied Sangalajī’s life and writings. These include *Kilīd-e Fahm-e Qur‘ān, Islām wa Raj‘at, Mahv al-Mawhūm, Tawhīd-e ‘Ibādāt*. They have not been accessible to the present writer.

¹⁷ Dwight M. Donaldson, *The Shi‘ite Religion*, London 1933, p. 305-356. M. H. Kāshif al-Ghīṭā²⁰ (v. infra, 20), p. 107-115.

¹⁸ Baljon, J. M. S., *The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān*, Leiden, 1949.

¹⁹ Aḥmad Amīn, *Duḥā al-Islām*, part III, Cairo, 1936, pp. 21-207. Some of Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s views approached certain Mu‘tazilite positions, but ‘Abduh never had access to any Mu‘tazilite documents (which had not then been unearthed), and never spoke or wrote in favor of the Mu‘tazilah. The first to do so was Aḥmad Amīn. R. Caspar, *Le Renouveau du Mu‘tazilisme*, in *Mélanges de L’Institut Dominicain d’Etudes Orientales*, 4, Cairo, 1957, pp. 141-202.

²⁰ M. H. Kāshif al-Ghīṭā²⁰, *Aṣl al-Shī‘ah wa Uṣūlūhā*, 9th. ed., Beirut, no date (first published 1944).

reasoning and a medieval terminology and style in support of these beliefs. Thus in refutation of sceptics who doubt the concealment and eventual return of the Imām of the age, he says that Muslims similarly believe Jesus and Idrīs to be still living in heaven and Ilyās and Khiḍr to be still living on earth, that there are attested cases today of persons living to abnormal ages of 120 or more, and that anyhow the matter is one of those inexplicable things like kissing the black stone of the Ka^cbah during the pilgrimage.²¹ Much of the book is given to legal matters which have become irrelevant in modern conditions. The author is also at pains to demonstrate (mainly from sources in the Sunnī Traditions) that the origins of the Shī^cah go back to the Prophet and his Companions. He states that what moved him to write was his awareness of the ignorance and prejudice in regard to the Shī^cah prevalent among Sunnīs, both in Iraq and Egypt. An Iraqi Shī^cah student in Cairo had told him that Egyptians regarded the Shī^cah either as a heretical sect of Persian innovators, not really Muslim at all, or else as an anti-Umayyad and anti-^cAbbāsīd political party with no religious significance. Above all, Egyptian professors like Aḥmad Amīn in his *Fajr al-Islām* had described the Shī^cah as "a refuge for all those who wished to destroy Islam out of hostility or envy, or who wished to introduce into it the doctrines of their Jewish or Christian or Zoroastrian ancestors".²² Such ignorant prejudice, the author declares, is "a source of joy and a major weapon for the imperialists and for the atheists of our time (*malāḥīdat al-^caṣr*)."²³ He urges all Arabs and Muslims to achieve mutual understanding through knowledge, and to unite their ranks against the "imperialist vipers" and the "hidden enemies."²⁴

It is certainly remarkable that Aḥmad Amīn's attitude to Shī^cism should have been so extraordinarily hostile, especially when in other respects he is by far the most broad-minded thinker, as well as the best writer, among recent Egyptian exponents of Islam. The chapter on the Shī^cah in his *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* follows his scholarly and laudatory account of the Mu^ctazilah. He expounds the distinctive Shī^cah beliefs in words quoted direct from the Kāfī of Kulaynī (d. 941), the earliest Twelver Shī^cah compendium of theology and Traditions, and refutes them in modern language with essentially rationalistic arguments, concluding that the Shī^cah doctrine of the Imāmate is "a disruption of the system of Islam and a destruction of its most important principles" which "deserves only to be recorded in (bygone) history."²⁵ Aḥmad Amīn does not even perceive, and Sayyid Kāshif al-Ghiṭā³ does not

²¹ Op. cit. p. 111-113.

²² Op. cit. p. 64, quoting Aḥmad Amīn, *Fajr al-Islām*, 5th. ed., Cairo 1945, p. 33.

²³ Op. cit. p. 62-66.

²⁴ Op. cit. p. 45-57 (Essay written in 1945 on *Kayf yattahid al-Muslimūn* as preface to 2nd ed.). See also Ahmad Amin, *Ḥayātī*, Cairo, 1954, pp. 251-4.

²⁵ Ahmad Amīn, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām*, Part III, Cairo, 1936, p. 222 and 226.

adequately express, what would seem to be the vital force in Shī'ism namely its emotional quality.

It is impossible to know how much importance educated young Iranians or Iraqis today really attach to the distinctive beliefs of Shī'ism. But it is certain that the martyrdoms of the saints and especially of the Imām Ḥusain continue to stir intense emotion. Even university-educated sceptics will go to the *rawḡah-khvānī* during Muḥarram and come back deeply moved. The Sunnī modernists stemming from the school of Muḥammad 'Abduh seem to lack a comparable emotional vitality. Having rejected Sufism because of the discredit brought upon it by the corrupt *darvīsh* orders and also because of its anti-rational aspect, they sometimes give the impression of having little left except a social reformism which is bound to lag behind the demands of purely rational thought and of lay opinion, and a nationalism which is bound to have limits and to come up against other nationalisms. Perhaps the Shī'ah emotionalism carries with it a more humanistic message. It will be interesting to observe the effects if this message now begins to penetrate the Azhar or to penetrate it again. For at the start of its almost millennial career, Al-Azhar was a Shī'ah (Ismā'īlī) institution.

University of Durham, England.

F. R. C. BAGLEY

THE FĀṬIMID HIERARCHY AND EXEGESIS

This article, the third in a series, deals with certain aspects of the Fāṭimid history and culture. The first concerned the origins of the Fāṭimids and the second described their legal textbook. We now come to a study of the propaganda organization supported by the Fāṭimid Caliphs and their characteristic patterns of exegesis.

I. THE HIERARCHY

Although there is no central priesthood in Islām, there are mosque leaders, preachers and callers-to-prayer, as well as different kinds of judicial authorities. In addition to these generally recognized religious and legal authorities, the Fāṭimids maintained a great hierarchy of public servants, who were employed to spread a special form of ideology, by means of instruction, argumentation and proselytising. The members of this hierarchy gained their prestige from their attachment to an Imām, who was the custodian of hidden knowledge (*al-bāṭin*).

Like other members of the Ismāʿīlī movement, the Fāṭimids claimed that in addition to the Qurʾān the Prophet was given supplementary learning in the form of esoteric knowledge.¹ Both the Qurʾān and this special knowledge sprang from God and were transmitted with the first emanation (*al-ʿAql* or *al-Qalām*) and then again through the second emanation (*al-Nafs* or *al-Lawḥ*). After that, the revealed word and hidden knowledge were passed on successively by each of the angelic mediums, Isrāfil, Mikhāʿil and Jibrāʿil, the last of whom imparted these things to the Prophet Muḥammad. Although the Prophet made public the Qurʾān, he entrusted the esoteric knowledge to his son-in-law, ʿAlī who the Custodian or Base (*al-Wāṣī* or *al-Asās*). Finally, ʿAlī imparted this esoteric learning to his descendants, who were the Shīʿah and Fāṭimid Imāms. These Imāms were not divine, but as they represented God on earth, they shared in some way the divine attributes described in Surah ii.255.

Instead of trying to subjugate their subjects by violence and oppression, the Fāṭimids endeavored to win them by means of an ideology based upon their descent from the Prophet and their possession of the secret knowledge derived from him. The great Fāṭimid scholar, Aḥmad Ḥamīd-al-Dīn al-Kirmānī has given us a description of the hierarchy employed to propagate this ideology.

A member of this hierarchy was called a *dāʿī*, a term related to Sūrah xxxiii.46. Although the Arabic plural of the term is *duʿāh*, the

¹ See three books edited by Dr. Mohamed Kamel Hussain and published in Cairo by Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī. (a) *Fī Adab Miṣr al-Fāṭimīyah*, p. 19 ff. (b) *Al-Majālis al-Mustanṣirīyyah*, p. 155, 156. (c) *Diwān al-Muʿayyad fī-al-Dīn*, pp. 50-57. See also Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society (Arthur Probsthain, London), pg. 4, 6, 15-17, 22, of Vol. 15 (1939), article by Ivanow.

Anglicized form *dāʿīs* will be used for the sake of convenience. The Fāṭimid movement as a whole was named the "Call" (*al-Daʿwah*), which implied that the hidden knowledge imparted to ʿAlī was being made available to those willing to accept it.

The *dāʿīs* not only taught their ideology in the lands which the Fāṭimids ruled, but also carried on a secret propaganda in regions which the Fāṭimids wished to gain as satellites. As the *dāʿī* was given freedom of action, it was necessary to select and train him very carefully. He was expected to subscribe to an oath and to receive from the Imām or his representative a commission, which gave him official authority, not unlike Christian ordination. It was, moreover, important for a *dāʿī* to understand the characteristics of the people among whom he was assigned to work. He was expected to set a good example, to keep secrets, to behave with kindness and dignity, as well as to exercise frugality, patience and self-control. Although his first task was to win converts, he was also obliged to care for the proselytes whom he won for the movement. If a convert went wrong and did not repent, he was obliged to excommunicate him. Sometimes he might test the obedience of the convert by ordering him to do something disagreeable. He was expected to outlaw all bribery and licentious behavior and the leading dogmatists; a sort of patriarch or minister of education, house unlocked at all times.²

In order to understand the organization of the Fāṭimid hierarchy let us start with the source of authority at the top. At the head of the system was the Prophet Muḥammad (*al-Nāṭiq*), for it was he who revealed the words of God. Then came his son-in-law, ʿAlī (*al-Asās*), to whom the Prophet passed on the special knowledge (*al-bāṭin*). After ʿAlī there followed the Imāms who inherited this esoteric learning, so that in each generation there was an infallible authority to interpret the Law.

Next to the Imām was the *Bāb*, who was the secret confidant of the Imām, known only to him. During the period when the Ismāʿīlī movement was secret and revolutionary, there was also a "double" for the Imām (*al-Ḥujjah*), but after the Fāṭimids founded their dynasty it is probable that this *Ḥujjah* was usually the same person as the *Bāb*. This term *Ḥujjah* is misleading, for it was also used for a certain type of *dāʿī*, who had nothing to do with the original person with that title. When the Fāṭimids became well established in North Africa and Egypt, it is likely that the chief of their hierarchy, who was called *Dāʿī al-Duʿāh*, served also as *al-Bāb* and *al-Ḥujjah*.

The administrative machinery of the hierarchy of course began at the top with the Imām, who was the Fāṭimid Caliph and unique like a

² *Al-Majālis*, p. 166 top; Journal Bombay Branch, pp. 10, 11, 20, 21. *Kitāb Rāḥah al-ʿAql* by Aḥmad al-Kirmānī, edited by Dr. Mohamed Kamel Hussain (Brill, Leiden), pp. 242, 243; Compare *Religion des Druzes* by Silvestre de Sacy, (Imprimerie Royale-1838) Vol. I, Intr. p. cxlviii.

single year. As there are twelve months in the year, so there were twelve administrative regions in the world as a whole. Apparently these regions were more racial than geographical. Each one of them was called an "island" (*jazīrah*). The officer appointed by the Imām to take charge of the movement in each of these twelve "islands" was called *Hujjat al-Jazīrah*. The *Hujjat al-Jazīrah* for the Cairo region was also *Dā'ī al-Du'āh*, who was the chief of the regional directors. His office was originally at the Palace, but perhaps later at Dār al-Ḥikmah. He was the principal administrative officer of the *Da'wah* and the leading dogmatists; a sort of patriarch or minister of education, dogma and propaganda.

