Colloquium on Islamic Culture

IN ITS RELATION

TO THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

SEPTEMBER, 1953

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FOREWORD

DURING the summer of 1953 there happened to be an unusually large number of distinguished Muslim scholars in the United States. Some of them were visiting professors, many came with United States Government travel grants, and others were sent to America by their own governments to render different types of service.

The Library of Congress and Princeton University took advantage of the presence of these scholars by organizing a conference on Islamic Culture. This conference was called the "Colloquium on Islamic Culture in its Relation to the Contemporary World."

The official languages were Arabic and English. As many of the scholars were bilingual, there was no difficulty about translation. Each morning and afternoon discussion was introduced by two or three short addresses. Summaries or complete texts of these introductory addresses are included in this volume.

No effort has been made to transliterate the names into English in accordance with one system. The names of persons, places, and books have been spelled as the authors have written them, using Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Malayan, and Indonesian methods of transliteration.

Many of the delegates presented papers, with the understanding that they were offered for publication rather than for reading at the conference. These papers are to be printed in Arabic by Franklin Publications, Inc., and most of them will also appear in several of the American journals.

After the Colloquium ended, the Middle East Institute, 2002 P Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., rendered many services to the members of the conference. A delightful reception was given in Washington and travel schedules were arranged for, so that the Muslim scholars could visit cultural centers in the United States and take part in meetings with teachers, students, and other persons present.

The Middle East Institute expects to publish many of the papers in its "Middle East Journal" during the next two or three years. Other papers will be published in the "Muslim World," which is issued by the Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford 5, Connecticut.

After the Colloquium ended, twenty-two of the Muslim scholars were received at the White House by President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Many of them were also entertained at the embassies in Washington.

This volume contains the program of the Colloquium, summaries of the introductory addresses, and a list of the scholars who took part in the conference.

PROGRAM OF EVENTS

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

12:30 P.M. Arrival at the Princeton Inn for lunch.

4:00 P.M. *Opening meeting—University Faculty Room.*

Welcome to Princeton University,
Dr. James Douglas Brown, Dean of the Faculty.
Greeting from The Library of Congress,
Verner W. Clapp, Acting Librarian of Congress.
Word of Greeting in Arabic,
Professor Philip K. Hitti, Chairman,
Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures.

4:30 P.M. *Tea in the Faculty Lounge of the Firestone Memorial Library.*

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

9:30 A.M. *Modern Trends of Literature in the Muslim Countries; Ways of Preserving an Appreciation of the Classic Literature of Islam.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Mohammad Khalafallah, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Alexandria University.

Professor Chafic Jabri, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Syrian University.

4:00 P.M. *Continuation of the Discussion about Literature; Remarks and Questions concerning Language.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Mojtaba Minovi, University of Tehran.

Muhyiddin Nusuli, Editor-in-Chief, "Beirut."

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

9:30 A.M. *History and Ways of Giving the Muslim Youth an Interest in Historical Traditions.*

MODERATOR: Dr. Lewis V. Thomas, Associate Professor of Oriental Languages, Princeton.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Nabih Amin Faris, Chairman, Department of History, American University of Beirut.

Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Minister for Education, and Pro-Chancellor, University of Karachi, Pakistan.

Professor Sabri Ulgener, Department of Economics, University of Istanbul.

4:00 P.M. *Continuation of the Discussion about History, with Special Reference to Historical Research.*

MODERATOR: Professor Lewis V. Thomas.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Halil Inalcik, Professor of History, University of Ankara.

Professor Mustafa Amer, Director General of the Department of Antiquities, Egypt.

Dr. Jawad Ali, Secretary and Member of the Iraqi Academy (al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Iraqi).

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

9:30 A.M. *Education in the Muslim Countries.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Hon. Khalifa Shujauddin, Punjab Legislative Assembly.

Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires, Royal Afghanistan Embassy, Washington.

Dr. Muhammad Nizamuddin, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.

4:00 P.M. *Continuation of the Discussion about Education; Questions and Remarks concerning Religious Education.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Zainal-Abidin b.Ahmad, Senior Lecturer in Malayan Studies, University of Malaya.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

The Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures has invited guests especially interested in Islam to meet the members of the Colloquium at a buffet luncheon, and also to join in their Saturday discussions.

9:30 A.M. *Social Reform in the Communities of the Muslim World.*

MODERATOR: Professor T. Cuyler Young, Persian Language and History, Princeton.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Muhyiddin Nusuli, Editor-in-chief "Beirut."

Dr. Ahmed Hussein, Ambassador of Egypt to the United States.

12:30 P.M. *Buffet Luncheon at the Princeton Inn.*

4:00 P.M. *Continuation of the Discussion on Social Reform.*

MODERATOR: Professor T. Cuyler Young.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Dr. Amir Ali, Dean, College of Agriculture, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.

Madame Ahmed Hussein.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

4:00 P.M. *Garden Party*, given by President and Mrs. Harold W. Dodds, at "Prospect," the home of the President of Princeton University.

Monday, September 14

9:30 A.M. *Law and the Modernization of Legal Systems in Muslim Countries.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Dr. Sobhi Mahmassani, Lecturer, American University of Beirut and Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut.

