

# THE MUSLIM WORLD

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## AFTER FIFTY YEARS

### Editorial

With this issue THE MUSLIM WORLD completes a half-century of life. A semicentennial is an appropriate moment for retrospection, introspection and prospection. Doubtless few readers today recall the appearance of Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1911. Its founder and editor was the late Reverend Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer who, committed as he was to the cause of the Church throughout the world, realized that if the Church was to be effective in the world of Islam it "must know of it and know it," as he wrote in his first editorial. To perform worthily its task, he felt, "there is need for a common platform, a common forum of thought, a common organ for investigation and study." The launching of this literary enterprise followed closely upon the June, 1910, World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. That event served to emphasize the need for just such a journal. The editor therefore could write, "Its aim is to represent no faction or fraction of the Church, but to be broad in the best sense of the word. Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of the faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life.' It is not a magazine of controversy, much less of compromise. In essentials it seeks unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity. We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual, to Christians . . . ."

The titles of articles of the first issue manifest the universal and international character of its interest: *Moslems in Russia—*with two maps, *The Mohammedan Population of China*, *The German National Colonial Conference and Islam*, *The World Missionary Conference and Islam*, *Notes on Present*

*Day Movements in the Moslem World*. Succeeding numbers assured readers of its commitment to Christian ideals, the sympathetic and sincere understanding of Islam, and its scholarly methods throughout.

Dr. Zwemer continued to edit the *Quarterly* until 1937. It was edited by the Reverend Dr. Edwin E. Calverley from 1937 to 1952. From 1952 to April of this year its joint editors were Dr. Calverley and Dr. Kenneth Cragg. Since Canon Cragg is pursuing his academic responsibilities at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, England, while maintaining a program of visitation and lectures in the Middle East, full editorial responsibility has reverted to the campus of Hartford Seminary Foundation which has sponsored the *Quarterly* since 1937.

As *The Muslim World* celebrates its Jubilee, it acknowledges with gratitude the services of the multitude of men and women—scholars, teachers, missionaries, Church leaders and Muslim friends—who by their contributions of articles, book reviews and various items of information, have enabled the *Quarterly* to advance the cause of science and promote mutual understanding in Muslim-Christian relations.

It crosses the threshold of its second half-century with firm resolve to maintain its traditional high standard of scholarship and with devotion to the cause for which it was founded. To this end it will continue to cherish the help and interest of friends throughout the world.

Introspectively, it must depend on the assistance of its faithful intellectual and spiritual kinsmen. For, to continue to publish quarterly material of substantial value to inquisitive and sincere minds, it must rely on the voluntary contributions of scholars of like motivation. Unlike other literary enterprises which are moved by lucrative considerations, or at least enjoy copious financial support, this journal looks to the generosity of its subscribers, staff and sponsoring Foundation to meet its responsibilities.

Truly it is a cooperative venture, drawing into its somewhat

specialized field of interest persons of diverse beliefs, disciplines, functions, temperaments, qualities, nationalities, schools and ecclesiastical organizations. This diversity is as welcome as it is advantageous to the attainment of the end in view.

The goal of mutual understanding would be irrelevant, for example, if all were in agreement. But unanimity is not expected. It would be unreal to assume that all readers should concur in views of writers, or that several writers on a specific theme should arrive at identical conclusions.

Prospectively, then, it is hoped that *The Muslim World* may continue to be, as it has been for fifty years, a forum for the expression of ideas and the exposition of knowledge that contribute to a deeper and truer comprehension of those matters of real significance and consequence for Christians and Muslims alike. Rightly or wrongly expressed—and naturally every proponent presupposes his own rightness—the views or statements of the contrary-minded become clarified in the act of publicizing. And clarification is the first step to concord.

It is hoped, furthermore, that studies here presented may be instruments of harmony and peace between peoples. If Christians and Muslims have faced each other on the battlefield in past centuries, hostilities need not necessarily be perpetuated now or in the future. A more accurate reading of Scripture and understanding of what God requires of man may enable him to appraise more adequately his duty to God and his responsibilities toward his fellow-men. There is relevance of the whole study of "value" as presented in this issue under the title "Two Theories of Value in Medieval Islam," to the question of *jihād*, for example, and its significance for international harmony, the real *salām*. A scholarly treatment of this question, whether from the juridical, theological or mystical perspective, may be pertinent to and have direct bearing on some of the thorny contemporary problems that vex the minds of men and defy solution. After closer scrutiny we may be led back to the words of the prophet who, search-

ing to know the divine requirements long before the era of Christianity or Islam, received the revelation: "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 6 : 8). Heeding this exhortation today, those who long for peace may yet experience the satisfaction of sitting "every man under his vine and under his fig-tree" (Micah 4 : 4). *The Muslim World* would consider it a privilege to have a share in the attainment of this noble objective.

As this journal faces the future, it is in full cognizance of the world of conflict in which it must perform its ministry. Ivory towers are not its habitat. The life of seclusion is incompatible with its nature or the success to which it rightfully aspires. The scholar's study is not, as some may erroneously imagine, a refuge from the turmoil and sufferings of this world. For the true scholar is aware of the ideas that circulate among peoples, of the ideologies, beneficial or harmful, that impel men to action, and of the events that occur as the fruit of these ideas, ideologies and aspirations. Appropriately has the author of the article on the "Ethics of the Brethren of Purity" in this number pointed out that, in the system of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā<sup>3</sup>, there was a need for "getting out of oneself and effecting something in the world and history." There was an obligation "to live dangerously." If one lives up to his responsibilities, "the world will not pass him by without engaging him in its web of conflict." Just so, a modern facing of human problems in their true light, with courage and resolution somehow to find the key to the secret of higher human welfare, is one of the tasks of this journal.

Above all, however, harmony and peace in a climate of conflicting ideologies and even open hostilities can be realized only as the parties in encounter efface ancient prejudices and grudges by an acquisition of new understandings. Certainly Christians reading these lines desire humbly a fathoming of the depths of Islam and a comprehension of its universal out-

reach as it captivates men in all lands and of all social strata. They would consider Islam with empathy as one of the great world faiths. Similarly sincere Muslims, we are confident, want to learn more about the true nature of Christianity. In the light of this assumption, the study appearing in this issue under the title "Christ in the Qur'ān and in Modern Arabic Literature" takes on unusual significance. Every study within the scope of the interest of this journal, in fact, which seeks to dispel the darkness of ignorance and falsehood and illuminate the truth, is a contribution to its ultimate end.

That the task of illumination of truth is long must be admitted. Explanation, exposition and interpretation demand time and patience as well as intelligence and effort. But the future is in the hands of Him who rules over all. With gratitude for the past, confidence in the present and hope for the future, therefore, *The Muslim World* continues its career and commends itself anew to the loyalty and good will of its readers.

E.H.D.

## ISLAMIC CULTURE AND MISSIONARY ADEQUACY

The above title suggests a subject of great importance. The present conditions and significance of the Muslim world as part of the present-day world as a whole have entered a new stage, the newness of which cannot easily be overestimated. The current Western evaluations and judgments about the Muslim world, in so far as they are derived from the past, are therefore necessarily outmoded. This holds true, especially in regard to what is called Western public opinion, and "Christian" public opinion in the West is not exempt from it. To go a step further, that section of "Christian" public opinion which has missionary interest in and concern for the Muslim world, labours under the same backwardness, although there are fortunately striking exceptions.

The notions of and the attitudes toward the Muslim world which, leaving alone the striking exceptions, dominate the general Western mind, the "Christian" and missionary-interested mind included, are mainly determined by feelings and general judgments that are a legacy of the time when the West in its dynamic urge and expansion had over against the rest of the world, substantially non-Christian, increasingly developed a strong, victorious consciousness of world-hegemony. That "rest of the world" was viewed as decadent, though in many senses interesting and even fascinatingly mysterious, and inferior in culture, creative ability and resourcefulness. These notions and attitudes were, especially in regard to the Muslim world, particularly accentuated because of the fact that what is at present called the Arab world (the Middle and Near East, Egypt and the Sudan, North Africa in its various parts), which is indeed from the religious and cultural point of view the core of the Muslim world, was practically living in a condition of some form of colonial subjection and dependence. The real deciders of the fate of the peoples of this key-part of the Muslim world were the Western powers, which were for the most part enmeshed, in regard to this matter, in a net of conflicting interests and competing with each other. This, coupled with reminiscences of a still older past, created the image of a Muslim world that was decadent and impotent, though strikingly conscious of its peculiar identity and religious superiority, and moreover strangely closed and introverted.

It is this situation and its attendant atmosphere from which for a long time the general judgment and notion of the Western world, in respect of the phenomenon of the Muslim world, derived. It is in the context of this situation and atmosphere that the modern missionary endeavour has developed.

The political situation of the Muslim world has, within the past forty years, changed radically and created conditions which are totally different from those from which the above-mentioned notions, atti-

tudes and judgments were derived. Even before this political transformation of the Muslim world began its course, that is, since the end of World War I, the Muslim world, through the penetration of Western influences, had entered into a period of cultural religious fermentation known under the name "modernism" or "reformism," and had produced different types of it, each with its own characteristic physiognomy and leaders (Egypt, India, Persia, Turkey). Oriental scholars of the various Western countries, and intelligent observers without scholarly training, have published, till the present day, scores of books which are full of excellent, trustworthy information on the inner and outer events that were occurring in the Muslim world and on their probable or real significance. This outflow of books and relevant information has unquestionably found a reading public which is often truly eager to learn and understand. Yet, all this being true, it is amazing to observe with what tenacity the above-mentioned notions and attitudes inhere in the general mind, and to what extent the changed situation and the publications about new trends in the Muslim world only seem to affect, with many, only the brain, without however effecting a shaking of the basic, elementary image which is born out of a former situation and reality.

The preceding remarks are, in the opinion of the writer, necessary for grasping the subject that is implied in the title: Islamic Culture and Missionary Adequacy. Without taking them into account there is, it seems, no possibility of estimating the clumsiness and blindness with which Western public opinion, not excluding the opinion and attitude of responsible politicians and statesmen, reacts to the present situation and problems of the Muslim world, and of defining the proportions of this same clumsiness and blindness. The same is true in regard to the Christian Churches and their missionary concern in relation to the Muslim world.

Let me try to outline in broad brush strokes some essential points in the changed significance of the Muslim world in respect to the world as a whole, particularly the Western world and the so-called "Christian" Western world. The words "changed significance" mean to express one of the great events of our time, pregnant with great consequences for the near and more remote future. The present unrest and instability of the Muslim world have a strong tendency to hide this significance, but studious observation applied, not with the attitude of a detached spectator, but with that of a deeply involved participator and co-actor, enables one to comprehend it. The first fact that should be mentioned is the political emancipation of the Muslim world that has assumed world-political importance since the end of World War I and has continued as a trend with accelerated pace to the present day. It represents an emancipation from political (and economic!) subjection to Western powers into political (and economic, in a fundamental, though not always factual, sense) independence, achieved

through various stages. This amounts, in spite of the overall interdependence of *all* powers in the world, to a radical metamorphosis of the world map and of the "balance" of power-factors. Above all, it means, politically speaking, that the Muslim world, by taking again its destiny in its own hands, has become, after a long period of lapse, one of the decisive factors in world-politics and in relationships between the nations of the world.

This political cataclysm—for so it is because of the rapidity of its occurrence—particularly in regard to the Muslim world, has by no means an exclusively political meaning. For Islam, as a religion and a system of life and society, has been from its first appearance on the wider stage of world-history an eminently politico-religious phenomenon. It is by nature and outlook as eminently religious as political. Its true destiny is, in its own opinion, to be politically free, independent and superior. According to its deepest instincts, therefore, political subjection is unnatural. For this reason, since Islam represents a religion and an Islamic-inspired culture as well as a polity, the transition from (unnatural, deeply resented) political subjection to political independence not only constitutes a political event—important as it is—but also in the long run issues in a new search for religious and cultural self-expression.

This is a vast and complicated subject which demands treatment of its various aspects, whether "inner-" or "outer-directed," but these bare lines must suffice to point to the heart of the matter.

The second point that should be made for understanding the great significance of the Muslim world's new appearance on the world-stage as a self-determining factor in the total world-context, is the further fact that the Islamic world, which occupies one of the world's oldest cradles of civilization and centres of world-traffic (Near East and Middle East), is—to mention only that point—by its oil reserves and by its situation as the world's crossroads of air transportation, now one of the most sensitive spots on the earth. Such it is, not as scarcely fifteen years ago when it was under foreign powers, but as a power in its own right.

With specific reference to Islamic culture, everyone somewhat informed about history knows that the Muslim world, particularly in the Middle Ages, embodied one of the outstanding cultures of the world. This culture served as a stimulant and intoxicant for Western culture during the period of its first endeavour for a comprehensive self-expression. The situation at present is now the reverse of that of the high Middle Ages. Apart from the fact that since the nineteenth century there have been within the Muslim world various efforts toward specifically Islamic religious and cultural "renaissances," the over-arching reality of the present time is the impetuous and irresistible penetration of *secularist* and *dynamic* Western civilization in the Muslim world. This penetration is both desired and resented, but

above all it is, whether desired or resented, unavoidable and inescapable. Briefly stated, it plunges the Muslim world, just as it does all other great religions, Christianity not excepted, mostly against their will or desire, into a religious and cultural crisis of great magnitude. The tools of the dynamic Western civilization are fervently coveted, but their incalculable potentialities for creativity and their inescapable, though not coveted, concomitants appear to be elusive, but real and inevitable elements.

Such is, in brief, the present situation of Islamic culture in a time when the Muslim world has regained its right and power of self-disposal and yet makes the discovery that it cannot dispose of the uncontrollable spiritual and cultural forces which are unleashed by the interpenetration of all the parts of the world and by the impetus inherent in that impalpable, elusive reality: the dynamic secularist urge.

The consequences for the Western and "Christian" world, in regard to their interrelationships with the Muslim world, are enormous, and require at least from the Western-Christian world a totally different attitude from the current one. One of the momentous changes that is needed badly is a stock-taking of this necessary reversal of attitudes and evaluations, and a realization of this new situation, and not less of its consequences. This change regards world politics and the creation of new human relationships as well as it does Christian Missions. To formulate it in a few lines: since Islam began its world career there has never been in the relation of the Western world to the Muslim world a situation so full of unforeseen possibilities for the good as now. This statement requires only one important reservation, that is to say, just because this new situation contains so many possibilities for the good, overlooking it and letting it slip out of our hands by inadvertence and blindness necessarily will yield dire results and waste of these possibilities for the good of all. In saying this it is meant to emphasize the great fact that never before in history have the Muslim world and the Western world been confronted by a situation in which both worlds have to take new decisions in regard to the establishment of new forms of relationships of a character and caliber that are utterly different from the past. Formerly their interrelationships were, so to speak, immobilized and paralyzed because the two worlds were, religiously, culturally and politically speaking, hopelessly divided antagonistic blocks. The welter of political shifts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the all-pervasive influence of what was called above "the dynamic, secularist urge" have, in principle and to a certain extent in effect, demolished this immobility of the past, and wiped out this state of imprisonment in the spirit of antagonism. The situation of the world is such that the determined endeavour on *both* sides toward cooperation, mutual understanding and taking each other seriously as partners in a common destiny, is not only an inescapable responsibility for both or merely an expression of wise policy,

but even, for both, a condition of decent survival. In this light it is not permissible to continue to live on our obsolete notions, suspicions and judgments, and wreck new, hopeful possibilities by a cultural and psychological lag that would have world-historical consequences of evil. What is imperiously demanded by the new situation is a reshaping and a reconceiving of our current notions and attitudes. Both the Western world and the Muslim world need, for the sake of their healthy development, each other. This requires us to acknowledge that mutual responsibility, entering into each other's needs and problems, is for both a moral demand and a monolithic human fact.

The question that arises now, in the context of this article as expressed in the title, "Islamic Culture and Missionary Adequacy," naturally is: What has all this to do with "missionary adequacy"? My short answer is: "Everything and still more." This brief phrase requires of course some explanation. Before entering into this explanation, it is necessary to make some remarks. In the first place, from what precedes it is clear that in using the term "Muslim world" I have in fact in mind the Arabic-speaking Muslim world, which is the key-part of the total Muslim world, and that part where Islam had its origin and gradually developed into a religious-cultural-social system of life, and into a distinct polity. In restricting myself to this use of the term, "the Muslim world," I am perfectly aware of the vast Islamic expansions in Africa south of the Sahara, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, etc. and their importance and standing, but these having been in their history recipients, and not creators, of Islam, to include them in the subject matter of this article would require qualifications and amendments which in a brief treatment would create more confusion than light. Some of what will be said below is applicable in these countries, but much is not so or in a quite different way.

In the second place, the restrictive use of the term "the Muslim world," avails still more in regard to the discussion, now following, of missionary adequacy. The rest of the total Muslim world is, from the missionary point of view, equally important, but its special problems cannot be discussed and characterized in the compass of this article.

In the third place, when speaking about "missionary adequacy," it is assumed, without arguing, that the Christian Church has the unalterable calling and obligation to transmit and offer the Message of Jesus Christ's universal claim on the obedience and faith of all men, to whatever religion, non-religion or culture they may belong. The Muslim world therefore is included in this missionary vision, and, like the other big religious areas, the addressee. It is not, however, the addressee of a religious message of the so-called Western-Christian world, but of the witness of the Christian Church to Jesus Christ.

The way for discussing the missionary adequacy for the new situation as sketched in the preceding pages having been paved by these

three remarks, the answer need not be lengthy, although the matter in itself would bear much amplification.

The first point that has to be made is that the enterprise of Christian missions, as a continuous, uninterrupted (broadly speaking) activity, has developed only since the nineteenth century. Before that period Christian missions in the Islamic world had always been abrupt undertakings. This latter phenomenon finds its explanation in the peculiar relations of Islam and Christianity (which needs no development here) and in the above-mentioned antagonism of the two blocks, Muslim and Christian. The reason for the altered aspect of the case since the nineteenth century is obvious. Christian missions in the Muslim world in a continuous way were (mainly, not wholly) made possible by the protection of the colonial governments whose policy in regard to the religious problem in their respective countries was based on the principle of religious neutrality. Thinking in an unprejudiced way, it seems to this writer that this situation, especially in such a sensitive community as the Muslim world in this respect, was, honestly-speaking, unnatural. Although there existed in the Muslim world a deep misunderstanding of the real urge of Christian missions and the real motives of Christian missionaries in the Muslim world, it is perfectly understandable that many Muslims in the course of the last century and a half have expressed their resentment and suspicion toward Christian missions in their countries by the well-known adage that "*tabshir*" is a camouflaged form of "*isti'mār*." While acknowledging this fact with full candour, one need not, nor should, detract the least bit from the respect and sympathy due to the many devoted and able men and women, who have patiently and often heroically toiled for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord, in the "House of Islam," trying to serve in many ways their fellowmen and sustaining in "faith against faith" the tribulations of seeing little fruit of their labors and withness. Leaving aside the highly sensitive Muslim world, and viewing these missionary efforts in the light of the Christian Church in its *ordinary* manifestation, it is clear to us that these missionaries *in terram islamicam* were the only ones who, by the sacrifice of their life-service, reminded the Church of its clear missionary obligation to the Muslim world, an obligation it most of the time conveniently forgot or ignored. These indispensable considerations, however, do not annihilate the fact that Christian missions in the Muslim world during the colonial era had a distinct aspect of unnaturalness. This was so, not only because of the protection of the colonial governments, which made missions possible as a continuous effort, but above all because the effort was made with entire disregard of the opinion of the Muslim population. This latter circumstance often did contribute to a strengthening of resentment and a willful closing of the mind on the part of Muslims.

The passing of the colonial era in the Muslim world, and the latter's ascendancy to independence and self-determination, are therefore of

the greatest moment to all missionary leaders and servants of missions in the Muslim world. In saying this, I am not, in the first place, thinking of the difficult crises and threats of extinction through which the formerly established missions are going, and of which leaders and missionaries are fully aware. In using the words "of great moment," I am thinking in a line which seems not yet to have arisen before the eyes of most of the leaders and servants of formerly established missionary work in the Muslim world. Generally speaking, all attention and concern is turned toward defense of still tenable positions, toward discussion of ways to maintain in some form the effort and the witness. Frankly speaking, this seems to me to be a wrong orientation. Again, with full recognition of the sincere faithfulness behind these efforts of defense and maintenance, this wrong orientation betrays deafness to the voice of the sweeping turn in world-history and blindness to the *real* implications of missionary adequacy in the new situation. The time of Christian missions in the Muslim world, as the organized determined effort for converting Muslims and as inherited from the nineteenth century, is, as far as I see, *passed* in the post-colonial era. A radical rethinking and reshaping is therefore imperiously demanded, if we "discern the signs of the time" and are willing to learn to walk in *new* ways of obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ. It is this that is implied in "missionary adequacy" as I venture to understand it. For such a radical rethinking and reshaping the mind has to be disengaged from all former conceptions, and many of its habitual implementations have to be changed considerably. It is not feasible to articulate in any detail here what constitutes radical rethinking, reshaping and even walking in quite new ways. The necessary briefness of this treatment would unavoidably cause misunderstandings and (often, not always) wrong questioning, distracting the reader from the real issue at stake.

Summarily, if we take seriously the total objective change in the relationships of the Muslim world and the Western world as sketched above, we are led to the conclusion that the past, age-long relationship of antagonism, unilateral closedness of mind, and communication by monologue, has turned into the *possibility* and *necessity* of a new relationship of mutual interdependence (material and cultural) and of genuine human encounter and open dialogue. In this year a new book of mine will appear under the title: "World Religions and World Cultures; the Coming Dialogue."

In this book I try to give a documented view of what is meant by the preceding sentences. If this view is true, Christians (not in the formal but in the right sense of the word), the Christian Church and those responsible for or active in Christian missions in the Muslim world, are presented with an unprecedented challenge. For reasons which are known to all who know Islam and its career and also the historical "connections" between the Muslim world and the so-called "Christian" Western world, what has happened between Islam as a

religion and Christianity as a religion is a story of sheer tragedy and shame. For this humiliating fact, Christianity and the "Christian world" must accept and acknowledge the greater part of the responsibility. The unprecedentedness of the present situation as to *possible* new relationships consists in the fact that it depends on the vision of the "Christian" world whether or not the opportunity for finding new ways for true dialogue on the basis of disinterested service and identification with the needs and problems of the Muslim world in crisis is seen and seized. The deeply humbling fact remains that the Muslim world (specifically, the Muslim, Arabic-speaking world) in its whole history has never had a chance to *see* the Christian Church as she is according to her true nature and calling, but has always been presented with lamentable caricatures. The chance, as far as the Christian Church is concerned, is now there. The great question is: will the opportunity be taken? If so, then a new dimension of thinking and of spiritual and intellectual preparation emerges and calls for new inventive answers and a new kind of commitment.

*Driebergen,  
Holland*

HENDRIK KRAEMER

# ON THE ETHICS OF THE BRETHREN OF PURITY

## V

Mankind made a great stride towards ethicality when it was discovered that the end and purpose of an act, rather than its actual effect, constitute the measure of its moral goodness. A greater advance was made when the end or purpose of the act was de-emphasized in favour of the intent and will of the doer. But the greatest advance was achieved when intent and will were assigned the status of necessary conditions, rather than that of being the measure of ethical worth, and the new measure became the carrying out of the action itself, the doing of that which is in the intent and will.

The doing of an act as measure of ethical worth should not be confused with the actual bringing about of the effect of that act. The doing neither presupposes nor guarantees that the end of the act in question will be brought about. Like intent and will, it is not at all affected by the goods-value of the act to the person towards whom the act is directed. It concerns the agent, the doer alone. Over and above his intent and will to bring about a certain end, it requires of the agent the actual implementation, the execution, in the given situation, of the act best suited in the doer's judgment for bringing about the desired end. Intent and will do not by themselves presuppose such engagement in the actual world, and that is precisely what the doing emphasizes. By them, a hermit or someone who has lost his efficacy in the world of fact may achieve a fair measure of moral worth. The requirement of doing is not intended to deny such people all moral worth. But it creates a new dimension to ethicality, by furnishing it with a connection to the world of fact and history. By doing, the agent must enter space-time; and this entry, regardless of its consequences, gives his act a new meaning, radically different from that conferred upon it by intent or will. It gives the doer the prerogative of living in the world and living there dangerously. For if he is to be ethical, the world will not pass him by without engaging him in its web of conflict. This insight is implied in a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "Whoever of you witnesses something undesirable, should undo it by his own hand; if incapable, by his tongue; if incapable, by his heart, but that is the weakest faith." Couched in this form, it holds man accountable for everything within his circle of space-time. But its positive purport is the expectation of man to affect his space-time circle in such wise as would bring about a perfect world. Hence, the ethical need for doing, for getting out of oneself and effecting something in the world and history. Human efficacy to live dangerously, that is, to influence history, achieves here the status of a *conditio* on a par with intent and will. Whereas, according to the intent-will morality, a good man could well be an introvert hermit, according to

Islam the good man must in some way be an extrovert, aggressing upon space-time. Both moralities recognize extroversion as cardinal to any moral worth at all. But whereas the former is satisfied with extroversion in the intent, the latter demands that it be translated into an actual force acting upon the ontological existents surrounding the moral agent.

The Ikhwān's social ethic is wholly based upon this insight. In this aspect of the moral struggle, that is, the endeavour to effect reform around him, the believer is not free. He is not a volunteer, but a conscript who must act or face incrimination. The results of his deeds may bring about anything from conversion and conquest to tragedy. That is the least of his ethical worries. He must act, because only by action does he establish his ethical worth and win a place for himself in paradise. However, this insight may not translate itself into an absolute command of activism, for action at all costs. Action is none the less subject to condemnation by any value in the hierarchy which it may violate. The new insight has discarded nothing in the ethical insights achieved before it. It simply meant to build over them. And the Ikhwān, in full awareness of the possibility of such misunderstanding, have taken care to belabour the values which acts should realize. Indeed, their whole ethic is an exposition of these values in which the command to act runs as a substratum and a presupposition. It follows from this that man's appointed vice-gerency cannot be effected except in a communal milieu, that the duties of man's membership in society are not accidental to the nature of his ethical ideal but essential thereto, that man's salvation does not lie in isolation from his fellow men. It follows that "to be in society" is the only road salvation can take. Behind these implications stands the ethical fact of man's social nature, that only by going outside of himself does the best in him come into play, that all moral values and most higher values of any kind are realizable only upon the presupposition of an 'other' to which man's striving is directed and in order to reach which his ego must be transcended. That "being-in-society" is the only road salvation can take is the ethical purport of the Ikhwān's metaphysical superstructure, namely, that man's soul is an integral part of a kingdom of souls which together constitute a world-soul which, in turn, is only an emanation from God.<sup>83</sup> Society is the realm of human souls, homogeneous in nature, of identical provenance and destiny. Since it is the desire of the soul to return to its origin, and such return can, like the ringed doves of *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, be effected only in concert, it is the duty of man to help his fellow men achieve such preparation as is requisite for the concerted flight to come. Putting allegory and metaphysical construction aside, the prime objective of this altruism is to bring one's neighbour to realize

<sup>83</sup> *Rasā'il*, Vol. VII, p. 37 ff.

man's ethical vocation and then help him to commit himself to the ethical struggle to come. Once his commitment is made—it presupposes the knowledge and conviction of the truth—one's duty is to assist him in the deepening of that knowledge (which is an infinite process) and in the realization of its commands, in the total *Islām*, that is, surrender, to determination by its values. When this is accomplished and everybody leads a life of wisdom and saintliness, it may then be said that the purpose of society is achieved and that the "doves" are free to return to the supernal plenum whence they came.