Each *Hujjat al-Jazīrah* was in charge of organizing the missionary propaganda of his own region. He was expected to administer the *dā'īs* in his area and to arrange for lectures and discussions. He was also the authority in his region for the allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān. As the angels received authority from God, so these members of the hierarchy shared some of the wisdom of the Imām. Like the thirty days in the month, there were thirty assistants, who were assigned to each *Hujjat al-Jazīrah*. The general name for any one of these assistants was *al-Naqīb*.

There were three categories of *dā'ī* to which these high-ranking members of the hierarchy might belong. The *Hujjat al-Jazīrah*, and perhaps a few of the principal assistants attached to him, belonged to the category of *Dā'ī al-Balāgh*. A man of this rank not only handled administrative matters, but was also concerned with debating, polemics and apologetics. He was expected to uphold *al-Da'wah* by means of public addresses, as well as by debates with leaders of opposing sects. The Fāṭimids were not afraid of freedom of speech and thought, because their political prestige was so great and their agents were so skillful.

The next category was *al-Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq* and a member of this rank was expected to be well trained, so as to teach the so-called esoteric doctrines (*al-bāṭin*) including the allegorical interpretation (*al-ta'wīl*) of the Fāṭimid system. Ivanow suggests that the rank of *Dā'ī al-Balāgh* may have been established fairly late in Fāṭimid history and that from the start the title *al-Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq* was used for a sort of "bishop" in charge of an administrative diocese.

A lower rank was that of *al-Dā'ī al-Mahdūd* (or *al-Mahṣūr*), who was expected to teach the traditional ordinances prescribed by the Qur'ān (*al-ẓāhir*), so that a *dā'ī* of a higher grade could in turn explain how the Qur'ān confirmed the Fāṭimid ideology, by means of allegorical interpretation. If a regional director (*Hujjat al-Jazīrah*) had thirty assistants, it is reasonable to suppose that some of them may have belonged to the category of *al-Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq*, while others belonged to the lower rank of *al-Dā'ī al-Mahdūd*, but we have no accurate records about this subject.

To avoid confusion let us bear in mind that each regional director (*Ḥujjat al-Jazīrah*) had thirty assistants, the assistant being called a *Naqīb*. Each *Naqīb* in turn had twenty-four *dāʿīs* of a lower rank under him, as there are twenty-four hours in the day. These men of lower grade were expected to convert and confirm a proselyte, so that he would be fit to study first the *Qurʾān* and perhaps later the esoteric learning. As there are twelve hours of day time and twelve of night, half of these twenty-four *dāʿīs* of low rank were of the "Day" and half were of the "Night."

The *dāʿī* who belonged to the group of the "Day" was called *al-Maʿdhūn al-Maḥdūd*. Although his rank was not high, his work was all important. He had to know all about the doctrines of the persons with whom he was assigned to work. Then he mixed with the common people and, whenever he found any one willing to ask questions, it was his task to raise doubts and to excite curiosity. When sufficient curiosity was awakened, the *dāʿī* was expected to persuade the proselyte to take an oath of secrecy. Among people hostile to the Fāṭimids this oath was necessary, to protect both the *dāʿī* and his proselyte. Even in the Fāṭimid regions the oath was evidently administered, as it was part of the system. For a new proselyte it served as a pledge of loyalty. It was the duty of the *dāʿī* who belonged to the group of the "Night" to administer this oath in secret. He was called *al-Maʿdhūn al-Muṭlaq*. After the formality of the oath was complied with, the proselyte was eligible for further indoctrination by *dāʿīs* of higher rank.

Let us now review this description of the system by starting at the bottom instead of at the top.

In some locality of Egypt or a neighboring country a stranger would establish himself and begin to mix with the people. This newcomer was a *dāʿī* of the lowest rank (*al-Maʿdhūn al-Maḥdūd*). Before being assigned to his community he was taught to understand the *Qurʾān* and the fundamental principles of Islām. He also studied the religious, legal, social and psychological characteristics of the people among whom he was to work. At the start he gathered people together to hear him read the *Qurʾān*, just as any pious shaikh might do. Then he began to ask puzzling questions such as: — Why are there seven heavens and also seven verses in the opening surah of the *Qurʾān*? Gog and Magog, Hārūt and Mārūt are mentioned in the *Qurʾān*; who were they? Why does a man have to take an entire bath after the emission of semen, but only a minor washing after the passing of urine?

At least one person who heard such questions would become curious enough to ask the *dāʿī* to give him further instruction. Then the propagandist would work on his feelings until he would agree to regard all additional indoctrination as confidential. Thus the interested person would become a proselyte (*al-mustajīb*) and was taken to a *dāʿī* of the

Night (*al-Ma'dhūn al-Muṭlaq*), who after making sure of the proselyte's sincerity would administer an oath of secrecy and loyalty.

After this formality the proselyte was taught the Qur'ān by a missionary propagandist of higher rank (*al-Dā'ī al-Mahdūd*). This study based upon revelation was about material called *al-zāhir*. It is likely that many ignorant proselytes did not go beyond this point.

On the other hand, if the proselyte had intelligence and a desire to learn, he was passed on to a *dā'ī* of high rank (*al-Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq*), who explained the allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān (*al-ta'wīl*) and gave at least a preliminary introduction to the Fāṭimid Metaphysics, with its cosmography, logic and symbolism. In other words, the proselyte studied the hidden knowledge (*al-bāṭin*).

If an educated proselyte progressed as far as this point, he very likely volunteered to enter the professional service of the movement, so as himself to become a *dā'ī*. In that case his more technical training and appointment to work must have been arranged for by the administrative head of his region (*Ḥujjat al-Jazīrah*) who had the high rank of *Dā'ī al-Balāgh* and no one superior to him, except the *Dā'ī al-Du'āh* at Cairo and of course the Fāṭimid Caliph.

From what has been said it is evident that the *dā'ī* had to be a good organizer, who understood the psychology of the people among whom he worked. He not only had to attract proselytes to join the movement, but also to instruct and discipline them after they had joined. He was expected to settle their disputes, so as to prevent them from going to court, and to make sure of their obedience to the Imām. He was usually married with a home and servants of his own.³

A *dā'ī* of high rank was responsible for training and supervising men of lower rank in his district. He usually came from a good family as he was necessarily well educated. He needed a clerk (*kātib*), receptionist (*ḥājib*) and doorkeeper (*bawwāb*) to help him care for the proselytes and guests, who came to interview him. As he was granted ample government funds, he was a man of importance and influence.

The number of *dā'īs* mentioned in this description of Al-Kirmānī is as follows: — 12 *Ḥujjah al-Jazīrah*, 360 *Naqīb*, and 8640 *Ma'dhūn*, making a total of 9,012. Although we have no way of confirming the accuracy of this total figure, it is safe to say that the Fāṭimids maintained a very large staff of well-trained agents to spread their ideology and expand their movement.

Al-Kirmānī has given a table to explain the relationship between the members of the hierarchy and the realms of the universe, both mundane and celestial. The table, which follows, also notes the parallel between the members of the hierarchy and the metaphysical emanations from the Deity.

³ Journal Bombay Branch, pp. 25-35.

| | | | |
|--|----------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Existence (Emanation) | Celestial Realm | Member of Hierarchy | Mundane Realm |
| First Originator (<i>al-ʿAql al-Aw- wal</i>) | Highest Heaven | Prophet (<i>al-Nāṭiq</i>) | Revelation |
| First Outflowing (<i>al-Qalām</i>) | Second Heaven | ʿAlī (<i>al-Asās</i>) | Allegorical Interpre- tation (<i>al-Taʿwīl</i>) |
| Third Existence (<i>al-Lawḥ</i>) | Saturn | <i>al-Imām</i> | Dominion |
| Fourth Existence | Jupiter | <i>al-Bāb</i> | <i>Faṣl al-Khiṭāb</i> (decision between truth & falsehood) |
| Fifth Existence | Mars | <i>al-Hujjah</i> | Judgment of Right and Wrong |
| Sixth Existence | Sun | <i>Dāʿī al-Balāgh</i> | Proofs of Eternal Life |
| Seventh Existence | Venus | <i>al-Dāʿī al-Muṭlaq</i> | Hidden Knowledge (<i>al-Bāṭin</i>) |
| Eighth Existence | Mercury | <i>al-Dāʿī al-Maḥdūd</i> | Revealed Worship (<i>al-Zāhir</i>) |
| Ninth Existence | Moon | <i>al-Maʿdhūn al-Muṭlaq</i> | Administration of Oaths |
| Tenth Existence | Natural Phenomena | <i>al-Maʿdhūn al-Maḥdūd</i> | Attracting the Proselyte ⁴ |

This hierarchy of the Fāṭimids served as a system of public education aiming to unite the people by loyalty to a chief, who ruled by divine right. To a greater extent than anything else in Islam it resembled a priesthood. In fact a professor of Cairo University has the copy of a manuscript written by Jaʿfar ibn-Manṣūr al-Yaman, which states that the Ismāʿīlī system of proselyting was derived from the Christian Church.

As the organization was designed not only to serve as a part of the government machinery in the regions ruled by the Fāṭimids, but also as an underground movement in lands which did not belong to them, when Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn became the Sulṭān he disbanded the hierarchy and cleared his realm of the ideology which it promoted. Thus the system came to an end in Egypt and Syria, although groups of *dāʿīs* continued to work in Persia and other places.

⁴ *Rāḥah al-ʿAql*, p. 138. For *Faṣl al-Khiṭāb* see Surah xxxviii. 20.

II. ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATION

We now turn to the Fāṭimid method of allegorical interpretation and the problem of whether or not they had a system of initiation.

A treatise entitled "The Training of the Proselyte and the Missionary" ⁵ gives a vivid impression of the thorough preparation, which was given to a *dāʿī* or propagandist of the Fāṭimid hierarchy. Agents of all ranks were taught the Qurʾān and its ordinances, while a *dāʿī* of high rank was also trained to understand the hidden knowledge, which was transmitted by the Prophet to ʿAlī and his descendants, the Shīʿah and Fāṭimid Imāms.

The Qurʾān was said to be the "Silent Book," whereas the Imām was the "Speaking Book." As a descendant of ʿAlī he was able to explain the unseen things (*al-ghaib*) like heaven, hell, the Judgement with its bridge and scales, the angels and the throne of God. The Imām or Fāṭimid Caliph also derived from his ancestors an understanding of allegorical interpretation (*al-taʾwīl*), which formed a part of the hidden or esoteric learning (*al-bāṭin*). The Imām shared his knowledge with his propaganda agents of high rank, so that they could interpret the ideology of the Fāṭimid movement.

For every existing phenomenon there is not only an obvious (*ẓāhir*) meaning, but also a hidden (*bāṭin*) one. All matters of religion involve esoteric inferences, which must be explained by allegorical interpretation. ⁶ Although the persons ignorant of Arabic were unable to appreciate how miraculous the language of the Qurʾān was, they did realize the importance of its allegory.

This allegorical interpretation was a subtle system by which the pious and orthodox revelations and traditions were interpreted, so as to confirm the authority of the Fāṭimid Caliphs. The great legal textbook of the Fāṭimids (*Daʿāʾim al-Islām*), collections of their lectures (*Al-majālis*) and books like *Kitāb al-Himmah fī Ādāb Atbāʿ al-Aʿimmah* are full of examples. Although only a few of these examples can be given here, it is hoped that the following illustrations will give an idea of what this *Taʾwīl* was like.

Noah's flood as described in the Qurʾān was really a deluge of false ideas and the Ark was the summons of the Imām to return from false belief. All who heard the summons and boarded the Ark by entrusting themselves to the Imām were saved.

⁵ *Tarbiyah al-Mustajīb wa'l-Dāʿī*, probably written by Jaʿfar ibn-Manṣūr al-Yaman. It is inscribed on the margin of a manuscript located in India. A professor of Cairo University possesses a copy. For the "Silent" and "Speaking" books see pp. 175 & 176 of *Al-Majālis Al-Mustanṣiriyyah* edited by Dr. Mohammed Kamil Hussain and printed by Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī.