Professor Hifzi Timur, Departments of International Law and the History of the Turkish Revolution, University of Istanbul.

4:00 P.M. *Continuation of the Discussion about Law; Questions and Remarks about the Shari'ah.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Majid Khadduri, Director of Research and Education, Middle East Institute; Professor of Middle East Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

Al-Qadi al-Shaikh Muhammad al-Hajri, Director of Finance, Al-Yaman.

Tuesday, September 15

9:30 A.M. *The Shari'ah and the Problems of Modern Life.*

MODERATOR: Professor Philip K. Hitti.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Shaikh Mustafa Zarka, Professor of the Faculties of Law and Letters, Syrian University.

Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, President of the Muslim Religious Board, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

4:00 P.M. *Problems Raised by Modern Science in the Communities of the Muslim World.*

MODERATOR: Professor Lewis V. Thomas.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Professor Orhan H. Alisbah, Head of the Department of Mathematics, Ankara University.

Lutfi M. Sa'di, M.D., Wayne University, Detroit.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

9:30 A.M. *Trends of Muslim Philosophy and Ways of Meeting Modern Ideas in the Islamic Communities.*

MODERATOR: Professor T. Cuyler Young.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Dr. Mohammad el-Bahay, Professor of Islamic Philosophy, General Supervisor, Research and Islamic Culture, al-Azhar, Cairo.

Dr. S. R. Shafaq, Lecturer at Columbia University; Summer Institute, University of Michigan.

Mazheruddin Siddiqi, Fellow of the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore.

4:00 P.M. *Continuation of the Discussion about Trends of Muslim Philosophy.*

MODERATOR: Professor T. Cuyler Young.

TO INTRODUCE THE DISCUSSION:

Dr. Mahmoud F. Hoballah, of al-Azhar, delegated to the Islamic Center, Washington.

Dr. Fazlur Rahman, Lecturer in Persian Studies and Islamic Philosophy, Durham University, England.

Hadji Agus Salim, Adviser to the Foreign Minister, Indonesia.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

8:30 A.M. *Departure from Princeton Inn.*

Bus transport to station.

"Washingtonian" Express, Pennsylvania Railroad.

12:15 P.M. *Arrive Washington.*

Registration and lunch at the Hotel Continental.

4:30 P.M. *The Library of Congress.*

Meeting of Welcome, Verner W. Clapp, Acting Librarian of Congress, presiding.

Tour of the Library.

8:30 P.M. *Meeting at The Library of Congress.*

MODERATOR: Dr. Robert F. Ogden, Chief, Near East Section, The Library of Congress.

Summarized record of the discussions on Literature, Language and History to be read by Professor Philip K. Hitti.

Further discussion of questions deserving attention.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

9:30 A.M. *Meeting at The Library of Congress.*

MODERATOR: Dr. Horace I. Poleman, Chief, South Asia Section, Orientalia Division, The Library of Congress.

Summarized report of the discussions on Education and Social Reform to be read by Dr. Bayard Dodge.

Further discussion of questions deserving attention.

12:00 M. *Lunch at the Hotel Continental.*

1:00 P.M. *Prayers at the Mosque,* Massachusetts Avenue.

Meeting at the Islamic Center.

MODERATOR: Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, Chief, Orientalia Division, The Library of Congress.

Summarized record of the discussions on Law, Science, and Philosophy to be read by Professor T. Cuyler Young.

8:30 P.M. *The Library of Congress, General Meeting.*

Verner W. Clapp, Acting Librarian of Congress, presiding.

Addresses on Inter-Cultural Relations;

Dr. Luther H. Evans, Director General, UNESCO.

Mustafa Amer, Director General, Egyptian Department of Antiquities.

Dr. Filmer S. C. Northrop, Professor of Philosophy and Law, Yale University.

9:30 A.M. *Meeting at the Freer Gallery of Art.*

Welcome by Dr. Leonard Carmichael, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Illustrated Lecture on Islamic Art by Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, Associate in Near Eastern Art, Freer Gallery of Art; Research Professor of Islamic Art, University of Michigan.

Visit to the galleries and special exhibition of Islamic Art.

12:30 P.M. *Lunch at the Hotel Continental.*

5:00 P.M. *Closing Reception at The Library of Congress.*

MEETINGS OF THE COLLOQUIUM AT PRINCETON

September 8th to 17th

Summaries of the addresses, which were given to introduce the topics for discussion and brief reports of the discussions which followed.

(Members of the Colloquium were asked to send summaries of their introductory addresses to Princeton, so that these summaries could be translated before the conference was due to begin. Many of these brief summaries are included in the following pages.

As some of the delegates did not have time to prepare these summaries, it has been necessary to print complete texts of their introductory remarks, instead of brief digests.)

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH, 4:00 P.M.

Opening Meeting in the Faculty Room of Princeton University

Welcome given by Dr. James Douglas Brown, Dean of the Faculty of Princeton University.

GENTLEMEN: I wish to welcome you on behalf of the President, Trustees and Faculty of Princeton University. We are honored that you should come from distant parts of the world to join us in this Colloquium on Islamic Culture. We hope that your visit will be most pleasant and profitable.