There were many pretenders after the worldly throne of the Caliphs, and there were many parties seeking political power. Likewise there were many reformers and many sects which thought that they alone possessed the truth and sought to propagate it. But only the Ikhwān combined, in genuine Islamic fashion, the vision of the *Ummah* and political action for bringing it about, and who understood "political action" as education on a grand, yet ethical, scale. Only in the Ikhwān do we find a combination of both pre-requisites of an Islamic theory of state: that ethical willing, or the commitment to the ethico-religious vision, is prior to political willing which should be conceived of as ethical reform and not vice versa; and secondly, that the content of political action is essentially and finally the education of the people. It was the perception of and attachment to this truth brought about by Islam that inclined the Muslim heart to the Republic of Plato and opened the Muslim mind to its philosophy. Convinced of this one-directional relation of ethics to politics which Islam had established, al-Kindī and al-Fārābī, the finest minds of Islam up to the time of the Ikhwān, were conditioned to fall under the spell of the Platonic theory of state.<sup>84</sup>

Like Plato's Republic, the utopia of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā<sup>3</sup> is a school in which the wise teach the ignorant. But, unlike Plato's, it is also one in which the strong and the rich assist the weak and the poor not because this is a virtue or duty of their class, but because they are individually convinced of it as duty demanded by their membership in the *Ummah*. Like Plato's Republic, it extols knowledge and wisdom as the highest virtues, but it adds to them the value of saintliness which, in contrast to knowledge and wisdom, implies a piety, humility and awe possible only in the presence of a transcendent,

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<sup>84</sup> Klibansky, R., *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, Warburg Institute, London, 1939, pp. 14-18, 39-41. After enumerating the various works that were available to the Arab thinkers in translation, paraphrase or report, Professor Klibansky goes on to say, "These together with translations no longer extant of Platonic, Hellenistic and Neoplatonic writings... constitute a body of doctrine which appealed particularly to sects (*sic*) like the 'Brethren of Purity'" (*ibid.*, p. 16). Further, commenting on "al-Fārābī's description of Plato's philosophy 'and the order of its parts,'" he says that the said description "concludes with the exposition of the universe in the *Timaeus* and of the state as the fulfillment of philosophy in the *Republic* and the *Laws*." (*ibid.*, p. 17).

personal God. Besides the statesmanlike generalship of the philosopher king to which everything in the Republic points, the Ikhwān's leadership is characterized by a readiness for self-sacrifice which is not bounded by rank, position or occasion. Like Plato's, the Ikhwān's republic has classes; but the distinction of one class over another is exclusively ethical, and its citizenry includes not only the free patri-cians of a city-state but all mankind. Slaves, artisans and *fellāhīn* may not be able to achieve wisdom. But they have a soul akin to that of the philosopher or saint-king which deserves to be, and must be, saved. Plato had laboured under Socrates who left indelible marks upon the student's mind. Hence, Plato's obsession with knowledge as the be-all and end-all of the Republic, as well as his limited understanding of the king or the highest class as philosopher. Under closer examination, this Socratism appears as a garb in which comes clothed the Pythagorean ethicalism of the making and promotion of the best man in general, the genius, or hero, in general. Their Islam has shielded the Ikhwān against the fascination of the Socratic Plato and enabled them to sift from it the Pythagorean ideal which is the most precious pearl Greek culture ever washed ashore. The genius-in-knowledge they unclothed, as it were, to expose the genius-in-general. Everything they made subservient to him, indeed, as a means and makeshift designed solely for the bringing up of the genius and his preparation for a felicitous vice-gerency of God. It is the peculiar merit of Muslim thinkers, and the particular merit of al-Fārābī and the Ikhwān, to have reestablished to Plato's vision the value due, which the influence of Socrates had clouded by its exclusive insistence on knowledge. Far from depreciating knowledge, the Ikhwān sought an unbreakable connection of it with heroism and saintliness. They did not discard the philosopher-king but added to his virtues so as to make him at once saint, hero and philosopher. Not only do these values enrich the Platonic vision, but their discovery creates a new dimension to ethical willing. Great are the will to knowledge, the will to heroism and the will to saintliness. But greater is the will which aims at all three values. Hence-  
forth, only such a will is ethical *par excellence* which is directed to the whole rather than to one of its parts. And of the functions of the leader, the Ikhwān rightly regard that of ethical teaching and leadership as paramount in importance and value—indeed as the justification for every other superiority and excellence and, in last resort, as the only one that counts.<sup>85</sup> Hence, they carried the analysis of the ethical function of man to regions of which Plato could not conceive. Where

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<sup>85</sup> *Rasā'il*, Vol. III, p. 356 ff. The view that the Ikhwān's association comprised four classes was derived by De Boer and others from the passage in Vol. X, p. 57, (De Boer, *op. cit.*, p. 82) where men are classified according to their capacity for success and advancement as well as for ethical goodness. The hierarchization referred to here is based on ethical worth exclusively, the former hierarchization being taken, as it were, for granted.

he could think of but one class, namely, the philosophers, the Ikhwān discerned five.

The first and lowest class in their ethical hierarchy is composed of the rationals (those who deliberate rationally, who act in freedom and by choice, not of necessity, and whose deeds are determined by ends drawn from sources other than instinct and will to live and to power) who are selected from among the select, *al-khawāṣṣ*, of all mankind. If Plato's republic could conceivably have a parliament to furnish philosopher-kings, to counsel and assist them in the performance of their highest function, that is, the ethical, or, to use the classification of the Republic, the students who have successfully arrived to the stage where at the age of thirty they begin to learn philosophy, their class would be the Ikhwān's lowest. It is this class of men that God addresses when He commands and forbids, persuades and dissuades.<sup>86</sup>

For, those who, *per contra*, neither deliberate nor act in freedom nor by choice are *ipso facto* deaf to any call, whatever its source. In this respect, this lowest class is already a select group of men, for mankind does not universally act deliberately and from choice and in freedom.

The second higher class is that of the faithful who, in the exercise of their rationality and freedom, have approved God's call and accepted his commands and prohibitions as life guides. The establishment of the faithful (though these are faithful not by circumstance but by choice) as a second class establishes at once the fact that the candidates for the first class are to be recruited from the whole of mankind and points to the international, universal cadre of the Ikhwān's recruitment policy. The third higher class is distinguished from the second in that its members seek to unravel the meanings and principles of God's commands, and, in their anxiety to achieve a perfect compliance with those commands, have elaborated their applicability, jurisdiction, etc. With rationality the second class had freely accepted the law; so did the third class, but their rationality remained active and applied itself to a deeper and clearer understanding of the provisions of the law. They are the *'ulamā'* and *faqīhs*. A group of these have raised themselves still higher in that they have implemented God's commands to the fullest extent achieved by their understanding in class three. They are the true worshippers, the good ones, the pious of whom the Qur<sup>2</sup>ān says: "Their sides are raised from their beds calling on their Lord." "Shall he who is devout in the hours of the night, adoring and standing, careful of the hereafter and hoping for the mercy of his Lord, shall they who know and they who do not know be equal?"<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *Rasā'il*, Vol. III, p. 356.

<sup>87</sup> *Qur<sup>2</sup>ān*, Surah 39, Verse 9; Surah 32, Verse 16.

It is worth noticing that the first and third classes are characterized by having and applying rationality respectively, and the second and fourth classes by accepting and implementing that which had been made possible and then possessed by the first and third classes. In the former group thought is supreme; in the latter, action and will. Each class is made superior to the one that went before because it either pushes rationality into greater vision or acts and wills on the basis of the vision of the previous class. In other words, if thought is good, thought-and-action is better; and if thought-and-action is good, higher thought is better still; if higher thought is good, higher thought-and-action is better than both.

The Socratic influence is at its best and strongest in the characterization of the fifth class. On the basis of this principle of gradation, highest thought is better than higher-thought-and-action; and nothing satisfies the Socratic dispensation better. For the fifth and highest class consists precisely of those whom God has called "men of vision, of mind, of knowledge,"<sup>88</sup> men who have completely withdrawn, as individuals in this world, from every desire and concern for their person. They have candidly devoted themselves wholly and exclusively to the contemplation of God's Kingdom, which their vision has penetrated,<sup>89</sup> for this is the highest activity of all; therein man becomes most like God, his creator.<sup>90</sup> But, following the same logic, would not highest-thought-and-action be better and thus move whoever is capable of it to a sixth higher class? Yes, answer the Ikhwān. Such combination of highest thought and action is possible only through God's assistance and has been exemplified in the person of one prophet only. But this does not obviate the need, nay the duty, of all men to strive after the highest thought as well as the highest action. It cannot be called a sixth class since it has had only one member throughout history. What is beyond man is the combination of both highest thought and highest action in one person; not the realization of the two ideals as such.

But what no man can achieve singly, many men can achieve collectively. Genius, heroism and saintliness may not be achievable in one man; but they are possible to achieve separately in many men. Now, if these men were to complement one another in a communal life and act in a mutually perfecting manner, the ideal would be realized and the world made perfect. Hence the indispensability of the others, of society, for the realization of the Islamic ideal. The highest thought of the genius would inspire the will of others to the noblest deeds, to heroism. And both genius and heroism would move some others to desire the permanence of the monumental goodness achieved and

<sup>88</sup> *Rasā'il*, Vol. III, p. 358.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 357. al-rāghibūna fi 'l-ākhirati, al-mutaḥaqqiqūna bihā, al-rāsikhūna fi 'ilmihā.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

to live out that goodness in total dedication to God. This is the constitutional bond of the Ikhwān's republic, the reciprocal complementing of each by every one else in their totalistic, cooperative and orderly mobilization for the pursuit of perfection. The Ikhwān regarded their mission in the Islamic society and in mankind in general precisely as spiritual providers—as men who, having grasped and possessed the truth, were the only ones capable of imparting their vision to their fellow men. And this they set out to do through education; that is, the presentation in concepts for the ready use of the understanding and reason, of truth, and the illustration in personal conduct for emulation, of the ethical values embodied in their vision. Their distinction was “to call man to God, to His, rather than this, Kingdom and to do so by an appeal to insight into, knowledge and conviction of, the truth.”<sup>91</sup> “Their words will evidence their knowledge of the truth of the other world, of its inner meaning and core; for they are the knowers of the hidden essence of prophethood and the graduates of philosophic disciplines.”<sup>92</sup> Though they may be the “fewer,” yet they are “the worthier, the arm of knowledge in its storming of truth and the trustees of its spirit.”<sup>93</sup>

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ISMĀ'ĪL RĀGĪ AL-FĀRŪQĪ

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 377.

# THE FAME OF OMAR KHAYYAM

(BETWEEN SCIENCE AND LITERATURE)

Omar Khayyām's<sup>1</sup> popularity has two phases. In his life he was tremendously famous for his copious learning; after his death he became celebrated for his brilliant Rubā'iyāt. In both he was unique and matchless. But he did not enjoy his fame completely either in life or in death. It is time now for us to grant him his due in full as a man of learning and as a poet.

## HIS LEARNING

Our Shaikh Omar Khayyām was a scientist in the true meaning of the modern use of the word, and even in a truer sense than any modern use of the word can convey. This is because today the utmost a scientist can do is to specialize in one science or in one of its branches, and he is not discredited for but a slight acquaintance with other branches of knowledge that are comprised in a general culture. Omar Khayyām was one of the few outstanding figures of distinguished mentality in the history of Islamic culture who studied all the known sciences and assimilated their contrasting elements. He brought together astronomy and jurisprudence, medicine and methods of Qurānic reading, philosophy and Arabic linguistics, poetry and chemistry, theology and mathematics, and yet other disciplines.

In all of these subjects he was so eminent that he was regarded as one of the first-class specialists with whom he argued their own arts, rivalling them in their own fields, and gaining their admiration and esteem. Of all these sciences, however, his mind preferred those that were the most abstruse and difficult to attain in those ages and penetrated to the essence of pure science and positive thinking when he delved into astronomy and mathematics in which he became the pioneer of his generation. One wonders how Khayyām could find sufficient time and the necessary means for his extraordinary accomplishments.

He was one of the members of the committee that arranged the Jalālī Calendar during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Malik Shāh, the Saljūqian, and made the Nawrūz the first day of the year.<sup>2</sup>

This calendar is considered more correct than the Julian Calendar and near in its accuracy to the Gregorian one.<sup>3</sup>

Chroniclers have not mentioned for us the function of Khayyām

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<sup>1</sup> Transliteration of name has been retained as given by author. — Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Nawrūz is still the New Year in Iran and the biggest Iranian official and public festival, as it has been since ancient times. Occurring on the first day of Spring, it is actually the New Year and the festival of Nature. Its celebration is an ancient Mesopotamian tradition and has been observed in many other countries, ancient and modern. (See Enc. of Islam, art. *Nawrūz*. — Ed.).

<sup>3</sup> See G. Sarton: *Introduction to the History of Science*, i, 759 f. — Ed.

on this committee nor his rank among its members; most probably he was the head. An indication of this is the statement of Qazwīnī: "Sultan Malik Shāh the Saljūqian handed him an enormous sum of money with which to buy the instruments for the observatory in order to observe the stars."<sup>4</sup> This took place in the same year in which the committee arranged the calendar. It is reasonable to suppose that if Khayyām had not been the most learned of the members in astronomy the Sultan would not have chosen him for the task of installing the observatory. His superiority has been indicated by more than one of the ancient chroniclers. Qiftī (d. 1248), for instance, said: "He was matchless in the science of the stars and in philosophy; he is cited as an example in these branches . . ."<sup>5</sup>

In mathematics his book that survives for us is his *Al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābalah*, in which he solved eleven algebraic and geometrical questions which had been insoluble to his predecessors.<sup>6</sup>

He was so versed in the natural sciences, with their various branches known in that age, that many people who were devoted to them could not attain his degree of knowledge. He was known to be "next to Ibn Sīnā in the philosophical sciences." But, if Ibn Sīnā surpassed him in this, no doubt he surpassed Ibn Sīnā in both astronomy and mathematics.

His grasp did not fail to include even the science that today is called Aerology. He wrote the pamphlet, *Lawāzīm al-Amkinah* in which he explained the causes of different climates. We do not know what innovations this pamphlet contained, because it is lost. But the mere fact that he wrote it indicates that he presented fresh knowledge about it, because apparently he did not write a book except to offer something new. His student Arūzi Samarqandī<sup>7</sup> relates that he could predict for the Sultan the serenity of the sky for five entire days.<sup>8</sup>

The science of medicine did not escape the eagerness of his mind, for, in addition to all that has been mentioned, he was a good physician. So skillful and celebrated was he as a doctor that he was summoned to treat Sultan Sanjar when he was stricken with small-pox in his boyhood.

An interesting bit of information has reached us through Bayhaqī

<sup>4</sup> Zakariyya bin Maḥmūd Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283), in his *Athār al-Bilād* written in 674/1275 (See ed. by Wüstenfeld, — Ed.).

<sup>5</sup> Al-Qāḍī al-Akrām Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Qiftī, *History of the Philosophers*, written between A. H. 624-646/A.D. 1227-1248. (See *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. by Lippert. — Ed.).

<sup>6</sup> One of the questions solved in this book was the equation of the third degree by a geometrical method. Like most of his known writings, this book was written in Arabic. A French translation by F. Woepcke was published in Paris, 1851. (See also Daoud S. Kaser, *The Algebra of Omar Khayyam*, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1931. — Ed.).

<sup>7</sup> See *Enc. of Islam*, art. *Nizāmī 'Arūdī*; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii, index under *Nidhamī*. — Ed.).

<sup>8</sup> Details of the story of Khayyām's prediction of the serenity of the sky are given with its scientific interpretation in "*The Revolt of Omar Khayyam*," by the author, to be published.

who wrote: "... It is said that one day Imām Omar called upon the vizier Shihāb al-Islām... who was discussing with Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzāl, chief of the Qurānic reciters, the recitation of a certain verse of the Qurʾān when Omar entered. Shihāb al-Islām said: 'Here is the learned one.' Omar, on being asked about it, stated the differences between the reciters, ... mentioned the exceptions... and preferred one opinion to all the others. The chief of reciters, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzāl, said: 'May God multiply the number of your like among the learned.'! Take me for a member of your family and be gracious to me. I never thought that anyone of the reciters knew that and learned it by heart, besides one of the philosophers..."<sup>9</sup>

If such was his excellence in this art, what then is to be said of other subjects like jurisprudence, the interpretation of the Qurʾān, theology, besides the natural sciences, mathematics and astronomy? His worth was not unknown to his contemporaries; they recognized his superiority and praised it. If some have defamed his religious faith, none has ever decried his learning. Even those who accused him of skepticism could not refrain from showering praise upon him. Allusions to him by writers of his time, as Samarqandī, Zamakhsharī and Bayhaqī, indicate clearly that his merit was acknowledged in gatherings of the erudite and in palaces of kings. He was known as Imām (leader in learning or religion), the Philosopher of the World, the Canon Philosopher, and by other similar titles of admiration and esteem.

His fame spread so widely throughout the Islamic Empire that he had disciples in many countries. "When he arrived in Baghdād," as Qiftī put it, "the followers of his doctrine in the Old Science (Greek philosophy) came to him, while apparently Khayyām had not previously visited Baghdād."

Appreciation of the merits of Khayyām were not confined to men of learning; kings and princes rivalled them in this. "Malik Shāh treated him as a boon companion, and Khāqān Shams al-Mulūk in Bukhāra received him with dignity and had him sit with him beside his throne."<sup>10</sup>

If Khayyām's rise to this lofty summit in learning is worthy of our admiration, still more worthy are those personal habits which he possessed and which were characteristic of learned men.

One of his habits was solitude. Although, possessing high rank, he was able to occupy whatever position of authority he desired, had he desired position, and to accumulate unlimited wealth, had he desired wealth, he preferred solitude and study. He renounced the vanities of

<sup>9</sup> Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī bin Zayd Bayhaqī, in his *Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Hikmah*, written in A.H. 553-565/A.D. 1158-1169, ed. by Prof. M. Shafīʿ of Punjab University. (See also Q. S. K. Husaini, "Contribution of Zahiru'd-Din al-Bayhaqī to Arabic & Persian Literature," in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. XXXIV, Jan. and April, 1960. — Ed.).

<sup>10</sup> Bayhaqī, *op. cit.*

the world and disdained both serving the chiefs and fawning on them. He wrote :

How long wilt thou pay service for the base and the mean?<sup>2</sup>  
Lay not down thy head upon every food like flies.  
Eat one loaf every two days, be not obligated to anyone;  
To be nourished with the blood of thy heart is better than  
with the bread of the generous.

To understand his scientific spirit it is sufficient for us to listen to him saying in the introduction of his *al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābala*: "We have experienced the vanishing of the men of learning, except a band whose number is small and whose afflictions are many, and whose concern is to take advantage of the inattention of time in order to devote themselves...to investigation and perfection of knowledge. Most of the pseudo-learned in this age of ours veil the right with falsehood and do not go beyond the boundary of imposture and pretence of learning, and they do not expend the amount of knowledge they acquire except for mean physical purposes. On witnessing someone concerned with seeking the right and defending the truth, diligent in refuting falsehood and untruth, and avoiding dissimulation and deceit, they regard him as foolish and ridicule him..."<sup>11</sup>

It was Khayyām's custom not to write a book except to present some fresh knowledge to be added to the legacy of human culture. He was not one of those who wrote many books in which to accumulate the knowledge of ancient and contemporary authors, of which his fertile mind was full, in order thereby to earn wealth. To our venerable sage learning was not a means of taking, but of giving. When he acquired any new knowledge to be given, he gave it.

This unique erudite was our Shaikh Omar Khayyām, the author of the *Rubā'īyyāt*. Is it not strange that we know him only for this work and imagine him to have been but a reckless rake? Yes, and it is also strange that his contemporaries ignored his pleasing *Rubā'īyyāt* just as the people of our generation ignore his overflowing learning.

#### HIS RUBĀ'ĪYYĀT

Although his contemporaries Samarqandī, Zamakhsharī and Bayhaqī praised his learning, none of them ever mentioned a word about his *Rubā'īyyāt*, as if they had never heard of his poetical works.

Samarqandī and Zamakhsharī may be excused, because they did not pretend to completeness in their biographies of the sage poet. Bayhaqī, on the other hand, mentioned many and varied details of Khayyām, as if he had planned an exhaustive and inclusive biography. As he was writing half a century after the death of Khayyām, it is

<sup>11</sup> Compare D. S. Kasir, *op. cit.* (note 4), p. 44. — Ed.

not surprising that he engaged in his pursuit of information about the poet for the sake of the people of the next generation who had not personally known him. The wonder is that he recorded nothing about his Rubā'īyyāt, though he enumerated his scientific compilations. Were it not for other serious defects in Bayhaqī's biographical work, we would regard his neglect of the mention of the Rubā'īyyāt as sound evidence that Khayyām was not celebrated for them during his lifetime. Pedants may take this neglect as a proof against Omar Khayyām's authorship of the Rubā'īyyāt.

But Bayhaqī failed in his attempt to be exhaustive in his investigation, and this failure unwittingly served the purpose of weakening the arguments of those who would deny Khayyām's authorship. That is, though his biography contains material that may give rise to doubt or refutation, it also fails to mention other bits of information equal in importance to the Rubā'īyyāt and of whose genuineness there can be no doubt. For example, Bayhaqī, in recording the compilations of Khayyām, failed to mention the one of greatest scientific value, namely, *al-Jabr wa'l-Muqābala*.

The matter of concern is that Khayyām had no fame as the author of the Rubā'īyyāt among the people of his own generation. Supposing that scholars some day may discover other literary sources by the hand of Khayyām's contemporaries in which the Rubā'īyyāt are mentioned, I am inclined to believe that these would by no means show that the poet was celebrated as much for them as for his science.

Apparently the reason for the obscurity of the Rubā'īyyāt during the author's lifetime is that he was not a professional poet who devoted his life to composing verses in the same way as he favored mathematics and astronomy. It seems to me that he composed these quatrains one by one, at meetings, or on special occasions, writing them on the margin of a book or the cover of a copy-book, and reciting them to whoever might be present. Perhaps he did not conserve them or commit them to memory; rather they were preserved by his listeners.

On being summoned, for example, to treat a sick young girl whom he found withering away day after day until she breathed her last before him in the full bloom of her life, his soul would be agitated by this great universal disaster, the tragedy of death that constantly occupied Khayyām's mind and disturbed him. Then he would say to his companions:

Last night I was wandering after wine;  
 I saw a withered Rose beside the fire.  
 I said, "What hast thou done that they burn thee?"  
 She said, "For a moment I laughed in this Garden!"

If he saw or heard some prince, vizier, commander of the army or *qādī* insulting some scientist, poet, grocer or beggar, for instance, he would mentally compare the insulters and the insulted and would be

unable to compose himself in sleep that night before inscribing on the margin of a page of his algebra book :

This group of great men who hold high posts,  
 Are disgusted of their own souls because of distress and worry.  
 And anyone who is not slave of greed like themselves,  
 This is strange, they regard him not an Adamite.

Another reason for the obscurity of the Rubā'īyyāt during their author's lifetime is Khayyām's discretion in concealing them, except to his closest companions, out of fear of the consequences of the spirit of rebellion expressed therein and his disbelief in the values and traditions imposed by society and religion during that age of fanaticism.

Be that as it may, the Rubā'īyyāt, as poetry, were not a matter of pride to Khayyām, for poetry did not bring honor to men of learning in those days. It may be that Khayyām concealed the Rubā'īyyāt in order to preserve his position from contempt before the puritans and even non-puritans. Perhaps it is a sign of disesteem for the Rubā'īyyāt by their author that he composed them in Persian, which was to the learned of that time and to Khayyām in particular the language of conversation and amusement, while he wrote all of his other known works, except two small pamphlets, and some of his poems, in Arabic which had been adopted by himself and his contemporaries as the language of learning. If he had had a favorable opinion of his Rubā'īyyāt or had wanted to give them publicity, he would have composed them in Arabic.

Omar Khayyām's renown died in the Islamic Dark Ages as did that of other prominent figures in the East, until he was discovered comparatively recently by Westerners who resurrected him. Then his name rang throughout Europe and re-echoed in other countries. As it resounded in Eastern lands, the Iranians, in their turn, began to show interest in him. This time, however, he became known not for his learning but for his Rubā'īyyāt which had been ignored and undervalued by his contemporaries as well as by himself in all probability.

Yet the people of today do not know the Rubā'īyyāt properly, for translators, both in the West and the East, have failed to notice that Khayyām is innocent of most of the reckless and rakish quatrains attributed to him. Of his poetry and the poetry attributed to him, they have cared only for those verses suggestive of jest and libertinage; of his ideas they have selected only allusions to lovers and drinking. The public has found the reading pleasing. The name of Khayyām has thereby become to many a symbol of amusement and disgrace. Today's youth are prone to regard him as one of the Existentialists who pass their evenings madly in the cellars of Paris.

Let not my gracious readers fear that I would embitter them by alleging that their friend Omar Khayyām knew no libertinage or jest.

Such an allegation would be unfounded. But what is intended to be emphasized here is that Khayyām also has quatrains expressing deep thought and seriousness. He often used the Daughter of the Grape to explain some philosophical opinion or religious blasphemy, or to express some feeling fraught with distress and pessimism. He is more appropriately characterized as a sad but light-spirited philosopher than as a philosopher-preacher rake. It is only right that he be thus known and that the reader be acquainted with his aspect of severe seriousness and shrewd thinking.

Is it needful to mention the extent of his celebrity in the world today? It is sufficient to know that there is no living language into which the Rubāʿiyyāt of Omar Khayyām have not been translated more than once. He has attained such publicity in America and England, for example, that rarely does a library of one hundred books fail to include a copy of the Rubāʿiyyāt. They have been translated into Arabic by more than ten Iraqi poets alone, the writer of these lines being one of them.

Thus the fame of Khayyām has spread to all countries, his poetry competing with their own: with Shakespeare in England, Goethe in Germany, Pushkin in Russia, Mutanabbī in Arabia.

Men of today exalt the stature of Khayyām the poet as the ancients exalted that of Khayyām the man of learning. Similarly our contemporaries ignore, or pretend to ignore, the value of his copious learning as men of his day ignored, or pretended to ignore, the worth of his tremendous Rubāʿiyyāt.

Why not interrogate Khayyām himself on his own opinion of his learning and popularity?

Of his learning he says :

My heart has never been deprived of learning;  
 Only few mysteries remain not understood (to me).  
 And now (in my seventies) that I look through the eye of reason,  
 It is known to me that nothing has ever been known!

He wrote of his celebrity :

Happy is the heart of him who has not been known!  
 Who has not worn the apron, satin or wool.  
 Like the Griffin, flown up from the Two Worlds,<sup>12</sup>  
 And has not become, like me, an owl in a corner of a ruin!

What is the reason for this world-wide fame that Khayyām has gained so that poets have hastened to translate him, readers have

<sup>12</sup> The apron symbolized the servant, satin the ruler, and wool the clergy. The Griffin, according to legend, instead of being resurrected like other creatures, was granted an additional very long lifetime in This World. When its two lifetimes were consumed, it burned itself, and by so doing vanished from Both Worlds. This seems to have fascinated Omar. The owl is a symbol of stupidity in the East, and not of wisdom as in the West.

been eager to read him, clubs have been established to perpetuate his name, and cups have been raised in toast to his memory?

His celebrity may be attributed to various factors, of which his superiority in poetry cannot be regarded as one. Among Persian poets alone there have been three who are considered by Persians and non-Persians alike as superior to Khayyām: Ḥāfiẓ of Shirāz, unique in erotics; Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, eminent in Sufism; and Abū'l-Qāsim Firdawsī, famed for his nation's legends. But Khayyām surpassed these as a poet, not in degree but in kind. In explanation, there are several reasons.

The first and the most worthy of mention is the fact that Omar Khayyām did not specialize in erotics as did Ḥāfiẓ to fascinate the lovers of erotics alone, nor in Sufism as did Jalāl al-Dīn to win the admiration of the readers of Sufism, nor in the legends of the ancients as Abū'l-Qāsim to favor the amateurs of legends in preference to others. Omar Khayyām, in his *Rubā'īyyāt*, presented themes that were the concern of every man and have inevitably been in the thoughts of all.

There is no one whose mind has not dwelt on delights, whether to be immersed in them or eschew them, whether to enjoy them in this life or reserve them for the life to come. There is no one who has not pondered the vanity of this world or wondered if the next is real or mere futility and nonsense. There is no one who has not recollected his tender youth, how quickly it withers and vanishes, or contemplated his life span, how it passes in vain without aim, as the drunkard's night. Who has not sought amusement and ease to help him endure the day's burden and forget its cares—in drink, science, worship or other distraction? Everyone has considered whether to renounce this world and its children, or to welcome it eagerly and engage with its creatures in the struggle for wealth and influence.

All, be they learned or unlettered, Eastern or Western, of this age or of antiquity, have thought the thoughts of Khayyām's *Rubā'īyyāt*. One may agree or disagree with the poet; this is of little moment. What is important is that the reader, at some time, be mindful of the ideas exposed by Khayyām and form thereon an opinion.

The second reason is the *Rubā'īyyāt*'s element of revolt, of antagonism to the habitual, of intrusion in religion, of theological discussions and blasphemies, in a manner that is reminiscent of thinking in Europe during the Renaissance when Voltaire and his like directed their attacks against the Church and religion. Such reading is universally sought. Today in Iran some clergy would find no harm in the *Rubā'īyyāt*. They consider some of their themes as mental exercise and innocent jest. Others would find in them subjects of meditation and ways in search for the wisdom of God.

This writer has come upon those who admire Khayyām's quatrains

of irreligion which should rather stir their indignation against the author. A prominent member of the clergy was once heard to recite:

I am a disobedient slave; where is Thy satisfaction?  
 My heart is dark; where is Thy light and clarity?  
 Should Thou grant us Paradise for our obedience,  
 That would be a bargain; where is Thy favor and bounty?

Then he added smiling, "I wonder what would be the answer of the Almighty to these questions?" If this is the case with the clergy, how is it with others, atheists or believers?

The third reason is Khayyām's style. His method of expression is characterized by cleverness, at times mockery, at other times sophistry, often liveliness that transforms a gloomy thought to an interesting anecdote. The ideas of beauty and drink are frequently employed to express his real meanings, even as the sugar coating of a bitter pill renders agreeable to the taste the unpalatable concealed within. Thus the playfully-inclined seeker of distraction reads philosophy or laments the world while in his imagination he associates with wine and sings the praises of beauty:

How long shall we remain daily captives of Reason?  
 In Time, what if we be for a hundred years or a day?  
 Give thou wine into the bowl ere that —  
 In the workshops of potters we become jugs!