⁶ *Dīwān al-Muʿayyad*, edited by Dr. Muḥammad Kamil Hussain, Dār al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, 1949, pp. 99-133. *Madhāhib. Al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī* of Ignaz Goldziher, trans. by ʿAbd-al-Ḥalīm al-Najjār, Al-Khanjī, Cairo, 1955 pp. 312-336. *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* by Abū-Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān, Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo, 1951, pp. 28, 39.

On many occasions special terms were used, as for instance insulting names were given to be early Caliphs and other opponents of ʿAlī and persons, not belonging to the Ismāʿīliyyah movement, were called "Sons of Adultery" (*ʿAwlād al-Zināʿ*).

Verse 7 of Surah xiii of the Qurʾān contains the sentence, "But thou art truly a warner, and to every people a guide." Although the orthodox exegesis does not connect the word "guide" with the descendants of ʿAlī, the Fāṭimid interpretation assumes that just as the Prophet was the warner, so the Imām is the guide.

In Surah xxxvii. 130, there are the words; "Peace be to IL YĀ SĪN." Nobody knows what this stands for, but according to allegorical interpretation YĀ SĪN was said to be Muḥammad and IL the members of his family. In Surah xvi. 68, it is written; "And your Lord revealed to the bee." This statement was used to prove that God gave special knowledge to the Imām, who was the "bee."

Then Surah iv. 52 reads: "Those are they whom God has cursed." This was interpreted to refer to the two great opponents of ʿAlī, who were Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr ibn-al-Ās. The second Surah opens with three letters, Alif, Lām, Mīm (A L M). These letters are followed by the line, "This is the Book; in it is guidance sure without doubt, for those who fear God." A L M stands for "Al-Imām", who is therefore formally acknowledged by the divine revelation as the "Book". It is easy to see how this passage could suggest that the Imām must be the Logos.

Verses 24 and 25 of Surah xiv, present a short parable: "Seest thou not how God sets forth a parable? A goodly word is like a goodly tree, whose root is firmly fixed and its branches reach to the heavens. It brings forth its fruit at all times by permission of its Lord." This parable was used to explain that the "goodly tree" stood for the Prophet, the "root firmly fixed" for his family, the "branches" for ʿAlī and Fāṭimah and the "fruit" for the Imāms.

Surah xxv. 74 contains the words; "And cause us to become as guides (*imām an*) for the pious." Needless to say this verse could be used to prove that the Qurʾān confirmed the Imāms. 7

A great deal of *Taʾwīl* is not as simple as the examples already given. A much more complicated type of allegorical interpretation can be cited in connection with the opening words of the Fāṭiḥah, which is sometimes called *Al-Ḥamd*. This Surah starts with the words, "Bism Allāh Al-Raḥmān Al-Raḥīm." Several ancient books explain how these words were interpreted. Ivanow, for instance, has translated the following passage from an old Ismāʿīlī book.

"The first words of the Qurʾān are 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.' These words in Arabic, *Bismīl-Lāh*, are written (with the help of) seven letters, from which twelve others can

7 *Madhāhib al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī*, p. 308.

be derived. These are followed by the twelve letters (at the end of the phrase), of the words Al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm. (And the first) chapter (of the Qurʾān) entitled *Al-Ḥamd* is composed of seven verses. The seven letters of the *Bismill-Lāh* allegorically stand for the seven *Nāṭiqs*, great Prophets and from these are derived twelve letters which symbolize the fact that every *Nāṭiq* is followed by twelve *Naqibs*, or 'headmen.' Then the twelve letters (composing the words) Al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm with the nineteen other letters which are derived from these, symbolize the fact that from the *Nāṭiqs* are derived the *Imāms*, seven after each of them, with twelve *Hujjats*, thus making nineteen altogether. The seven verses which form the chapter *Al-Ḥamd* stand allegorically for the seven degrees (i.e. basic principles) of the religion. — (Just as) the chapter *Al-Ḥamd* opens the Book of God, so the 'degrees of religion' open the door of knowledge of the religion of God." ⁸

One can easily understand how an interpretation of this sort would impress an ignorant proselyte of the Middle Ages with the wisdom of his *dāʿi*, the mystic depths of religion and the authority of the Imām, as the heir to the learning of the Prophets. A few more illustrations will explain more clearly this system of using numbers. These numbers were an important part of *Taʿwīl* in particular and of the whole system of Fāṭimid thought in general.

In a series of lectures, which were given during the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph Al-Mustaṣṣir, interpretative material was mixed with pious exhortations, so as to magnify the importance of the Caliph. Al-Mustaṣṣir happened to be the nineteenth Imām in the series which started with ʿAlī. In this series there were the seven well known Imāms from ʿAlī to Ismāʿīl. Then there were twelve other Imāms, four of whom belonged to the "Veiled Cycle" when the Ismāʿīlī movement was an underground intrigue, and eight to the Fāṭimid Caliphate from Al-Mahdī to Al-Mustaṣṣir. The seven early Imāms and the twelve later ones formed a total of nineteen. Accordingly, the numbers seven, twelve and nineteen were used in the following way. In the opening words of the Qurʾān, Bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm there are four words which stand either for the four elements: fire, air, water, earth, or else for the four humors: blood, choler, phlegm, melancholy. The letters B S M A L (L) Ā H number seven and stand for the Imāms of the early period. In Arabic there are twelve letters in the second part of the phrase, that is A L - R Ḥ M N A L - R Ḥ Ī H and they stand for the twelve regions of the earth and the twelve later Imāms. The two numbers seven and twelve add together to make nineteen, in honor of the nineteenth Caliph. ⁹

⁸ *Studies in Early Persian Ismailism*, trans. by Ivanow, Brill, 1948, pp. 54. See also *Al-Majālis al-Mustaṣṣiriyyah*, pp. 17-20, 34, 37, 157.

⁹ *Al-Majālis al-Mustaṣṣiriyyah*, pp. 33, 37, 44, 67, 72, 79. For the list of prophets and their successors see *Religion des Druzes* by Silvestre de Sacy, Imprimerie Royale, 1938. Tome I, Intr. pp. ciii, cx. *Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane* by E. Blochet, Maisonneuve, 1903, p. 59. *Essai sur l'Histoire de*

In each lecture of this series the subject matter was divided, so as to deal with seven major points and twelve minor ones, with a total of nineteen. Thus, for instance, a discussion about the Confession of Faith explained that La Ilāha Illa-l-Lāh has seven syllables for the seven early Imāms and also for the seven Fāṭimid Pillars of Faith. It also has twelve letters (La Ilāh Ila Lāh) for the twelve Imāms after Ismā'īl and for the twelve rules of conduct.

Another lecture explained that there were seven prayers for important occasions, such as Fridays, pilgrimages, funerals and times of danger, and also twelve other types of prayer for eclipses, droughts, earthquakes and special times of day. There are seven rules and twelve supplementary regulations for the conduct of each prayer. Needless to say seven and twelve make nineteen, thus confirming the divine right of al-Mustaṣfir to be the nineteenth Imām and the ruling Caliph.

The Poor Tax, the Fast of Ramaḍān, Holy War, precepts for conduct, treatment of slaves and relationships with neighbors, as well as other subjects, were all discussed with the same regard for these numbers. This procedure gave the *dā'ī* an excuse to color pious teaching with Fāṭimid ideology and to impress his audience with the way in which the numerical values in the Qur'ān magnified the importance of the ruler.

Another example of allegorical interpretation occurs in connection with the prophets. Although some of the ideas may have belonged to some of the sects of the Ismā'īliyyah other than the Fāṭimids, the material illustrates the kind of methods that were used. Seven prophets are mentioned, each one called a *nāṭiq*. The last one seems to be confused with the Hidden Imām (*al-Maktūm*) and the Messiah (*al-Mahdī*). Certainly the Fāṭimids could not believe that there was any prophet after Muḥammad, who was the Seal of the Prophets. Each prophet was followed by seven successors. The name for the successor was *Al-Ṣāmit*, but the first of the series of seven was also called the "Origin" (*al-Sūs*), the "Base" (*al-Asās*) and the "Deputy" (*al-Nā'ib*). Some of the writers also identified the prophets with the seven Fāṭimid Pillars of the Faith, as is indicated in the following table.

| The Prophet (<i>Al-Nāṭiq</i>) | The Successor (<i>Al-Ṣāmit</i>) | The Pillar of Faith |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| Adam | Seth | <i>Al-Walāyah</i> or inherited custodianship. It was said to Adam that angels bowed down to him. |
| Noah | Shem | <i>Al-Ṭahārah</i> or ritual cleanliness, as Noah lived when the world was cleansed by flood. |

l'Islamisme by R. Dozy, Maisonneuve, 1879, p. 262. *A Shi'ite Creed* by Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Oxford Univ. Press, 1942, pp. 39. See also two books by Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, printed by Al-Nahḍah Press, Cairo, 1947 & 1948. *Ubayd-Allāh al-Mahdī*, p. 39, and *Al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh*, pp. 271, 339.

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| Abraham | Ishmael | <i>Al-Ṣalāt</i> or prayer, as Abraham built the Ka ^ʿ bah and instituted worship. |
| Moses | Joshua. (The last successor was John the Baptist.) | <i>Al-Zakāt</i> or poor tax, as the Qur ^ʿ ān says that Allāh told Moses to say to Pharaoh, "Do you wish to <i>tazakka</i> ?" |
| Jesus | Simon Peter His name Cephas was changed to <i>Al-Ṣafāʿ</i> (the Pure). | <i>Al-Ṣawm</i> or the fast, because the Qur ^ʿ ān said that when Mary was giving birth to Jesus a divine voice said to her, "If thou dost see any man say, 'I have vowed a fast to the Compassionate and this day I shall talk to no one.'" |
| Muḥammad | ʿAlī (followed by the Imāms) | <i>Al-Ḥajj</i> or the pilgrimage, which Muḥammad instituted. |
| Al-Maktūm or Al-Mastūr to return as Al-Mahdī | No successor | <i>Al-Jihād</i> or holy war, as the Imāms and finally Al-Maktūm will defend Islām. |

In an epistle written by Al-Kirmānī these prophets are associated with the days of the week in the following way: Adam is the associate (*Al-Ṣāhib*) of Sunday, Noah of Monday, Abraham of Tuesday, Moses of Wednesday, Jesus of Thursday, Muḥammad of Friday and Al-Mahdī of Saturday.

We must now pass on to another question. In connection with their proselyting, did the Fāṭimids have a progressive system of initiation? As has been explained above, the proselyte was expected to take an oath of secrecy and to learn to understand the revealed learning, before he undertook to study the esoteric knowledge. It is not at all certain, however, that the progress of the proselyte was accompanied by initiation ceremonies.