To bring you to this room means that we want you to feel at home at Princeton. This is the traditional heart and center of the University. It is here that we honor our great leaders of the past. It is here, in the atrium through which you entered this room, that we honor the memory of the Princeton men who died that great causes might live.

No place in our University symbolizes more clearly Princeton's concern over more than two centuries in free learning by free men in a free society. When our Trustees and Faculty meet here to determine the policies of the University, they sit under the watchful eyes of men who fought and taught so that men would be free.

When Princeton was founded in 1746, our charter was given us by an English king, King George II, whose portrait is on my left. A facsimile of that portrait then hung on the wall on my right in the very frame now hanging there. But to gain freedom, we rebelled against that king's successor. Under the inspired leadership of George Washington, whose portrait is on my right, we succeeded in establishing a free nation.

In this room, Continental Congress expressed the thanks of the American people to George Washington for his outstanding leadership in the Revolutionary War. He had been a frequent visitor in this town and had won here a battle of critical importance to our cause.

In this room, Continental Congress received the first representative of a friendly nation. Our country was then struggling to organize itself as an independent and united nation, and friends were very valuable. They are of great value today, not only as allies in a just cause but as fellow seekers after the Truth which undergirds justice.

Princeton is proud of its long tradition in educating men for public service in the cause of freedom. In colonial days, under the leadership of John Witherspoon, then president of the college and later signer of the Declaration of Independence, we were a "Seminary of Statesmen" for the leaders of our country. James Madison, who helped frame our Constitution, was a student under Witherspoon. In more recent years, another great president of Princeton reinforced that tradition of public service, not only in his teaching, but in his service to the Nation and the World. You will be meeting in the hall named in his honor.

We know that the traditions of your countries reach back thousands of years beyond those of our own. We are highly privileged that you should come here to discuss the great cultural heritage of your people. If we can provide pleasant and convenient arrangements for these discussions, we shall be most happy. You are most welcome.

Informal speech of welcome given by Verner W. Clapp, the Acting Librarian of Congress.

Dean Brown, Members of the Colloquium on Islamic Culture:

Because I shall have an opportunity to welcome you more particularly in Washington, I shall be brief now. Permit me merely to say that it is an extraordinary source of gratification to the Library of Congress to be able to participate with Princeton University in this Colloquium, the first occasion of its kind, which has brought so many distinguished scholars from so many countries to discuss here subjects which, while primarily arising from the culture of their own countries, are nevertheless universal in their interest and importance.

It is not without significance, I think, that this Colloquium is sponsored by a great university and a great library. The interest of the university in the questions which you will discuss, is, by definition, academic; the interest of the library in these same questions might be supposed to be even less vital. The fact is that both recognize in the topics of your agenda the realities which place these questions in a light of affairs and action which is not in the usual sense "academic," which has

nothing of the "static" or "conservative" which might be thought to be the characteristics of the library.

On the contrary, the university and the library have united here to represent to you the welcoming interest of the people of the United States. The university and the library represent the concern for your living thought, and for your recorded literature.

In these beautiful buildings and in this fine weather you may carry on your discussions at leisure and with utmost informality. Yours is an agenda which will make demands on all your learning and all your scholarship. By the time you reach Washington you will know each other well, and you will have discussed some of the most important problems confronting the Islamic world and touching the world as a whole. In Washington we shall be able perhaps to synthesize, to derive some common understandings on a number of these topics. Until then, you have my wishes for fruitful and enjoyable sessions.

A welcome in Arabic was also given by Professor Philip K. Hitti, Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures of Princeton University.

After the meeting in the Faculty Room of Nassau Hall, tea was served in the Faculty Lounge of the Firestone Memorial Library.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH,

9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M.

Modern Trends of Literature in the Muslim Countries: Ways of Preserving an Appreciation of the Classic Literature of Islam: Remarks and Questions Concerning Language.

Summary of an introductory address on "Aspects of Literary and Linguistic Problems in Modern Egypt" by Professor Mohammad Khalafallah, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Alexandria.

1. The Classical Arabic literature in modern Egypt is making steady progress as the result of the interaction of two cardinal factors:

a. The Arabic-Islamic substructure with its attributes.

b. The cultural and literary impact of the West.

Some of the outstanding features of this progress have been the introduction of storytelling as a technique, which Arabic literature had previously lacked, and the translation into various European languages of a number of literary works by contemporary Egyptian authors.

2. Egyptian universities have begun to devote attention to the study of "popular" Arabic literature and folklore, but it requires considerable effort to collect materials, to study orientations and to explore relationships with the Classical Arabic literature.

3. Linguistic difficulties in Egypt: As the Classical is the language of an educated elite, only a minority are well versed in it and it is not used in daily life. The vernacular of daily life is the Colloquial. Consequently difficulties are encountered in education, in the writing of books for school children and the populace, and in making direct contacts between the Arab peoples and the West.

4. The need for formulating a linguistic policy with a view to overcoming these difficulties: An unvocalized Arabic script denotes general rather than exact meaning. This is a formidable obstacle in the way of mastering the correct pronunciation, composition and speech of Classical Arabic.