Carry the cup and the jar, O charming one!  
 Ramble round the green pasture and the bank of the stream.  
 For this Wheel, out of many a stature of moon-faced idols,  
 A hundred times made goblets and a hundred times jars!

The fourth reason is that Khayyām's poetry is composed, as critics have noticed, of independent quatrains, each of which deals with an independent subject, expressed with concision and succinctness in a manner that leaves an imprint on the soul and facilitates retention in the memory and recitation.

The fifth is Khayyām's natural spirit of rebellion against restrictions and falsehoods, added to a certain pessimism that led him to distractions in order to escape the troubles of life.

As a sixth reason, one may add the preference of translators to translate more and more quatrains of rebellion and rakery, attributed to him, whether authentic or not, while overlooking those quatrains that represent pure thought devoid of jest. Hence it is easy for us to understand why readers in this anxious and bewildered generation are attracted to him and why his reputation has spread to the East and the West.

To explain the decline of his fame as a man of learning is not difficult. In the first place may be mentioned this unfortunate reputation

that has come to him through the *Rubā'īyyāt*. Secondly, today's science has advanced so formidably that nothing remains in *Khayyām's* books to fascinate the scholar in quest of fresh knowledge. The laws of mathematics or nature, in the knowledge of which *Khayyām* had no peer, are now familiar to all. Secrets of the universe unknown to *Khayyām*, and to Aristotle, are common knowledge to pupils in primary and secondary schools.

One may well question what the old sage would do were he to return to life and discover how much he is admired by the people and the honor in which they hold his *Rubā'īyyāt*, face the fingers of inquisitiveness wherever he goes, receive letters of esteem from America, Sweden and Argentina, from marriage-seeking women and money-demanding men, to be pursued by publishers desirous of printing his *Rubā'īyyāt* or by painters requesting to illuminate his pages, to be honored by receptions and face the blinding flashes of cameras, to satisfy the requests of autograph-seekers and photograph-collectors, to have his tranquility disturbed constantly by the telephone, to be unable to escape his enthusiastic devotees who begrudge him time for meditation and study. Were he to return to suffer all this in the fashion of the twentieth century, he would repeat:

"Happy is the heart of him who has not become known . . ." and would seek refuge from this feverish modern pace in a mountain hermitage to find deliverance, rest and peace.

*Baghdād*

‘ABD AL-ḤAQQ FĀDIL

## TWO THEORIES OF VALUE IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM

Among the debates conducted in Islamic intellectual circles in the early ʿAbbāsīd period, one of the most significant was the debate about the nature of value. To simplify the situation a little, we may say that two main theories opposed each other. One was that of the Muʿtazila, that values such as justice and goodness have a real existence, independent of anyone's will, even God's: this view is classed as "objectivism." The other theory was that of Ashʿarī and his like, that all values are determined by the will of God, who *decides* what shall be just and so forth: this will be called "theistic subjectivism." Following a struggle between the two doctrines, that of Ashʿarī finally prevailed in most learned circles of medieval Sunnite Islam, a result which had far-reaching consequences in law and other spheres of Islamic civilization. As far as the writer is aware, no one has yet examined as a separate problem the reasons why the Ashʿarite theory of value prevailed.

The primary philosophical question about value can be stated broadly thus: What is the common element in all that is called "good," "right," etc? This question includes the more specific ones of ethics: What constitutes a right action? and, How do we know the right action? At the outset the discussion will be carried on in terms of the broader question of value, because no less than this was made an issue among the Muslim theologians; at a later stage it will be appropriate to speak in terms of ethics. First of all it is necessary to go briefly over the meaning and history of the two broad theories that opposed each other.

By "objectivism" we mean any theory which affirms that value has a real existence in particular things or acts, regardless of the wishes or opinions of any judge or observer as such. (Objectivism is not necessarily absolutist; in fact most objectivist theories include a certain type of relativism. To take a material example, if we say that light clothing is better in a warm climate and thick clothing in a cold one, we are saying that each kind of clothing has a real objective advantage relative to a particular climate, and not merely a conventional acceptability or a subjective attractiveness to some people.) Objectivism in one form or another has been the prevailing view of western thought before the twentieth century. Socrates affirmed it when he convinced Euthyphro that piety is loved by the gods because it is good in itself; it is not made good by the mere fact that the gods love it. This was the view developed by Plato and Aristotle into the theory of the rational good, then upheld by the Stoics and most of the Catholic philosophers in the doctrine of natural right. In modern times Kant and other intuitionists, the utilitarians and some other naturalists, have all accepted the objectivity of value while differing about everything

else. It may be termed the classical tradition of Europe, although there are exceptions. In Islam objectivism was upheld both by the philosophers, who were the full inheritors of the Greek tradition, and before them by the Mu<sup>t</sup>azila, who came under some Greek influence. Most of the Mu<sup>t</sup>azila asserted that there is a real good, which God wishes for the world, and a real justice which He upholds; and further that man can know what these are in specific instances by his reason.

The name "subjectivism" applies to any theory to the effect that the value of things or acts is always determined solely by the opinions or emotional attitudes of some judge or observer. In ancient Greece, many of the sophists put forward a social or conventional subjectivism: thus, what is called "justice" in a particular society is determined only by the opinions of the rulers, or of the majority. Similar types of theory have become fashionable in our age; they are "sophisticated" in a sense that is not always fully understood. In medieval Islam, however, subjectivism took a form which seems remote from the view of the sophists, though there is an underlying relation which was recognized by the acute mind of Ibn Rushd.<sup>1</sup> This was *theistic* subjectivism, the belief that "good," "right" and similar terms have no other meaning than "that which God wills": thus God makes things good or right for us by His decision that they should be so. It is denied that these words denote anything that has an objective existence; their meaning applies only to whatever God wishes, decrees or approves for the world. (This doctrine is also called "ethical voluntarism," but "theistic subjectivism" describes more closely the place of the theory in a logical classification of theories of value). This was the theory of value held by Ash<sup>c</sup>arī and all Ash<sup>c</sup>arites, including Ghazālī. It is not peculiar to Islam, since it occurs in medieval Judaism and occasionally in western thought; but it was probably more prominent and widespread in Islam than in any other civilization.

The prevalence of theistic subjectivism in Islam may appear surprising, if we judge it merely on its merits as a theory of value. Objectivism of one type or another may be thought more "natural" to man, in the sense that it has been more widespread in history and seems implied by most value language as it is used spontaneously and uninfluenced by theories. These matters cannot be argued here, but it is relevant to mention that in medieval Islam, too, objectivism was not without widespread support, both implicit in the practice of early Muslims and explicit in the writings of many distinguished theologians and philosophers. Some serious objections to theistic subjectivism were voiced, such as this consequence of it: that if God had commanded theft and idolatry, it would have been *ipso facto* right for

<sup>1</sup> *Jāmi<sup>c</sup> mā ba<sup>c</sup>d al-ṭabī<sup>c</sup>a*, in *Rasā'il Ibn Rushd* (Hyderabad, 1947), p. 172. After criticizing the Ash<sup>c</sup>arite theory of value he concludes: "All these are views like those of Protagoras". Cf. *Averroës' commentary on Plato's Republic*, Heb. ed. and Eng. tr. E. I. J. Rosenthal (Cambridge, 1956), I, xi, 3.

man to commit them. Ash'arī, Ibn Ḥazm and Ghazālī did not shrink from accepting this extreme consequence; <sup>2</sup> but a philosopher like Ibn Rushd could well point out how such a position would undermine faith in God and belief in ordinary morality. <sup>3</sup>

When, on the other hand, we look at the two theories in the context of early Islamic thought, the triumph of Ash'arī's theory seems almost inevitable, given the way in which Islam was generally understood in those times. The rest of this article will be devoted to explaining why this was so, in medieval Sunnite Islam. Three kinds of reason may be found, which can be classified as ethical, theological and extraneous. The first will be dealt with at greatest length.

In dealing with the *ethical* reason we have to start from the history of Islamic jurisprudence before the time of Ash'arī. Here the Muslims faced a question of practical ethics which was more immediate than any philosophical question about ethics or value in general, namely: From what sources can a judge or *muftī* find out in all circumstances what is the right action? The starting points were, of course, the Qur'ān and Traditions, and by the middle of the eighth century of the Christian era it was agreed that duties explicitly laid down in them were known from those sources. The question that remained, then, was how duties and right actions were to be determined when they were not mentioned in the Qur'ān or Traditions. We may classify the answers into two main types, omitting many variations and details which need not concern us here.

1) On one side were lawyers who practised and allowed *ijtihād al-ra'y*, the exercise of independent personal judgment in cases where the revealed sources did not contain explicit guidance. This was common practice in the ancient law schools of Madīna and 'Irāq, which left their influence particularly on the classical schools of the two *imāms* Mālik and Abū Ḥanīfa. "When it (*ra'y*) reflects the personal choice of the lawyer, guided by his idea of appropriateness, it is called *istiḥsān* or *istiḥbāb*, *preference*.' The term *istiḥsān* therefore came to signify a breach of strict analogy for reasons of public interest, convenience or similar considerations." <sup>4</sup>

The ethical basis which might justify such a practice may have remained unarticulated in the law schools; but Mu'tazilite theologians supplied a theory of ethics which could support *ijtihād al-ra'y*, if lawyers

<sup>2</sup> Ash'arī, *Kitāb al-luma'*, in *The theology of al-Ash'arī*, ed. and Eng. tr. R. J. McCarthy (Beirut, 1953), sect. 171; Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-fiṣal fil-milal*, Leiden Warner MS. 480, Fol. 200a, quoted in I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten* (Leipzig, 1884), pp. 163-64; Ghazālī, *Al-iqtisād fil-'itiqād* (Cairo, Tijāriya Press, 1st ed., n.d.), pp. 81-82.

<sup>3</sup> *Jāmi' mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, p. 172; *Kitāb al-kashf 'an manāḥij al-adilla*, ed. M. J. Müller, in *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes* (Munich, 1859), p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1750), pp. 98-99.

wished to avail themselves of it. This was the theory that there is an objective good, including a real public interest and a real justice, and that these could be recognized by human reason, *‘aql*. The process of recognition involved can be termed “moral judgment,” to distinguish it from other types of personal judgment. *Ra’yi*, therefore, might have been restricted to moral judgment as described, and justified on that basis.

It might be supposed that all lawyers would have welcomed the latitude allowed them by a system in which judgments of public interest and equity would have been given an authorized position. But it appears that the attitude of legal theorists was in general dominated by fears that this latitude would be misused. Two dangers might be anticipated. One was that *ra’yi* would be employed arbitrarily by caliphs, governors and other administrative officials exercising judicial powers. Very significant in this context is the rejection, in the early years of the ‘Abbasids, of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s theory that the caliph alone has the right to exercise *ra’yi*, and that he may use it to modify and codify Islamic law.<sup>5</sup> Acceptance of this proposition would have opened a valuable way to evolution of that law to cope with changing conditions. But from the lawyers’ viewpoint Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>c</sup> was offering the worst of two worlds, for he was both withdrawing *ra’yi* from themselves and allowing it to the chief executive. Thus they rejected it; probably they felt that a law based squarely on the Qur’ān and Traditions alone would serve a more vital purpose, by acting as a constitutional check on rulers and preserving Islamic standards in public life.

The other danger came from the side of Shi‘ism. If *ra’yi* were allowed, the opinions of ordinary lawyers were fallible. This would make more attractive the idea of a living authority, such as a Shi‘ite *imām*, who could give an infallible opinion. We know that much later, around 1100, Ghazālī was acutely aware of this possibility as a threat to the Sunnite community, and his answer rings out clear in refutations of the Bāṭiniyya: there is no need for a living *imām*; the *imām* of the Muslims is Muḥammad, and all ethical and legal questions can be answered from the Qur’ān and Traditions.<sup>6</sup> Now Ghazālī was a Shafi‘ite, and his Shafi‘ite ideas on law were perfect for answering Shi‘ites.<sup>7</sup> Whether this purpose was in the mind of Shāfi‘ī three

<sup>5</sup> See S. D. Goitein, “A turning-point in the history of the Muslim state,” *Islamic Culture* 23 (1949), pp. 120-35.

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Mustaghirī*, = *Faḍā’ih al-Bāṭiniyya*, extracts and summary in I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Bāṭinijja-Sekte* (Leiden, 1916); *Al-qistās al-mustaqīm*, in *Al-jawāhīn al-ghawālī* (Cairo, 1934), p. 156 ff.; and especially *Al-munqidh min al-dalāl*, ed. J. Salībā and K. ‘Ayyād, 3rd ed. (Damascus, 1939), p. 111 ff.

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centuries before is another question, which could only be answered by discovering reactions of Shāfi'i to Shi'ism.<sup>8</sup>

Quite apart from its lack of adoption by the legal profession, the Mu'tazilite theory of ethics had a weakness of its own. An objectivist ethical philosophy ought to be able to show how moral judgment operates and to indicate the possibility of its being reasonable, if not scientific. But here the Mu'tazila failed, and their failure was almost inevitable at the stage in the history of religion and philosophy at which they lived. Aristotle had suggested that practical reason is directed by an end, the real good for man, but he had disappointingly not made clear what this right end is for a society, except for a few individuals who might find their fulfillment in the life of the intellect or the spirit. For Muslims, an end *was* indicated which applied to everyone, namely eternal happiness, *al-sa'ādat al-ukhrāwīya*. This suggests that the Mu'tazila might have developed a utilitarian type of ethics along the following lines: the end or interest (*maṣlaḥa*) of the Muslim community consists in the happiness of as many as possible in the next life; right action is that which promotes this end. But here they faced a theoretical gap between means and end which does not disturb a more worldly utilitarianism. It is possible to some extent to discover by empirical reason what produces happiness in an earthly society, and to see the causal relation between the means and the end. But where the goal is happiness in an after-life, given as a *reward* for a certain way of life on earth, the utilitarian formula throws no light on the practical means, the particulars of right conduct, for there is no intelligible relation between the cause (certain kinds of action) and the effect (the reward of bliss in the next life).

Moreover, even apart from its relation to the effect, the cause in itself could not be understood as having a single objective character. This was because the *sharī'a*, or scripture regarded as a code of law, gave no unifying ethical principle to explain what is common to fasting, almsgiving, dealing just weight, etc., other than the fact of being commanded by God. Consequently a Muslim seeking guidance for an Islamic life on issues where the commands are not explicit or appear to conflict would find no rational method to follow, except the method

<sup>8</sup> We can trace the opposition between Tradition and the call for an *imām* at least as far back as Khayyāṭ in the early tenth century. The following passage is worth quoting: "The doctrine that unbroken Tradition (*al-khabar al-mutawātir*) is true and that it compels knowledge destroys most of the proof of the *Rāfiḍa* in affirming the imamate. That is because one of their chief proofs, in their own eyes, that people must have an infallible *imām*, pure within and without, uniting all the sciences of religion, is that all the rest of the community besides him is liable to carelessness...": *Kitāb al-intiṣār*, ed. H. S. Nyberg and Fr. tr. A. N. Nader (Beirut, 1957), sect. 103. Conversely, the Ismā'īlī *qāḍī* Nu'mān in the tenth century was denying the efficacy of *qiyās* because he knew that without it the Sunnite ("Traditional") theory of law would break down: *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, ed. A. A. A. Fyze (Cairo, 1951), I, p. 103 ff., quoted in B. Dodge, "The Fāṭimid legal code", *Muslim World* 50 (Jan. 1960), pp. 30-38.

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is theoretically possible to hold that an objective right exists but that we can only know its practical applications through scripture. However, it is doubtful whether anyone held such a view. Certainly the Shafi'ites would be delighted to dispose of objective values, for this would cut the ground completely from under the feet of their adversaries, and leave the supposed "independent moral judgment" as nothing but idle fancy, as *ẓann* based on *ahwā'*. And since law and theology were so closely connected in the education of the *ʿulamā'*, the prevalence of Shafi'ite ideas of law prepared the way thoroughly for the later spread of the Ash'arite theory of value. It is not accidental that three of the greatest Ash'arite theologians, Ash'arī, Juwaynī and Ghazālī, were all Shafi'ites<sup>15</sup> and that Ibn Ḥazm was a Zāhirite.

The *theological* reasons for the triumph of Ash'arite subjectivism can be stated quite briefly. All of them are implications of God's omnipotence. The overwhelming power of God is greatly emphasized in the Qur'ān, so that it became the primary fact of religion for one broad school of thought, the self-styled *ahl al-sunna* who were the opponents of the Mu'tazila and the forerunners of Ash'arism. For them theistic subjectivism served three invaluable ends, and solved problems that might otherwise have arisen from the divine omnipotence.

1) Man seems powerful and clever when compared with the rest of visible creation. But the vast superiority of God can best be shown by contrast with man's real feebleness. As one aspect of the contrast, theologians of this school were disposed to stress, negatively that man is ignorant of any principles of ethics, and positively that God's will is the source that defines the right for man. Such doctrines would bring out man's utter dependence on God's help, through the *sharī'a*.

2) In relation to God, objective values appeared as a limiting factor to His power to do as He wills. The Mu'tazila discussed whether He could do evil if He chose. Naẓẓām said He could not, because justice is of the essence of His acts: this was logical for a Mu'tazilite, but it seemed to limit God's power. Others said God could do evil, but He would never do it, because of what He is—an answer which did not avoid contradiction, as Khayyāt pointed out.<sup>16</sup> Ash'arī got rid of the whole embarrassing problem by denying the existence of objective values which might act as a standard for God's action. By defining "justice" as obedience to the commands of a law, he set God

<sup>15</sup> See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, ed. H. Qudṣī (Damascus, 1928-29), p. 140, Eng. tr. R. J. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ash'arī*, pp. 167-68: "The Shafi'ites followed the doctrine of al-Ash'arī and composed works agreeing with it."

<sup>16</sup> *Inṭiṣār*, sect. 10: "When Ibn al-Rāwandī was asked, 'Do you deny that He actually does what you have described Him as capable of doing?', he answered, 'That is impossible and absurd.'"

free from the ethical limits that confine man, for "the Lord of the worlds ... is not under a *sharīʿa*." <sup>17</sup>

3) The same answer conveniently solved the awkward problem of evil. There was an evident contradiction between the assertion that God is absolutely omnipotent, predestining man's good and evil acts and then punishing them for the evil ones, and the assertion that God is just in the sense we normally understand. Ash<sup>c</sup>arī and his school preferred to stand by omnipotence and throw out justice in the ordinary sense. This could be done if human justice were defined in terms of law, since again "the Lord of the worlds ... is not under a *sharīʿa*"—therefore "He is not foolish" when He wills folly in man. <sup>18</sup>

Lastly, it is necessary to mention a chain of extraneous events having no particular connection with theories of value, namely the general defeat of the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila in the ninth century. The main issue on which they met their downfall was the question of the creation of the Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>ān. But their defeat on this point need not have involved a general decline if they themselves had not unwisely brought politics into theology a generation earlier. By accepting the official backing of the Caliph Ma<sup>ʿ</sup>mūn and encouraging the persecution of their opponents as "unorthodox," they gambled with the risk of a reversal of the persecution, and this came to pass at the hands of Mutawakkil. Their opponents were too numerous and too steadfast, and, led by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal, they held out until the tide turned. The persecution of the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazila in their turn was part of a conservative movement in Islam, perhaps a "failure of nerve," <sup>19</sup> led by the Caliph himself who was having trouble with his Turkish guards and tried to appeal beyond them to the broad support of the *ahl al-sunna*. Thus the check to Mu<sup>c</sup>tazilite ideas on value was to some extent just part of their misfortunes as a whole, but this did not reduce the seriousness of the consequences in the controversy about values. Henceforward any objections to their value theory would strike all the more sharply because they were now a minority sect under the disapproval of the ʿAbbasid state.

In explaining within a limited space the dominance of one theory, this article has unavoidably been one-sided in dwelling more upon the weaknesses of one party and the strength of the other. It has been the writer's intention to show that the result was due to powerful forces in medieval Sunnite Islam, but not to show that it was a necessary product of Islam itself. For modern Muslims, what has been written has a certain relevance because they face essentially the same problem

<sup>17</sup> *Al-ibāna ʿan uṣūl al-diyāna*, in *Al-Rasāʾil al-sabʿa* (sic) *fil-ʿaqāʾid* (Hyderabad, 1948), p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> G. Murray, *Five stages of Greek religion* (London, 1935), ch. 4 referring to later Greek religion.

about value as their medieval predecessors. But the interest of the medieval solution lies less in any immediate acceptance that it may receive today than in its resemblances and contrasts with what Muslims of our time are likely to think. It is doubtful that many of them will return to a pure Ash'arite theory of value, but it is hoped that a detached study of the origins of that theory will assist some Muslims and some non-Muslims to clarify their thoughts on value in its relation to Islam.

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## ISLAMIC DOCTRINES IN SAMARITAN THEOLOGY

The number of researchers in the field of Samaritanism is by no means large, and indeed the serious study of this important religious sect is fairly recent. Before the beginning of the twentieth century a few Semitists and students of comparative religion had written of the history, literature and religious practices of the Samaritans, but little more than sketchily. Material for such research was scanty and there was a paucity of available sources.

Today the situation is much improved and hundreds of manuscripts of Samaritan chronicles, genealogies, liturgies, Bible commentaries and other works, found in various museums and libraries, have become known. As a result, it is now possible to estimate the development of one of the world's oldest surviving religious groups—if not the world's oldest by far. However, no serious study of outside influences on their philosophic and religious beliefs has been presented. A few students have penned uncritical and unjustified references to Samaritan obligation to Jewish sources (e.g. the biblical Psalms) and to the writings of the apocryphal period. Some Samaritanists have felt inclined to regard Samaritanism as a possible source for the early development of Christian thought and of the later Islamic thought as well.

The present writer has come to a different point of view after considering the religious and doctrinal development of the Samaritan religion itself. He has come to the conclusion that Samaritans, even if they represent the oldest continuously surviving sect in the world, have consciously or unconsciously derived inspiration for the development of their thought from Christian and Islamic sources. If any borrowing has taken place from orthodox, normative Judaism, it is extremely difficult to discover reliable evidence of it.

The reasons for the above claim of Samaritan dependence on other religions can only be truly appreciated after a glance at their historical situation.

The Samaritans, first appearing in history as a distinctive group having their own traditions, beliefs and practices, in the time of Nehemiah and Ezra (their origins being obviously much older), have lived under the shadow of their sacred mountain, Mount Gerizim in Palestine, now in Jordan, for no less than 2,400 years and perhaps over 3,000. They have maintained their hostility to the Jews throughout that long period; they have lived under the domination of Persians, Greeks, Romans, Turks and Arabs, to mention only the chief of their rulers after the Assyrians, and through it all have emerged as claimants of the title 'the True Israel,' the meticulous and unswerving practisers of the ancient Hebrew religious laws of Moses, the only celebrants now and for centuries past of the Hebrew Passover and of the pilgrimages of the Patriarchs, and as the only 'Hebrew' sect with a living priesthood.

They had their periods of literary, theological and liturgical revival, chiefly in the fourth, eleventh, fourteenth and, to some degree, the eighteenth centuries. When literature flourished among their overlords there was usually peace, and they themselves were enabled, or at any rate permitted, to pursue a course of cultural and philosophical development. Especially was this true under the aegis of Islam. When Arabic literature reached great heights of expression, the Samaritans too achieved advancement in literacy production and philosophical and theological concepts. Though there were times of severe persecution and cultural and religious repression under the overlords above-mentioned, and under the Christians and Jews in earlier times, they survived as a people and continued to develop their ideas about God, about the world and about life.

The present writer holds that the Samaritans were the recipients, rather than the bestowers, of new ideas. He has reached this conclusion after following various paths. The chief and most searching factor in deciding thus has been a comparative study of the Samaritan fourth-century A.D. Defter with the later and fuller expression of Samaritan theology. The Defter is the Samaritan Book of Common Prayer, composed of ancient collects and prayers for various occasions in the religious calendar. It contains chiefly fourth-century compositions, themselves based on the ideas of Samaritanism of possibly the third century B.C., as far as one can determine at this stage. The whole Defter, in its modern form, contains in addition a number of liturgical compositions which can be dated to priests living between the fourth and fourteenth centuries. The later liturgical material is mostly of fourteenth-century authorship. It is here that we find, for the first time, clear exposition of the Samaritanism of the late medieval and modern worlds.

The fourteenth-century material is strongly colored by Islamic and Christian ideas; the fourth-century material is almost entirely devoid of these. It is on this fact that the present writer has mainly based his claims in this paper. There are possible signs of the influence of the New Testament Johannine writings and of the Epistle to the Hebrews; this influence will be discussed elsewhere. In the earlier material there are *no* signs of any distinctively Islamic theological concepts! Thus we have the earliest Samaritan doctrine free of Islamic teaching and the mature fourteenth-century doctrine considerably colored by it. Why this should be so will be seen below. Indeed the very rubrics of the Defter include only one Arabic musical expression (no doubt of medieval origin), while the seventeenth-century and later manuscripts of the liturgies contain scores, if not hundreds, of such technical words and expressions in Arabic.

Our judgment is that the internal evidence speaks for itself. The period between the fourth and fourteenth centuries was the period of gradual development within Samaritanism, development which in-

cluded the incorporation of many Christian and Islamic theological concepts. Our concern here is with the influences of Islamic teaching on Samaritan thought as the present writer has perceived them.

It is no part of our purpose to give a wholesale comparison of Islam and Samaritanism, nor to include the points of agreement found also in normative Judaism and Christianity. We are concerned solely with those matters of faith and belief that are peculiar to both or receive their greatest emphasis in both, such as is not found elsewhere. No claim to an achievement of an exhaustive comparison is made here. Much more could be written on the more speculative aspects of Islamic and Samaritan theology. Our concern is with the more important, broad ideas of faith and belief that illustrate Samaritan assimilation from Islam in the early Middle Ages.

Quotations from Samaritan sources are the writer's own; the original text is quoted in the form C.p. ... (for A. E. Cowley: *The Samaritan Liturgy*, (2 Vols.), Oxford, 1909).

Before dealing with the larger questions of creed and of various doctrines, let us observe a number of smaller matters that contribute somewhat to our general picture of the Samaritans living under the protection of Islam.

I hope to show elsewhere how the Samaritans adopted the Arabic language as their own native tongue, when they did so and how they used it for literary and liturgical purposes. Their liturgical rubrics more and more came to include technical Arabic terms, and the traditional and venerated Hebrew and Aramaic more and more faded into disuse as far as these purposes were concerned. Bible commentaries and histories came to be written almost entirely in Arabic, and composition in Hebrew and Aramaic came to be confined to hymns and prayers and other liturgical forms. Benedictions on their Patriarchs (Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob being the chief) and on Joseph and Moses and other personages from the Torah (*Taurāt*), as well as some of their own most revered and renowned High-priests, were put in the form of Muslim benedictions. No other sect of Judaism could have gone as far as this. Terms like *in shā' allāh* and *allāh a'lam* came to be standard literary expressions in many works, some of which begin with the familiar *bismillāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*. This was not just a matter of adopting the social expressions of the overlord; the whole of Samaritan literature became more and more permeated with Muslim expressions of religious thought and piety.

Perhaps more significant still is the question of family names. The great Samaritan Levitical family, of such ancient lineage, the provider of so many great priests, well illustrates an interesting trend toward Muslim ways and customs. Up to the death of the Priest Zedaqah in 1060 A.H., family names had been confined to the traditional Hebrew names found in the Hebrew Bible. One side of the family began then to adopt Muslim names such as Ghazāl, Ṣālīḥ, ʿAbdallāh, Abū Sarūr,

Sa<sup>c</sup>d and Ibrahīm (instead of the Hebrew form Abrāhām). All this is not to say that they did not possess biblical names also, which in fact some authors and scribes preferred to use, but it was by these non-biblical or Muslim names that they were usually best known. At about the same time the great Danfī and Marḥībī families adopted the same practice. We must not imagine, however, that something happened in the sixteenth century of our era to change the Samaritan way of life or their attitude towards the Muslims. We can be sure that a religious sect, so conservative in many respects, took a very long time to put its tendencies into practice. As we shall see shortly, the fourteenth century affords a veritable flood of Islamic thoughts and doctrines wrapped up within Samaritanism's own version of Judaism. Whatever led to the adoption or assimilation of so much that belongs to Islam, by the sixteenth century even family names became Muslim ones.

It is hardly likely that the Samaritans, occupants of the same ancestral territory for so very long, "out-Judaizers of the Judaists," a people who did not marry outside of their own family groups, would go so far as to adopt the language and family names of their conquerors if they had not developed more than mere tolerance towards them. Much more could be said along sociological lines to show that the Samaritans came to regard the Arabs as more than a people to be endured. We do not know what precise historical events, if any, contributed to this great change in attitude. It is more than likely that the process took place over many centuries. It is, furthermore, quite within the realms of possibility that hostility towards the Jews did much to drive the Samaritans towards Islam (and Christianity). They had only the five books of the Torah, while the Jews possessed many other sacred books besides. There was thus not the scope for development in religious thinking that there was in normative Judaism. While the Jews had their large Book of Psalms for use in worship, the Samaritans had to compose their own. It may not then be surprising to find the Samaritans turning to the pious among their conquerors for new expressions of praise and devotion.