The author of *Kitāb al-Fihrist* tells of a book entitled *Al-Maqṣid* about the Seven Communications (*Al-Balaghāt al-Sabʿah*), which contained texts arranged as a series for the induction of proselytes. Each text was more sophisticated than the one preceding it. The first two texts together could be taught in a year, but each of the remaining texts required twelve months for study. The texts were full of forbidden things and contaminations of the Law. As *Kitāb al-Fihrist* was written in Baghdād at the end of the 10th century, it is likely that the book described belonged to a sect of the Ismāʿīliyyah in Asia, rather than to the Fāṭimids in Africa. Moreover, nothing is mentioned in this description about ceremonies of initiation.¹⁰

Another author gave an account of a system in five stages, which undermined the value of the orthodox ordinances and described the fifth stage as culminating with free love. This description could not have referred to the Fāṭimids, who did not approve of licentious living

¹⁰ *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, by Ibn-al-Nadīm, Edit. by Gustav Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, p. 189.

and upheld the Qurʾān, even though they did interpret it in their own peculiar manner.¹¹

The classic description of initiation has been given by de Sacy. It is based upon two somewhat identical accounts, which were evidently derived by the historians Al-Maqrīzī and Al-Nuwayrī from the same ancient source. This system of proselyting was in nine stages. Before entering each new stage the proselyte was obliged to pay a sum of money and to swear to a new oath of secrecy, suggesting a definite ceremonial of initiation.¹²

The stages of indoctrination given in this account are as follows. — (i) Arousing of curiosity by subtle questions. (ii) Persuading the proselyte that true knowledge can only come from the Imām. (iii) Information about the seven Imāms from ʿAlī to Ismāʿīl. (iv) Explanation that a series of prophets has appeared. When each prophet (*nāṭiq*) died, seven successors in turn kept alive his mission until the next prophet could appear. The successor was *al-Ṣāmit*. The first successor in each case was appointed by his prophet and also called *al-Sūs*, *al-Asās*, and *al-Nāʾib*. It is implied that Muḥammad ibn-Ismāʿīl, who is called the "Hidden" (*al-Maktūm*), "Master of Time (*Qāʾim* or *Ṣāhib al-Zamān*), will some day reappear as the 7th prophet to usher in the final triumph of good. (v) Explanation of the allegorical and numerical interpretations of the Qurʾān. (vi) Abandoning of the revealed ordinances to turn to philosophy. (vii) Introduction of a theory of cosmographical emanations. (viii) Re-interpretation of Muslim Theology in terms of metaphysical theories. (ix) Abandoning of revealed religion and the Sharīʿah Law. Muḥammad ibn-Ismāʿīl will reappear as the greatest of the Prophets, but his real appearance is in his doctrines.

This description might easily refer to a system adopted by an extremist like Abū-al-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad ibn-abī-Zaynab, but it is likely that it describes the sort of indoctrination used by the Fāṭimids who defended the revealed religion at the same time that they indulged in metaphysical speculation.

Ivanow draws on *Al-Mūjizah al-Kāfiyah* to say about these degrees of initiation that: "From what I have seen of the genuine Ismaili work, I believe that the idea is simply based on a misunderstanding of the hierarchy of priests, and that there really never was anything such as a division of the Ismailis into strictly defined groups of progressive 'initiation'."¹³

Princeton, New Jersey.

BAYARD DODGE.

¹¹ *Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭiniyyah wa Akhbār al-Qarāmitah*, by Muḥammad ibn-Mālik al-Ḥamādī, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, 1939, pp. 11-16.

¹² *Religion des Druzes*, Tome I, Intr. pp. lxx ff. For an English rendering see *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate* by de Lacy O'Leary, 1923, pp. 21-32. The account of Al-Maqrīzī is in *Kutāb al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyyah*, Al-Nīl Press, 1906, Part II, 227-235. De Sacy discovered the account by al-Nuwayrī in 1838, in MS. No 647 of the Royal Library in Paris.

¹³ *Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Soc.* Vol. 15, 1939, p. 11.

BOOK REVIEWS

Classicisme et Déclin Culturel Dans l'Histoire de l'Islam. Edd. R. Brunschvig et G. E. von Grunebaum, Paris, Librairie G.-P. Maisonneuve, éditions Besson-Chantemerle, 1957, pp. viii, 376, index.

As a subtitle indicates, this volume presents the proceedings of an International Symposium on the History of Muslim Civilization, held under the joint auspices of the universities of Bordeaux and Chicago at Bordeaux in June, 1956. The Symposium was organized and led by the two scholars who have edited the resulting work, and was attended also by leading Islamicists of continental Europe. Readers will remember a comparable symposium following a similar earlier gathering, under the title *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. von Grunebaum, Chicago, 1955.

The work opens with two dominating presentations by the organizers, which set the problems. First von Grunebaum, with his erudite brilliance, explores the concept of a classicism in culture, asking what the motion may mean, and has meant in various world instances. His essay compels those of us who might have taken it perhaps naïvely for granted that any culture should have a classical age, to reflect on the matter and its implications in a critical and rewarding way. Brunschvig next poses the "problem of decadence," beginning with the observation that probably there is no scholar in Islamics who has not been asked to explain the decadence, at the end of the Middle ages or in modern times, of the Muslim world. It is admitted that this "fatal question" is extremely embarrassing to scholarship. He sets the stage for its discussion by surveying the gradual rise in recent Western history of a notion that Islamic culture is declining. He then surveys Muslim views on the matter, and finally makes introductory remarks on method.

The succeeding pages contain papers by the other participants. The Islamicists present were: Armand Abel (Brussels), Régis Blachère (Paris), G.-H. Bousquet (Algiers), Claude Cahen (Strasbourg), Francesco Gabrieli (Rome), Louis Gardet (Paris), Willy Hartner (Frankfurt), Jean Lecerf (Algiers), Henri Massé (Paris), Fritz Meier (Basel), H.-S. Nyberg (Upsala), Charles Pellat (Paris), Hellmut Ritter (Frankfurt), Joseph Schacht (Leiden), Henri Terrasse (Algiers and Rabat). It is an impressive list. Their topics range from expected ones like literature, law, art, science, religious and philosophic thought, to some less obvious but useful ones such as Abel's valuable contribution on the role of "les sciences occultes" in the decadence, or Bousquet's "To what extent may dogmatic instruction have impeded the evolution of Islamic economic and social institutions?" In some of the papers attention is given to the development of one particular aspect of Islamic culture (perhaps the most solid here is Schacht on "Classicism, traditionalism, and ankylosis in the religious law of Islam"), in others it is a question of interrelationships (here perhaps the most stimulating and valuable is Cahen on "The economic and social factors in the cultural ankylosis of Islam"). In still others the notion of decline is less clearly validated (for instance, Lecerf on "Folk culture" and Meier on "Sufism and cultural decline").

In addition to the sixteen papers on Islamic issues, three were

included for comparative purposes dealing with classical antiquity (H.-I. Marrou of Paris), Byzantium (P. Lemerle, also of Paris) and China (by Hartner again).

As in any symposium, one's reactions to and assessment of the various parts naturally differ. In some cases (not excluding that of Gardet) one feels that in some degree the problem of decadence has provided an opportunity too easily to give expression to what the author feels is wrong with Islam. In some cases there are very solid scholarly articles. But what is one to say of the whole? Not, certainly, and alas, that the rest of the participants have adequately answered the probing questions that the two organizers have effectively propounded. Nor even that they have always addressed themselves to those questions at the same level of understanding. (Might one perhaps hope that when the next such symposium is held the opening statements will be circulated well in advance, before others set pen to paper. This would give greater cohesion at least.) Fundamentally, what has been achieved perhaps is a volume, scholarly but uneven, in which anyone who now sets forth to write, or even to speculate, about a decline in Islamic Civilization will find not answers to his questions so much as material partly organized to confront and stimulate any answerer.

In addition to the papers presented, the brief discussion among the participants that followed each is published here. One is tempted to remark that these discussions, though at times illuminating, seem too personalistic and too spontaneous for their presentation in this form to seem justified. Their inclusion reduces the dignity of the volume. On second thought, however, this may be valuable; it is perhaps good to be reminded that one is reading not a book on this mighty topic, which ought to be a more mighty book, but rather the record of preliminary discussions.

McGill University,
Montreal

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH

The Middle East, A History. By Sydney Nettleton Fisher, Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Ave., New York, 1959, pp. 650, xiv, index, maps, end papers and others; \$ 8.95.

The dust cover of this book will disappoint and disturb all who can read the Arabic words that form the cover's design. That will include an increasing number of people in the West and the Orient, and especially the literate Muslims of Asia and Africa. The reason is that the Arabic words on the cover are a part of the Muslim Creed and are the most sacred words of the whole Qur²ān and, most unfortunately, the word for God, in Arabic, which is Allāh, is mutilated. It is a redeeming feature that the whole creed is impressed on the front cloth cover and the jacket may be discarded.

The book itself is modestly called *A History*. It deserves to be called *The History*. It is a superb work. It describes the area, its peoples and their civilizations from their earliest times down to the middle of 1958. It is not the story of the succeeding generations of the countries, their societies and their activities. It tells their history: why and how they acted, and the results of their thinking and acting.

The author uses short, terse sentences. His paragraphs cover reigns, dynasties, social movements, political, cultural, national and international situations. His succinct sentences could be expanded into paragraphs, the paragraphs into chapters. His chapters compress and comprise the information of monographs and books. Each of the forty-two chapters but the last needs and has its own bibliography. The volume is a marvel of condensation, too tightly packed for quick reading or permanent retention, but splendid for ready comprehension and coordination.

For such a long book there are remarkably few typographical and other errors, but the following should be mentioned. On page 117, the term "procession of the Equinoxes" occurs instead of "precession." "Layla" (p. 222) is the name of the girl, not the tribe to which both Layla and Majnūn belonged. For *Tawa* (p. 123) read *Tawq*. For *Akd* (p. 124) read *Iqd*. For *Jusuf* (p. 136) read *Yusuf*. For *nagib* (p. 417) read *naqib* and for *Nahi* (p. 428) read *Nabi*. At the time of the Iraq Revolution (July 1958) Sir Abdallah al-Salim Al-Sabah was Shaikh of Kuwait, not his cousin Shaikh Sir Aḥmad (p. 543) who had died on January 29, 1950. For *Diyali* (p. 567) read *Diyala*.

Another feature of this work to be noted is that all the 391 books of the bibliographies are in the English language. Even those originally in non-English languages have English translations. It is remarkable that American students have available such extensive sources for the history of the Middle East.

The author's own point of view both in his descriptions and comments on controverted events, problems and policies, is that of an American scholar, and may be different from that of some American politicians. But one receives more than the impression, indeed, the conviction, that the historicity of his statements of fact is verifiable, even when nationalists of other countries would disagree with the explanations and interpretations given.

The book is cordially recommended for use in university and institute classes studying the Middle East and also for specialists in diplomatic, commercial and other circles, who need to know the facts and attitudes of the peoples of that area.

Hartford, Connecticut.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Development of Islamic State and Society. By M. Mazheruddin Siddiqi, Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, 1956, pp. viii, 415. Rs. 10/—.

In the preface of this book the author states that he has written a social and economic history of the Muslims from the early days of Islam to the present time. By avoiding what he feels to be petty details and by concentrating only on essentials, he has managed this review of Islamic history in four hundred pages of text. In such a highly condensed treatment of some thirteen centuries of history one is bound to find omissions and to feel that the author's treatment of certain other topics has been sketchy. Nevertheless, the book constitutes a useful outline of the subject matter it covers. There are two noteworthy aspects of Siddiqi's work. The first is his use of documentation. The lengthy quotations from his sources are fully footnoted, an accepted

scholarly procedure often neglected by authors and publishers in Pakistan. The second is the author's dependence on sources in the English language. In a bibliography of seventy items only three are in Urdu.

The most interesting and original part of the book is the final chapter entitled "Our Past, Present and Future." It is concerned with the question: "What was it that made Islam such a tremendous success and then caused its downfall?" (p. 388) The view is that the failure of Islam cannot be attributed simply to the loss of the moral fervour which characterized the early caliphate. Muslim history supports the contention that "... intellectual enlightenment and breadth of vision are necessary ingredients of successful belief and that religious conviction or moral sincerity by themselves can achieve nothing." (p. 388) Dogmatism and blind faith came to characterize Islam, which "... crystallized into a rigid system, complete and self-contained, (whose) unadaptability of religious beliefs ... is partly responsible for the decline of Muslims." (pp. 388-389)

For example, the kind of sanctity with which the jurists have surrounded the Prophet has paralyzed the intellect and has brought analytical inquiry to a stop. Religious absolutism, with its stress on predestination and man as a nonentity, encouraged the growth of political absolutism, with a divinely sanctioned caliphate. "Henceforth the Muslims were not citizen caliphs in their own right but subjects of an omnipotent ruler." (p. 390)

In Siddiqi's opinion the future of Islamic civilization depends upon the working out of a belief in Islam as furnishing overriding ethical principles but not unchangeable or indispensable laws and institutions. This entails a realization that revelation consists of two kinds, a higher and a lower." ... The parts of the Holy Qur²ān which deal with the principles of law and ethical directives possess a higher authority than the specific rules and regulations laid down by the Holy Book, which, of necessity, were determined, though not wholly, by the specific historical situation in which the law was revealed. (p. 397) Unless Muslims come to realize this, nothing can prevent the wholesale Westernization of the Islamic world. The author is a graduate of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University and is the chairman of the Department of Muslim History, Sind University, Hyderabad, West Pakistan.