A proposal for the reform of this shortcoming is—that short vowel letters (fathah, kasrah, dammah) should be introduced as integral parts of written words. This would require the addition of three new letters to the Arabic script.

Address on "Modern Literary Trends in Islamic Countries" by Professor Chafic Jabri, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Syrian University.

Before beginning a discussion about modern trends of literature in the Muslim countries and ways of preserving the classic literature of Islam, it seems best to divide the subject into two parts:

1. Contemporary literary trends in the Islamic countries.
2. Ways of preserving the legacy of Islamic literature.

This is the theme submitted for discussion at our conference.

It is my understanding that the expression "Islamic countries," is intended to connote those countries whose inhabitants speak the Arabic language, such as Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Hijaz, and North Africa, for example, and those countries whose peoples speak other than Arabic such as Turkish, Persian, Urdu, etc.

I understand the term "legacy of Islamic literature" to refer both to Arabic literature and to Turkish, Persian, Urdu and other non-Arabic forms of literature in Muslim countries.

If we deliberate about the subject proposed for discussion, in the manner just defined, it will facilitate our approach to its consideration.

It is not easy for the learned members of this Colloquium to tackle individually the subject of modern literary orientations in all of the Islamic countries, or to delve into the ways of preserving the classic literature of Islam in its entirety. A study of this kind requires knowledge of the literature of all the countries of Islam; and such versatility is not feasible for most of us, even if some one among our learned members has been able to encompass this far-flung field over the years. I, for my part have to concede that I can only discuss the modern literary trends in the country of my upbringing, Syria. It is, therefore, my view that each one of us dwell upon the literature of his homeland, so that by the end of the Colloquium, we shall have obtained a comprehensive understanding of contemporary literary trends in all the Islamic countries.

What are the modern literary trends in Syria?

A month ago I contributed an article to one of the Egyptian publications entitled, "The Intellectual Life of Syria," and I believe that a portion of that article pertains to the basis of our discussion. Literature in Syria does not possess an extended genealogy stretching back to past ages; for after it had lapsed into lethargy for several centuries, during Syria's incorporation within the Ottoman Empire, it was vivified approximately half a century ago. (I hope you will not take me to task as regards the accuracy of the date.) In the aftermath of the Ottoman upheaval, that is after 1908, a number of newspapers made their appearance, carrying various articles and poems. Western literature in that epoch had not as yet influenced the main body of Syrian literature. The majority of Syria's literary men had kept their eyes on their old literature and had followed in its footsteps. Only a handful had studied and had been moulded by certain Western literary influences. This state of affairs continued until the end of World War I.

With the close of the war in 1918, Syria was launched on a new intellectual era; an academy was established, departments were opened as a nucleus of a Syrian University and many student missions proceeded to Europe. Thus, Syrians obtained access to the countries of the West and became acquainted with Western schools of literature and thought. Upon their return home, they disseminated the ideas which they had acquired in their studies abroad; this heralded a new intellectual vista, hitherto unknown. No longer did a collection of works by the literary forebears of the Arabs serve as the sole reading material. The pages of newspapers and magazines became studded with new names of Western prose writers and poets as well as with the translations, or adaptations, of some of their works. The names of Anatole France, Pierre Loti, Oscar Wilde, Barrès, Byron, Kipling, Bernard Shaw and other French and English celebrities were alluded to in Syrian newspapers and books and also from rostrums. Many Syrian intellectuals studied in France and their education showed Latin influence. Others studied in England and America and their culture was moulded according to the English or the American pattern. If we glance at some of our magazines and newspapers, or listen to some of the lectures which are being delivered in our clubs today, we hear the names of Gorky, Dostoievsky and other Russian writers. Syrian literature over the past thirty years, therefore, has had a degree of contact with Western literature. The impact of Western literature has been in two spheres: thought and form. As regards thought, we find many of the young literary men inclined towards humanist literature, which embraces the whole of the human race and not

a part thereof. As for the mechanism of formulation, a group of them have taken to extreme and novel forms. Nonetheless, Syria is not bereft of literary men, devoted to the preservation and nourishment of their past literary heritage. These include many members of the Academy, professors at the Syrian University and teachers.

In what direction is Syrian literature moving?

We cannot find any unique attributes or point to a specific orientation. It is eclectic and tends towards multifarious schools, the determinant being the inclination, the cultural background, or the temperament of each of the literary men. While we discern a move towards a revival of the "story" or of the "novel," we see alongside of it an inclination to maintain the form of literary discourses. Although there is a tendency towards humanism, which knows no homeland save that of humanity, and recognizes no nationality but mankind, we find a prevailing disposition towards nationalist literature which aims to revive the Arab heritage of the past. Side by side with the most undisciplined subjectivism and romanticism, almost repellant to the Arabic language, we come across weighty and sound thought, inspired by our classics such as the works of al-Jahiz and other celebrities of his class. Syrian literature, therefore, is many-sided and varying in complexion. It has not as yet created for itself a vivid and distinctive color; it has no life of its own but is in the whirlpool of heterogeneous cultures, a confluence of conflicting streams, values and concepts. This is very natural indeed, because it is not the product of past centuries; it came into being with the dawn of the modern renascence, that is after a prolonged period of petrification. No sooner had it seen the dawn of life than it became immersed in whirling cross-currents, first going to the right and then to the left; sometimes rationalistic in its orientation and at other times fanciful and romantic. But it is my belief that it will achieve a degree of stability thanks to the efforts of the Syrian University, the Academy and the secondary schools.