We may now turn to some of the central themes within Islam that have been incorporated into Samaritanism, bearing in mind the fact that the Samaritans ever claimed to be the True Israel and the only true exponents and proponents of the teaching of God revealed through their prophet Moses.

Muḥammad did not regard Islam as beginning ultimately in himself, nor did the Samaritans consider Moses to be the inaugurator of their faith. As Muḥammad looked to Abraham as true originator of Islam, so the Samaritan theologian of the early centuries saw in Abraham the great ancestor of their religion. Muḥammad was the last of the prophets, the seal (Sūrah xxxiii: 40) of the prophets or apostles; so to the Samaritan was Moses, but the beginning was the great progenitor Abraham (first great possessor of the true light of Adam in the new

era brought in with Noah after the Flood). All life began with the activity of the Word of God in creation and his *amr* (the divine *fiat* in Samaritanism); the true revelation to man of God's will (Samaritan and Islamic *riḍwān*) was through Abraham, finally sealed in the prophet.

While Judaism, Christianity and Islam all share a common monotheism, Islam has by no means been least in promoting an uncompromising belief in the Oneness and Unity of God (*tauḥīd*). No trinitarianism came within Islam to cause endless theological speculation and dispute. Judaism and Christianity express monotheism in no uncertain terms, beyond doubt, but Islam has developed so many ways of proclaiming this central tenet of its creed. Samaritanism is no less vociferous in proclaiming the same. How often the Samaritan liturgist repeats the phrase "There is only one God: there is no god but God!" How often he cries *lā ilāha illā ʾllāh: lā sharīk lahu*. How often he acclaims God as *Allāh waḥdahu*. Any Samaritan could readily recite, in his own way, the words of Sūrah xxviii: 88!

In Samaritanism there is a strong tendency towards the doctrine of *naskh* or abrogation (cf. Sūrah ii: 256). God cannot be limited in any way; He is absolute and quite beyond man's control, even when repentant man is supplicating Him.

Thou art with the generations and their successions.

They do not change Thee, but Thou changest them (C.p. 256).

To the Samaritan no petition to God can change God's will; His mercies can be supplicated, but the believers are "dependent on Thy mercies" (C.p. 493). Even the heartfelt petitions for forgiveness can only be expressed *bi-ʿamal Mūsā*, or "by the merit of the Righteous Three, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"; such petitions (and others like "by the merit of Moses and Joseph") are to be placed side by side with the appeals to God's promises to the patriarchs. Man cannot achieve merit by his own works. God's favours come about solely as a result of God's will. This could hardly be more Islamic! It is hardly likely to have come from Christianity or normative Judaism.

Return to God is almost the only reason for earthly existence for the Samaritan thinker; the word for "return" is the same (in its Aramaic form) as in Arabic (*thwb*). Throughout the Samaritan theological writings we find such expressions as "Be reconciled to (i.e. return to) God"; "to God is our return"; "from God we flee to God." Such emphasis upon restoration to God and return to His favour far exceeds that of Judaism or Christianity and is to be compared only with the Islamic emphasis. Yet the believer will sin and incur the wrath of God! The Muslim can say with the Samaritan:

O our God, we flee from Thine anger to Thy loving-Kindness (C.p. 493).

Mention has been made of man's works being no criterion for for-

giveness. In Samaritanism it is belief first and foremost that makes a man right with God. Good works have their rightful place, but a secondary one, perhaps, rather, a consequential one. In both religions one who believes in God and His Prophet will do good works, for good works result from right belief. Belief is paramount, belief in God and in His servant or apostle Moses. This is the supreme prerogative to the Samaritan for acceptance into the community of God.

It is here that we see the significance of the Samaritan's prayer for Moses. The *taṣliya* was developed in Samaritanism in the fourteenth century, as far as we can discover, and it was not borrowed from any religion other than Islam. Judaism finds no place for prayer for Moses, nor Christianity for prayer for Jesus, but the Samaritan regard and veneration for Moses can well be paralleled in Islam. It was a supererogatory prayer and one of merit.

There has been much speculation within Islam about the form of God, but in Samaritanism there has been at no time any alteration from or modification of the expression of belief:

He has no beginning and no end, nor is He like any other form. Indeed He is not like anything, nor is anything like Him  
(C. *passim*).

In both faiths God has substance (*a<sup>c</sup>yān*), but there is no bound to be put to it, for the substance is a unity and has no equal. The Samaritans would agree with Abu ḲI-Muntahā that "God, having neither species nor genus, can have no equal."<sup>1</sup>

Before turning to the Samaritan development of the idea of the Word of God, let us observe that kabbalistic and mystical Samaritanism developed a system of names of God, the pronouncing of and meditation upon which were an act of merit. The principle of "ninety-nine names of God" is found in the Samaritan SHEM HAMITPARESH.

To the Samaritans, Moses was the Logos or Word of God (cf. Sūrah vii: 141). At creation it was God's Word (later identified as the pre-existent Moses) that spoke:

Thou didst without a hand make the heavens and their heavens,  
Thou didst create with a word all the host of them (C. pp. 257, 492).

The Word was an eternal attribute of the essence (*wujūd*) of God. In the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Samaritan didactic writings much is written of the Word of God. It is possible to derive this doctrine from the New Testament Johannine literature and it is also possible to find its source in the theological debates of Islam. We may turn to the ninth-century Abū Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Qaṭṭān (i.e. Ibn Kullāb) for the development of this doctrine within traditional theological circles, but Samaritanism in the ninth century

<sup>1</sup> Commentary on *al-Fiqh al-Akbar*, Hyderabad 1321 A.H. p. 14, quoted in *The Muslim Creed* by A. J. Wensinck, 1932, p. 210.

had not developed a belief in "the Word that was in the beginning with God, without which was nothing made that was made" (cf. John 1). Al-Isfarāʿinī (eleventh century A.D.) stated that the word (*al-kalām*) was eternal.<sup>2</sup> This matches the less fully expressed Samaritan belief in the pre-existent Word. These theological considerations undoubtedly affected Samaritan thinking in those centuries preceding the great, and perhaps sudden, blooming forth of Samaritanism in the fourteenth century. The chief difference on this point is that in Samaritanism Moses was finally identified by some as the Word, but no official acceptance was ever accorded to this.

Muḥammad to the Muslims and Moses to the Samaritans had the chief function of messenger, or receiver of the law and command of God, of proclaiming God's will and exhorting His people to repentance. Here is a typical Samaritan expression which will remind Muslims forcibly of their own Prophet:

He . . . sent to them Moses, the choicest of the faithful,  
with the perfect law . . .

And taught them the way by which they may be upright.

(C. *passim*)

The stress on these aspects of the apostle's function is undoubtedly much greater in fourteenth-century Samaritanism than at any time in normative Judaism, and must be a development adopted or assimilated from Islamic theology. God expressed Himself by His Word (inherent in His essence and having no independent existence!), but that Word had to be proclaimed to sinful and unbelieving mankind. The prophet was the conveyor of that Word and that was his greatest function.

In both religious systems there has always been antipathy and even hostility to any tendency to deify the Prophet. In both he was servant, messenger, prophet, but never divine. The emphasis on the manhood and apostleship of Moses is so great that it might well have been that tendencies did exist in Samaritanism to deify him. Although a prayer for the prophet was a righteous act, it was meritorious subject only to the will of God. To attribute divinity (no matter how remotely or obtrusively) to the prophet was to contravene the doctrine of abrogation and to set limits to the Oneness and Unity of God. Islamic attempts from time to time to ascribe human characteristics to God never succeeded, nor did they in Samaritanism. Both faiths avoided the pitfall of humanizing God and deifying His apostle.

The doctrine of creation is closely similar in both faiths. God, absolute creator by an act of His own will and that alone, created the heavens and the earth for a purpose and by a means concealed within Himself and beyond the reasoning of man. There is no promise in either religion of knowing the purpose of God, nor is it deemed right

<sup>2</sup> See A. S. Tritton; *Muslim Theology*, 1947, p. 186.

in either to attempt to pierce the veil imposed on man by God. The Samaritan theologian says:

(His works) and words are not based on any source—  
nothing whatsoever—no hands, no measure, no rule (C.p. 272).

Muslim and Samaritan theologians have set out their metaphysical exercises (such as, e.g., describing the nature of the seven heavens), but these did not enter within the court of orthodox theology. Both faiths have much to say about the natural creation revealing the glory and majesty of God. The power and wisdom of God (names of God also in Samaritanism) are revealed in nature. A. S. Tritton<sup>3</sup> quotes al-Zamakhshari on this, showing that there is a natural religion as well as a revelatory one, but in Samaritanism revelation through the natural order is merged with revelation through belief, good works and meditation. This is a merging of one revelation with another, not revelation with inspiration as in Christianity.

From the works that Thou hast made those who have knowledge know that Thou art their God (C.p. 492).

There is an unseen world also, and in both religions it is clearly held that this lies within the provenance of God alone. In both, mystics and mystical sects have arisen claiming possession of an inner knowledge of the mysteries of God and the unseen world, but here again orthodoxy has veered off from committing itself to more than the belief that a righteous believer may, by the study of God's Book and by long contemplation and meditation, achieve a certain inner inspiration. For example, the Samaritan can say:

There is an abundance for wise and understanding men  
in what is hidden (C.p. 272).

But that it is revelation as distinct from inspiration has never been an acceptable claim. Only God knows! So speak orthodox Islam and Samaritanism, after resisting many attempts to mysticize their faith and alienate it from ordinary life.

The reward for right belief is Paradise. The Samaritan would share his Muslim brother's view when he says.

He who repents of his sins—Paradise is his—  
into it he will pass (C.p. 489).

The Samaritans never developed a belief in a sensual paradise, although some theologians believed in a physical paradise. They developed two lines of thought about the hereafter. One school of theologians believed in a mystical reunion with God, which meant to them in fact a state of peace and tranquillity (as in Buddhism); the other believed in a paradise on earth wherein material prosperity was the keynote, along with the victory of God over the unbelievers and freedom from persecutors. (The Samaritan stress on peace can be understood

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

in terms of their living through so many fearful persecutions). Where the two religions do agree, as against the silence of official Christianity and Judaism, is in the idea that the believer will enter the Garden (to the Samaritans the Garden of Eden, which God planted as Paradise at the first), and the unbeliever will enter the Fire. Judaism has no doctrine of Hell, nor has official Protestant Christianity a systematic doctrine of punishment through eternal burning, though non-official Christian sources may accept such a view. In both Islam and Samaritanism the emphasis, as distinct from that of other religions, is on the *unbelief* that leads to hell. It is noteworthy that at least one of the two schools of Samaritan theology believed in a physical reward for living this physical life unstained and unblemished (forgiveness in both having wiped away—root *kfr*—all stains and blemish for the believer). Islam must have been the source of the Samaritan variant from normative Judaism.

Both have much to say about the Last Day, the day when the earth suffers a cataclysm, when the graves open, when the dead are resurrected and join the living before the Judge of all mankind. Samaritanism presents the same kind of picture as we find in the Qurʾān (for example, in Sūrah lxxxii); to it the Last Day is the prelude to the Day of Judgment and Recompense.

We may observe similar lines of thought about the greatest event in the Islamic and Samaritan calendars. The Great Fast, Ramaḍān for the Muslim, the Day of Atonement for the Samaritan, is a source of blessing to the believer if faithfully performed. For both faiths the gate of God's mercy (the root *rḥm* is the keynote in both) is open. Quotations, to illustrate the thinking common to both, are from a small Shīʿa manual of Ramaḍān Prayers (*Mukhtaṣar Adʿiyat Ramaḍān*) published in the Lebanon in 1930 and translated by Professor K. Cragg<sup>4</sup>, and from my own translation of the Samaritan Festival.<sup>5</sup>

(Islam) O God, this is the month of Ramaḍān in which  
Thou hast sent down the Qurʾān as a guidance  
to men.

(Samaritanism) O Power (cf. Islamic term to describe God)  
who sent Moses our Prophet with the Law...  
this is the Day of Atonement.

The blessing of the Great Fast for both religions consists mainly in a glorious future beyond this life. In both the accent is ever on the promised reward following the true observance of the Fast. Islam has no doctrine of atonement and has no place for the idea of the merit of others being efficacious to atone for sin. Yet, righteous acts on the part of the believer have atoning value, and the root *kfr* in the intensive form in both Arabic and Samaritan implies a covering-

<sup>4</sup> In *Muslim World*, Vol. XLVII, No. 3, July 1957, pp. 210-23.

<sup>5</sup> Doctoral Dissertation in the University of Leeds.

over of sin. A meritorious act such as the prescribed Fast conceals sin; in this sense atonement is found in Islam, but there is no allusion to a national atonement effected by certain priestly and lay acts of expiation or sacrifice. The *Taşliya* itself (so frequent during the Fast, has that kind of atoning value, because it is considered primarily as an act of worship, but still it is subject to the will of God.

The worshippers during the Fast stand, as it were, before God.

(Islam) O my God, the petitioners stand before Thy gate.

(Samaritanism) O my God, the petitioners stand before Thy gate.

(Islam) This is the month of coming back unto Thee, of repentance, forgiveness and mercy. <sup>6</sup>

(Samaritanism) Return, O Lord, to Thy servants who stand before Thee during the Fast—standing at the gate of Thy mercy.

The relationship between the worshipper and God is expressed so many times in the Ramaḍān Prayers and in the Samaritan Festival that it is scarcely worthwhile to set out parallel quotations. Both have it that the petitioner seeks refuge with God, that the petitioner's return is to God, and both Samaritan and Muslim petitioners desire that God should return to them (or "be reconciled to them"). Both confess that it is their disobedience in particular that has to be forgiven, and the same Semitic root (Arabic ʿsy, Samaritan ʿzy) is used. The chief of sins is apostasy, turning away from God, which results from disbelief. As prerequisites of forgiveness (after return to belief) fasting and acts of penitence are the chief essentials. Samaritan and Muslim alike stress these.

It is interesting to observe that the Muslim prayers take account of the dead in the opening words of the Ramaḍān prayer for daytime said after the prayer of the Prophet.

O God, bring happiness to those in the tombs.

Prayers for the dead believers head a list of needy people for whom prayer should always be said. There is perhaps greater emphasis on intercession in Islam than in Samaritanism and it is probably true to say that Samaritanism is more self-concerned than Islam. This may be understood as a natural outcome of over 2,000 years of repression and severe persecution. The sense of brotherhood and its concomitant intercession is ever a supreme feature of Islam; this Samaritanism has not assimilated, and indeed the Samaritan prayer tends to be restricted always to prayer for the Samaritan people.

It is to be noted that Muslim and Samaritan do not pray for the dead unbeliever. Once an unbeliever has entered Hell, there is no possibility of release, no matter what petitions on their behalf are offered by the living. God's will is immutable and no prayer for the unbeliever, living or dead, can have efficacy.

<sup>6</sup> K. Cragg, *op. cit.* pp. 215, 222.

Here are some attributive expressions from the Ramaḍān prayers that are *exactly* as found in the Samaritan prayers.

God, most merciful of the merciful (from the Hebrew Bible).

God the Hearer (of Prayer).

God the unpartnered, having no peer, no helper to aid Him.

Creation reveals Him.

His gate is open (to the repentant).

He slays and makes alive (from the Hebrew Bible).

He is the living One (as in the Hebrew Bible).

These, and many more parallel expressions in Islam, are found over and over again in the Samaritan liturgies. They are not found expressed so frequently (some of them never), so repetitiously in Judaism or Christianity.

Attributes of God's mercy and the praise due to Him often come together in both faiths. The concluding quotation from Professor Cragg's translation of the Ramaḍān prayers, so typical of the Samaritan fourteenth-century hymns, forms a fitting conclusion to a study of the Great Fast:

O God, I begin my adoration with the praise of Thee—  
I am truly persuaded that Thou art the most merciful  
in all that relates to pardon and forgiveness. <sup>7</sup>

Samaritanism matches these sentiments as follows:

At the beginning of every speech let us exalt the name of  
our Lord! (C.p. 668)

O Compassionate and merciful God, who is more compassionate  
and merciful than Thou? (C.p. 672)

From all that has been written above, one might be led to think that Samaritanism is a variant form of Islam. Nothing could be further from the truth. A similar paper could be written to show how substantial are the Christian contributions to Samaritan theology. Our purpose has been to show beyond doubt that Islam has contributed a very great deal to Samaritanism and that Samaritanism, despite its very different origin, history, background and ambitions, and despite its hostility in many respects to Islam, has seen fit to assimilate or incorporate so much of the best of Islamic beliefs. Coming from a people who are more strict in the carrying out of the laws of the Torah than the Jews, who believe most sincerely that they alone of all peoples are chosen by God and that no true prophet has ever existed but Moses, the acceptance of so much that belongs to Islam is indeed a compliment to Islam.

We conclude with a typical Samaritan expression of belief which reveals Samaritanism's great debt to Islam:

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

O God, God of all the world, God who is Lord both below  
 and on high,  
 God, One without any like Him;  
 God alone, God unique, God creator, God abiding (*qa'ūm*),  
 God encompassing by His wisdom,  
 God who, in His favour (*riḍwān*) brings restoration  
 (root *thwb*) (C.p. 652).

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## RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN PAKISTAN

The twelve years since Pakistan began her national existence have been years of trouble and conflict. The problems that still beset her eighty million people are perhaps more grave and deep-rooted than those of any other unit of the British Commonwealth.

Established in 1947 as the state organization of India's Muslims, the country was born in religious strife and economic-political chaos in which millions of uprooted Muslims from India proper had to be re-settled. The total number of deaths in the Hindu-Muslim communal riots at Partition of the subcontinent is reliably estimated in the millions. The entire federal structure had to be initiated from the foundations at a time of great civil disorder. The areas given to Pakistan under the terms of Partition were marked by undeveloped natural resources and few industries. Her current economic problems stem from a paucity of skilled workers and lack of export markets and raw materials, together with extremely primitive farming methods and a semi-feudal system of land tenure, especially in West Pakistan.<sup>1</sup> Another retarding factor has been a serious absence of experienced and dedicated political leadership. Since 1948, no public figure of national stature has arisen to fill the vacuum created by the deaths of Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. The political scene has been dominated by self-seeking and unscrupulous men, many of whom were openly known to be corrupt. Political instability and graft, the absence of a well-developed party system, the continued postponing of national elections, the delay in enacting a Constitution, and the lack of any semblance of Cabinet or party solidarity combined with the political unsophistication of the peasants to produce a situation conducive to demagoguery and party aggrandizement. In such an atmosphere no long-term plan for economic development was possible, with the result that Pakistan has been confronted with problems of health, education, and welfare that have to be seen to be believed. One-third of Pakistani babies die in the first year of life, and the average life-expectancy is approximately thirty years. In East Pakistan alone, malaria, cholera, dysentery, and tuberculosis account for almost 250,000 deaths a year, in a region that has one qualified doctor for every 18,000 persons and one trained social worker for every million.

Some indication of Pakistani living standards is seen in the fact that the average income per person is 250 rupees a year, or about one dollar a week. Thousands of persons live on less than this. The literacy rate is officially estimated at less than 20 % and for women 5 %. The vast majority of women are still in *purdah*. The bulk of the children are not in school and of those who do get some instruction, many have dropped out by the end of the fourth year of attendance.

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<sup>1</sup> See the writer's article, "Pakistan Struggles for Economic Survival," *New Leader*, XLII: 6-7, July 6, 1960, for an analysis of Pakistan's economic problems.

A major problem is the bizarre geographic separation of the country into two wings, mutually unsympathetic on many issues, and separated by over a thousand miles of Indian territory. East and West Pakistan are divergent in culture, geography, climate, and even language, and there is little scope for communication between them. East Pakistan speaks Bengali and in West Pakistan, where Arabic and Persian traditions are found, Urdu is the main medium among several regional languages. The Bengalis of the east wing (originally low-caste Hindu converts to Islam) have resented for over a decade the tendency of West Pakistan to regard them as a "colony." Some doubt how long Islam can supply the effective bond of national cohesion between them.

The role of Islam itself in Pakistan is difficult to evaluate, in that there is no nationwide agreement as to its current meaning or interpretation. The *raison d'être* for the creation of Pakistan was the determination of India's Muslims so safeguard the values of Islam, which to them was and is not merely a religion but a unique culture with its own distinctive outlook and way of life, as such scholars as Keith Calvard (*Pakistan: a Political Study*) have pointed out.<sup>2</sup> Although Mr. Jinnah expressly declared that Pakistan was not a theocracy to be governed by priests, reactionary elements after his death suggested that a body of *ulamā*, or religious teachers, be empowered to judge whether legislation was acceptable to the Qur'ān, a proposal that led to a nationwide outburst of contention regarding the scope of the Qur'ān's social application.

At the time of independence in 1947 there was no consensus in the new Republic as to the direction in which the nation ought to move. Should there be a movement back to the former glories of Islam, to the Qur'ān, and a feudal society? What should be the cultural base upon which the new state was to be built? It would be difficult to defend the thesis that unanimity of opinion has been reached on these questions. Some Pakistanis have seen in the establishment of the nation a means of restoring the gloriou days of the Islam of 1400 years ago, but this attitude applies only to a very small segment of the population. It is still being debated whether the nation's independence was produced by Islam or by political, economic and cultural factors. Similarly, it is a matter of opinion in some Pakistani circles whether Islam constitutes a real bulwark against Communism. Some Western-educated Pakistanis aver that Communism could actually use conservative Islam as an obscurantist tool for its own ends with the illiterate peasants.

Several Pakistani intellectuals have told the writer that one of the main issues confronting their nation today concerns the future role of

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<sup>2</sup> See also Professor Ahmed Ali's chapter, "The Culture of Pakistan," in Richard Symonds, *The Making of Pakistan* (London, 1950). Professor Ali points out very clearly the fact that Muslims and Hindus constituted two separate nations and cultural systems, despite their having lived side by side for centuries. This reality of cultural divergence is not always fully comprehended in the West.

Islam, namely, can Pakistan enjoy the advantages of a modern secular state and still remain a nation oriented to Qurānic principles? There is no single voice that can fully express the Muslim point of view, and, outside the fundamental tenets that Muslims are not Hindus and all Muslims are brothers, there is marked difference of opinion on the social and political implications of the Qurʾān.

The professional religionists, or *ʿulamāʾ*, are conservative, as are the mullas (mosque prayer-leaders). Between them and the Western-trained Pakistani intellectual lies a vast gulf of background and outlook. Until martial law abolished all political parties, the mullas were politically supported by the Nizām-i-Islām, an extremely orthodox religious party which sought to make Pakistan a virtual theocracy, with adherence to the Qurʾān legally enforced and any violations punished. This element, for example, favored the cutting off the hands of thieves. Its extreme doctrines found little popular support, but the mullas exert appreciable influence, especially among the agricultural peasants. As village holy-men and mosque officials, they have a hold over the rural mind that cannot be ignored. They tend to be unschooled ritualists whose influence is in no sense liberating or progressive. As a group they are opposed to Western educational influences or U.S. aid, since these would lessen their own power over the villagers, among whom a genuine knowledge of Islam is as rare as critical religious reflection. The ethos of rural Pakistan is comparable to that of the Catholic peasantry of southern Europe. It is one in which the mullas can sell talismen and charms to ward off evil spirits. His "teaching" consists in instruction in memorizing Qurānic verses without illumination as to their meaning. The attitudes he evokes from the cultivators are mainly characterized by superstitious awe. Some village youths, especially those who have emigrated urbanward, ignore him, as does the educated middle class. His religious role is assumed not by virtue of training or education but rather by showing an appropriate regard for religious practices in manner and dress. He does, however, foster a sense of rural solidarity and village cohesion.

Prayer in orthodox Islam is obligatory five times daily. In the villages, where the majority of the population live, there is a combination of widespread orthodoxy and an apparent disregard for religion on the part of a few of the youth. In the towns many people go to the mosque on Friday and even those who fail to do so are still good Muslims at heart. All Muslims celebrate *ʿId al-Fiṭr*, a day of prayer and rejoicing at the end of *Ramaḍān*, the month of fasting. Another occasion is *ʿId al-Adhā*. The *ʿId* has a great social significance, for it is a time of family gatherings for feasts and entertainments. Similarly, *ʿId al-Adhā* is an occasion for sacrificing goats and cows, and the resulting meat supply is distributed among friends and neighbors. It is essentially a social obligation rather than a religious ceremony, a time for neighborhood rejoicing, with the historical-religious significance largely

lost to many of the participants. Older people in the villages and the lesser educated among youth are the ones most influenced by orthodox Islam. Customary Muslim ceremonies at birth, marriage, and death are widely practiced, and there is common superstitious belief in the existence of evil spirits particularly in East Bengal. Medicine-men are sometimes called in to exorcise village demons, and worship at the shrines of saints is fairly prevalent. The villagers' world-view is one of primitive animistic naturalism, combined with strong fatalism, resignation, group solidarity, and an awareness of the sorrow and tragedy of life in the face of natural hazards of drought, floods, and crop failure. But it would be a mistake to assert that the theological expressions of any Islamic principle represent a significant living reality in the thought and practice of the Muslim community. In East Bengal a strong admixture of Hindu religious practices and beliefs is also found, as are fetishistic beliefs in West Pakistan.

In recent years there has been an attempt to bring about a synthesis of Islamic ideology with the ways of the West, to seek such goals as the emancipation of women from *pardah* and the general adoption of European manners, dress and thought-patterns. Some Muslim officials under the British regime, themselves educated in England, saw Islam's salvation in India coming via the inculcation of Western ways. On the other hand, a strong orthodox Muslim group denounced everything Western. A third group emerged out of the conflict, taking a middle course and maintaining that Islam should adapt itself to the twentieth century. They stress the opinion that Islam can be a modern ideology preaching world brotherhood, and that it was the first religion to be grounded in *reason* rather than blind faith. This modern element is found mainly among the educated middle class who arose partly from the remnants of the old feudal class of *zamindars* and sub-ifeudinated tenantry. The Western-educated minority displays mental conflict between its traditional Muslim faith and its adopted Western values. It has been affected by the resultant confusion of norms and the political and economic instability of the new nation in which its own middle class status and tradition have not had time to solidify.<sup>3</sup>

Among university students a certain number still accept Islam, but others are found indifferent to it. College prayer-rooms are seldom used and only by a minority. Students absorb the ethos of Islamic teachings in their homes but their outlook is not religiously oriented, on account of British-introduced secular education. The students' chief problems are those of a career and a successful arranged marriage. Philosophically, some of them tend to have lost their moorings and to be groping for new values, and are periodically led by external pres-

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<sup>3</sup> Professor A. K. Nazmul Karim's *Changing Society in India and Pakistan* (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1956) is one of the few available studies dealing with the role of social classes in a time of change.

tures to impulsive reactions such as strikes and riots.<sup>4</sup> Industrialism is also exerting its impact. At an International Seminar on Islam held in Karachi in January, 1959, several scholars affirmed that Islam does not hinder industrialization and technological development. But with the rise of an urban middle class, a growing demand for the separation of religion and politics may assert itself.<sup>5</sup>

Pakistan's largest minority group consists of Hindus, who in East Pakistan account for almost a quarter (ten million) of the population of the province. Mainly artisans, professional men, merchants and traders, they enjoy religious freedom and relative toleration despite continued border clashes with India. The Pakistani Government has taken great care to protect the rights of minorities, including those of the 300,000 Buddhists of the Chittagong Hill Tracts near the Burma border.

Pakistan's difficult reconciliation of an ancient faith with the modern world will not be easily achieved. But she will probably continue to be pro-West, and despite her political birth pains, economic distress, and the dispute with India over Kashmir and the Indus river, there are undeniable grounds for hope. The martial law regime of October, 1958, has largely terminated the former corruption, and promising plans have been announced for reforms in health, education, and welfare. U. S. aid is making its impact felt on the country and the ICA Village-Aid program is seeking to improve the lot of the agriculturalists, who, like the great majority of university students, have remained remarkably impervious to Communist propaganda. Refugee rehabilitation is being expedited, family planning has made a small but real beginning, educated young women are coming out of *purdah*, and early in 1959 new land reforms were enacted. General Ayub Khan, the new British-trained President, has declared that Pakistan will continue to live by the rule of law, and he has promised a new and workable Constitution. The plan for "Basic Democracies," implemented by elections at the end of 1959, is a significant political advance.

The higher officers of the Pakistan Army in many respects represent the most progressive and forward-looking aspects of Islam. It is noteworthy that the new regime has established a Central Institute of Islamic Research with a four-fold aim, namely, to define Islam by bringing out its fundamentals in a rational and liberal manner and to stress the basic ideals of universal brotherhood, tolerance and social justice; to interpret the teachings of Islam in such a way as to bring out its dynamic character in the context of modern intellectual and scientific

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<sup>4</sup> See the writer's article, "University Life in Pakistan," *Teachers College Record*, January, 1960.