Lahore, Pakistan.

STANLEY E. BRUSH

Iraq, its People, its Society, its Culture. By George L. Harris, in collaboration with others, Human Relations Area Files Press (Box 2054 Yale Station), New Haven, Connecticut, 1958, pp. xiv, 350, \$ 7.00.

This book is one of a series of studies of world cultures published by the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF), a non-profit research corporation affiliated with Yale University and sponsored by its sixteen member universities. The study is the result of close collaboration between the author and a number of specialists who contributed to it the findings of their own research. Its coverage of the various political, economic, and sociological aspects of Iraqi society is comprehensive and detailed, yet succinct.

Many drastic changes in government have transpired in Iraq since the date of publication, but the emphasis throughout the book on abiding values, constants of attitudes and behavior of the people, and the continuity of essentials of the culture of this area despite incursions from all sides, renders the study of permanent value. The wide range of subjects dealt with in the 19 chapters, the accuracy of dates and details with respect to Iraqi history, and the reasonably inclusive bibliography and index at the end, contribute toward its usefulness as a reliable reference or text book.

As the editor notes, during the course of compiling materials and consequent selection, generalization, and implication, many gaps in knowledge have been exposed. This is more apparent in some chapters than in others. In the chapter on "Religions," for instance, after a somewhat lengthy general discourse on Islam, an altogether too brief account of Islam as it is observed and actually practiced in Iraq follows. Likewise, the treatment of Christian minorities, small in numbers yet vitally important from the point of view of overall stability in the country, seems inadequate. Since brevity was intended, on the other hand, an exhaustive treatment of all of the themes included would not have been possible within the scope of allotted pages.

Chevy Chase, Maryland.

FRANCES E. ROBERDS

Medieval Muslim Government in Barbary. By J. F. P. Hopkins, Luzac & Company, London, 1958, p. xxv, 170, £ 1.15.0.

Barbary governments of almost a thousand years ago might seem of little interest to readers of today. Yet, surprisingly, their subject is not entirely irrelevant to problems of this moment. Like many of the newly sovereign states of Africa and Asia, those of the Maghreb are trying to evolve new forms of government and administration. Many years of foreign domination had divorced them from indigenous systems that had been replaced by modern ones. These, however, being alien and usually too advanced, were resented. Since obtaining independence, the Maghrebi states are attempting a synthesis between modern systems and certain elements that they had inherited from their own past. Thus they are examining carefully that inheritance.

The book by J. F. P. Hopkins deals with most aspects of medieval Maghrebi administration, from Shari'ah taxes and Habous endowments to the armed forces and the various classes of officials. Based chiefly on original Arabic texts, the book leaves few proverbial stones unturned, and appears to be accurate, except for a number of typographical misprints. It also makes extremely dull reading. This may be inevitable in a work based on a thesis that secured its author a Ph. D. from London University. It probably requires greater experience in authorship not only to unearth the dry bones of 'original' facts but also to bring them to life. Though the present book will be of little interest to the legendary 'general' reader, it will be appreciated by serious students of Maghrebi history. They will also be grateful for the extensive Index, the Bibliography and the copious footnotes.

*College of the Pacific,
Stockton, California*

ROM LANDAU

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Das buch der Ewigkeit. aus dem Persischen übersetzt von A. Schimmel, M. Hueber Verlag, München, 1957, viii and pp. 180, D.M. 6.80 (± 13/—).

It is an important fact that through this translation of the *Dschawid Name* one of Muḥammad Iqbal's great poetical works has become available for a wider circle of readers than the Persian scholars and those who can use the Italian translation, published by A. Bausani in 1952. It cannot be denied that confrontation with German poets and philosophers has been one of the noteworthy aspects of Iqbal's life and spiritual development. His *Payām-i-Mashriq* is meant to be an "answer" to Goethe's *West-Östliche Diwan*, and the philosophical thoughts of Nietzsche and Hegel e.g. were definitely not unknown to him. In her introduction to this translation (p. 1-16) Annemarie Schimmel points to these facts, and we find several other interesting remarks in her survey of Iqbal's works in general and this *Dschawid Name* (published in 1932) in particular.

There is no use in trying to summarize here these data. And because the reviewer is not competent to discuss the translation from a linguistic point of view, the most useful thing—especially in view of the character of this magazine—is to draw the attention of readers to those passages, where Iqbal's criticism of the secularized "Western" world is expressed, and to the accusation that Europe has killed not only "the humanity" of Jesus Christ (as did Judas Iscariot) but also "His divinity" (the vision of Tolstoi, p. 54 f.; cf. also p. 100 f.). There is a caricatural exaggeration in many of the expressions used. But woe to us if we, as "Westerners" and also as Christians, do not recognize—to a certain extent—ourselves and our world in this picture.

For those who are not used to reading this kind of literature, this long prophetic-political poem may seem a little bit confusing at the beginning. But then it is worthwhile to read it over again and again. And many a person will become "involved" in this "journey to heaven." I myself must acknowledge that especially the passages on Iblīs (Satan)—and among them most of all Satan's complaint that he hardly finds a real adversary in this world—have made a more serious appeal to me than many "enlightened," quasi-Christian statements on the Devil, and that these words will remain vivid in my mind for a long, long time.

Numan, Northern Nigeria.

W. A. BIJLEFELD

Kitāb Faṣl al-Maqāl. By Ibn Rushd (Averroës) with its Appendix (*Damimah* and an Extract from *Kitāb al-Kashf 'an Manāḥij al-Adillah*). Arabic text edited by George F. Hourani, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1950, pp. 56 of Arabic text, 20 pages English, paper, 18 guilders.

The present Arabic tract, small in size, but great in importance, was written in 575 A.H./1179-80 A.D. by Ibn Rushd who is better known in the West as Averroës. Here, the most illustrious of all the philosophers of mediaeval Islam in Spain formulated one of his philosophical and theological principles, destined to have a permanent impact on western thought in the Middle Ages. Ibn Rushd's thesis might be summed up in an attempt to reconcile religion with philosophy. The

mediaeval mind had long been susceptible to the doctrine of the incompatibility of divine and human knowledge; and the Obscurantists who abided by the letter of Christian dogma rejected Aristotelianism and the Averroist philosophy until the 13th century. Then St. Thomas Aquinas (c. 1225-74 A.D.), who began by refuting Arab philosophers, ultimately fell under the spell of Averroism. Thus the essence of Ibn Rushd's *Faṣl al-Maḡāl* became the keystone of St. Thomas's arguments in his monumental *Summa Theologica*. This may help to account for the extraordinary value of the present work, not only for orientalists, but also for philosophers and theologians of all descriptions.

The importance of this treatise has long been recognized by scholars. M. J. Müller published it in 1859. Other editions then appeared in Cairo (n.d.) with a certain measure of emendation. L. Gauthier thrice re-published it in Algiers (3rd edition, 1948). But all depended solely on the Escorial manuscript of the *Faṣl* dated 724 A.H./1323-4 A.D. Dr. Hourani, on the other hand, has gone further by using, not only the said codex, but also a second and earlier manuscript dated 633 A.H./1235-6 A.D. preserved in the National Library at Madrid as well as a late mediaeval Hebrew version thereof. This, as the editor justly declares, is his justification for the re-issue of a new and definitive edition which he has coupled with the promise of an English translation for the benefit of philosophers and theologians who are not Arabists. In his 442 footnotes to the text, the editor apparently has deemed it permissible to overlook referring to the exact foliation of each of his sources on account of their limited dimensions. The two extracts in the Appendix (pp. 41-51), based on a discussion of Ibn Rushd's philosophy in the *Faṣl*, are illuminating complements to the whole theme. It is hoped that Professor Hourani, who is a serious student of Islamic philosophy, will not spare any effort to enrich his English rendering with a full commentary on the subject, thereby bringing to the lime-light the purport of one of the most invaluable discourses of Muslim mediaeval thought.

Center for Intercultural Studies,
University of Utah,
Salt Lake City.

AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA

Muhammad et Saint Francois, by Giulio Basetti-Sani, O.F.M. Commissariat de Terre-Sainte, Ottawa, 1959. pp. 284, illustrations, paper.

The striking title of this volume in French by a devoted follower of St. Francis gives a hint of the imagination and delicacy which the author brings to the task of searching for a new understanding of Islam's role in history under God. "Could not an analysis of biblical texts," he says "and their interpretation by Christian thoughtfulness, give us some pointers that would help us achieve a more adequate historical-theological understanding of the religious phenomenon we call Islam, in such a way as to help us find its place in the total plan of the history of divine revelation and man's salvation?" (p. 208).

The thesis of Basetti-Sani is that in the providence of God there is a special and meaningful relationship between Muḡammad and St. Francis; between the "nocturnal ascent" of the former and the more com-

plete mystical experience of the latter on Mt. Alvernus, where he received the stigmata; between the test of ordeal by fire that Muhammad at Medina proposed in vain to the Christian delegation from Najrān, and the test of ordeal by fire that St. Francis at Damietta proposed in vain to the Egyptian Sultan Al-Malik al-Kāmil. Further, he feels that St. Francis was granted a special blessing in being allowed to suffer for the sins of Islam, as Christ did for all men, and that the stigmata were the sign of his being made "intercessor for Islam" (p. 203). Thus the merits of St. Francis were allowed to be "a source of blessings for Muḥammad and all his followers, in supplying what they were lacking" (p. 59).

The author treats very sympathetically the religious experience and spiritual growth of Muḥammad and the history of his Christian contacts. Then he turns to St. Francis' visit to the Sultan at Damietta across the drawn lines of battle, a single messenger of love in the very midst of the hatred of a "crusade." Basetti-Sani's appreciation of what Muḥammad tried to be and do under God is expressed thus: "When one approaches Islam with the spirit and the heart of St. Francis of Assisi, it becomes possible to realize that our Lord has passed through the message of Muḥammad, and that He has left His trace in Islam" (p. 211).

A bibliography and extensive note at the end of the book add to its value. The author does not hesitate to quote fully from others in his text, especially from Louis Massignon, to whom he owes much. The transliteration of Arab names is often inconsistent, sometimes even within a single line (p. 122). But such things pale in the brilliance of the author's scholarship, the power of his first-hand experience of Islam in Egypt, and the beauty of his sensitivity to Islam's spiritual yearning and his love for his Muslim brothers.

Princeton, Massachusetts

HARRY G. DORMAN, JR.

The Quranic Sufism By Dr. Mir Valiuddin, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna, India, 1959, pp. 221, Rs. 10.

This new book on Islamic mysticism by Dr. Mir Valiuddin is a welcome contribution to the study of this intriguing subject. As Syed 'Abdul Latif indicates in the Foreword, "The work is intended to present what the author believes to be the contribution of the Qur'ān to Mysticism." It is, therefore, of value to all students of Islam who seek knowledge of that particular subject.

There are various interpretations of Sufism, but the one that appears to be most reasonable is that which asserts 'purity' in life; and as an indication of this way of life the individual concerned "donned woollen dress" (*Ṣūf*, 'wool'). As a result, the person was called a *Ṣūfī*. So the doctrines of *Ṣūfism* were developed to express religious austerity, "whose source is the Holy Qur'ān and the Traditions of the Holy Prophet Muhammad."