At any rate, I have not been alarmed because Syrian literature has succumbed to these conflicting currents, because it has benefited from them. From Arabic literature it has derived succinctness of expression and clarity of thought, thanks to the Arabic language which is renowned for such qualities. From some it has derived profundity and depth, thanks to those languages whose literature is renowned for such depth; and from others it has acquired a humanistic outlook, promoting understanding between humankind and bringing men closer together in a fraternal association.

Are there grounds for apprehension, on account of contacts between this classic heritage and modern literary trends?

If we consult the literary histories of all nations, we find that these literatures have been affected by reciprocal influences. I shall not in my brief discussion here, and for lack of time, go beyond our Arabic literature itself. The Arabic language, since its spread from the Arabian Peninsula in the wake of Islam to the countries which came within the Muslim fold, underwent a process of development. It did not remain the exclusive property of the Peninsula but was absorbed by the countries which the Arabs occupied.

As the Arabs moved from the Peninsula, they brought to the countries which they overran their language, which henceforth became the language of the indigenous inhabitants. The Arabs, in their turn, were transformed from nomadic to urban life, from a parochial and narrow-gauge outlook to one of unlimited horizons, including commodious living, civilization, the arts and the sciences. The new way of life brought about an upheaval in their thought and actions. This upheaval embraced their language itself, transforming it into a new attire. The change impoverished the language in some respects and enriched it in others. Many Bedouin terms were forsaken in the process, while new terms emerged to denote new things, and to express new ideas. All these evolutionary processes have been emphasized by a number of orientalists, notably by Dozy.

These trends in the past are similar to those of the present. The contacts of our modern literature, with the literatures of other nations, has a counterpart in the contacts which our language experienced in the past, following its exit from the Peninsula and its exposure to new languages and peoples. The linguists and the grammarians were fearful of these contacts, and strove to arrest the process, with a view to preserving the purity and the cohesion of the language. There was a prolific outpouring of books on etymology, orthography and grammar. They maintained a vigilant watch to ensure the proper use of newly coined words. They deserve credit for this achievement; for instead of collapsing, the language remained intact; instead of branching out into a multiplicity of derivative vernaculars, it preserved its unity. It was delivered from the fate that befell ancient

Latin, which passed out of use and was replaced by off-shoot languages such as French and kindred tongues.

If those philologists succeeded in averting a collapse of the language, they did not succeed in arresting its evolution and growth. Many colloquial phrases and local pronunciations made inroads into the language. The various Arab writers expressed themselves in the dialects of their environments, which though Arab, were not without local influences. Many words entered the language which had not been mentioned in dictionaries and which had not been known to the Arabs in their Peninsula. We have come across a not inconsiderable collection of those words, in the course of our studies of such classics as the works of al-Jahiz, or the great book "al-Aghani" (The Book of Songs). This demonstrates that the most accomplished of our writers did not shun the natural law of evolution. They did not shy from the use of common words in their eloquent discourses, nor did they regard such practice as opprobrious. There is nothing to be feared from the incorporation of new terms into the language. On the contrary, such additions can enrich it. What should be feared, however, is the danger of undermining the foundations of its linguistic science. The English language, for example, includes more than 30,000 words, and yet it has retained its independent vitality.

The world is moving at a quick pace, and thought is keeping up with this speed. It is inevitable that new ideas arise every day in the fields of philosophy, the social sciences and other branches of knowledge. It is equally imperative that new terms should be developed to denote the new discoveries in philosophy, the sciences, economics and other branches of learning. If we fail to come forth with new terms, our thought will be circumscribed and our literature will be weakened. Our Arabic literature is in need of new terms every day to cope with new concepts and discoveries. Such terms do not undermine the structure of the language. Recently, the term "Ta'min" (nationalization) was contrived in Syria to denote this form of economic organization; the word has entered the language, has survived, and has become irreplaceable.

The modern Arabic literature in Syria cannot divest itself of the influences of modern literatures either with regards to vocabulary or categories of thought. We can, however, safeguard our classic literature from collapse, in spite of the modern inroads. In the past, our philologists rose to the challenge; they wrote books, and worked against common error. Thus they succeeded in preserving the integrity and the unity of the language. What is there to prevent our contemporary philologists from doing likewise, with a view to preserving the unity of the language?

The academies of philology in Egypt, Syria and Iraq are keeping a close eye on the torrent of words in vogue and are devising new terms which our language needs, to denote new things and novel ideas. The universities are watching trends in the literature, sensitizing their students to the merits of our classic literature and presenting these merits in a variety of forms and approaches. The most impressive feature of this methodology is the annotation of texts in modern terms, that is by means of noting in the sequence of thought the relationship and order by which they are connected and the proper placing of words. This helps us to appreciate the laudable qualities of our old literature. If our students are brought up according to this sound direction, they should be able to enjoy the excellence of modern literature without losing touch with the excellence of their old literature.