<sup>5</sup> An authoritative recent study seeks to show that the force of Islam upon East Bengal laborers has not been weakened by industrialization, and that in some cases their Muslim faith has been strengthened by urban adjustments. See A. F. A. Husain, *Human and Social Impact of Technological Change in East Pakistan* (Dacca: Dacca University, 1956).

progress; to carry out research on Islam's contribution to the world of thought, science and culture with a view to enabling the Muslims to recapture the position of pre-eminence in these fields; and to take appropriate measures for encouraging research in Islamic History, Philosophy, Law and Jurisprudence.<sup>6</sup> The new regime has also furnished a climate of political stability within which constructive social reforms can take place and has shown an enlightened determination to attack national problems with the resources of the scientific outlook.

Pakistan's future is problematical, but her present situation should be viewed in light of the vast problems of Partition in 1947. On this criterion her very continued existence for over a decade has been a remarkable achievement. A less hardy people would never have endured until now.

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<sup>6</sup> *The Forward March* (Karachi: Government of Pakistan, 1959), pp. 19-20.

# CHRIST IN THE QUR'ĀN AND IN MODERN ARABIC LITERATURE

## I

The Qur'ān is the fundamental book of the Islamic beliefs and ideals. No other book in the whole history of Islam is comparable with the Qur'ān.

The traditions of the Prophet Muḥammad, which are regarded as a supplement to the Qur'ān, do not, by any means, stand on the same footing as the Qur'ān. The main function of the tradition is to explain the doubtful and to expound the brief, but never to add a new element to the Islamic doctrine. It is admitted that the genuine traditions shed light on the life and practice of the Prophet Muḥammad, and as such they are, indeed, indispensable. Yet the authentic traditions are like a handful of grain in a heap of chaff. Further, it is the Qur'ān alone which is considered to be revelation, that is to say, the words of God.

In contrast to the Bible, both the Old and New Testaments, the Qur'ān is a record of the utterances delivered by one single person, the Prophet Muḥammad, in his capacity as a Prophet, during a limited period of time (A.D. 610-632). Muslim and non-Muslim scholars un-animously agree "that the original form and contents of Muḥammad's discourses were preserved with scrupulous precision."<sup>1</sup>

It follows, therefore, that the Qur'ān is the only book which contains the Islamic beliefs and principles and that its authenticity is beyond all doubt.

## II

Jesus Christ, or Jesus the son of Mary, or the Messiah, as the Qur'ān calls him, is the central figure in Christianity. His utterances are the core of the Christian doctrine. He is from the spirit of God (Q. IV, 171)<sup>2</sup> and the word of God (Q. *ibid*; III, 45). Some scholars find a similarity between the idea of revelation, as conceived by Muslims, and the character of Christ, the word of God, as conceived by Christians.

Notwithstanding the fact that Muslims regard Christ as a prophet and apostle of God (Q. XIX, 30; LVII, 27), he is a prophet of a unique type. He is the only prophet born from a virgin mother, being from the spirit of God, and thus described in the Qur'ān as "illustrious in the world and the Hereafter, and one of those brought near (unto Allah)" (Q. III, 45). The late Rev. S. M. Zwemer commented on this verse saying: "If Moslems were willing to admit all that these words imply, it would not be difficult to prove that in this passage

<sup>1</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism*, Oxford University Press, London 1953, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> All Quranic quotations are from *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* by Moh. M. Pickthall, a Mentor Book, 1953.

of the Koran the person and character of Jesus Christ are superior to those of all other prophets and apostles.”<sup>3</sup> It is superfluous to say that Muslims believe wholeheartedly in the words of the Qurʾān, and that they are not allowed to make any discrimination between its verses.

### III

#### *What Does the Qurʾān Say about Christ?*

Firstly, the Qurʾān relates in detail the miraculous birth of Christ. Mary, Christ's mother, according to the Qurʾān, had been chosen by God and made pure, and had been preferred above (all) the women of creation (Q. III, 42). The angels spoke to Mary saying: “Oh Mary! Allah giveth thee glad tidings of a word from Him, whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, illustrious in the world and the Hereafter and one of those brought near (unto Allah). He will speak unto mankind in his cradle and in his manhood, and he is of the righteous. She said: “My Lord! How can I have a child when no mortal hath touched me? He said: “So (it will be). Allah createth what He will. If he decreeth a thing, He saith unto it only: Be! and it is” (Q. III, 45-47).

In another chapter entitled “The Chapter of Mary,” details are given regarding the birth of Christ. It asserts that he was born of a virgin mother and that God's spirit spoke to Mary and assured her that God intended to make of Christ a sign (revelation) for mankind and a mercy from Him (Q. XIX, 21).

Secondly, the Qurʾān advocated the prophecy of Christ, declared god-given signs with respect to him, and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit. Each apostle has been favoured by a special favour and has been given a message to communicate to the world. Christ was favoured by the aid of the Holy Spirit and his message was incorporated in the Gospel. The Qurʾān praised the followers of Christ, saying that God placed in their hearts kindness and compassion. It reproached those who rejected his message and accused them of arrogance and discrimination. It enjoined Muslims to believe in all the prophets from Abraham to Jesus and to make no distinction between any of them (Chapter V).

Thirdly, the Qurʾān enumerated the miracles of Christ which were signs of his prophecy, such as creating a living bird out of clay, healing the blind and the lepers, bringing the dead to life, knowing what the people eat and store up in their houses, and the bringing down of a table from heaven to be used for a festival. All these miracles Christ produced by the will of God in order to convince those who doubted his mission (Q. III, 46-49; V, 114-115). It is noteworthy that Muḥammad did not attribute miracles to himself. The Qurʾān is his only miracle.

<sup>3</sup> *The Moslem Christ*, American Tract Society, New York, 1912, p. 38.

Fourthly, the Qur'ān made a sharp distinction between Christ and deity. "The Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, was only a messenger of Allah, and His word which He conveyed unto Mary, and a spirit from Him. So believe in Allah and His messengers and say not 'Three' ... Allah is only One God" (Q. IV, 171).

The Qur'ān quoted Jesus as having said: "Worship Allah, my Lord and your Lord" (Q. V, 117).

It rejected the Trinity: "They surely disbelieve who say: 'So! Allah is the third of three,' when there is no God save the One God" (Q. V, 73).

A thorough examination of this point reveals that Islam "is distinguished from Christianity, not so much (in spite of all outward appearances) by its repudiation of the trinitarian concept of the unity of God, as by its rejection of the soteriology of Christian doctrine and the relics of the old nature cults which survived in the rites and practices of the Christian church".<sup>4</sup>

Fifthly, the Qur'ān confirms the view of the Gospel that God raised up Christ unto Himself (Q. IV, 158), but it rejects the contention of Christ's enemies that they killed him and crucified him. "They slew him not nor crucified, but it appeared so unto them ... They shew him not for certain. But Allah took him up unto Himself" (Q. IV, 157-158).

This Quranic statement has been a subject of controversy and interpretation for a long time. There is a difference between death and killing. It is possible that they attempted but failed to put him to death. According to St. John's Gospel "one of the soldiers pierced Christ's side with a spear, and at once there came out blood and water (John 19 : 34). This proves that he did not die. Again Christ, according to St. John's Gospel, spoke to Mary Magdalene, after his crucifixion, and informed her that he was ascending to his father, God (St. John 20 : 17).

However, both the Qur'ān and the Gospel agree that "Allah took him up unto Himself. Allah was ever Mighty, Wise" (cf. Q. IV, 158 and St. John 20 : 17).

To sum up (a) the Qur'ān recognizes the virgin birth of Christ; (b) recognizes his miracles; (c) places him in a higher rank than that of all preceding prophets; (d) states that he was supported by the Holy Spirit; (e) calls him the word of God; (f) defends his mission and reproaches those who rejected it; (g) supports the New Testament — the Gospel — as the revelation of God; and (h) confirms his ascension to God.

Could one infer from these eight fundamental principles, in which the two great religions agree, that Islam and Christianity are basically identical, and that the gap between the two communities was widened in later centuries mostly for political reasons?

<sup>4</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, *Mohammedanism*, p. 69.

## IV

What is the attitude of Muslims in modern times towards Christ?

Time does not permit giving a full list of works written by modern Muslims about Christ. It suffices to mention five works written between 1894 and 1958.

Firstly, the prince of Arab poets in our age, the late Aḥmad Shawqī (d. 1932) composed a long poem entitled "The Great Events in the Nile Valley"<sup>5</sup> which he recited at the Orientalist Congress at Geneva in 1894 and of which he dedicated sixteen verses to the praise of Christ. He said:

- 1) Kindness, guidance, chivalry and humility were born the day Jesus was born.
- 2) His coming brightened the world, his light illuminated it.
- 3) Like the light of dawn flowing through the universe, so did Jesus' sign flow.
- 4) He filled the world with light, making the earth shine with its brightness.
- 5) No threat, no tyranny, no revenge, no sword, no raids, no bloodshed (did he use in his call for the new faith).
- 6) A king he lived on earth, but, wearying of this state, substituted heaven for it.
- 7) To his faith were attracted wise men, humble, submissive, and weak (before him).
- 8) Their submission was followed by the submission of kings, common people and sages.
- 9) His faith found roots in every land and anchor on every shore.
- 10) They entered Thebes, and were cordially met by the wise men of the city.
- 11) They understood the secret (the core of the new faith); for it is easy for the wise to comprehend the truth.
- 12) The holy altar became a monastery, a monastery all splendour and brightness.
- 13) Thebes, Memphis, the Nile and the plain all became his.
- 14) Indeed, earth and space are God's; the real kings are the prophets.
- 15) Theirs (the prophets) is the love of their followers; utmost love and loyalty are theirs.
- 16) They who deny religions suffer as a result of their denial.

Secondly, four books draw our attention: (a) *The Messiah Jesus Son of Mary*, by the novelist ʿAbd al-Ḥamid Judah al-Saḥḥār, published in 1952; (b) *The City of Oppression* by the physician Dr. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, published in 1954; (c) *The Genius of Christ* by the distinguished author ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAqqād, published in 1953,

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Shawqiyāt*, Vol. I, second edition, Cairo (undated), p. 12.

and (d) *Together on the Road, Muḥammad and Jesus* by the Azharite Khālīd Muḥammad Khālīd, published in 1958.

The first two books were written in the form of novels. The former is a thrilling reproduction of the life of Christ from his birth to his ascension to heaven. The facts are drawn equally from three sources; the Qur'ān, the Bible and historical works. The setting — that is, the temporal and spatial environment of the events — is provided with minute details; and the life of Christ with its spiritual richness and dignity is depicted by the writer in a highly literary language. Christ's teachings are quoted from the Gospels literally. The author upholds Christ's sermons with great admiration, as "pouring from a heart lit by the love of humanity and enlightened by divine love" (p. 145).

Regarding Christ's relation to God, the author maintains that it is spiritual. He is not the son of God physically, nor is he God himself. Christ said that all the prophets are sons of God just as David said (p. 184). It was the Egyptian monk Origen who first introduced into the Church the notion of Christ's divinity and his sonship to God (p. 184).

Concerning Christ's crucifixion, the author maintains that he was not crucified. It was Judas Iscariot who was crucified in his place. This view was held by several sects long before Muḥammad, such as the Basilidians and the Carpocratians (p. 245; cf. George Sale's *Translation of the Koran*, p. 42).

Besides these two controversial points, the author vindicates Christ's teachings incorporated in the Gospels.

The second book is a profound analysis of Christ's teachings as stated in the Gospels exclusively. The author upholds these teachings with enthusiasm and tries to prove their validity by reason. He holds the view that "conscience" is the essence of humanity (p. 145); that war is not justified except in case of self-defense; that believing in abstracts and in God is man's main concern (p. 211); that religion be based on three principles: rejection of idolatry, reciprocal love and avoidance of intense passion (p. 225); that religion should be isolated from worldly interests; and that man's prosperity lies in his ability to reconcile his three natures: the sentient, the rational and the spiritual (p. 229).

The author regards Christ's crucifixion as the greatest crime in the history of humankind. This implies that he believes in the crucifixion (p. 74), and that he also believes in Christ's ascension (p. 75).

It is worth noting that this book received the state prize (Egypt) in 1957, a fact which indicates its literary and scientific accomplishment.

The third book, *The Genius of Christ*, is a historical survey of Judaism and Christianity and "a display of the Christian genius in a modern way, a genius which has no parallel in the whole history of the world because it terminated the religious bigotry which monopolized the guidance of God and His mercy by one single operation" (p. 216).

Christianity, according to the author, is a natural development of the process of religion (p. 89) and the best testimony of its truth is that it appeared in the proper time, fitting into the needs of the age. The backbone of the doctrine is that man will be completely lost if he owns the whole world and yet loses himself; that the heavenly kingdom lies in man's conscience and not in palaces and thrones; and that man is valued by what he keeps in his conscience and by what he thinks, rather than by what he eats and drinks and by the temples he erects. The main trait of Christ is that he is the light of the world, the bread of life, the real dignity, the son of God and the son of man (p. 207).

With regard to the end of Christ's life, the author does not give a definite answer, since he is interested in the genius of Christ more than in the historical consummation of his career (p. 216).

The fourth book is an evaluation of the ethical and social principles incorporated in the Bible and the Qurʾān. The author aims to prove that Jesus and his brother Muḥammad (pp. 70, 114) strove for one common cause, that is, to liberate man from tyranny, poverty, social injustice, caste discrimination and similar vices. Both of them stressed love (p. 147), respect for the life of all beings, human or non-human (p. 152), humility (p. 158), faithfulness (p. 161), labour (p. 164), peace (p. 168) and mercy.

The author quotes the Bible, the Qurʾān and the traditions of Muḥammad equally to advocate the "socialism" which he adopts. "Our duty," he says, "whenever we remember Christ and Muḥammad, is to give to our human existence a meaning and a significance, and to discharge our responsibilities towards man and life with full truthfulness and intimate love" (p. 192).

May I end with two remarks. Firstly, the favourable attitude of the Qurʾān towards Christ and Christianity has determined the attitude of modern Muslim writers, whose sympathy and love for Christ are diffused through all their works. Secondly, the bone of contention between the two religions lies in the interpretation of the "symbolism" which occurred in the prophets' utterances, rather than in the essence of the faith which is found in the New Testament and the Qurʾān in full compatibility.

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## TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF LEWIS BEVAN JONES

It does not happen to everyone to become Principal of a School that bears the honoured name of Henry Martyn and to reflect as well something of the spirit and attitude of a CMS missionary of those early times. But then Carey was a Baptist and there is not much to choose between BMS and CMS, especially when you are in the "Church of all the Saints."

Bevan Jones perhaps belongs properly to the closing stages of that era of missionary service — devoted, scholarly, understanding — that numbers amongst its "Goodly Fellowship" C. F. Andrews, Temple Gairdner, Donald Fraser, J. N. Farquhar and others whose *dominating purpose* was the placing of scholarship in the field of evangelistic purposefulness. Bevan Jones was one of the last of this cohort. He passed away on March 31, 1960.

It was in 1924 that we saw him first, in the Church of the Ascension on Olivet at the more oecumenical of the "Mott" Conferences that marked that spring. "Saw him" is the right expression, sitting almost opposite Gairdner at the green baize-covered tables, and within whispering distance of S. M. Zwemer. With Mrs. Jones and Dr. Murray Titus he formed the trio from further afield than the Near East, coming as Principal of one of the first of those centres established in the post-war era of concern for Christian relationships with the world of Islam. It was a quarter of a century before we "saw him" again; but in the intervening years *The People of the Mosque* had enlarged the circle of those who had learned to appreciate what he and other leaders "had stood for" in the new approach. Many are thankful for the privileged contact, whether literary or personal. But let "India" at her widest speak in affectionate remembrance and recall. The following excerpts were written within a year of what one describes as his "[im-pending] home-call."

A leader of the Church in India writes: "I am so grateful to God that He led me to Henry Martyn School, where under my dear friend Bevan I had my training for present and difficult administrative duties. His fearless and courageous stand for what he considered right, his despising cheap popularity... I have always tried to follow his example in my position as a Bishop in my Church. How can one forget his cheerfulness... his Christian humility and meekness can above all his friendliness and spirit of understanding." (John A. Subhan, Bishop, Hyderabad, India)

A Muslim friend testifies: "A Godly man, his devoutness and true Christian dependence on God's grace will, I am sure, be a source of great strength to him. I have always admired his deep faith and piety and true human sympathy... Before I leave I will try to comply with his wishes and send him the kind of texts from the *Qur'ān* and *Hadith* he told me about." (From a letter November 1959 from the

Imam of the Woking Mosque, Moh. Yakub Kahn; sometime Editor of "*The Light*," Lahore).

An Army chaplain and former student of L. Bevan Jones pays this tribute: "Memories crowd in upon me as I try to write this letter-memories of a saint and scholar. He will always remind me of the Apostle John... for like him everything [he] said and did was luminous with grace and loveliness. He was the most convincing argument for God's love that any groping mind could wish to find in days of darkness and despair."

The world is saying "Good bye" to so many of his kind, perhaps because the walls separating us from the other side are crumbling; and it will be easier to repair the breaches of the centuries, with Christian scholarship even more available than in our here and now.

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ERIC F. F. BISHOP

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Miracle and Magic.** (*Kitāb al-bayān ʿan al-farq bain al-muʿjizāt waʾl-karāmāt waʾl-hiyal waʾl-kahāna waʾl-sihr waʾl-nāranjāt*). By al-Bāqillānī (Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ṭaiyih), ed. by Richard J. McCarthy, S. J. Publications of Al-Ḥikma University of Baghdad, Kalam Series, No. 2; Librairie Orientale, Place de l'Etoile, Beirut, Lebanon, 1958. English Text, pp. 9-27; Arabic text, pp. 9-36 and 3-181; 3 plates, paper.

In his edition of Bāqillānī's *Tamhīd*, Father McCarthy announced the publication of the same author's *Bayān*, which is the object of the present review.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the former work which had undergone a previous edition based on two incomplete manuscripts, the edition of the present one is offered to readers for the first time.

In the introduction, Father McCarthy describes the work as a treatise on the nature of the apologetic miracle and its distinction from other miracles, magic, prestidigitation, etc. As such, he considers it as unique among what we possess of the early apologetic literature of Islam. His excellent analytical summary gives us the essentials of the book's contents. After an introduction, Bāqillānī treats, among other things, of the true meaning of the apologetic miracle and its necessity; the object of the apostolic mission; the qualities and properties of apologetic miracles; a definition of custom and its violation by such miracles; how the latter are distinguished from tricks, spells and conjuring, and do not fall under the powers of creatures; the existence of sorcery and the difference between it and the apologetic miracle.

The editor points out that many works were composed on the proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood, particularly on the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān, on which subject Bāqillānī has also distinguished himself.<sup>2</sup> He states that the difference between such works and the present one is that the former were written with a practical object in view, to prove the true apostleship of Muḥammad against the contrary assertions of definite adversaries; whereas the primary aim of the latter work is not so much practical as theoretic, treating, as it does, of the nature of the miracle, its possibility and its validity as a sure criterion of prophethood, even though Bāqillānī's ultimate object be to prove the prophethood of Muḥammad.

There is no doubt that the approach of Bāqillānī to his subject is such as to have earned him a leading place among Muslim apologists in the field of prophetology. We do not intend here to go into the works which have been written on this subject both before and after Bāqillānī, since Father McCarthy himself states that he hopes to give later an annotated translation of the Arabic text which he has now put into the hands of Islamists. Furthermore, his editions of Bāqillānī's works are intended, in the best tradition of true scholarship, as a preparatory step towards the study of Bāqillānī's thought. This ideal we fully respect and share with Father McCarthy. Accordingly, and with no intention

<sup>1</sup> For this reviewer's review of the *Tamhīd*, as edited by Father McCarthy, see *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 13, No. 1 (1959), pp. 105-106.

<sup>2</sup> His work is entitled *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān* (Cairo, 1349/1930), and has been translated in part by G. E. von Grünebaum, *A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Criticism* (Chicago, 1950).

of anticipating this study, we mention only one particular work, because its contents are of great importance in providing a solution for the methodological problem of Bāqillānī's authorship of *Bayān*, though it does also help to situate the work and its author in the field of Muslim prophetology in the middle ages. This book is *Kitāb al-Nubūwāt*, an important work of a great Muslim thinker and prolific writer, the famous Hanbalite jurisconsult and theologian, Ibn Taimīya (died 728/1328). While presenting his own thought on the subject, Ibn Taimīya reviews the doctrines of his predecessors and in particular those of Bāqillānī.

Father McCarthy, in order to establish Bāqillānī's authorship of the *Bayān*, turns to an *internal* analysis of the sole surviving manuscript of the work preserved in the library of the University of Tübingen.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript, not being an autograph of the author, and lacking the *tradition*, which comes only with the existence of several independent copies, leaves the question of authorship unresolved. The title page carries both the title of the work and the full name of Bāqillānī (though without this ethnic name), and there would seem to be no compelling reason to doubt the authorship were it not for the fact that the title, as it stands, is not mentioned in the known bibliographical lists of Bāqillānī's works. Going beyond Max Weisweiler, who first described the manuscript, Father McCarthy gives the following reasons in support of Bāqillānī's authorship: (1) the author of the *Bayān* cites two other works of his by title, *Tamhīd* and *Sharḥ al-Lumāʿ*, both found in Qādī ʿIyād's list of works attributed to Bāqillānī; (2) the author refers to his works on legal theory and dogmatic theology, and Qādī ʿIyād's list includes several such works; (3) the teachings contained in *Bayān* are in complete agreement with Bāqillānī's teachings in *Tamhīd* and *Iʿjāz al-Qurʾān*.

This internal evidence is of some value; but it is not definitive, the reason being that it could apply to Bāqillānī as well as to some of his contemporaries whose works may have included such titles and whose doctrines could be in harmony with the doctrines of the *Bayān*. For instance, Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāʿīnī and Ibn Fūrak, were both contemporaries of Bāqillānī, both of the same theological school of Ashʿarism, both writers on legal theory and theology; and since we cannot presume to know with certainty the complete bibliographical lists of these three medieval authors, we can only give Bāqillānī's authorship the benefit of the doubt. Even in the case of a careful, thorough-going internal analysis, it would still be difficult to arrive at a definite solution, given the fact that authors reproduced *in extenso* large sections of each other's works.<sup>4</sup> In such cases, recourse must be had, if at all possible, to supporting external evidence; that is, to direct quotations of the work and their attribution to their author by a subsequent writer on the subject. This is exactly what the well-informed medieval author, Ibn Taimīya, does in his *Kitāb al-nubūwāt*.<sup>5</sup> On page 94, he cites "al-Qādī Abū

<sup>3</sup> See Max Weisweiler, *Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen: Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1930), vol. II, pp. 53-54.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the extreme case of the two works entitled *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniya*, one by Māwardī (d. 450) and another by Qādī Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458).

<sup>5</sup> Cairo: Muniriya Press, 1346/1927-28.

Bakr," his usual way of referring to Bāqillānī, as author of *Kitāb al-Bayān ʿan al-farq bain al-muʿjizāt waʿl-karāmāt waʿl-ḥiyal waʿl-kahāna waʿl-sihr waʿl-niranjīyāt*, and goes on to quote a passage therefrom which is found in Father McCarthy's edition, on page 50. Ibn Taimīya also refers to this same work of Bāqillānī, without quoting from it, and under a slightly different title: *Kitāb ... fīʿl-farq bain al-muʿjizāt* etc. (see p. 28). A third time (on p. 245), he refers to what may be the same or possibly a different work of Bāqillānī's, under the title: *Kitāb al-Muʿjizāt*, again without quoting from it. And finally, on p. 193, he cites what is definitely another work of Bāqillānī's, entitled: *Munāẓara ... fīʿl-karāmāt*, citing a long passage therefrom, not found in Father McCarthy's edition of *Bayān*, which he points out as being at variance with what Bāqillānī wrote in his *Bayān*.

Ibn Taimīya's *Nubūwāt* contains other passages quoted from Bāqillānī's *Bayān*, with a reference to the author but not to the work. For these passages, see *Nubūwāt*, p. 30 (cf. *Bayān*, 66, 72-73, 77, 78 ff., 93 ff.) and pp. 139-140 (cf. *Bayān*, pp. 55, then 45-46). The *Nubūwāt* contains still other passages attributed to Bāqillānī, but not found in Father McCarthy's edition of the *Bayān*, either because of the incomplete character of the latter, or because they were derived from one of Bāqillānī's other works treating of the same subject; for these see pp. 33, 34, 35 and 122. And finally, references to Bāqillānī without direct quotations are found dispersed throughout the *Nubūwāt*.

Ibn Taimīya's work is not only of help in determining the authorship of the *Bayān* by Bāqillānī; it is also, by virtue of the doctrines which it has preserved for us, and the stature of its author, an indispensable source and an intelligent guide in the study of the development of Muslim thought in the field of prophetology. It points out Bāqillānī's place at the head of the stream of Ashʿarite thought on the subject, indeed as a follower of the founder of his theological school, Ashʿarī, but going beyond him and guiding the steps of his successors, even those of the Ḥanbalite Qādī Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066), but alienating, on certain points, later Ashʿarites, among whom Juwainī (known as Imām al-Ḥaramain, d. 478/1085), Rāzī (d. 606/1209) and Āmidī (d. 631/1233). Besides these theologians, Ibn Taimīya cites numerous others, among whom Abū Ishāq al-Isfarāʿīnī (d. 418/1027), Abū Muḥammad b. Zaid (al-Qairawānī; died in the last quarter of the IVth/Xth century), Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1016) and Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), who were Shāfiʿite-Ashʿarites, except for Qairawānī who was a Mālikite-Ashʿarite. He also cites the Shāfiʿite-Muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Jabbār (p. 41), citing his work *Naqd al-Lumaʿ*, a refutation of the *Lumaʿ* of Ashʿarī, and he cites Bāqillānī's answer to this refutation, entitled: *Naqd Naqd al-Lumaʿ*.

Father McCarthy's task of editing the *Bayān* was not an easy one, having only one manuscript on which to base his edition. In his Arabic introduction, he explains the method he followed, and he appears to have followed it quite faithfully throughout the text, so that there can be no objection to the edition unless one disagrees with his principles of editing. Father McCarthy states that his edition presents the *Bayān* to the reader as it is found in the manuscript, except for a few annotated

corrections; that he kept certain readings in the text, even when he believed them to be erroneous, appending thereto footnotes in which he suggested a correct reading, and leaving it to the reader to accept it or to replace it by one of his own. The objection to such editing is that it merely reproduces a copyist's copy, indeed an unknown copyist and a copy the relation of which to the original is equally unknown. To have done this is little better than to have presented a photographic reproduction of the manuscript; for it does restore the diacritical marks and facilitates reading by supplying punctuation and dividing the text into numbered paragraphs and chapters with explanatory titles. But such an edition, faithful to the text of the copy, does not attempt to restore the original (by conjectural emendation), and Father McCarthy's edition is in reality another copy, admittedly an intelligent one, but nevertheless a copy once more removed from the original. Our objection is therefore that the editor should have felt his obligation towards the original, rather than towards the copy.

The foregoing is an objection of principle which would have been unnecessary had the author reversed his procedure by emending the text itself and supplying in the critical notes what he considered to be the mistakes of the copyist. Therefore our objection to the editor does not point to a lack of competence in restoring the text, for he does so in the critical notes, but rather in placing his emendations in the notes rather than in the text. The edition is therefore perfectly usable, since the reader can reverse the procedure of the editor while reading the text.

Father McCarthy's edition of the text is a careful one and, on the whole, a very good one. It is always best to translate integrally the text of a work of which we have a single copy, for it is in the actual translation thereof that one understands it fully and is more likely to restore the difficult readings of the copy. This is especially true of Arabic texts, such as the present one, where the diacritical marks are often missing. Father McCarthy can be counted on to have done at least a partial translation of the text, since he supplies us with an analytical summary.

In describing the contents of the title page, Father McCarthy appears to have been guided by Weisweiler's description. Thus he reads the ethnic name appearing in large letters in the middle of the page as al-Thāhirbi, whereas we read al-Tāhirtī, "of Tāhirt", (there being only two dots above the first *tā*; what was taken for a third dot, is not at all like the other two; also the mark under the second *tā*<sup>3</sup> is a downward stroke designating a *kasra*, not a dot designating a *bā*<sup>3</sup>). Besides this name, there are three others: °Abd al-Ḥaqq b. °Aṭīya al-Qāḍī, correctly identified by Weisweiler, but two Ibn Buzūrī-s, rather than just one whose name appears in two different forms. Father McCarthy identifies the Ibn Buzūrī who died in 694/1295. But besides this one, whose name is Maḥfūz, there is another, written quite clearly above it, Ma<sup>c</sup>tūq b. Maḥfūz b. al-Buzūrī al-Wa<sup>c</sup>iz, son of the former and known by the honorific title of Najm al-Dīn.<sup>6</sup> This explains the date of Muḥarram, 695 (December, 1295) which appears under this name as the date on

<sup>6</sup> See Ibn al-°Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*,

which the book was made the object of a *waqf* bequest by the son, the year after the father died.