Worship in Islam is described as the first law governing the lives of human beings; for "there is nothing greater than God which one might aspire to acquire." Patience and Praise are emphasized as two very important methods of "seeking assistance from God." And it is

asserted that "Patience endears us to God Almighty." Repentance and resignation are regarded as two essential conditions for true worship of God. Other important subjects dealt with in a very interesting manner are: Transcendence and Immanence; *Tanazzul*—The Descent of the Absolute; Self-Determination; Good and Evil; and the best of all, Divine Presence: Inward and Outward Experience. The whole book is full of enlightening interpretations of the Muslim point-of-view on important theological subjects.

The author is Professor of Philosophy, Osmania University, The Academy of Islamic Studies, Hyderabad, Deccan, India.

Daytona Beach, Florida

MURRAY T. TITUS

The Urdu Writing System. By William Bright and Saec' A. Khan. American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1958, pp. 48, paper. \$ 2.00.

This slender book is intended as an aid to the introductory teaching of the Urdu language. It presents the writing system for students who have already had some introduction to the spoken language. This is a sound approach, particularly in a case like Urdu, since the writing system presents some very special difficulties to the Western learner.

Presumably it is intended that this book will be used in a course based on Hoenigswald's *Spoken Hindustani* or the lesson materials developed at the Foreign Service Institute. But, if so, a most strange contrast is presented. The introductory lessons in the spoken language are carefully graded. There is copious drill material. Examples are introduced first, followed—sometimes after some delay—by exposition of the rules. The compilers are committed (as is the reviewer) to these principles as cornerstones of good language teaching. The writing system is introduced when the students are judged ready for it. This material is not graded. There is no drill material, though, of course, it would presumably be supplied. The book consists of a systematically arranged set of rules, to each of which is appended a few examples. The examples of the first few rules are utterly unintelligible until certain later rules are understood. The first section, a discussion of the representation of vowels, is particularly unfortunate. The very first examples in the book are presented under the rubric: "In a few Arabic expressions, long vowel symbols are written, but short vowels pronounced." Then follows a discussion of the writing of short vowels with points. This closes with the statement: "As all the above symbols are used only rarely, they are not written in the remainder of this description." Hardly an encouraging start for a struggling student!

Being only an inventory of rules, it fails also to give a clear idea of the structure of the system. A student with an analytic turn of mind may see some order behind the chaos, but many will be left with the impression that the Urdu writing system is merely a jumble. This is hardly satisfactory.

Examples given are both typewritten and handwritten. Unfortunately, the handwriting is neither particularly clear nor particularly well-written. It would be much better to give students a model to emulate with full confidence. Urdu-using people take pride in good handwriting. We should encourage students to do the same. *The Urdu Writing*

System is a useful summary of the rules of writing Urdu. But we must still wait for a pedagogic introduction.

Hartford Seminary Foundation,
Hartford, Connecticut.

H. A. GLEASON, JR.

Contributions to Arabic metrology: I. Early Arabic glass weights and measure stamps acquired by the American Numismatic Society 1951-1956, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 141, By George C. Miles, New York, American Numismatic Society, Broadway at 156th St., 1958, pp. 124-x, 13 plates, \$ 4.00.

Dr. Miles' foreword accurately describes this "little volume" as "in one sense a continuation of two earlier publications" in the same series, and in another sense as "the beginning of a new enterprise." The 260 pieces described in his earlier monographs are outnumbered by the 300 catalogued here, of which 80 were unpublished; together they cover the fine ANS collection through 1956 acquisitions. He plans similar catalogues of six other collections in America, Egypt, and Greece, followed by "a thorough corpus, accompanied by an analysis of the data which these objects provide for our understanding of historical metrology."

Dr. Miles is altogether too modest in his estimate of the usefulness of such a corpus. These colorful stamped bits of glass—coin weights, disc weights, ring weights, and vessel stamps—cast light not only on historical metrology but on the Egyptian *materia medica* of the 8th and 9th century, the economics and administration of the market-place, and the technology of glass-making.

New pharmaceutical items noted include figs, honey, jujube, and dried pomegranate, with citations to Dioscorides, Isaiah, and Ibn-al-Baitâr for their medicinal properties; the discussions of these, and the excellent plates, are probably the only aspects of this painstaking study of interest to non-specialists.

Princeton, N. J.

HARRY W. HAZARD

Eleven Years of Bible Bibliography. By H. H. Rowley (ed.) Indian Hills, Colorado, The Falcon's Wing Press, 1958, pp. vii, 804. \$ 7.50.

This Book List Bibliography, covering the important books issued between 1946 and 1956 in the field of Old Testament study, primarily for the use of members of the Society for Old Testament Study in Great Britain, gives the scholar and the student alike a ready reference to the important books of recent times in this field. A brief statement of the contents of each book listed and a judgment as to its importance in scholarship provide a good guide to readers. Dr. Rowley's well-known objectivity is augmented by the work of reviewers of standing in the scholarly world. In addition there is furnished a Key to Initials under Book Notices, a Subject Index, and an Author Index. These add materially to the usefulness of the volume. Although only two Americans are named among those furnishing Book Notices, there was a real awareness of the work of American scholars shown in the books listed as well as excellent coverage of British and Conti-

mental studies. Such a work fills a real need in the scholarly world, and one must hope that this service may be continued in years to come.

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

Babylon and the Old Testament. By André Parrot, (Translated from the French by B. E. Hooke), New York, Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 166. \$ 2.75.

Samaria: The Capital of the Kingdom of Israel By André Parrot, (Translated from the French by S. H. Hooke), New York, Philosophical Library, 1958, pp. 143, illustrations. \$ 2.75.

These two monographs by the distinguished archaeologist and Curator-in-Chief of the French National Museums furnish a convenient and well-documented compendium of the extant information on the subjects indicated by the titles. The expository material which is briefly but adequately treated is accompanied in each case by chronological and synoptic tables, a select bibliography, ample footnotes, a list of abbreviations used, and clear, very helpful drawings and plates illustrative of the contents. The information is well organized, the print is good, and the gathering of these materials into brief compass is a service to scholars and to those who are interested in beginning to acquaint themselves with the historical periods involved. Outside of a single misprinted word there is nothing to mar a responsible and discriminating piece of reporting on these topics. One might wish that Professor Parrot had given a little more space to his evaluation of the place of Babylon and Samaria in world history, but this may have been outside his purpose.

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

The Animal of Leeds University Oriental Society. Edited by John Macdonald, Vol. 1, 1958-1959, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 8 guilders.

We have received the first number of this new and promising Annual and greet it with echoes of the high hopes and warm salute of the President of the Society, Dr. A. Guillaume, who writes an Introduction. Of Islamic interest especially is the article by Dr. J. de Somogyi on Al-Jāhīz and Al-Damīrī. Corresponding membership of the Society is open to orientalists, who should apply to the Secretary, Dept. of Semitic Languages and Literatures, the University, Leeds 2, England. It is heartening to record also the vigorous policy of the Department in publishing catalogues of its Semitic mss.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

Mauritania. Approximately 420,000 square miles of the western Sahara constitute the homeland of some 616,000 inhabitants of Mauritania. This country, whose capital is Nouakchott, is part of the Federation of French West Africa and, as such, is a member of the French union. The economic potentialities of Mauritania enhance interest in its political evolution which has become a matter of concern for both France and neighboring Morocco. As this concern may be expected to increase rather than diminish, it is not irrelevant to reproduce here, by translation, excerpts of Mauritania's constitution as published in *Revue de Presse*, Algiers. The text is as follows:

Preamble,

...

Trusting in the omnipotence of God, the Mauritanian people proclaims its will to guarantee the integrity of its territory and to assure its free political, economic and social evolution.

It affirms its attachment to its religion and its traditions, to the Rights of Man, and to the principles of democracy as they have been defined by the Declaration of 1789, completed by the preamble of the Constitution of 1946, and confirmed in the Constitution of October 5, 1958, and to the institution of the Community to which it has freely adhered and within which it means to develop its personality and its sovereignty.

Chapter I Sovereignty

Art. 1 Mauritania is a republican, indivisible, democratic and social State. It assumes the name of Islamic Republic of Mauritania. All citizens are equal before the Law.

Art. 2 The religion of the Mauritanian people is the Muslim religion. The Republic guarantees to each person liberty of conscience and the right to practice his religion under the reservations imposed by morality and public order.

Art. 3 The national language of Mauritania is Arabic. The official language is French.

Art. 4 The Capital of the State is Nouakchott.

Art. 5 The national emblem is a flag carrying a crescent and a gold star on a green background. A law will establish the choice of a seal of State of a national anthem.

Art. 6 The motto of the Republic is Honor, Brotherhood, Justice.

Art. 7 National sovereignty belongs to the Mauritanian people who exercise it through their representatives and by the referendum.

Art. 8 Suffrage may be direct or indirect under conditions provided by the law. It is always universal, equal and secret. The electors are all citizens of the Republic who have attained their majority, of both sexes, who enjoy their civil and political rights, as well as the citizens of other States of the Community who fulfill the same conditions provided that

they have residence in Mauritania for a duration of time established by the law.

Art. 9 Political parties and groups compete in the expression of their vote. They organize and carry on their activities freely provided that they respect democratic principles and do not threaten, by their aim or actions, the national sovereignty or the unity of the Republic.

Chapter II The Government

Art. 10 The Government is composed of the Prime Minister and of ministers...

Art. 15 Before entering office, the members of the Government take oath before the bureau of the National Assembly. The Muslim ministers take the following oath: "I swear by the one God to serve faithfully the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the interests of the Mauritanian people, to respect its constitution, to safeguard the territorial integrity."

The members of the Government, while they remain in office, shall neither acquire nor rent State property. They shall neither lease nor sell to the State, nor exchange with it, any of their property.

Chapter III The National Assembly

Art. 17 Legislative power belongs to the National Assembly.

Art. 21 All the members of the National Assembly take oath before their "doyen." The Muslim deputies take the following oath: "I swear by the one God to serve loyally the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the interests of the Mauritanian people."

Chapter IV Relations between the Government and the Assembly.

Chapter V The Constitutional Committee.

Chapter VI Justice

Art. 43 Judicial authority is independent of the executive power and the legislative power. Magistrates of the bench are not liable to removal.

Until further indications of the will of the Mauritanian people, by deliberation of their Assembly, and with reservations for ulterior agreements between the Islamic Republic of Mauritania and the Community, the control of the judiciary lies within the competence of the Community.

Art. 44 The civil jurisdictions of Muslim law examine and judge according to this law in all civil and commercial matters. They proclaim justice in the name of the Mauritanian people.

The organization and administration of the Muslim judiciary, the regulation of its personnel, especially the *qādis*, are determined by law.

Laws will be enacted to codify the rules of Muslim law applicable in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

(Revue de Presse, 46 rue Ben Cheneb, Algiers; August-September 1959, No. 37; translated from the French)

Third Conference on Archaeology. The Third Conference on Archaeology of the Arab countries was held in Fez, Morocco, from

November 8 to 17, 1959. The representatives of the various Arab lands were conducted from city to city to observe the ancient buildings, old manuscripts, shrines and other archaeological vestiges.

They were amazed at the art found in the old mosques and universities, especially the mosque of the Qarawiyin at Fez. They found it difficult to believe that Morocco was so rich in Arabic and Islamic relics. Perhaps the most intriguing was the Andalusian art which has a definite rapport with that of the ancient Middle East.

Some of the results of this Conference are:

1. The Union of Arab Countries decided to form an official committee to occupy itself uniquely with archaeological findings in Arab lands.

2. Certain rules and regulations will be drawn up to render more accessible an exchange of information. One means of exchange will be expositions held in Arab countries.

3. The United Arab Republic proposed rules which would be a basis for classifying and conserving the archaeological vestiges in Arab lands.

4. To confirm the recommendations of the Second Conference held in Baghdad in 1957, a decision was made to unify and codify the Arabic archaeological terms.