I conclude this brief presentation, by expressing my thanks to Princeton University, which has afforded us an eminent opportunity to deliberate on a significant subject related to our literature, old and new. May the conference achieve the best results.

Brief summary of an introductory address on Persian Literature by Professor Mojtaba Minovi of the University of Tehran and Chief of the Department of Higher Education at the Ministry of Education.

Although the Arabic script is used in Iran, it is not well adapted to the needs of Persian writing. There are many Arabic words incorporated into the Persian language, but the majority of the words are Indo-European and they cannot be perfectly written with a Semitic script.

On the other hand, because of the Arabic and Islamic heritage shared by Iran, it is unrealistic to think of adopting any new script or of trying to replace the Arabic terms with Persian equivalents.

The chief new literary forms in Persia have all come into being during the past century. Helpful information about them can be found in works

on modern Persian literature by the late E. G. Browne, of Cambridge, and Mohammed Ishaque of Calcutta.

Favorite new forms of expression are the full length novel, derived from the French "roman," and short stories. There are also plays of the modern European type and verse-dramas. One of the most important works is a play by Sadiq al-Hikayat entitled "Wild Owl," which has been translated into French and much appreciated in France. There are many newspapers and some eight hundred journals, many of which are short lived and limited to Tehran.

Poetry is very popular and tends to cling to the old forms, such as the "Aruz" verse, derived from an Arabic metrical form. There is also blank verse borrowed from Europe, as well as alternating rhymes, and the traditional didactic poetry immortalized by Hafiz, Sa'di and their followers, with forms like the "Ghazal," "Qasidah" and "Rubaiyat." Even in this conservative poetry certain colloquialisms are being used and these add freshness to the classic forms.

Address on "Modern Trends of Literature in the Muslim Countries" by Mr. Muhyiddin Nusuli, Editor-in-Chief of "Beirut."

I do not know very much about trends in literature in Muslim countries because many of the languages they speak are unknown to me, and the few books I read on the literature of the Indian, Turkish, Afghan and Iranian peoples are in English or in French. As my ideas are somewhat limited on this subject, I should like to speak to you about trends in literature in Arab Countries as a Lebanese and an Arab, and not as a Muslim because the Christians have done as much for Arab literature as the Muslims.

I believe that writing is essentially thinking, or at least it involves thinking as its first requisite. All people can think but few people can say what they think, that is, express themselves with sufficient command of language to convey their meaning to the full.

To be able to do this, a writer must learn the use of language which can adequately convey his thoughts to his audience and this means a continuous and conscious effort.

In the middle of the 19th Century the Arab World emerged from a deep sleep following the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt and the appearance of the first newspaper in Arabic. This period saw the birth of new trends in Arabic literature in Lebanon, Egypt and Syria. They became more clearly defined during the century that followed until our present day, when Arabic literature, having broken away from the imitations of Western literature, especially French and English, now stands on its own feet and has become creative and imaginative.

We Arabs have come to have ideas of our own by long and patient effort, and by hard work, and I am sure that we are going to continue along this path as long as we remain in contact with the West and as long as the barriers of distances are daily becoming reduced.

During the first half of this Century the appreciation of Arabic literature has gained momentum both with regard to the subject treated, and the form in which the subject is being conveyed to the Arab reader.

We have treated political subjects in prose and poetry, aiming at arousing patriotic sentiments and aspirations, and a longing for freedom and independence.

The most outstanding poets and writers in the political field are Ahmad Chauky, Hafez Ibrahim, and Wali-ud-Din Yakun, from Egypt; Khalil Moutran, Amin Rihani, and Becharah El-Khoury from Lebanon; Rassafi, Zahawy and Chabiby from Iraq, Souleiman Ahmed under the pen name of Badwi-El-Jabal, and Omar Abu-Richa from Syria. Another group of eminent writers, who espoused the cause of religion, have come to the front. The most distinguished are Jamal Eddin El-Afghani from Afghanistan, Muhammad 'Abduh, Muhammad Farid Abu Hadid and Mustafa Sadik Rifai from Egypt, Muhammad Rashid Rida from Lebanon, and Abdel-Khalek El-Mughrabi from Syria. These writers stood for the reform of Islam, so that the religion of the Prophet might live and keep its strength and vitality, as Christianity has kept hers in this complex modern world.

Another group of writers studied Islamic and Arab history in order to revive it and bring it to the reader in modern and concise form. The most conspicuous are Jourji Zeidan from Lebanon; Ahmad Amin, Taha Hussein, and 'Abbas Mahmud Akad from Egypt; Ma'ruf Arnaut a Lebanese journalist who became a nationalized Syrian, and Darini Khashabi, who tried to revive Arab mythology. Then a new school of historians led by our eminent Lebanese Professor Dr. Philip Hitti, has treated Islamic and Arab

literature on scientific lines, purging history of the superstitions attached to it throughout the past. His books were translated into Arabic and have spread a new light on our history, the light of recent and scientific research.