Having made the above observations, we nevertheless believe that Father McCarthy once again earns the gratitude of scholars interested in the field of Muslim dogmatic theology, not only for his painstaking work as editor of the present volume offered to the orientalist world for the first time, but also for its presentation in the best scholarly tradition, including analytical summaries, one of which is in English for the benefit of non-arabists, learned notes to the text, and indexes, including one of technical terms.

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Šifā<sup>2</sup>-us-Sā<sup>2</sup>il Litahzīb-il-Masā<sup>2</sup>il (Apaisement à qui cherche comment clarifier les Problèmes). By Ibn Ḥaldūn. Edition, Introduction et Vocabulaire technique, by Père Ignace-Abdo Khalifé, S. J. Imprimerie Catholique, Beyrouth, 1959. Pp. 190, Arabic; 14 French, illustration.

In this work by the celebrated Arab historian Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>1</sup> we have a more developed presentation of his ideas on ṣūfism than is to be found in his famous work, the *Muqaddima*. In the recently discovered work, the author discusses the nature of ṣūfism, distinguishing it from the other Muslim religious sciences; he takes up the derivation of the term *taṣawwuf*, and the meaning of the terms *Rūḥ* (spirit), *Nafs* (soul), *ʿAql* (intellect) and *Qalb* (heart); he discusses the thought of former ṣūfi writers (Qushairī, Muḥāsibī, Ghazzālī, Suhrawardī); he argues for the novice's (*murīd*) need of a spiritual director (*Shaiḫh*). While against the latter accretions to ṣūfism, he affirms its goodness in the sincere and constant search for God by freeing the soul from world desires.

This work on ṣūfism by Ibn Khaldūn has been completely unknown until very recently, even to specialists. It was first spoken of in certain numbers of the 1948 issue of the review *Risālat al-Maghrib*. But these announcements remained unknown to general scholarship in the field; there is no trace of them to be found in the Selected Bibliography by W. J. Fischel, appended to the recent translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddima* by F. Rosenthal, nor in the footnotes appended by the latter scholar to its chapter on ṣūfism.

Ten years later, in 1958, appeared the first edition of this unknown work of Ibn Khaldūn, by the Arab scholar Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī, an Ibn Khaldūn specialist, professor in the new Faculty of Theology at Ankara University;<sup>2</sup> and this first edition was followed by another, in 1959, by Père Khalifé, Director of *al-Mashriq* in Beirut.

vol. V, p. 427 (in the obituary notice of his father), and Ibn Rāfi<sup>c</sup> al-Salāmī, *Tarikh ʿulamā<sup>2</sup> Baghdād* (ed. ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzawī, Baghdad, 1357/1938, p. 167 (in the obituary notice of his son ʿIzz ad-Dīn).

<sup>1</sup> The transliteration of the title is reproduced as published; in the body of this review the Arabic words are transliterated in conformity with the system customarily followed in the pages of this Quarterly. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Šifā<sup>2</sup> as-sā<sup>2</sup>il li-tahzīb al-masā<sup>2</sup>il*, edited with introduction and notes by Muḥammad b. Tāwīt at-Ṭanjī. Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbeasi, 1958.

Though this latter edition is the object of the present review, we cannot but discuss it in connection with the previous edition.

Père Khalifé had no knowledge of the Istanbul edition published the year before. As a result we now have, all at once, two different editions of a hitherto unknown, but important, work. This duplication of efforts could be considered as a wasteful expenditure of talents in a field abundant with unedited texts but indigent in editors. However, in the present case, the efforts of the editors were not altogether wasted. As a result of their independent efforts we have two studies which complement each other in certain ways. Prof. Ṭanjī gives us a thorough-going study of the work in his excellent introduction. Père Khalifé, whose introduction is brief, announces his intention to do a study comparing Ibn Khaldūn's thought on ṣūfism as presented in his *Muqaddima* to that presented in this newly discovered work. Prof. Ṭanjī gives a long list of works which he used in verifying the text and in his learned notes. He also has an index of the technical vocabulary used by Ibn Khaldūn, but this is inferior to that of Père Khalifé's, in number of terms as well as number of places cited for terms. Père Khalifé has an index for Quranic verses, and Prof. Ṭanjī has one for traditions. Père Khalifé's presentation of the technical vocabulary includes references to the following works: Ibn al-ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīya*, Jurjānī's *Kitāb al-taʿrīfāt*, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jilī's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn*, Muḥāsibī's *Kitāb al-rīʿāya liḥuqūq Allāh*, and *Kitāb al-Khalwa waʾl-tanaqqul* (in *Mashriq*, 1955), Ibn Khaldūn's chapter on ṣūfism in the *Muqaddima*, and the fundamental work on the technical vocabulary of ṣūfism by the great authority on the subject, Louis Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique de la mystique musulmane* (new edition, Paris, 1952). Both editions have indexes for names of persons, places, and sects mentioned in the work. Père Khalifé gives a concordance of technical vocabulary and other words used in the text, arranged alphabetically — an extremely useful instrument for the eventual translator to do a philologically sound translation.

As for the text itself, Père Khalifé's edition is inferior to that of Prof. Ṭanjī's. The latter had two different manuscripts upon which to base his edition, whereas Père Khalifé had only one of these, one which has a serious defect. This manuscript, from the North African library of Si Abū Bakr Tiṭwānī in Salé, (a photograph of which is in Dār al-Kutub in Cairo), unfortunately lacks three pages of Ibn Khaldūn's original work; moreover, ten of its folios, belonging to the earlier part of the work, have been displaced to its latter part. These ten folios, found on pp. 78-86 (= folios 75a to 84b inclusive), together with the three missing pages (to be found in Ṭanjī's edition, corresponding to folios 10b to 11b inclusive, on pp. 12-14) which should precede them, belong to p. 28 at fol. 10a between the words *Innamā* and *hādḥā*. The additional text in Prof. Ṭanjī's possession places the latter in a position not only to detect these serious defects, re-establishing the correct pagination and furnishing the missing pages, but also to compare the readings of the two copies and make the better choice. Fortunately, Prof. Ṭanjī supplies a conversion table showing the correct chronology for the folios of the manuscript. At the same time,

Père Khalifé's list of technical vocabulary refers to the folios of the manuscript, so that it can be used, by means of this table, for both editions. In the many places where Père Khalifé's text presents blanks, that of Prof. Ṭanjī supplies the missing word; and in many places where the former's text is obscure or faulty, that of the latter is clear and correct.

The two editors, while affirming Ibn Khaldūn's authorship of the present work, differ as to whether he wrote it before or after the *Muqaddima*. Prof. Ṭanjī is of the opinion that it was written before the *Muqaddima*, an opinion based mainly on external criticism; where Père Khalifé, on the basis of internal criticism, believes that it was written after it. In any case both editors are to be thanked for their efforts. We look forward to Père Khalifé's announced comparative study, and hope that this concordance will soon be used for a translation of the work for the benefit of a wider circle of readers.

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**Mā Sāhama bihi'l-Mu'arrikhūn al-'Arab fi'l-Mi'ah Sanah al-Akhīrah fi Dirāsah al-Ta'rikh al-'Arabī wa Ghairihi.** (The Arab Historians' Contribution to the Study of Arabic and non-Arabic History During the Past Century). Published under the supervision of the Committee for Arabic Studies of the American University of Beirut, Beirut, 1959; pp. xii, 294 (173 pages of text, 121 pages of appendices listing editions, translations and original works).

This book is the compilation of a series of lectures given at the ninth conference sponsored by the Committee for Arabic Studies of the American University of Beirut held on May 18-22, 1959. The topics and lectures were: "Non-Arabic History," Dr. G. Ḥaddād (pp. 1-24); "The Biography of the Prophet Muḥammad," M. Ṭ. Ḥusain (pp. 25-46); "The 'Abbāsīd State until 334 A.H.," Dr. A. Dūrī (pp. 47-69); "The Fāṭimid Period 969-1171," Dr. A. Mājid (pp. 70-93); "The Crusades," Dr. C. Zuraig (pp. 94-121); "The Mamlūk Period," Dr. N. Ziyādah (pp. 123-148); "The History of Andalusia," Dr. A. at-Turk (pp. 149-159); "Non-Published Arabic Historical Manuscripts in the Libraries of Istanbul," Dr. H. Ritter (pp. 160-173).

The most striking observation is the absence of a section dealing with any aspect of the post-Napoleonic history of the Arab world. This omission is regrettable since the Arab's interest in his history, of all periods, was stimulated by his growing sense of cultural and political self-consciousness which was one of the major results of Napoleon's expedition in Egypt. Such a section would have given some insight into the development of the modern Arab historian's attitude toward himself and his society.

Apart from being useful for its appendices and for the more or less detailed reviews and outlines of representative works, the book is important for pointing out the great need for comprehensive bibliographical studies covering the historical writing of the past century, the lack of which has hindered research in the various fields of Arab history (pp. 94-95).

The work is prevented from being a dry compilation of editions,

translations and original writings by virtue of the critical and analytical approach of the lectures, in, for example, Dr. Ḥaddād's analysis of the causes that altered the course of historical studies within this period, namely, from histories written by *udabā'* and journalists prior to 1919 to those written by specialists in Arab universities after 1919 (pp. 11-18), and Dr. Dūrī's excellent review of how the "Abbāsīd Movement" (al-Da'wah al-Abbāsīyah) was interpreted by Arab historians (pp. 55-69).

It is to be hoped that the Committee for Arabic Studies will in its future conferences take up other aspects of the Arab's contribution of the past century.

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**Al-Kumīt bin Zaid al-Assadī** (Shī'ā Political Poet of the Umayyad Period).  
By Aḥmad Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Najā; Dār al-ʿAṣr, Beirut, 1957. pp. 248.

Professor Fuʿād Afrām al-Bustānī, president of the Lebanese University, in his introduction to this book, says: "The author's attempt has the thrill of exploring, the surprise of discovering, the pleasure that goes with collecting, analyzing and sifting, and the courage of travelling upon unknown, unpaved roads."

The reader will experience similar impressions while going through the book. The author has made a splendid comparison of the poet's works and thoughts with those of his contemporaries. He has commended him where credit was due and criticized him where criticism was merited.

Nevertheless the book reflects two clear shortcomings: the author's innocent or deliberate glossing over of the poet's attempt to praise the Umayyad rulers while advocating the Shī'ā position, and his effort to explain and justify the poet's position while being very harsh in his condemnation of the poets who praised the Umayyads and were not bound with, or were under no obligation to be loyal to, the Shī'ā cause.

The conclusion gives one the feeling of a let-down after a strenuous build-up of the poet. Suddenly the reader discovers that the author's build-up was done to serve a purpose and because he had "an axe to grind."

The book is a departure from the traditional way of collecting odd bits here and there and linking them together haphazardly. It is a study of the poet placed within his proper influencing environment.

*Hartford, Connecticut*

FUʿAD BAHNAN

**The Phonology of Colloquial Arabic.** Richard S. Harrell; American Council of Learned Societies, New York, 1957. Pp. 90, paper, \$ 2.00.

A work with this title might reasonably be expected to be either a practical manual of "pronunciation" for teachers or students of Egyptian Arabic, or else a discussion of field methods and analytic techniques to be used in the phonological analysis of the language, with a comparative evaluation of possible alternative analyses, or perhaps even

a straightforward phonological description, i.e. a completed analysis, consisting ideally of two lists, one of the phonemes of Egyptian Arabic and the other of the possible phoneme sequences, and a phonetic description of the chief allophones of each phoneme. Unfortunately, Dr. Harrell has chosen to follow all of these approaches simultaneously, and the result will probably prove to be unilluminating to students, Arabists, and linguists alike. Yet the work will be esteemed for its near-encyclopedic detail and has already achieved the status of a major reference source on its subject; the enumerations of consonant clusters (pp. 28-43) and of the allophones of the vowel phonemes (pp. 45-60) are monuments of meticulous scholarship.

One of Harrell's chief sources of difficulty is the fact that the description is based on "the educated colloquial speech of Cairo and Alexandria" (p. 1). It is well known, to put the matter simply, that "educated colloquial speech" is invariably a *dialect mixture* based on uneducated, folk speech, i.e. the speech of the lowest social stratum, subjected to various literary or foreign influences or the like. Now it happens that dialect mixtures cannot be successfully described by current linguistic techniques, and, as a result, Harrell is repeatedly compelled to make comparative remarks about "educated" and "uneducated" speech, so that the reader can comprehend either form of speech as a unified, integrated system only with the greatest effort. A preferable approach would be to describe first the *uneducated* speech of Cairo and Alexandria, which would undoubtedly show great internal consistency, and then describe separately the differences between the two forms of speech (in practice, of course, we must deal with more than two forms). The general pedagogical value of this approach is readily apparent; for instance, a student learning English would first be taught to say "its him," and then, when he had gained considerable skill in using the language, would be told that "it's he" is considered *better*. In this way he would develop a native-like feeling for the two forms, viz. that "it's him" is *more natural*, while "it's he" is *more correct*.

Harrell's exposition includes the usual repertory of topics: juncture, stress, intonation, consonants, vowels, and "emphasis," with an appendix on "morphophonological alternation"; however, his use of relatively exotic technical terms like "mesojuncture," "mesosegment," and "microphoneme" will be discouraging to many potential readers, as will his uncertainties about phonemic theory. He quotes with approval R. H. Stetson's erroneous definition of the consonant (p. 30), which includes the proviso that "the consonant cannot occur alone [in a syllable]," but later explains at some length that Egyptian Arabic has some vowelless syllables, e.g. in /k-rumb/ "cabbage," where /-/ indicates a "voiceless intercostal syllable pulse" (p. 62). In addition, he devotes many pages to discussions of what should be called phonemes in phonological systems! But even more disconcerting is his refusal to *interpret* his data, to make them comprehensible, to discover the laws underlying, say, the permitted consonant sequences, as L. G. Jones has done for English consonant sequences ("English consonant sequences," in *For Roman Jakobson*, The Hague, 1956, pp. 245-253). It has been said that this is precisely the grammarian's goal, the creation of a cosmos from

the chaos of raw linguistic fact. Harrell, however, has only succeeded in adding more chaos to the original chaos of his field data.

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HARVEY SOBELMAN

**Les Robâ'îyyât d'Omar Khayyâm de Neyshaboór**, translated into French by Pierre Pascal. Éditions du Coeur Fidèle, 12 via di Campio Marzio, Rome, 1958. Pp. 325, 4to (11 1/2 x 11 1/2 in.), photographs. Price Lit. 8.000; £ 5; \$ 12.50.

Rarely does a reviewer have the pleasure and satisfaction of holding in his hands a work of such exquisiteness as the present volume by Pierre Pascal, Chancellor of the Embassy of Iran to the Vatican. It is pleasing by its aesthetic qualities; it is also a work of scholarship.

That the translator of Persian poetry should also be the illustrator-photographer renders the work exceptional, if not unique. Its more than forty-five full-page photographs are, according to the author's explanation, more than illustrations of ideas or the fruits of inspiration engendered by the verses of poetry. Rather, "each one was inspired by the mathematician-poet, for each one of them represents not what he could have imagined, but what he saw. It is for this reason that these images intend less to induce distractive reverie than to produce attentive comprehension..." (p. 27).

Its undisputed uniqueness resides in its being the first translation of the Rubâ'îyyât into French verse based on the most authentic and reliable Persian texts. Herein devotees of Khayyamian lore will find its greatest value by comparison with former and traditional translations. The translator has relied particularly on manuscripts belonging to the library of Mr. Chester Beatty which were discovered a short time ago by Professor Arthur J. Arberry and which date from approximately 658/1259,60, and the manuscripts of the library of Cambridge University dating from A.D. 1208 and found at Teheran by Professor Abbas Eghbâl. Pascal has compared these with other sources, including the Furûghî edition (1942) and still others in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. He has thus had access to reliable texts that were not available to earlier translators whose works are familiar to English readers, such as Edward Fitzgerald, F. Rosen, Edward Heron-Allen, E. H. Whinfield, and others. Sixty quatrains here translated appear for the first time in the French language.

Of former translations, the author mentions with commendation the examples of Whinfield, Gibb and Rückert. For the translations of E. Fitzgerald, on the other hand, Pierre Pascal expresses little less than disdain, especially since forty-nine of the seventy-five quatrains of Fitzgerald's first edition (1859) are considered to be "inventions" (p. 250).

Pierre Pascal's four hundred quatrains are thus an entirely new translation, not a revision. In the accomplishment of his task he has shown intelligent, scholarly familiarity with the characteristics and rules of the *rubâ'î* form of verse as utilized by other Persian poets. He has furthermore been conscious of his obligation, as poet-interpreter, to

transpose faithfully from the Persian to a European tongue both ideas and expression — no facile feat.

As a result, Pascal believes that his translation is the first in the French language which “provides today the possibility of knowing the real face of the Persian poet and astronomer and ... the most probable color of his ink of nearly nine hundred years ago” (p. 16).

Claim to finality as a translator is denied; true scholarly humility, to the contrary, reserves scope for amendment by future translators.

The quatrains have been classified according to their theme or inspiration, the result being a more rational and intelligible arrangement than the incoherent sequence of the originals, and a more precise comprehension of Khayyām's mind.

One hundred and thirty quatrains are annotated. Hundreds of obscure passages of the translation are elucidated by notes referring to Quranic passages, Islamic concepts or practices, traditions or legends, anecdotes of Persian history and historical characters, notions of astronomy or cosmology.

No dissertation on the theological position or philosophical leanings of Khayyām is here to be found. The reader is left to form his own conclusions. Not even the much-debated theory of the poet's mysticism is discussed. Yet anyone versed in Islamic thought will discover, with the help of Pascal's notes, that the seemingly obscure or recondite passages come to life with clarity and comprehension while the general outline of Khayyām's thought forms emerge with distinctness.

The volume contains a table of concordances of the translator's verse arrangement with the several texts consulted and translations of E. Fitzgerald. Appended are bibliographies of known manuscripts of the *Rubāʿiyyāt* of Omar Khayyām, of the classical texts and works on the poet published between 1804 and 1956, and of minor texts and translations in sixteen languages.

Its usefulness to scholars is greatly increased by the reproduction of the “Teheran” MS of the Cambridge University Library containing 252 quatrains, and a reproduction of the 1777 Persian Supplement MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris consisting in fifty-six quatrains.

The Colophon imparts the information that this first edition of 2200 copies was printed at Rome by the Società Grafica Romana and by the Société d'Arts Graphiques, both of which deserve commendation for excellent workmanship.

*Hartford, Connecticut*

ELMER H. DOUGLAS

**Rubaiyat.** By Hossein Ghods-Nakhai; Mouton & Co., The Hague, Holland, 1956. Pp. 184, 80 drawings. Gld. 9.75.

This is a modern *Rubāʿiyyat* in English by an author of our day. It is much in the same philosophical tone as Omar Khayyām but lacks the brilliance of the former.

Practically every Persian who can read and write considers himself a poet — the surprising fact is that most of them are! The author of these modern quatrains is better than the average, but Persian is such a poetic language and the quatrain is such a simple form that almost

anyone can construct these verses, much as we do Limericks in English.

There are illustrations for many of the quatrains printed on the opposite page. Some of the verses and the pictures are a little morbid, but others are rather gay. The book is of interest to those who care a great deal for Omar Khayyam and this style of poetry.

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J. CHRISTY WILSON

**Sandals at the Mosque**, Christian Presence Amid Islam. By Kenneth Cragg. Oxford University Press, New York, 1959. Pp. 160, \$ 2.75.

*Sandals at the Mosque* is a cumulative expression of Dr. Kenneth Cragg's thinking in relation to Christian communication with Muslims. For over three years he has conducted institutes similar to the Inter-church Summer School held in Ispahan, Iran, in 1959, and attended by delegates from all areas of the Middle East. During the same period he also lectured in countries from Nigeria to India and from Turkey to Ethiopia.

In his introduction to *Sandals at the Mosque*, Dr. Max Warren, scholarly missionary leader, presents the difficult thesis of the book which is the first of a series on the ethnic religions. He states the author's point of departure, namely, that Christianity is deeply concerned with the same underlying themes as those that are at the heart of Islam. This conviction, he adds, is born of the author's experience in the world of Islam.

Dr. Warren continues, "It is what St. Paul was writing about in Romans chapters 2 and 3. This is a fundamental insight of the Gospel which is sometimes overlooked by those engaged in the Christian Mission" (p. 10). He quotes the author as follows: "There is ... a great need for a discerning Christian trusteeship of Christ which can undertake an irenic and yet loyal witness to the meaning of the Gospel, without capitulating either to easy neglect of truth or to assertive and alienating advocacy of it" (p. 11).

Canon Warren gives three aspects of the challenge confronting Christians today. (1) "The ethnic religions as well as secularist philosophies of life are offering themselves as the basis of the new world civilization" (p. 8). (2) "Are we of the West prepared to trust the Holy Spirit to lead Christians of Asia and Africa, or must a controlling Western hand be permanently resting on the Ark of God?" (p. 8). (3) "The Christian Church has not yet seriously faced the theological problem of 'co-existence' with other religions." This factor implies the "acceptance of some limitation of the universal relevance of the Gospel" (p. 8), which limitation cannot be accepted.

From the challenge expressed by Dr. Warren, two demands arise: first, "acceptance" that "the Cross ... was not a symbol of imperial domination but of the IMPERIUM of sacrifice" (p. 9). Second, is the demand to walk with deep humility, "by which we remember that God has not left Himself without witness in any nation at any time... Our first task in approaching another people, another culture, another religion, is to take off our shoes, for the place we are approaching is holy.

Else ... we may forget that God was here before our arrival" (pp. 9, 10).

The title of the book itself is an indication of the underlying philosophy of the author's thought. It is revealed in the words of the book of Exodus 3,5: "Put the shoes from off thy feet for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." The worshipper at the mosque, whoever he may be, must leave the symbol of his earthly position at the entrance before he enters to pray to Allah. In humility he becomes one with all the other worshippers.

The Christian, too, in attempting to communicate with the Muslim must endeavor to find the common language of communication. The title signifies the humble act of entering on the same footing into the presence of God, willing to participate with the Muslim in knowing God, and sharing with him some of the glories as well as understanding some of the mysteries in Islam that bind the Muslim to his way of thinking.

One must be tempted to become a Muslim before he can recognize fully the power of Islam, and be able to start from that point with the glories of the Gospel. As the subtitle indicates, the book strives to reveal the "Christian Presence amid Islam."

The contents of the book are divided into three relatively equal parts: the "Quest of Islam," the "Conditions of Inter-Religion" and "Present with the Peace of God." There is also a section of ten pages comprising a word-list of Islamic terms which contribute to clarification of ideas. A short bibliography is included for those who wish to pursue further study of themes treated in the text.

Dr. Cragg calls to our attention the fact that Christianity has a concern for the basic principles which Islam holds up to its adherents. His approach is that of the pioneer going into an unknown land, venturing forth into a new experience, undertaking an "exploration of the spirit."

In working with Islam it is not enough to sit at home, make plans and set the stage from the study desk with the Qur'ān before one's eyes. It becomes the duty of him who desires to penetrate the world of Islam to mingle among Muslims where they are. In doing so, barriers are broken down and the ground of communication is attained.

In the first part of the book an analysis is made of a sermon by Ahmad ibn 'Abdallah on Muharram Friday. A careful and truly inspiring explanation of this sermon follows with all that it implies for the communal life of Islam. The reader is led to a consideration of the act of worship (*ṣalāt*) and finally to the significance of the *qiblah* and the *mihrāb*.

The second part of the book deals with "Conditions of Inter-religion." The writer declares: "Any study of Islam that is content only to discourse and to discuss is *ipso facto* a contradiction of Islam. Nobody is validly studying what he begins by denying" (p. 68). He continues: "Clearly there is in our time a far-reaching *fact* of inter-religion in the simple circumstance we may describe as 'inter-life'" (p. 69). It is clear that "religious systems are compelled by events to address themselves to the same problems" (p. 73) for "mankind is one in its elemental needs, yearnings, wistfulness and fears" (p. 74).

Dr. Cragg discloses that "Islam and Christianity deal fundamentally with the same things and to a significant extent deal with them in the same way.... By their basic commitment to belief in the significance of the world, the oneness and personality of God, the fact of revelation and the moral accountability of man in and beyond this life, these two faiths have close affinities, not shared in the relations of either with the religions of further Asia" (p. 74).

The author indicates that the two final Surahs of the Qurʾān belong at least potentially with the Biblical affirmation: "God is our refuge and strength." From this he leads into a pertinent discussion of conversion.

An essay which discusses contemporary life presumably includes nationalism which the author considers in "Men's Faiths and Their Nationalism" (p. 82). Then follow two sections, one of which emphasizes humility, the lowliness of God in Christ by the Spirit. "He who deals with men's faiths, it is said, should know that he moves amid their yearnings" (p. 88). The second narrates the significance of Christ's three-fold temptation as it bears upon Christianity's encounter with non-Christian faiths, concluding with the words: "Christian thought about inter-religion leads back to that centre — Christ's sake and men's service" (p. 101).

The third and last part of this book is entitled, "Present with the Peace of God." The symbol of the sandal recurs in the author's reference to St. Paul's military equipment, the list of which ends with "the shoes of peace" (p. 104). There ensues the necessity to examine the Muslim's "peace" of conformity to the Divine Will. It embraces three basic elements: *Shirk, Islam and Muslimūn*.

After careful evaluation of the above, Dr. Cragg pursues the Christian concept of the peace of God. "The meaning of the peace of God is that He must reign, that He subdues all things unto Himself having to do with men His subjects, but does so consistently with their status as men and His nature and character as God" (p. 127).

In the last analysis, Dr. Cragg asks, "Has a Gospel of pardon more success than a law of submission?" (p. 136). This question is raised in the light of the tremendous advance Islam is making in nationalist-conscious Africa south of the Sahara. The author continues, "The answer to all queries about men being saved is the summons: 'Enter ye in ...'" (p. 139). He signals out one of the crude facts of our time: "... the suspicion that the Christian Church only relates itself to other faiths with a view to growing more numerous at their expense often proves a stubborn factor in men's disinclination to listen to witness" (p. 141).

*Sandals at the Mosque* cannot be read hastily, for it is only by thoughtful meditation that the implications of its teaching may be profitable in the day-to-day contact with our Muslim brother. The book is another great contribution to the understanding of communication between Christian and Muslim. The significance of the Church is "always and only derivative from the significance of Christ: it is to give itself that men may find Him" (p. 142).

**Pastor on the Nile:** A Memoir of Bishop L. H. Gwynne. By H. C. Jackson; S.P.C.K., London, 1960. Pp. vii, 270, 14 illustrations. Price 16/6.

"A glimpse of something far more worthwhile than our own petty concern," a quotation from a former Governor of the Blue Nile Province, should be in the mind of the reader of this work which is one of the latest of missionary biographies. Of necessity this review concentrates on the missionary aspect of the *life* of Bishop Gwynne, though in the interlude of the First World War the missionary was never hidden in the uniform of the Deputy Chaplain General. Nor for that matter was the Sudan forgotten in the throes of war. It was when Bishop Gwynne had served the Sudan for nearly forty years that at the close of a meeting in Omdurman, at which he had taken the chair, he told the audience that though his tongue was "English" they knew his heart was "Sudani." If it be true that standing in Cranmer's pulpit in St. Mary's, Oxford, Bishop Gwynne remarked: "In the Sudan where I come from, they have no use for values," the Sudan would have replied that the preacher had shown a meaning to "value" understood and "read of all men."

For those who came into the orbit of the Bishop's influence and friendship in the early twenties, it was difficult to realize that already there was a quarter of a century of missionary service to his credit and others' inspiration. This means that the early chapters should be absorbed if only that subsequent generations of missionaries might know that the age of Livingstone lasted on to the end of the nineteenth century. This book has been rightly published in the year of Africa's destiny. If it had been twice as long, not all would have been said. The Sudan rightly has pride of place; and the Bishop would rejoice at the names of so many of his fellow-workers, not only missionaries but Sudanese, to say nothing of those who tended him when he was "a son of ninety years."

He would be glad, too, of the continual stress laid by the author on his consciousness of the Unseen, the guidance he sought and found, the disappointments he learned to overcome, the humour pervading his conversation, the ability with which he turned himself and others to thoughts of spiritual things — even the disagreements, though these were often coupled with a readiness to consider and at times to accept the other person's point of view. It must always be a sign of Christian greatness to accept advice. Bishop Gwynne had this, as he possessed other graces. There was never need to emphasize ceremony; he had enough dignity to do without display.

The work contains quotations from his letters that Christian leadership at home and abroad might ponder in the councils of the Church. "Returning home after nearly fifty years abroad," he once wrote, "I often miss the friendship and fellowship of other churches." Of another person he wrote: "He made it easy for these... Africans to believe in the living God, the Great Father." This statement could be predicated of Bishop Gwynne himself. No wonder John R. Mott asked him to chair the committee in 1924 that considered the devotional life of the missionary in the Islamic world. Grace was always sufficient because faith was not misplaced.

*Redhill, Surrey*

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

**Kings and Camels.** By Grant C. Butler; The Devin-Adair Company, 23 E. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y., 1960. Pp. xi, 207. \$ 4.50.