5. The Committee decided to create institutes to protect the relics and vestiges of archaeological importance. These institutes will be in liaison with the official committee (mentioned in point one).

6. The Arab Countries agree to exchange with each other archaeological information of importance.

Central Institute of Islamic Research. The Government of Pakistan has announced plans to establish a "Central Institute of Islamic Research" the purpose of which is to conduct and coordinate studies in the history and development of Islamic thought and culture. Specifically the aims of the new Institute will be:

1. To define Islam by bringing out the fundamentals in a national and liberal manner and to emphasize, among others, the basic ideals of universal brotherhood, tolerance and social justice.

2. To interpret the teachings of Islam in such a way as to bring out its dynamic character in the context of the modern world of intellectual and scientific progress.

3. To carry out research in Islam's contribution to the world of thought, science and culture with a view to enabling the Muslims once again to recapture the position of preeminence in these fields.

4. To take appropriate measures for encouraging research in Islamic History, Philosophy, Law and Jurisprudence."

The creation of a Board of Governors is foreseen to direct the affairs of the Institute. A committee is to be set up to coordinate the program of the Central Institute with universities, the Iqbal Academy in Karachi and other Institutes in Lahore, Karachi and Dacca.

The motivation is more than purely academic. "Even more important is the need for recapturing the spirit of enquiry and adventure which characterized the Muslims in the days of their greatness. Unless we recapture that spirit and make it our own, we shall never be able to

interpret the dynamic spirit of Islam and its role in modern life. Stagnation of thought and attitude will prevent us from making our due contribution to human knowledge in this age of scientific progress. It is important that our research scholars should study the causes which were responsible for the miraculous growth of Islamic power and learning and their subsequent decline.

"It will be the particular concern of the Institute to produce authoritative material on the outstanding contributions made by Muslims in various fields and to create a spirit of enquiry and zeal for learning among Muslim scholars. Islamic civilization and culture have been great forces in the history of mankind. It is unfortunate that the West has not made due acknowledgment of the vital contribution made by Muslim culture and civilization. It is even more unfortunate that many Muslims all the world over are not even aware of their cultural heritage."

Jean Amrouche-Christian Kabyle. The Kabyles of Algeria belong to those indigenous Berber tribes who roamed the steppes between the Sahara and the Mediterranean centuries before the Romans colonized the land. After the Muslim conquests, which began in the 7th century, they became Islamized. Their villages today occupy generally the mountain crests. There, under the shadow of the minaret, their language, mores and folklore have been preserved throughout the vicissitudes of the social and economic upheavals and political changes of many centuries.

From such a milieu has sprung an outspoken intellectual named Jean Amrouche whose views on the world scene merit attention. A recent article by Jean Déjeux entitled "A Travers les Ecrits Récents de Jean Amrouche" and published in *Revue de Presse*, serves to introduce the mind of this writer.

Jean Amrouche was born in 1906 in a small Kabyle village in the Soummam Valley. His parents were Kabyle Christians of the Catholic persuasion. It is not irrelevant to insert here that there are Kabyles who are Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, some of whom are of the second or third generation. Our intellectual, then, speaks as a Kabyle with all that that implies of the spirit of solidarity with his own people, a sentiment perhaps analogous to that expressed by *'asabīyah* in the writings of the 14th-century North African Ibn Khaldūn. Amrouche also speaks as a Christian who has come under the spell of Western culture. He has earned university honors and during the past two decades has distinguished himself by his literary essays, books of poetry, and contributions to the press. Unhappily the Kabyles have not left a legacy of literature. But Jean Amrouche has preserved for posterity a glimmer of the Kabyle soul in his French translations: *Chants Berbères de Kabylie* (Tunis 1939; Charlot, Paris 1947).

Yet it is in his analysis of the present turmoil in Algeria that he reveals himself to be a man torn between two cultures and two loyalties. For him it is not a question of assimilation. Above all he is an Algerian who is concerned with the good of all, a concern founded on humanitarian interests. In a public discourse in Paris he once exclaimed, in

speaking of the hunger of the Algerian people, "Inside this order of hunger there are other hungers and other thirsts: hunger for justice which burns the spirit. There is a hunger and a thirst yet deeper and nobler: the hunger and thirst for dignity, for that indestructible dignity which is the supreme food for the soul, for lack of which the individual feels himself destitute of manhood."

The writer closes his article with a quotation of Jean Amrouche which expresses in one breath his humanism and his spirituality: "Muslims, Christians of all confessions, Jews and disbelievers, all, if they would take the trouble to go back to the sources of their religious and moral life, would feel themselves united in the service of a common ideal. For without exception they are, consciously or unconsciously, spiritual sons of one father, the father of the faith preeminently, Abraham, whose legacy to all men remains undivided."

Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau. Plans are being elaborated for the celebration of the seventieth anniversary (1889-1960) of the foundation of the Dairatu'l Ma'arif'l-Osmania (Osmania Oriental Publications Bureau). It will be held on January 25-30, 1960, at Osmania University, Hyderabad, A. P. The official announcement of this celebration states: "The chief function will be a Literary Conference in two or three sessions in which papers of high standard and latest research in the field of Oriental studies, contributed by leading thinkers and research workers, will be read, and a symposium will be held on 'the Present Needs of Arabic Studies' and methods of re-orientation of traditional learning will also be discussed, in order to cope with the modern social, literary, cultural and intercontinental demands. An exhibition of rare manuscripts and original valuable material for future research in our country will also be arranged on an All-India basis."

This occasion should provide the setting for the opening of new vistas on Islamic research and Arabic scholarly investigation. The organizers of the celebration may be assured of the interest of Islamic scholars throughout the world in this event and of their anticipation of its results as exemplified in the scholarly articles which will eventually issue therefrom.

President Muḥammad Ayūb Khān in Teheran. On November 10, 1959, the University of Teheran conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on President Muhammad Ayub Khan of Pakistan. In his address to the scholars and academicians assembled for the occasion he reminisced on the ancient glories of the land of the conferring institution. In part he said, "I stand on the sacred ground and share with you all the ennobling and edifying presence of the very spirit of civilization, all that it stands for in terms of human endeavour and triumph, in search of the true and the beautiful. It is natural, for one like me, with hardly any claim to a place in such a distinguished and august assembly to feel so humble in the face of the great honor you have done me by conferring upon me the degree of the Doctor of Laws. I look upon it as a token of your large-heartedness and an

abiding symbol of the love and esteem which you have for my country and its people."

The President, referring to the bonds of culture and friendship linking Iran and Pakistan, continued, "Today as ever we share with you not only a common heritage of art and poetry but also a good deal of thought and philosophy, religion and mythology, history and pre-history. The melody which flows through the verse of our national poet Iqbal owed itself as much to Shiraz and Tabriz as to the land of his birth, and the fountainhead of our intellectual heritage and rich mysticism has been this very land, star-studded with such rich image-conjuring names as Sohravard and Hajver, Hamadan and Meshed, Sabzwar and Simnan and this continues up to this day.

"As you probably know, there are at present more than 13,000 boys in Colleges and Universities of Pakistan who study Persian language and literature as an optional subject. This is in addition to hundreds of thousands of students who study Persian in Pakistan's schools..."

"It was more than thirty years ago, when the erstwhile League of Nations, completely oblivious of the role and importance of the emergent nations of Asia, was floundering in the wilderness of an uneasy balance of power, that our national poet Iqbal looked up to this great city of Teheran as the new Geneva of the East. 'If Teheran be the Geneva of the eastern peoples,' he sang, 'the course of history may yet change.' The verse was certainly prophetic, for obviously the poet referred not only to the political role which Iran was destined to play but also to the great humanizing and civilizing influence which it has so unmistakably exerted all around in the decades."

Shifting his thought to the contemporary international situation, President Muhammad Ayub Khan said, "There is a dangerously tremendous potential concentrated in too few hands, and this potential can be used for the good or for the evil. In this tricky and uncertain world, where do the comparatively small nations stand? What is going to be our role and our destiny? The cynic will despair, but let us not forget that the mind always has one more weapon than the hands ever can have. That weapon is the mind itself. And here is the very place, apparently bounded by the walls and the campus of this noble institution, where that brave and unflinching weapon is forged and sharpened which fights battles with peace, cruelty with kindness, ugliness with beauty, ignorance with knowledge. So long as we can join our hands—you and I and everybody else in your country and my country and any other country—so long as we cherish freedom and have faith in ourselves and in humanity, in the higher ideals and values which make human life great and true and noble, we are invincible and immortal, no matter how small geographically we may be as a nation or as an individual, for we shall still be great in contribution to the sum total of the human heritage and human achievement."

Java. The Japanese Bulletin, TŌHŌGAKU (Eastern Studies), June '59, edited and published by The Institute of Eastern Culture, Tokyo, contains an article in Japanese on the birth of the Islamic cities in Java, by Nagaoka Shinjiro. A synopsis of this article, which has been included, is as follows: The prosperity of the cities on the northern

coast of Java during the middle ages was due to the efforts of the immigrant Muslim peoples who settled in the ports along the Java coast. Their purpose in coming was twofold: propagation of their Muslim religion and extension of trade. Their knowledge of the latter soon enabled them to acquire economic control of the cities in which they resided and obtained for them government office. Finally, as a result of intermarriage with the families of the native rulers, actual power passed into their hands. The decline of the Madjapahit kingdom provided these cities with an excellent opportunity to attain their independence and establish some sort of confederation. This, in turn, hastened the overthrow of the Madjahapit kingdom. Soenang Giri was a typical ruler of one of these cities. He controlled the port of Grisik on the Madurā Straits. His residence was located on a hill to the south. He claimed to be the highest authority for the propagation of Islam in addition to being the temporal ruler of the city. After the decline of the cities he established himself among the newly arisen Muslim forces in the interior of Java and tried to maintain his position through the balance of these forces. However, with the strengthening of the Adipati forces of Soerabaya he was forced to relinquish his temporal authority retaining only his religious position. The Soerabaya forces finally crumbled in the face of the Mataram kingdom. The Su-chi-tan mentioned in Ming Dynasty historical records refers to Soerabaya.

Miscellanea. We regret that a report in Notes of the Quarter in the October issue, 1959, referred to a conference of Christian African Clergy on Islam at Legon (Accra) and inadvertently placed it in Nigeria. We apologise to the University College of Ghana, to the Department of Divinity and Professor King, assuring them that Legon's being Ghanaian is well known even to us. Frailty, sir, not ignorance!