Some of our writers studied ancient classics, expounding their strength and weakness, and using scientific criticism as a criterion. The most distinguished of this School are Taba Hussein, Ibrahim 'Abdel Kader El-Mazni, 'Akkad, Zaki Mubarak, and Abmad Hussein Zayat from Egypt; Abdallah El-Alaili, Butros El-Bustani, Fuad El-Bustani, Raif El-Khouri from Lebanon; Khalil Mardam and Muhammad El-Kurd 'Ali from Syria.

Another group of writers wrote on social matters which are the most vital and interesting subjects dealt with in modern Arabic literature and are much appreciated by Arab readers. This tendency of writing on social subjects has taken many forms:

1) To combat most of the habits formed through our contact with the West. The most eminent writer of this School is Mustafa El-Manfaluti of Egypt.

2) To depict the social evils arising from feudalism, capitalism, communism and religious heresy. Those who wrote on these subjects are numerous and their works have taken the form of short and long stories, pamphlets and novels. Among these writers I may mention Jubran Khalil Jubran from Lebanon; Muhammad Taymur, Mazini, Haikal, Taha Hussein and Tufik Hakim from Egypt; Zau Nur Ayyub from Iraq.

3) To depict national revival in stories written by such eminent young men as Tufik Yusuf 'Awwad from Lebanon and Shakib Jabi from Syria.

Arabic literature is becoming more and more important. Our writings have a plan, they are vivid, real, and they have style. Fiction sounds like truth. The characters of our novels seem to live among us. In fact we can say that we are keeping pace with Western literature. Those whose works have that human touch among our best writers are Michael Naimeh, Said Takieddin, Khalil Takieddin (Lebanon), Toufik Hakim, Salameh Moussa (Egypt), and Fuad Chaib (Syria).

Quite apart from the modern and human tendencies in the art of writing, there is the broader question of good and bad language, of where speech ends and slang begins. To what extent must the language of literature and cultivated discourse accept and assimilate the innovations coming from foreign languages, and the corruption that perpetually appears in the language spoken by the mass of the people? We cannot tell. Are we able to stop the two trends? Arrest means stagnation. A happy medium is the most reasonable solution especially since the Arabic language can assimilate through what we call "Al-Naht" and "Al-Ishtikak."

There was once a movement to use slang, to write it, and to give up literary Arabic. But this, generally speaking, has been discarded, although we see some use of it from time to time, especially in Lebanon.

Other voices were raised in favour of the Latin alphabet to replace the Arabic characters in use today. What a loss it would be to the art of writing and calligraphy if those voices prevailed as they did when the Turks adopted Latin characters about twenty years ago.

Thanks to the journalists and authors, whose writings are read in newspapers and magazines, and are read over the radio, as well as to our younger generation of literary men in the different Arab Countries, the Arabic language is gaining vigour and malleability; finding the happy mean we all long for.

Our modern Arabic language is maturing as a result of the literary demands and fine use the younger generation of Arab writers is making of the language to interpret their thoughts.

However, we shall always go back to the classics of the pre-Islamic era as well as to the post-Islamic period to get inspiration and to fortify ourselves with the soul of the language, so that we may do "creative work" as Westerners are doing.

The classics should be studied, sifted, weighed, and presented to our youth with very intelligent up-to-date methods, and taught to them as Latin is learnt by those whose aspirations reach far beyond the commonplace.

But it is the Koran, the Holy book of Islam, which will always remain our guide and our inspiration: and if we keep to the purity of the language, a purity which will be in keeping and harmony with the "creative work" we are doing, then indeed we shall have accomplished a renaissance in Arabic literature.

Report on the Literature of Afghanistan, by the Hon. Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires of the Royal Afghanistan Embassy at Washington.

When we speak of literature in Afghanistan, we generally mean the literature of modern or Islamic Afghanistan. To better understand the literature of Afghanistan it is necessary to acquaint oneself with the languages. The two languages spoken in Afghanistan belong to the family of the Aryan or Indo-European tongues and are so widely used that the country is almost bilingual.

The existing literature of Afghanistan is mainly poetical, but there are also some important works in prose. In Pashtu, histories such as "Makhzani Pashtu" and "Tarikhi Murassa" are the important prose works. The principal poets of Pashtu are Khushhal Khan, the Khatack chief, Mirza Khan Ansari of the Sufi School, and the popular poets, Abdul Rahman and Abdul Hamid, who have both left diwans of a mystical character. Abdul Qadir Khatack and Ahmad Shah, the great Durrani king, also have diwans. There is also a popular poetry collected by Westerners.

Persian literature was fostered by earlier dynasties and the Eleventh Century Ghaznanides of Afghanistan. It was destined to grow in grace and culture, until it was changed into the quality of Firdausi, with all of the virility of the race within its compass. Hanzalah of Badghis in Afghanistan, who was said to be the first Persian poet, lived at the time of the Tahirids, about A.D. 850. So well known were the poems of Hanzala that they were worth gathering into a diwan, but only a few fragments of it remain.

In the Samani period a day spring of song was marked and the zenith was reached with the fame of Daqiqi Balkhi. One of the group of that period was Abu Shukur of Balkh.