This small and attractive volume, illustrated with excellent photographs, has a commending foreword by General Russell L. Maxwell, first Commander of the U. S. Army forces in the Middle East during World War II. It was through General Maxwell that Grant Butler first became interested in the Middle East. The General recognized in this young officer in the air force, with former experience in newspaper reporting and personnel work, a potential aid to his country in understanding that part of the world.

The book describes subsequent experiences of Grant Butler when, having finished his military service, he served for two years as head of the Field Public Relations Division of the Arabian American Oil Company (ARAMCO). The chapters on the history, policies and problems of that company, with glimpses of the kind of life led by its American employees, would be useful reading for persons contemplating employment in ARAMCO.

But the main emphasis of *Kings and Camels* is on the Arab. As a recreation specialist for the oil company the author had an unusual opportunity for becoming acquainted with the rank and file of Arabian members of the personnel as well as with other Arabs with whom his work gave him contact. In addition, when serving as guide for important visitors he enjoyed the privilege of meeting the great King Ibn Saud and other members of the ruling family of Saudi Arabia. Like many others who have lived among Muslim Arabs he liked and respected them sincerely and desired to be their friend and understand their religion. His second chapter relays an interpretation of Islam by one of his Muslim friends. In other chapters the author's own reactions to his personal experiences give the book added interest to the reader.

Returning to the United States at the completion of his term of service in Arabia, Grant Butler felt compulsion to publish articles and stories contributing to his country's understanding of current situations in the Middle East. Accordingly, he gave himself, through study and renewed travel experiences, to becoming efficient for this purpose. As a very popular lecturer he addressed more than a thousand audiences throughout the United States. And now, in this, his first book, he heads one of the later chapters, "Arab Nationalism, Zionism and Communism." Another chapter deals with "The Arab Refugees." His concern for fairness in treating these subjects must be apparent to all who read.

*Hartford, Connecticut*

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

**Algeria in Turmoil: A History of the Rebellion.** By Michael K. Clark; Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 15 West 47th Street, New York, 1959, pp. 466, xiii, index, maps. \$ 6.00.

Since the first evaluations of the Algerian problem to be published in the United States were strongly critical of the French position, although they were written by French citizens,<sup>1</sup> it is interesting to

<sup>1</sup> *Lieutenant in Algeria*; by Jean Jacques Servan-Schreiber, New York, 1957. *Algeria*; by Germaine Tillion, New York, 1958.

find that the first strong defense of the French position to appear in this country is written by an American. A *New York Times* correspondent in North Africa, Michael Clark makes it clear in his preface that his plea to the reader to "judge fairly the attitudes and reactions of peoples whose moral standards and sense of social responsibility are at least equal to his own" refers to the European minority in Algeria, not to the Algerian majority.

After an unsympathetic account of Algerian nationalism, he notes that "the vision of a few Algerian Moslems goes beyond nationalism." To these few he attributes "a conviction that, without France, the clock would be turned back in Algeria." That he shares this conviction is evident throughout the book, and even in an appendix where Clark reproduces a gloomy article, "When Children Die of Hunger," written in Morocco after this Algerian neighbor had attained its independence from France.

Clark gives a detailed account of the revolutionary events of 1958 which were to bring De Gaulle's Fifth Republic to power in France. The heroes of the piece are General Jacques Massu and Jacques Soustelle. Clark insists that "the reality of the situation" was not an army *coup* led by Massu, but the reluctant assumption of authority by the military to protect the public safety. Soustelle is similarly cast in the best possible light, as one interested only in "the salvation of Algeria." Since De Gaulle has since found it advisable to dispense with the services of both Massu and Soustelle, one is entitled to ask whether Clark's evaluation of them and their role is a completely realistic one.

This, basically, is the difficulty with Clark's book. He strains so hard to put the French in the most attractive position, and the Algerian leaders in the least attractive one, that the end product can hardly be considered an objective appraisal of the situation. Such a book remains to be written.

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VERNON L. FERWERDA

**Mohammad und der Koran.** By Rudi Paret (Urban-Bücher 32); W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, Germany, 1958, pp. 160, paper. D.M. 3.60.

Rudi Paret, professor at the University of Tübingen, known by his several publications and contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, outstanding German scholar, presents a valuable study on the Arabian Prophet and the Qur<sup>2</sup>an. In the beginning of his discussion he considers the latest works of research and the most recent publications in this field. He evaluates the Quranic evidences for data on the life of Muhammad and treats related problems. His work constitutes a good summary of the whole question along with his original contribution to it. It is a scholarly study which will be helpful to the student of Islam. Yet it is easy to read and understand and should serve to initiate the general public into the subject.

An appendix includes information on Quranic research work and bibliographical material in addition to a bibliography.

*Tunis, Tunisia*

GERHARD SCHRECK

**Das Problem der Islamischen Kulturgeschichte.** By Jörg Kraemer; Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen, 1959. Pp. 69, paper. DM 6.80.

The author, professor at the University of Göttingen, Germany, exposes the problem of "Islamic History of Culture" and seeks a new solution to it. In place of the former generally-admitted thesis that the oriental and occidental cultures are completely different and will never meet, Professor Kraemer advances the widespread present-day point of view which stresses the common origins and similar developments of these two cultures. To the author, Islamic culture did not merely follow the Greek heritage but incorporated it into a new system. They are the differences that matter, he feels, and he proceeds to indicate those elements in Islam that differentiate it from Greek culture. However many foreign branches may have been grafted on the tree of Islamic culture, he concludes, its roots have always been in the Orient. The work is well annotated.

*Tunis, Tunisia*

GERHARD SCHRECK

**Islam in India and Pakistan.** By Murray T. Titus, Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 5 Russell St., Calcutta, 16, India, 1959, pp. viii, 272 and Appendix, Bibliography and Glossary. Paper Rs. 5.00.

The author of this volume is well known to students of Islam through his book, *Indian Islam*, first published in 1930, and through his association with *The Muslim World* as an Associate or Advisory Editor. This "revised reprint" has been published jointly by the Christian Students' Library and the Y.M.C.A. Publishing House — each under its own imprint."

ISLAM IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN is more than a reprint, more also than just a revision. Dr. Titus explains how "with the partition of India and the birth of Pakistan in August 1947, a wholly new situation, with reference to the Muslims of the Indian peninsula, was created. This vivisection of India and the creation of a new nation, Pakistan, which is the largest Muslim nation in the world, has made necessary the revision of *Indian Islam* under a new title." Through Chapter IX the author has used the chapters of the first edition with little change, for "nowhere is there to be found any comprehensive treatment of Indian Islam from the standpoint of religious history." It was to meet that need that *Indian Islam* was written. A brief reference to chapter contents will provide a glimpse of the wide field that they cover. Starting with the Religious Objective and Methods of Muslim Conquerors, he passes on to "peaceful penetration" by which Islam spread. Chapters on the "Organization of the Sunni Community," "Shi'ahs and Mahdawis," and "Religious Orders" are full of information gleaned from long and careful study. Although found in countries from which Muslims entered India, "owing to the ancient *guruchela* practice existing among the Hindus, and the universal belief in the worship of local gods and goddesses, which was the heritage of the majority of Muslims of India through their Hindu origin," saint worship early became an active component of the religious life of Indian Muslims. In other ways also the "Hindu Environment" in which the Muslims found themselves

modified their very faith (*īmān*) and practice (*dīn*) to a serious extent among large sections of the evergrowing community. Very early the invaders "were forced to realize that the fundamental law of no quarter for idolaters could not possibly be carried out to the letter — the hold of the Brahmanic religion on the people was too strong and subtle to be shaken entirely by fear."

Early in the 19th century two marked changes gained strength: the political weakening of Muslim rule, and the growing authority of the British. At first a sullen discontent throughout the Muslim community raised the question as to whether India was *Dār al-Ḥarb* or *Dār al-Islām*. Led by conservative *maulvis* Muslims boycotted western educational institutions only to find that they were dropping behind Hindus and becoming isolated. Shortly after 1857 a new leader arose on the Muslim scene, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, whose coming the author describes as "The Dawn of a New Day." He believed that "his community could be rescued from their condition of utter despair only by adopting a wholly new attitude toward the revolutionizing influences from the West." They should see India, he thought, as *Dār al-Islām* because as Muslims they were free to exercise all the essential rites and ceremonies of their religion. He stressed the need of a better understanding between Christians and Muslims. He insisted that modern science and oriental learning could go together and he stood for social reform. He believed that Muslims and Christians could dine together; that the veil was not necessary for women and that they too could be educated. He found some like-minded associates. English was introduced in a Muslim school in Calcutta. Other English schools were opened by him, and other forward steps taken. On a visit to England he studied the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and, on his return, with the aid of friends, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was opened in 1875. This is now The Aligarh Muslim University with support from the Central Government. It has both a Woman's Department and a Theological Department. Years later, in Hyderabad, Deccan, the Osmania University was opened by the Nizam of Hyderabad, offering education in Urdu.

As an expression of this new communal life other organizations took form: The All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference (1886) and the All-India Muslim League in 1906. With a desire to meet the needs of the common people 'National' schools supported by local Khilafat Committees sprang up in many places. This line of education was completed in 1920 by establishing at Jamia Nagar, near Delhi, Jamia Millia Islamia, the National Muslim University. Its course of education covers 16 years, from Kindergarten to University. Instruction is in the Urdu language; but English is a compulsory subject throughout the curriculum.

#### PARTITION

Community consciousness based on religion had been a potent factor from the earliest invasion. Kingsley Davis, in "The Population of India and Pakistan," has shown the constant conflict that had persisted:

Two more contrasting religions would be difficult to find. Islam was rigorously monotheistic, Hinduism profusely polytheistic. Islam abhorred idolatry, Hinduism adored it. Islam had one sacred book; Hinduism had a variegated and conflicting literature.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 on communal lines produced a tense situation between the two communities. The next year The Muslim League was formed. In 1930 Sir Muhammad Iqbal, in his Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League, proposed that the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan be formed into a single State, within or without the British Empire. His name is still associated with the formation of Pakistan. Some Muslim students in England suggested the name Pakistan. This became a slogan which was adopted in 1940 at Lahore with Quaid-i-Azam presiding at the All-India Muslim League.

In his closing chapters Dr. Titus gives quotations from the Constitution of Pakistan; and describes the "New Muslim Apologetic and Polemic." The Appendix is full of information, facts and figures. *Islam in India and Pakistan* is a mine of information for students in Islamics.

Claremont, California

JOHN N. HOLLISTER

**Modern Trends in World Religions.** Ed. by Joseph M. Kitagawa; Open Court Publishing Co., La Salle, Illinois, 1959. Pp. xv, 286. \$ 3.50.

This book is dedicated to the memory of Paul Carus who was a pioneer in inter-religious understanding. It is a helpful book, as it seeks to provide a better understanding of the various religious groups — Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Chinese religions.

The first two chapters are devoted to the discussion of modernity and Islam, with special attention to Islam in Pakistan. In this connection, Muhammad Iqbal is, of course, chosen as the outstanding leader of the Muslim community in this modern period. In fact he asserted that there was no conflict between modernity and Islam, for "modernity is nothing but the development of the true spirit of Islam. Therefore, all Muslims should feel completely at home in the modern world."

Judaism is described as involved in "continuous novelty," which has always emerged in "relationship to an already existing structural pattern" which maintains the continuity.

Two outstanding emphases are to be found in all the churches of Christendom. One is the "social gospel emphasis." The other is the ecumenical movement in Protestant church life. This latter movement is evident in "many organic unions in American Protestantism in the form of community and federated churches." There has also been important progress on the international level, "in the efforts which led to the first world-wide missionary conference in New York City in 1900, the Conference on Faith and Order in Edinburgh, 1910, and finally to the formation of a World Council of Churches, meeting in Amsterdam in 1948 and in Evanston in 1954."

India's spiritual renaissance is well described by Amiya Chakravarty. The moving spirit in this development was, of course, Rabindranath

Tagore. But, somehow "Tagore never quite believed that the present system of nations can last. He felt that great historical forces are moving in the direction of a world government ... This faith was one with Tagore's fundamental beliefs in the Religion of Man."

Chinese philosophy and religion have both developed modern trends, which are carefully described. The ancient Civil Service order, and the 2,000-year-old educational plans were replaced by modern systems. Also, the Confucian Classics suffered the same fate as these institutions. Confucianism itself was given "rough treatment," but finally modified forms of it were accepted.

Two forms of Buddhism persist which are carefully described: Theravada Buddhism, and Zen Buddhism. They deal primarily with the modern trends. The former is the religion of Southeast Asia: Ceylon, Thailand, Laos and Cambodia. This form of Buddhism is undergoing an interesting form of "revival" as the result of the two-year meeting of the Sixth Great Council held in Rangoon recently. The result is a real revival of Buddhism which should be watched in the years ahead. The second form of Buddhism, Zen Buddhism, is quite different, and seems to be somewhat elusive.

On the whole the book is a very interesting and enlightening interpretation of major religions of today.

*Daytona Beach, Florida*

MURRAY T. TITUS

**Industrialization in the Middle East.** By Kurt Grunwald and Joachim O. Ronall; Council for Middle Eastern Affairs Press, 333 W. 86th St., New York, 1960. Pp. xx, 394. \$ 7.00.

An impetus to current concern with Middle East economics has been the relative futility of political solutions for its persistent problems. Independence, nationalism, neutralism, proto-communism, Nasserism — all these ideological currents have flowed into the sea of Middle East life. They have roiled the waters without reshaping the tides. The "revolution of rising expectations" seems likely to produce, in the Middle East, a counter-revolt of rising frustrations. The very formulation of problems in political terms appears to impede their solution on any terms. An economic formulation at least clarifies problems in economic terms — how to make resources produce more wealth — and may thereby lead to more useful, if less apocalyptic, political solutions.

It is in this spirit that Grunwald and Ronall survey the present position and future prospects of industrialization in the Middle East. Part I reviews the resources — human, natural, financial, and "basic facilities" — and defines the problems. The authors indicate crisply why ideological sloganizing has not proved an adequate substitute for economic analysis in Middle East industrialization: "The striving for economic autarky, economic and political nationalism, and military considerations were motivating forces; costs were not." The passion for installing industrial showplaces has, by neglecting the tougher but prior task of modernizing the basic agricultural sector, proved illusory: "Industrialization in its first stages is often identical with improved agri-

culture and connected with increased trading activities: the creation and improvement of marketing facilities. Overall development, therefore, begins with the raising of agricultural production, per capita and in toto."

Part II reviews the level of industrialization achieved by individual countries: Afghanistan, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Palestine and Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Sudan, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, Libya. While the authors have combed the statistical literature diligently and made some fresh computations of their own, their figures regularly strike this reviewer as a bit higher than would be justified by rounding. Nevertheless, in most cases the inter-country differentials, both in levels and growth rates, show about the same large magnitudes as others. They do not undertake a systematic comparison of these differentials to elicit the variables which explain past performance and may guide future programs — an indispensable task, but one which may require another volume of this size. They do find the outlook bleak for regional development so long as political discords prevail: "After rhetoric has been exhausted, it might be worth while to look for a new beginning ... 'If the sick turn away from the doctor, how can they be cured?' asks a manual of Zen Buddhism."

*Massachusetts Institute of Technology*  
*Cambridge, Massachusetts*

DANIEL LERNER

**The Antiquities of Jordan.** By G. Lankaster Harding. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1960. xviii, pp. 206. Illustrated. \$ 4.75.

This attractively produced and beautifully illustrated volume is the work of the man who for twenty years (1936-56) was the head of the Department of Antiquities of Transjordan, and later of Jordan. The author's original intention was to write a guidebook to the principal ancient sites of Jordan together with some information about the country itself and its history. But later he largely re-wrote the book so as to make it "of some interest to the arm-chair traveller as well" (p. viii). An even cursory perusal of the book is sufficient to indicate that the author would have been better advised to adhere to his original intention.

Those pages of the volume which deal with subjects outside the topographical guide to Jordan's antiquities and their archaeological history are too sketchy. For instance, Transjordan is the dolmen land *par excellence*. There are some three passing references in the book to dolmens. Yet their archaeological, and indeed, historical significance is not even intimated. Also, the historical chapter (pp. 10-37) contains some errors. The statement that the date of the Exodus "has been placed by scholars either in the fifteenth or the fourteenth century B.C." (p. 19) would be true if it referred to 19th-century Biblical-historical scholarship. In the last few decades it has been definitely established that the Exodus took place in the thirteenth century B.C. during the reign of Ramesses II (1301-1234). To say that the children of Israel "wrote from Kadesh" to the King of Edom (p. 19) is, again, incorrect. Numbers 20 : 14 says clearly that "Moses sent messengers." And it is

a peculiar kind of historical judgment which is implied in the following sentence: "Strong Roman rule kept the country quiet for some time, but the Jews could not long remain at peace, and about A. D. 64 the Nabataean King Malchus II sent an army to help the Romans against them" (p. 34).

As against the shortcomings of this chapter, the bulk of the book, devoted to the archaeological sites and sights of Jordan, is excellent. Here the author moves on home grounds, gives the history of the site, and describes the extant monuments with the personal touch of one who is directly and intimately familiar with every detail. Herein lies the real value of this book: it is an indispensable guide to the antiquities of Jordan which no one seriously interested in the subject can afford to miss.

*New York*

RAPHAEL PATAI

**The Soviet Union and the Middle East.** By Walter Z. Laqueur; Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 15 W. 47th St., New York 36, N. Y., 1959, pp. x, 366. \$ 6.00.

This authoritative study of a neglected field by a recognized expert on the subject is of first-class importance. For one thing, it combats the usual assumption that the policies of penetration of whatever country they choose to invade is invariably successful. Such an assumption could well have been entertained in regard to the Soviet designs on the Middle East, since these countries represent the southern neighbors of the Union. But Mr. Laqueur's study reveals that the Russian strategists in charge of the project entered this field late and made a surprising number of grave blunders, because of radical misjudgment of the actual situation. And although communist parties under Soviet auspices organized themselves in every Middle East country, the actual target of the Soviet policy of conquest envisaged at first only Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan. Moreover, Russians initially supported Kemal, Riza Shah, and Amanullah of their respective countries, all three of whom turned against the Soviet Union and persecuted communist parties within their borders. When the economic crisis of 1930 overtook the entire Middle East, communists everywhere in this region were too weak to utilize the situation — always favorable to political subversion — to their advantage.

During the dominance of German and Italian Fascism, the Arab nationalist leaders were attracted by Hitler and Mussolini, and were consequently averse to blandishments of the Soviets. Moreover, Stalin's iron-fist methods in themselves repelled, rather than attracted, the Arab leaders.

Accordingly, it was not until 1955 with Khrushchev's change of tactics that a fundamental reorientation of the sympathies of the Arab nationalists occurred. His policy of aiding the Arabs against the Israelis, and his astute maneuvering against the French and British during the Suez crisis, turned the Arab sympathies and hopes Moscow-ward. Thus the thirty-five year old mistaken policy of the Soviets aiming at a truly communist revolution at last was turned in the right direction.

How has this policy fared since 1955? It must be admitted that Khrushchev has succeeded very much better, particularly with Nasser in Egypt and Qassem in Iraq, than his predecessors had. Nevertheless, the Union of Egypt with Syria which occurred in 1957 as the result of the efforts of Syrian nationalists to avoid too great a Soviet domination must be regarded as a setback for Khrushchev's policy. For the Arab nationalism, which is the dominant force in the Middle East politics, is rightfully considered by the Soviet theoreticians as a bourgeois revolution comparable to the February 1917 phase of the Russian Revolution. As such, it might become the first step toward the genuine communist revolution, but under no circumstances may it be at present identified with it. Even so, it is obviously to the Soviet interest to encourage it both in Egypt and Iraq, but only with the view to guiding it toward the ultimate goal of the communist seizure of all power.

What prospects of success of this ultimate Soviet aim does Mr. Laqueur see in the not too distant future? He thinks that in pursuing the goal the Soviet Union must sooner or later come into conflict with Arab nationalism. If some of the Middle Eastern countries should develop into a "loose, more specifically local form of popular democracy," or even into national communism, the conflict with the Soviet Union would almost inevitably follow. "The end of the first act in this drama is in sight. So is the beginning of the second" (pp. 346-47).

*Claremont, California*

MATTHEW SPINKA

**My Thirty Years in Turkey.** By Lynn A. Scipio; Richard R. Smith Publisher, Inc., Ringe, New Hampshire, 1955. Pp. 364. \$ 5.00.

Professor D. B. Macdonald in his later years was greatly interested in the long obituaries in his newspapers. He wanted to see what people had done with the years of life given to them. He would have enjoyed reading this book, as has this reviewer. Dr. Scipio's biography tells how the son of a poor Italian immigrant, brought up on a rented farm, gained an education for himself, became a teacher and then an engineer, and then a teacher of engineering. Then he was given the opportunity to start an engineering department in Robert College in Constantinople and there reached the front rank of his profession.

Friends and relatives requested him to write the story of his life. He has told it modestly and well. He relates personal incidents with details that make them interesting. His descriptions of his environments, the countries, the people, the national and international events during his life abroad, are first-hand and factual. His observations about the causes, conduct and results of Turkey's four wars during thirty years are side lights on history that policy-makers and molders of public opinion would do well to remember.

Dr. Scipio was a teacher of mechanical skills, of engineering know-how. By word and example he taught that hands and machines should be guided and controlled by good heads, good hearts and good consciences. For instance, no engineering students learned from him to build a road between two towns with more kilometers than necessary in order to increase the profits of contractors.

Robert College and America gained in repute and influence by Dr.

Scipio's years of service. Turkey and the surrounding countries benefited permanently by his energy, ability and character. His book is cordially recommended to young people selected for humanitarian service abroad.

Hartford, Connecticut

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

**Concise Dictionary of Judaism.** By Dagobert D. Runes. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. Pp. 237, \$ 5.00.

This is a concise and generally objective ready reference for the general reader who wishes to identify leading thinkers and authors throughout the history of Judaism, ancient, medieval, and modern. Often their major contributions and sometimes their major works and/or chief ideas are listed, with approximate dates. Included also are some sixty-four plates with subjects ranging from drawings or photographs of outstanding Jews to reproduction of the Lord Balfour letter to Lord Rothschild and picturization of Jewish matters of ritual. For the non-Jew and non-Hebraist, the serviceableness of the book is somewhat impaired by the transliteration into English of many Hebrew expressions completely unknown to the average person.

That brevity often entails sacrifice of accuracy and adequacy of treatment one can understand. That selectivity by an editor may often be criticized as arbitrary is to be expected, but one does hope to find in a dictionary consistency in space allotted and unbiased handling of subjects treated. A few examples will illustrate: *Apocalypse* receives a one line treatment that in no sense defines it, while a page and a half is devoted to explaining *Apocrypha*. Often Biblical references are omitted which would enable the reader to check further: e.g., *Amnon*, p. 15; *Ahab*, p. 9; *Jethro*, p. 134. One would expect perhaps to find a very summary treatment of *Jesus*, but hardly unquestioning identification of him with the Essenes! Moses is almost as cursorily treated (p. 172), and of *Isaiah* (p. 121) nothing really significant is related. In treating the history of the Jewish people, the period prior to the Common Era occupies one page; from 70 C. E. to 1862, likewise a page; 1870 to the present, three pages. The explanation of *Torah* is inadequately set forth, and the "final settlement of the Canon" is stated to be at Jamnia about 100 C. E. (p. 222), a statement which would be denied by many informed Jews. One wonders also about the adequacy of a work which gives to Einstein and Spinoza two pages each, but recites the contribution of the Great Maimonides on a single page. Nor does one look for fulsome praise, however deserved, in a work chiefly concerned with giving information. One wonders whether even most Jewish writers would be willing to single out any three persons in history as "the three greatest of the children of Jacob" (p. 224).

In spite of much that is to be commended, one wonders whether the cause of real understanding of Judaism has been much advanced by this little volume.

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WILLIS W. FISHER

**Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts.**

Apologies are due to Professor John Macdonald, of the University of Leeds, author of the above-mentioned work of which a notice published in the October 1959 issue of this Quarterly, p. 337, erroneously implied that the work was complete in one volume. Our readers are now informed that the Catalogue is appearing in Fascicules, six of which are ready, these being: Fasc. I, Arabic MSS. 1-50; II, Arabic MSS. 51-100; III, Arabic MSS. 101-150; IV, Arabic MSS. 151-200; V, Arabic MSS. 201-250; IX, Persian MSS. 1-50 (in collaboration with A. H. M. Muhiuddin). These six are available at the price of five shillings each. The remainder of the Fascicules will be as follows: VI-VIII, Arabic MSS. 251-350; X-XI, Persian MSS. 51-150; XII, other MSS. (Syriac, Samaritan, Urdu, Turkish, Hindustani, and the Brotherton Collection, which includes Arabic, Ethiopic, etc.). We trust that this notice will clarify the nature of this valuable publication now in process of preparation. (*Ed.*).

## CORRIGENDUM

On p. 210, July, 1960, the name Mahdi <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān should read <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mahdi.

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

### I. GENERAL

- ARCHAEOLOGY IN ASIA MINOR. Machteld J. Mellink. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Princeton, January, 1960, pp. 57-70. Covers campaigns and discoveries of 1958, particularly in Anatolia.
- FLIGHT TO ADVENTURE: SKY ROAD EAST. Tay and Lowell Thomas, Jr. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, January, 1960, pp. 77-112. Describes a fascinating trip from Istanbul to Algiers via Iran, Afghanistan, West Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt.
- THE GOLDEN BOWL AND THE SILVER CUP. Robert H. Dyson. *Illustrated London News*, London, February 13, 1960, pp. 250-252; January 23, 1960, pp. 132-134. Excavations at Hasanlu, near Lake Urmia in Iran, have yielded superb treasures dating from the 9th century B.C. and showing marked Assyrian characteristics.
- KHUSHHAL KAHN — THE NATIONAL POET OF THE AFGHANS. Georg Morgenstierne. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London, January, 1960, pp. 49-57. A contemporary of John Milton, this poet writing in Pashtu portrays the thoughts and experiences of a long and dramatic life through fresh and vigorous poems. Quotations.
- JOURNAL D'UN VOYAGE À ALGER (1675-1676). Thomas Hees. *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1957, part 1-2, pp. 85-128. The Journal deals with descriptive material collected while the author was negotiating a treaty of "peace and friendship" between Holland and Algiers. Translated by G. H. and G. W. Bousquet.
- MUSLIM REPUBLICS OF THE U.S.S.R. Ann Shukman. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London, January, 1960, pp. 11-21. This installment lists Russian literature on the six republics published between June and October, 1959.
- NEW QATABANI INSCRIPTIONS. Mahmud 'Ali Ghul. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, 1959, pp. 1-22; 419-430. Two articles analyzing thirty inscriptions and graffiti from the Aden Protectorate.
- LA PRESSE ALGÉRIENNE DE 1870 À 1900. G. Sers-Gal. *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1959, pp. 92-113. Accompanied by statistics and a bibliography, the article describes in detail the numerous journals issued during the period.
- RECENT ARMENIAN LITERATURE PUBLISHED IN THE SOVIET UNION AND ABROAD. I. Mikirtitchian. *Caucasian Review*, Munich, 1959, pp. 125-144. Contains works on history, biography and general culture.
- LE ROMAN DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ARABE DES ORIGINES À LA FIN DU MOYEN AGE. Henri Pérès. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Algiers, 1958, pp. 5-40. Although apparently unknown in pre-Islamic times, romances appeared under the Ummayyads and the 'Abbāsids.
- RUINES MUSULMANES SUR LE LITTORAL DE L'ORANIE OCCIDENTALE. G. Vuillemot. *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1959, pp. 27-54. Working West from Oran, the author describes seventeen sites, most of which were forts. Illus. Map.

SOCIAL THEMES IN CONTEMPORARY TURKISH LITERATURE. Kemal H. Karpat, *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Winter, 1960, pp. 29-44. "Contemporary Turkish literature is inherently associated with the country's drive for modernization and Westernization ... This literature appears committed to progress and transformation." First part of a well-documented study.

THIRTY-THREE CENTURIES UNDER THE SEA. Peter Throckmorton. *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, May, 1960, pp. 682-703. Notes on a two-year's quest off Turkey's Aegean coast from Bodrum (Halicarnassus) to Yassi Island. Much Bronze Age treasure was salvaged.

## II. ARABIA

THE HADHRAMAUT. Col. Hugh Boustead. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London, January, 1960, pp. 5-10. A description of conditions in the area from 1938 to date. Stresses administration.

## III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

COLLAPSE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN. Khalid Ben Sayeed. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Autumn, 1959, pp. 389-406. A survey of the disturbed state of government in the country since 1951. Appends a list of important leaders.

LE CULTE MUSULMAN ET LE POUVOIR EN U.R.S.S. H. Carrère d'Encausse. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris, 1959, pp. 3-16. Pressures from the Government are causing a marked diminution of Muslim practices except among old people.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Winter, 1960, pp. 61-86. Covers September 16 through December 15, 1959.

FATIMIDEN UND BAHRAINQARMATEN. Wilfred Madelung. *Der Islam*, Berlin, September, 1959, pp. 34-88. First installment of a study of the relations of the Fatimids with the Qarmat sect in Bahrain.