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

by SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

I. GENERAL

- À LA RECHERCHE DES ANCIENS MONASTÈRES DU NORD DE L'IRAK. Père J. M. Fiey, O.P. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Avril-Juin, 1959. pp. 97-108. Describes several interesting "finds."
- ABDULQAHIR AL-CURCĀNĪS WERK ÜBER DIE UNNACHTAHMLICHKEIT DES KORANS. Max Weisweiler. *Oriens*, Leiden. 1958. pp. 77-121. On the inimitability of Quranic language.
- APERÇUS SUR LE CINÉMA TUNISIEN. S. Sayadi. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis, 1958, part 4. pp. 409-432. American movies are found to have great influence.
- GRUNDZÜGE DER MORPHOLOGIE DES ARABISCHEN DIALEKTES VON TE-TUAN. Hans Rudolf Singer. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Wiesbaden. 1958, part 2. pp. 229-265.
- HALI: THE PIONEER OF MODERN URDU LITERATURE. Zafar Mansoor. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. March, 1959. pp. 12-15. Tells of the new trend in poetry introduced by Hali about 1874.
- HEROIC MOTIVES IN EARLY ARABIC LITERATURE. Meir M. Bravermann. *Der Islam*, Berlin. September, 1958. pp. 256-279.
- LITERATURE ON ABKHAZIA AND THE AZKHAZIAN-ABAZINIANS. T. Abkhazian. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1958. pp. 125-143. Lists several hundred bibliographical references.
- THE MUSLIM REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1959. pp. 5-17; April, 1959. pp. 149-160. Describes the principal works published in Russia on the border-land states such as Persia, Sinkiang, Tibet, etc as well as those on on Azerbaydzhan, Kazakhstan, etc.
- THE NAVAL BATTLE OF NAVARINO, 1827. David M. Abshire. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Annapolis. January, 1959. pp. 92-97. A military and political account of a battle which showed the power of Britain, France and Russia against Egypt and Turkey.
- THE NEWSPAPERS OF AZERBAJDZHAN. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1959, part 1. pp. 40-47. Describes the coverage of two dailies dealing with agriculture, industry and the life of the inhabitants.
- RÉFLEXIONS SUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA PERSONNALITÉ DE LA TUNISIE. A. Demeerseman. *I.B.L.A.*, Tunis. 1958, part 4. pp. 355-363. Urges a thorough study of this interesting topic.
- UNE SEMAINE AVEC LES ÉCRIVAINS UZBEKS. Henri de la Bastide. *Orient*, Paris. 1959. part 1. pp. 79-85. The author gives a list of contemporary Uzbek literature and comments on the decline of Islam in the area.
- ZUR BYZANTINISCHEN FRAGA IN DER OTTOMANISCHEN KUNST. W. Messerer. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, Munich. 1959, part 1. pp. 32-60. A thoroughly documented historical article. Illustrated.

II. ARABIA

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE SO-CALLED SOUTH ARABIAN HOUSE

MODEL. Gus W. van Beek. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton, N.J. July, 1959. pp. 269-273. The author suggests that reliefs from the Yemen represent furniture rather than houses and that heretofore they have been examined upside down.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

À PROPOS DU NOM TÜRKMEN. Ibrahim Kafesoglu. *Oriens*, Leiden. December, 1958. pp. 146-150. The article explains why old sources often refer to Turkmens as Oguz.

THE CATALAN FLEET AND MOORISH SEA POWER. J. A. Robson. *The English Historical Review*, London. July, 1959. pp. 386-408. Tells of rivalry between Aragon and Genoa and the Moorish States of North Africa.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1959. pp. 281-303. Covers March 16 to June 15, 1959, stressing the development of oil in Egypt.

ÉTUDES SAFAVIDES. Jean Aubin. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leyden. January, 1959. pp. 37-81. Covers phases in the history of Iran during the reign of Shah Ismā'īl (1502-1524).

ISLAM ET L'ÉTAT EN INDONESIE. Pierre Rondot. *Études*, Paris. September, 1959. pp. 266-268. Three political parties—the Dar al Islam, the Masjumi, and the Nahdat al Ulama—representing about seventy six million Muslims, constitute a great problem in government.

THE UBYKHS. T. Tatlock. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1958. pp. 100-109. Describes a Circassian people, related to the Abkhazians, and practically exterminated for their resistance to the Soviets.

IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROBLEM OF DIVINE ATTRIBUTES IN THE KALĀM. Harry A. Wolfson. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. April-June, 1959. pp. 73-80. The author discusses the influence of Christianity and the Church Fathers on the theology of Islam.

THE PROBLEM OF DATING EARLY QUR'ĀNS. Adolf Grohmann. *Der Islam*, Berlin. September, 1958. pp. 213-231. Considers the dating suggested by Levi della Vida (the second half of the first century of the Islamic era) as it has been affected by the discovery of new material in Egypt and elsewhere. Illustrated.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ABU DHABI — PAST AND FUTURE. Arab World. New York. January, 1959. pp. 21-24. Information on this Trucial Oman shaikhdom.

AFGHANISTAN'S WOMEN LIFT THE VEIL. Peggy and Pierre Streit. *The New York Times Magazine*, N.Y. Nov. 8, 1959. pp. 30-36. Greater freedom for women is following greater contact with the outside world.

- BEYOND THE BIGHT OF BENIN. Jeannette and Meurice Fiévet. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. August, 1959. pp. 221-253. Nigeria and the Cameroons, numbering nearly 40,000,000 pagans, Muslims and Christians, offered an immense field for painting and photography and for the intimate study of tribal customs and religions.
- CHARTRE POUR UNE JEUNESSE LIBANAISE EN CRISE. *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jérusalem. Avril-Juin, 1959. pp. 109-117. Extracts from two conferences conducted by René Habachi, a well-known Roman Catholic Lebanese convert.
- THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN PERSIA. *Central Asian Journal*, London. 1959, part I. pp. 74-83. Describes women as shown in modern Persian literature.
- FINANCING OF THE MINING INDUSTRY IN THE EGYPTIAN PROVINCE OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC. M. F. Al-Bakri. *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. October, 1958. pp. 85-94. Ever since the 1952 revolution systematic work has been under way to develop Egypt's mineral resources.
- FORCES INFLATIONNISTES ET FORCES DÉFLATIONNISTES DANS L'ÉCONOMIE ÉGYPTIENNE. Samir Amin. *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. October, 1958. pp. 5-36. Points out the reasons for the sharp price rise since 1952.
- THE INTRODUCTION OF MODERN BEE-KEEPING TO CYRENAICA. Olive Britton. *Arab World*. London. October, 1958. pp. 25-29. Tells of a new industry for the area which seems to be going to improve economic development.
- L'ISLAM ET LA CONDITION FEMININE. Ben Abdallah. *Le Monde non Chrétien*, Paris. Juillet-Décembre, 1958. pp. 185-203. Discusses the position of women in Algiers.
- OASIS OF SCIENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. G. Samuels. *New York Times Magazine*, New York. November 29, 1959. pp. 22-26. Recounts eleven years work in Israel's Weizmann Institute of Science in Rehovet.
- PROPOSALS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF U.N. ASSISTANCE TO PALESTINE REFUGEES. *Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1959. pp. 304-318. Presents the U.N. document submitted in June, 1959. Statistics.
- REFUGEES AND REHABILITATION. *International Conciliation*, New York. September, 1959. pp. 139-150. A thorough analysis of the whole problem with special attention to the Palestinian refugees.
- THE STATUS OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN THE NORTHERN CAUCASUS. R. Karcha. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1958. pp. 110-124. Examines the national and linguistic policies of Russia.
- TRENDS IN EDUCATION IN CENTRAL ASIA. *Central Asian Review*, London. 1959, part I. pp. 14-20. Practical training is being stressed.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

- ANTI-ISLAMIC PROPAGANDA IN AZERBAIDZHAN. Djeihun Hodjibeyli. *Caucasian Review*, Munich. 1958. pp. 20-65. Describes the various insidious ways by which Russia constantly works to destroy Islam.
- CYPRUS: REVOLUTION AND RESOLUTION. Roy P. Fairfield. *The Middle*

- East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1959. pp. 235-248. Analyzes the results of the Settlement of February, 1959, and expresses the hope that other dangerous disputes such as the India-Pakistan impasse and Arab-Israeli dispute might be resolved in a similar manner.
- CYPRUS: THE "COPRA-BOAT" ECONOMY. A. J. Meyer. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1959. pp. 249-261. The country is dependent on import for survival — a difficulty increased by rapid population growth, little arable land and slight rainfall. Statistics.
- THE FACE OF TURKISH NATIONALISM AS REFLECTED IN THE CYPRUS DISPUTE. Frank Tachau. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1959. pp. 262-272. Describes the riot of September 6, 1955 and the Turkish emotions underlying it.
- LA FRANCE ET L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. R. Le Tourneau. *Études*, Paris. Juin, 1959. pp. 332-345. An exposition of France's former constructive and vital role in the area and of the present possibilities for her to aid in the new developments.
- THE FRENCH IN MOROCCO. Robert Sencourt. *Quarterly Review*, London. October, 1959. pp. 381-392. A praise-giving survey of France's gifts to the country from the time of Lyautey in 1912 to date.
- IRAQ'S IMPACT ON THE MIDDLE EAST. *Commentary*, New York. September, 1959. pp. 185-201. Includes the "Great Arab schism" by Ray Alan and "Baghdad's year of revolution" by Johann Caspar.
- MY VISIT TO CENTRAL ASIA. Sir Fitzroy Maclean. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1959. pp. 130-140. Covers an extensive trip during which the author found a marked improvement in religious toleration and in freedom of movement in Russian sections.
- LA RÉPUBLIQUE ARABE UNIE FACE À L'IRAK ET AU COMMUNISME. Emile Delestre. *Oriens*, Leiden. 1959, part 1. pp. 13-22. The author draws on various source documents to consider the possibility of Egypt's becoming more coöperative in her expressed efforts to keep Communism out of the Middle East.
- THE ROOTS OF ARAB NATIONALISM. Nasrollah S. Fatemi. *Orbis*, Philadelphia. Winter, 1959. pp. 437-456. The doctrine was awakened, in its modern sense, by Afghani, whose thought has influenced Nasser and other Middle East leaders.
- THE RUSSIAN-IRAN BOUNDARY. Alex Melamid. *Geographical Review*, New York. January, 1959. pp. 7-10. Reviews the boundary protocol of 1957.
- SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE FIRST ARAB PETROLEUM CONGRESS. Harley C. Stevens. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Summer, 1959. pp. 273-280. The Congress does not seem to have solved any particular problems but it afforded an opportunity for free and (for the most part) friendly discussions.
- THE TRANS-CASPIAN EPISODE. Col. C. H. Ellis. *Royal Central Asian Journal London*. April, 1959. pp. 106-118. An historical account of the years 1918-1919 when the British had to cope with the Germans and Turks in the Baku area and with the Russians near Tashkent and Ashkhabad.
- WE'RE ON THE SPOT IN MOROCCO. Ernest O. Hauser. *The Saturday*

Evening Post, Philadelphia. October 17, 1959. pp. 39; 177-182. A discussion of the air base situation.

VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

- CHRISTIANITY AND COMMUNISM IN EGYPT. The Rev. Joseph de Reyac. *Worldmission*, New York. Spring, 1959. pp. 98-104. Surveys the problem of Christianity in a land where Christians are outnumbered six to one by Muslims and where the Government is non-Christian.
- CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM. Alfred J. Jolson, S.J. *World mission*, New York. Summer, 1959. pp. 45-51. A united Christendom would no doubt impress Islam, but, meanwhile, Christian-Muslim conferences are helping to promote better mutual understanding.
- CHRISTIAN ENCOUNTER WITH OTHER RELIGIONS. George Appleton. *Frontier*, London. Summer, 1959. pp. 134-139. Considers the revival of religious zeal in the great non-Christian cults and urges missionaries and others to listen, study and love.
- ISLAM ON THE MARCH. George Letellier. *Worldmission*, New York. Summer, 1959. pp. 33-44. To many Africans Christianity represents the exploiting white settlers, the business-men and the rulers and therefore is repellent, while Islam teaches its members to behave as brothers to the natives and is therefore attractive.
- LE MIRACLE DE L'ÉGLISE DE SUMATRA. H. Berner. *Le Monde non Chrétien*, Paris. Juillet-Décembre, 1958. pp. 204-222. A detailed account of all the various missionary bodies at work in the area.
- MOSLEM MISSIONS IN AMERICA. Charles S. Braden. *Religion in Life*, New York, Summer, 1959. pp. 331-343. Tells of the amazing activity of Islam throughout the United States, particularly in the large cities where beautiful mosques are often built.
- RENEWAL OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSION TO ISLAM. R. Park Johnson. *International Review of Missions*, London. 1959. pp. 438-444. Reflections on the Asmara Conference (April 1-9, 1959) held in Eritrea. A report of the meeting is given by Irene G. West on pages 433-437.
- THE SHILLUK. James Dempsey, M. H. F. *Worldmission*, New York. Spring, 1959. pp. 36-53. Describes the work of the Roman Catholic Church in helping to Christianize this southern Sudanese race.