IBN 'ABD AL-BARR AL-QURT'UBÎ. A. Mahdjoub. *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1957, part 1-2, pp. 45-84. Ends a translation and commentary begun in 1955: "Le dessein et le projet de faire connaître les origines des races arabes et étrangères." Copious notes.

ISLAM AND THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST. John S. Badeau. *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1959, pp. 61-74. "Many of the outward and formalized forms of Islam are losing their relevance today," but the masses are still believers and the influence of Islam is strong in the political organization of the area, in legal affairs, in centres of learning, and in the social structures.

L'ISLAMISATION DANS LA TURQUIE DU MOYEN AGE. O. Turan. *Studia Islamica*, Paris, 1959, pp. 137-152. From the examination of various sources the author has come to believe that there was no mass conversion of Christians to Islam during the period.

L'OCCIDENT MUSULMAN DU MILIEU DU VII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE À LA FIN DU XV<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. R. Le Tourneau. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger, 1958, pp. 147-176. An historical study.

- LE SAHARA ET LE COMMERCE MÉDITERRANÉEN À LA FIN DU MOYEN-AGE. J. Heers. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger, 1958, pp. 247-255. There was much activity in efforts to ship gold from the Sudan to Spanish and Italian ports.
- LE "VAISISME" À KAZAN. Chantal Quelquejey. *Welt des Islams*, Munster, 1959, part 1-2, pp. 91-112. Tells of the 19th-century revolt of a small Tartar tribe against Russia.

#### IV. QUR'ĀN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

- DAS GELÜBDE IM TÜRKISCHEN VOLKSGLAUBEN. Annemarie Schimmel. *Welt des Islams*, Munster, 1959, part 1-2, pp. 71-90. Discusses types of oaths.
- HOW FĀRĀBĪ READ PLATO'S LAWS. Leo Strauss. *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, III, Paris, pp. 319-344. Fārābī showed himself to be a past master of Platonic dialogue.
- MUSLIM CUSTOM AND CASE-LAW. Noel James Coulsen. *Welt des Islams*, Munster, 1959, part 1-2, pp. 13-24. Compares the operation of Sharī'ah and ordinary law.
- LA RELATION DU VOYAGE D'IBN FADLĀN CHEZ LES BULGARES DE LA VOLGA. M. Canard. *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, Alger, 1958, pp. 41-146. An account of a mission sent to convert the Bulgars to Islam in the year 921.
- THE TRANSLATIONS OF AL-BITRĪQ AND YAḤYĀ (YUḤANNĀ) B. AL-BITRĪQ. D. M. Dunlap. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1959, part 3-4, pp. 140-150. Although popular at one time for their translations of works on science and philosophy into Arabic, they were superseded by Ḥunain b. Ishaq.

#### V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

- THE ARAB COUNTRIES OF WEST ASIA IN THE 20TH CENTURY. Nabih Amin Faris. *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Neuchâtel, 1959, part 1, pp. 205-247. Documents the three main problems facing the area: freedom from foreign domination, ability to match the social economic and cultural achievements of others, and power to deliver Palestine from the Zionists.
- ALGERIA'S "COLONS": STUDY IN FRUSTRATION. Henry Tanner. *New York Times Magazine*, New York, March 27, 1960, pp. 24-25; 88-89. Describes the sadness and confusion of the agricultural settlers who have worked on good terms with their Muslim neighbours for generations.
- COUNTRY IN PERIL. Ernest O. Hauser. *Saturday Evening Post*, Philadelphia, May 14, 1960, pp. 32-33; 101-102. Oil in plenty will soon solve all problems.
- LES DÉBUTS DE LA FRANC-MAÇONNERIE À ALGER (1830-1852). X. YACONO. *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1959, pp. 55-91. The first installment of a history of the Algerian lodge of Bélisaire. Well documented and illus.
- THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITY. Gabriel Baer. *Welt des Islams*, Munster, 1959, part 1-2, pp. 56-70. Examines

the gradual disappearance of lands held in common and of enterprises maintained collectively such as irrigation and tax payments.

**ECONOMIC REVIEW: MARKETING AND BUSINESS PRACTICES IN AFGHANISTAN.** Hakim A. Hamid. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1960, pp. 87-93. Although efficient methods of distribution and actual marketing are lacking so far, good advances are being made in other fields and it is hoped that improved trade practices will follow.

**THE ECONOMICS OF PETROLEUM IN THE MIDDLE EAST.** Farouk el-Husseiny. *L'Égypte Industrielle*, Le Caire. Avril, 1959, pp. 6-23. A survey.

**ENTERPRISE IN IRAN.** David E. Lilienthat. *Foreign Affairs*, New York, October, 1959, pp. 132-139. Describes developments in Khuzestan where an important dam is under construction — the first step in an extensive irrigation and reclamation project.

**THE LEGAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL EFFECTS RESULTING FROM THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE-OWNERSHIP OF MINERAL WEALTH IN ITS TERRITORY.** Farouk Muhamed el-Bakkary. *L'Égypte Industrielle*, Le Caire. Avril, 1959, pp. 24-36. Analyzes Egyptian laws on the subject.

**THE PEOPLES OF CENTRAL ASIA: SOCIAL CUSTOMS.** *Central Asian Review*, London, 1959, part 3, pp. 213-220. Information on customs taken from Soviet sources.

**RECENT PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TURKEY.** James A. Morris. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1960, pp. 1-14. "The overall picture which emerges is one of unco-ordinated but determined and aggressive economic development effort, which, because it was unplanned and over-ambitious, created difficulties which caused growth at a slower than possible rate."

**REFLECTIONS ON ISRAEL'S FOURTH PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS.** Don Peretz. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1960, pp. 15-28. Ben Gurion's personal popularity was responsible in the main for the Mapai triumph, for the party is disliked by the Arabs and by the Oriental Jews. Statistics.

**RITUEL MAGIQUE DES FEMMES KABYLES.** M. Devulder. *Revue Africaine*, Alger. 1957, part 3-4, pp. 299-362. The author interviewed hundreds of women on the magical practices they employed in marriage, the home, child-birth, sickness, death, etc. The article includes native spells with translation.

**RURAL ADMINISTRATION IN MOROCCO.** William H. Lewis. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington. Winter, 1960, pp. 45-60. "Rural administration is evolving from its once authoritarian pattern and is expected to be predicated upon the principle of communal participation and rapport in elective organizations. Statistical tables.

**SOME UNFAMILIAR ASPECTS OF THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC.** Nevill Barbour. *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1960, pp. 35-48. High praise for Egypt's economic advance, especially in road building and in homes for workers. Syria in gaining in agrarian reforms.

**SUR LE COMPORTEMENT DES MUSULMANS.** René Jammes. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, Paris. 1959, pp. 17-36. Analyzes Algerian social habits.

L'URBANISME ALGÉRIEN. René Jovy. *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, 1959, pp. 37-47. At present Algeria's main problems are over-population and industrialization.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE ARAB WORLD AND BRITAIN. Enile Bustani. *International Affairs*, London, October, 1959, pp. 427-437. To gain and maintain Arab esteem and cooperation Britain must be ready to meet all the countries involved on a common footing of respect and equality.

THE BASMACHIS. *Central Asian Review*, London, 1959, part 3, pp. 236-250. From 1918 to 1924 the area offered resistance to Russia's increasing power.

CULTURE AND ADMINISTRATION IN IRAN. Richard W. Gable. *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, Autumn, 1959, pp. 407-421. The author, who helped establish the Institute for Administrative Affairs in Tehran, tells how the complex, individualistic and pessimistic character of the inhabitants reacts on all efforts for administrative reform.

THE MINORITIES IN THE ARAB ORIENT TODAY. Pierre Rondot. *Middle Eastern Affairs*, New York, June-July, 1959, pp. 214-228. Minorities have suffered much from the rise of nationalism.

THE "NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE" — A SOVIET DILEMMA. Walter Z. Laqueur. *International Affairs*, London, July, 1959, pp. 324-331. Discusses how the peoples of the Middle East present many difficulties to Russian thinking.

LES RÉFUGIÉS POLITIQUES À TANGER. J. L. Miège. *Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1958, part 1-2, pp. 129-147. Because of its closeness to Europe, the city, through the years, became a haven for French, Italians, and Spaniards fleeing from upheavals and revolutions in their own countries.

THE SUEZ CANAL AND WORLD SHIPPING. M. E. Fletcher, *Journal of Economic History*, New York, December, 1959. Covers the years 1869-1914.

TOWARD A SETTLEMENT IN ALGERIA. *Foreign Affairs*, New York, January, 1960, pp. 273-284. The author presents a hopeful picture of eventual peace for the country, based on De Gaulle's statement of September 16, 1959, on self-determination for Algeria.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

IRAN TODAY. The Rt. Rev. W. J. Thompson. *The East and West Review*, London, April, 1960, pp. 57-64. The Anglican bishop of Iran surveys accomplishments during the last twenty-five years, which embrace the period of his episcopacy, and finds that missions are using a much more intelligent and sympathetic approach to Islam.

LE MONDE MISSIONNAIRE EN 1958. *Église Vivante*, Paris, 1959, part 3-4, pp. 201-210; 225-251. Reports on encouraging Roman Catholic progress in the Near East, North Africa, Pakistan and Indonesia plus a world survey.

LE MONDE NON CHRÉTIEN, Paris. Juillet-Décembre, 1959, whole issue. Presents three papers from a colloquium held in Algiers in May, 1959, and two other articles as follows: A. Laoust, "Le réformisme musulman"; J. Bichon, "Notre connaissance chrétienne de l'Islam"; Francis Hours, S. J., "La révélation dans le Coran"; O. Yahia, "Pour un dialogue islamo-chrétien"; H. Corbin, "De l'histoire des religions comme problème théologique."

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

**Passers-by: sayings of Jesus.** In J. P. Ropes' article in the Extra Volume to *Hastings Dictionary of the Bible* (pp. 343 ff) dealing with the agrapha ascribed to our Lord there are some hundred examples from Muslim sources. From Yāqūt he quotes: "Jesus said, 'The world is a place of transitions, full of examples; be pilgrims therein, and take warning by the traces of those that have gone before.'"

From the Commentary of al-Baiḍāwī comes the following: "Jesus said, 'Be in the midst, yet walk on one side'" (HBD Extra, p. 350).

In the Appendix to his book on the *Unknown Sayings of Jesus* Professor J. Jeremias of Gottingen mentions the inscription in Arabic on the southern gateway of the great Mosque in the ruined city of Fatehpur-Sikri, south of Delhi, which was built by Akbar the Great Mogul (1542-1605). The inscription reads: "Jesus, on whom be peace, has said: 'This world is a bridge. Pass over it. But built not your dwelling there.'" The Professor adds: "This is the most impressive of all the sayings of Jesus which have been preserved in the Mohammedan World" (p. 99).

Might it be suggested that the Indian version is the most picturesque and telling form of "tradition" of Jesus which gained currency in the Near and Middle East. That of al-Baiḍāwī is more pithy in its proverb-like brevity; that of Yāqūt is rather moralizing and developed.

There are New Testament notes in the same strain; "Strangers and pilgrims on the earth" (Heb. 11 : 13); "Here we have no continuing city" (Heb. 13 : 14). But there seems to be a possible original or abbreviated version of this *hadith* in Logion 42 of the recently discovered "Gospel according to Thomas" in Nag Hamādi, published in Coptic and English. It reads: "Jesus said, 'Become passers-by'" (p. 25).<sup>1</sup> The other versions may well be extensions of the "Thomas" logion or all may derive from a common ancestor.

ERIC F. F. BISHOP

**Bible Distribution.** "Everywhere the Bible"! An Egyptian couple were purchasing a Bible in Lebanon. They had been in Europe. In Italy they had noticed Bibles being sold. At the Brussels Exhibition they were asked to buy a Bible. "We remember seeing it sold in several other places, but this time we are going to buy it from you," they said.

The couple walked away with their new possession. By their short conversation and purchase they had displayed the effectiveness of the service which the Bible Society gives. The activities of the Bible Society are numerous: translation, revision, publishing and printing. But these would be incomplete without distribution. It is in large measure due to

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<sup>1</sup> *The Gospel According to Thomas*, published in 1959 by E. J. Brill, Leiden; editors: A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Guispel, W. Till and Yassah 'Abd al-Masīh.

the Bible Society that the Bible is available so readily in so many languages.

The Society's accomplishments during 1959 are presented by incidents, conversations and statistics drawn from statements of Society representatives and recorded in its annual report entitled *Bread upon the Waters*. The sixth chapter describes its work in "the Muslim States and communities which stretch from Pakistan to the Straits of Gibraltar and include the Arab lands of the Middle East." The Report reveals that the Society has been able to attract to its service capable local personnel in this area. The information used by the editor and his acknowledgements are predominantly from and to non-British people. For instance he refers to the death of Mr. Yusuf Saleeb who had served the Society with "great devotion" for forty years. "His organization of colportage work in the Nile Delta area was a model, and he was held in great esteem and affection."

In various ways the distribution of the Bible is linked with the national life of each country. Because of events in Iraq during 1959 the quantity of Bibles distributed decreased but an uninterrupted witness was maintained. With the departure of British personnel from Egypt the churches there became more aware of their responsibility. Their giving to maintain the work of the Society increased in some cases five, even ten, times above previous donations. "This is our duty," church members told Society representatives. In the ferment of the Middle East there is an interest in more than economic necessities. The Reverend Adle Nakhosteen, Chairman of the Near East Christian Council and a Secretary of the Bible Society, notes the goodwill visits to Iran of the President of the United States of America, the Prime Minister of India, the President of Pakistan and rulers of the Persian Gulf area. "In these goodwill visits such great spiritual values as the dignity of man, liberty and peace have been talked about. There is a feeling at large that only on such firm foundations can the prosperity of a nation be built. Generally we have noticed greater interest in the Scriptures amongst people in all walks of life."

The report is more than a record of statistics. Where these are used, it is to underscore human needs and aspirations. It is the record of a constant endeavor to present the Water of Life from the wells of salvation.

(From Popular Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, *Bread Upon the Waters*, London, J. M. Roe, Editorial Secretary)

D. W. C.

**Said Nursi.** The colorful career of Said Nursi, 20th-century Turkish mystic and religious leader, came to an end on March 23 in a hotel room in Urfa, Turkey. Said Nursi was 93 years old. Ill for some time, he was stricken in Urfa while on a tour of Turkey visiting his disciples.

Nursi's death brings to an end the life of a religious leader and political actionist whose career began in the era of The Ottoman Repu-

blic. While reform and severe governmental restriction almost completely destroyed any vestige of the old religious leadership in Turkey, Said Nursi by patience and supreme political ability succeeded in surviving the Ataturk reforms, and, during the Menderes Era, with more religious freedom, succeeded in becoming one of the most powerful religious figures in modern Turkey.

Said Nursi, leader of the Nurculars, a modern religious brotherhood, has become the one man around which religious forces in Turkey have rallied in their efforts to establish a new place for Islam in the life of Turkey. He began his career as a religious leader over three quarters of a century ago in the open and politically wise Eastern area of Turkey. Here he was born of Kurdish parents in a poor village of Nur. Typical of many Turkish leaders who come from humble ranks, Said early found a mentor, a rich man who sent him to nearby Mardin and provided for his schooling in the local *medrese*. He evidently prospered, for before long he was teaching and working in the Mardin area. He was associated with the Naqshbandi dervishes, and, though he was deeply influenced by them, he soon found himself evolving a following. Though his early life is scantily known, it is reported that with them he began the nucleus of followers who today compose the Nurculars. During these days his time was spent in teaching and in writing. The results of his writings have been gathered together by his followers and are found today in the *Risale-I Nur*, the text of the writings that form the core of Nurcular dogma.

During the turbulent 1900's Said journeyed to Istanbul where he hobnobbed with the various religious and political leaders of the Muslim right in Istanbul. He is reported to have put his pen to use in preparing rightist propaganda. In 1909 he was editor of a Kurdish nationalist magazine with a religious tone called *Volkan*. While in Istanbul at that time he is reported to have petitioned the Sultan to open an advanced university in connection with the *medrese* in Mardin. At this time he was also active in the Firkisi Muhammediye. The suspicious Abdul Hamid had him banned to the East, and exiled from Istanbul. There he was active in Kurdish movements, and continued his role as a *shaiikh* of the religious order that was growing around him.

Said Nursi was reported to have participated in fighting with the Turkish forces against Russia in the Eastern part of Turkey during World War I. He was taken prisoner by the Russian forces, but he escaped and worked his way to Paris. There he was in the center of Kurdish political movements, again using his pen to write nationalistic propaganda.

Showing a cunning ability to discern the true direction of the political wind, Said Nursi, then well into his late middle age, appeared in Ankara early in the days of the Ataturk revolution. But he did not remain in favor with Ataturk, who is reported to have banned him again and sent him to the Eastern provinces. The Ataturk government and the government of Inonu watched him closely from then on. His name was linked to Kurdish activities, but he escaped direct implications in the Kurdish uprisings and suppression of Kurdish leadership in the 1930's. He was arrested many times on suspicion of illegal religious activity,

and finally settled down in Isparta, where he remained outside of the news until 1956, when, encouraged by the liberal religious policy of the Menderes government, he seemed to come out into the open. He was accused of being a tool of the Democratic Party during the 1956 elections. His followers were accused of being a dervish group, and, as some of the more fanatic members became active during Ramaḍān in 1958, the government became strict and arrested scores of Nurculars in the Aegean region and in Ankara. These men were brought to trial, but were later freed when the government courts ruled that the order was not a dervish group. Central to the courts' decision was a report issued by the advisory board of Muslim leaders who help the President of Religious Affairs arrive at Muslim interpretations. This group stated that they could find nothing in the writings of Said Nursi which would seem to violate any laws. After this verdict the Nurculars intensified their activity and Said Nursi became, at over 90 years of age, the personal symbol of the Islamic aspirations of a large segment of the radical and reactionary Muslim press in Turkey. His influence pervaded Turkey.

If Said Nursi bided his time for almost 30 years, while the secular and anticlerical forces reigned in Turkey, he made up for lost time during the latter years of his life. Displaying the dramatic sense of timing and his ability to exploit every opportunity, he made his last play just before the end of 1959. With dramatic daring he began a 14,000 kilometer tour of Turkey. Everywhere he went he drew huge crowds. The liberal press was horrified at the sight, and covered his tour with more space than they had given any religious event in Turkey since the famous decision by the President of Religious affairs several years ago that the Qur'ān could not be translated into Turkish.

While Said Nursi toured the country, receiving his followers wherever he went, the government made no effort to stop him, but they did move in and seize quantities of his writings. At the present time there is a case before the courts in Ankara involving the effort of one of his closest friends and literary executor and biographer, Said Ozdemir, to publish his complete writings and a special biography of his life. It appears that if the Nurculars have a successor to Said Nursi, called Bediuzzaman by his followers, he will be Ozdemir.

While thousands of his followers from all over Turkey assembled in Urfa for his funeral buried him with great ceremony in a nearby tomb, Said Nursi's death was making dramatic one more unsolved question in the present Turkish effort to allow Islam to return to rest within the structure of the Ataturk-inspired Turkish culture. What about the dervishes? The government has moved cautiously and pragmatically on all of its decisions pertaining to the Islamic revival in Turkey. But the dervish issue as such has until now more or less remained suppressed. Nurculars and fellow travelers have been adamant in insisting that they are not a dervish order. But the emergence of his followers during his tour, the ever present "guard" of close disciples that surrounded him wherever he went, and now the burial ceremony, in which he was celebrated as a saint, make the dervish character of the Nurculars more and more obvious.

What has been happening during the past four years in Turkey is important because it is a further illustration of the failure of the positivism of the Ataturk revolution to stamp out Islamic vitality in Turkey. In the mid-point of the twentieth century, in spite of severe and oppressive governmental actions, Turkey is promising to fulfill her historic role in Islam, and produce another folk order. The fact that there seems some truth to the reports that the Nurculars number over 500,000 followers in Turkey makes a reappraisal of Turkish religious life of greatest importance. Too often, deceived by the official assertion of Ankara that dervish orders died with the anti-dervish decrees, observers of the Turkish scene have believed that dervishes, as "old soldiers," just faded away. Now there is reason to believe that, like many secret groups, they merely "conformed" on the surface while, with patience and care, they continued their existence. The Mevlana revival and growing interest in mysticism by Turkish intellectuals point to interesting developments in Turkish Islam during the next decade. If the government continues its slow, but deliberate, effort to allow Islam more freedom of expression, the return of the dervishes to Turkey in some form before long may be anticipated. But they will not return in the old forms that existed in pre-revolutionary times. Just as religious education has returned in the form of the Imam ve Hatip Schools<sup>1</sup> and the Islamic Institute for advanced religious training, the new dervishes will have a modern look, and will in form, and perhaps in spirit, fit into the mode of the Turkish Republic.

J. K.

**Konya.** Visitors to Konya, center of religious conservatism in Turkey, will have to view the remains of Roman Iconia and other Greek and Roman cities in a local warehouse instead of the old Saljuq Mosque where they were formerly seen. The authorities have carried out the Roman and Greek antiquities and restored the ancient Mosque for religious use. The Mosque was formally opened the last of March, and much was made of the first Friday service held there. Muslim groups have been putting great pressure on the government to restore to their religious use old mosques now used for museums and other government purposes. The prize mosque that radical Muslim forces claim is Aye Sophia, which is now a museum.

J. K.

**Pilgrimage to Mecca.** According to official count the number of pilgrims who performed the 1379/1960 *hajj* to Mecca totaled 750,000. Of these it is estimated that 483,905 came from Saudi Arabia and the remaining 266,095 from other lands.

**High School Teaches Arabic.** The teaching of Arabic has been started in Bountiful High School located in a suburb of Salt Lake City, Utah. The first class, consisting of twenty-six carefully selected students, began on January 25 of this year.

According to the Utah State Supervisor of Modern Language Instruction, the class made excellent progress under the teaching of Joseph

<sup>1</sup> See Muslim World, July 1960, p. 231.

Khoury, a native Lebanese. Despite the lack of Arabic textbooks geared to high school level, the students acquired facility in a large number of courtesy phrases and began learning the Arabic writing system within a month's time. They meet for a half hour before school opens and the class continues through the first period, making a total of ninety minutes per day.

The administration plans to develop the Arabic program over a period of years. Arabic II will be offered in the fall to approximately twenty second-year students, and an enthusiastic registration for Arabic I insures another class of beginners.

*Al-Ahram*, the Cairo daily newspaper, gave prominent and favorable mention of the program the day after the teaching of Arabic began in the Utah high school.

**Malay Script.** The Federation of Malaya has decided to give priority to Romanized Malay (Rumi) as the script of the national language, though Jawi (Arabic script) will also be used. The international form of numerals in current usage will be maintained. The action of the House of Representatives was:

a) That the script of the national language shall be the Latin script, more commonly known as Rumi script, concurrently with the Malay script, more commonly known as the Jawi script.

b) That the form of numerals of the national language shall be the international form of numerals as accepted and used throughout the Federation of Malaya at the present time.

(From *News Bulletin*, No. 37, Embassy of the Federation of Malaya, Washington, D.C.).

**Christian Schools in Malaya.** For many years much of the English education in Malaya has been given in mission schools which are predominantly Roman Catholic and Methodist. These were built for the most part with money raised locally and supplemented by government aid. The government also advances funds for salaries and other expenses of these institutions known as Aided Schools. In every way they are the equivalent of Government schools, must meet their standards, and observe the same rules.

Religious instruction is taught each year as a regular subject of the Aided Schools. At the year's end examinations are taken on the *Life and Teachings of Jesus* and *The Acts of the Apostles*. The results count toward the Cambridge School Certificate. The old rule stipulated that Malays, who are Muslims, must not be allowed to attend such classes in Scripture unless written permission was received from the parents. This was given in some cases, but usually it was not even sought. Students of other racial backgrounds must not be compelled to attend classes of Scriptural instruction, although few ever objected. The great majority accepted the teaching without question.

Since Malaya became independent some changes have been introduced. Written permission to attend Scripture classes is required from parents of all non-Christian children. With the exception of the Malays, such permission is ordinarily granted.

According to the new rulings of the Education Department, these classes can no longer be taught by regular government-paid teachers during regular school hours. Arrangements are under way to hold classes in the early morning hours before school officially opens. Volunteers, however, may come in to teach Scripture during regular class periods. Some ministers and their wives assist in this way. The Missions concerned are trying to elaborate with officials of the Education Department details of the new regulations.

At present Islam is not taught in any mission school.

The Methodist Church and perhaps a few smaller missions also maintain private schools as well as the Aided Schools. Most of these private institutions avail themselves of the Aided School buildings in the afternoons. Usually their students are not qualified or have lacked the opportunity to enter the Aided Schools. Some have first attended Chinese, Indian or Malay schools and then decided to study English. Some of them work mornings tapping rubber.

The private schools depend entirely upon school fees to meet teachers' salaries and other expenses. Scripture classes are taught in these schools which are unaffected by the new rulings. But in the future, written permission to attend Scripture classes will be required when students enroll. As in the Aided Schools, Malays are not expected to attend religious classes.

The Malayan Government acknowledges Islam as the religion of the nation. Malays are in the majority on the lists of eligible voters and in government offices. Even so, writers in the *Utusan Melayu*, the most influential Malay newspaper, confess that the Christian missions are doing a superior job propagating their religion. These writers are appealing for a great increase in the number of teachers of Islam. They urge the production and distribution of books and tracts in order to reach and instruct converts, and are asking that Islam be taught in all schools where there is a minimum of fifteen Malay students. How soon these appeals can be answered remains to be seen.

C. H. F.

**Middle East Technical University.** Turkey witnessed tangible results of its endeavor to meet the need for modern technical education when the Middle East Technical University in Ankara graduated its first class of students in July of this year.

According to a report published in *Time* for July 11, 1960, M.E.T.U. came into being during the fall of 1956 through the combined efforts of Charles Abrams, a U.S. housing authority serving on a United Nations mission, and Vecdi Diker, Turkey's chief of highway works. They shared a feeling of urgency concerning technical education in Turkey.

Their ideas were supported by the Turkish government and awarded practical impetus by a million and one-half dollar grant from the United Nations which enabled the first architecture class to open that fall. Two years later the M.E.T.U. included three more schools: engineering, administrative sciences, and arts and sciences.

In May, 1959, the *Time* writer continues, M.E.T.U. was formally chartered by the Turkish government. A year later Edwin S. Burdell,

former head of Manhattan's Cooper Union, became its president for a three-year period with a view to organizing the school into a well-integrated university and preparing the way for a Turkish president of the institution.

It is expected that the M.E.T.U. will serve the entire Middle East. However this year only about twelve percent of the student body of 515 came from other Middle Eastern countries. Courses are conducted in English by a faculty which is international in origin.

Apparently hopes run high for the new government's continued support in the future. A student body of 12,000 is envisaged as plans develop for a university which may be the forerunner of similar institutions throughout the Middle East.

**No Sects in Islam.** Under the banner of the Qur'anic injunction, "And hold ye fast by the cord of God, all of you, and break not loose from it..." (3 : 98), the blackface title, "There Are no Sects in Islam" heads an article in *The Islamic Review* for March-April, 1960 (Woking) the burden of which is that fundamentally Islam is united. The Imam of the Shah Jehan Mosque said, in his 'Īd sermon: "Shī'ahs and Sunnis are different schools of thought (*madhhabs*) in Islam and not sects."

On this occasion, March 28, 1960, according to reports, 1500 Muslims were assembled. They represented many nationalities and wore variegated garbs. Some two hundred British men and women attended as spectators. At the conclusion of the worship service five persons stood on the platform and publicly declared their conversion to Islam. They were a metropolitan police sergeant, a nurse, a shop assistant, a pottery worker and a Nigerian. Later in the day, it was reported, three other persons embraced Islam.

The unity and solidarity of Islam were demonstrated by the fact that the 'Īd prayers were led by a Shī'a Mujtahid from Iran while the sermon was pronounced by the Imam of the mosque, Maulavi Muhammad Tufail. The theme of the Imam's sermon was the universal fellowship of men which the Qur'ān describes as "Islam's greatest gift to mankind... The greatest tragedy that had befallen the Muslim peoples during the past centuries was not so much loss of empires and territories as that of this greatest heritage of Islam — the universal brotherhood of Islam." People must, he said, "outgrow the medieval shells of narrow-minded, sectarian prejudices which were an anachronism in this Atomic Age... The Sunnis and Shias have been at loggerheads throughout history. It was the privilege of the Woking Muslim Mission to prick the bubble of this stupendous folly and bring the two great members of the family of Islam to a common pulpit. Differences that defied all attempts at bridging disappeared at the very touch of the Woking spirit, and the Sunnis and Shias, like two brothers long estranged, once more embraced each other."

"We all believe in the same God, the same Prophet and the same Book," he exhorted. "Let the barriers between Muslims be destroyed. If we have to rise again as a living force, we must stand for a united Islam, where all the professors in the *kalimah* must be regarded as Muslims.