The court of Mahmoud of Ghazna, who ruled from A.D. 998 to 1030, included a round table of poets. The poet laureate was Unsuri Balkhi. Farrukhi was also famous for his superior literary merit. Jami and Sanai were, of course, the well known poets of the Urfan School. Moulana Jalaludin Balkhi, the great author of the "Masnavi," which is called the Quran in Persian, was the most outstanding figure in Afghan literature.

Among the events and changes with bearing upon the literature of Afghanistan there are the new national consciousness and the growing contact with the West. The revolutionary movement of Sayed Jamaludin Afghani, the European wars, the apprehension caused by colonial policies in Asia and, finally, the propagation of new scientific inventions have made impacts on Afghan literature.

The poets now find a wide range for discussion in all problems pertaining to social life, education, politics, economics, philosophy and religion, as they grasp the nature of these problems.

The modern period of our literature is creative, with distinctive features and definite personality. The degraded condition of the Muslim world is sorrowfully expressed in literature. Afghanistan has always been a land of poetry and the lyric quality has never been lost in this land of natural beauty.

The ordinary looking Afghan walking across the mountains or the master of the caravan, heading the long camel train as it winds its slow way among the hills, can each recite verses from the poets, who are centuries old.

Among the changes in our modern literature one of the most important concerns the language in which the poems are written. The change has taken place in connection with words chosen to express the ideas of the poets. In former times, the poets wrote in a language highly saturated with Arabic. Today there is an endeavor to bring the poetical language nearer to the spoken idiom and to render it more intelligible to a far greater number of people. The different branches of literature into which simple language is being introduced by modern writers are drama, the novel, periodicals and newspapers, as well as poetry.

Popular and poetic stories have been great favorites at all times and the art of narration has been greatly appreciated. Modern novels, however, with their realistic tendencies, represent a new epoch. The movement began with translations from Western languages. To meet the growing demand of the public, numerous periodicals have been started. A lead was given especially by Mahmoud Bey Tarzi and more recently by Salahuddin Saljuki. Owing to the growing interest, scholars have started to preserve folk tales.

The birth of modern poetry began with the political crises of the Twentieth Century. New tendencies have revolutionized our poetry. The apostles of the modern movement are introducing new themes, new fields for thought have opened

up, and an artificial style has given place to a simple and natural diction, showing originality in its themes.

Modern literature has been identified with the entire life movement of the country. It is continually endeavoring to become adapted to, as well as to create and mould, the whole environment, natural, social and cultural, in a progressive realization of the higher ends of the existence of the free individual and a free people.

General Discussion about Literature and Language.

Brief accounts were given about the literary developments in Malaya, India and Turkey.

There was some discussion about the influence of socialistic and Communist writings on Arabic literature. It was pointed out that although there are some writings of this type, their influence has so far been of a minor nature. No major Marxist work has been published in Arabic. On the other hand, it was pointed out that if existing social and economic conditions are not improved, Communist propaganda may have more success in the future than it has at the present time.

The bulk of the discussion at the morning and afternoon meetings was devoted to two related questions: (i) a possible revision of the Arabic script, (ii) the relation between literary and colloquial Arabic.

It was pointed out that the importance of the literary language is derived from pre-Islamic Bedouin speech, from poetry, and especially from the Qur'an. It is the true "lingua franca" of educated Arabs and Muslims everywhere. Colloquial Arabic has so many corruptions and local variations that it is difficult for an Arab of Morocco, for instance, to converse freely with an Arab from Lebanon or Iraq.

General education and a drive to increase literacy, as well as the use of correct Arabic in connection with speeches, the radio, the drama, and newspapers, will do much to increase the literary consciousness of the masses.

Classical Arabic is constantly becoming more flexible in its willingness to adopt former slang or vernacular expressions into elegant speech and writing, and is becoming more generally known and understood. Thus the gap between the popular and literary language is closing gradually, so that this problem is not as acute as it has been in the past.

It is acknowledged by qualified Arabs that the Arabic script, in spite of its stenographic quality, aesthetic charm, and traditional attraction, presents serious weaknesses which should, at least in part, be overcome by improvement or revision. This problem of a revised script is old and popular, yet a most complex issue. Participants at the Colloquium were full of ideas on the subject, and there was hearty disagreement about the best solution of this vexing question.

In the course of the discussion, a number of major difficulties inherent in the present script were described. First of all, Arabic is a Semitic language, and its script is composed of consonants. In special circumstances, supplementary symbols for the three vowels, a-i-u, are inserted above or below the consonant which they follow, but in informal writing, and in the press, these are normally omitted. This makes it impossible for anyone who does not know Arabic grammar thoroughly to be certain of the correct reading of many words. As Arabic consonants are modified in writing according to their position at the beginning, middle, or end of a word, it is difficult to devise printing presses and typewriters to reproduce Arabic. Other lacunae are the absence of both capital letters and standardized punctuation, and the difficulty of noting the tiny dots placed just above or below individual letters, which give distinct meanings to the symbol to which they are related. The lack of uniformity in spelling foreign terms or names in Arabic, coupled to the absence of complete and generally accepted Arabic dictionaries of technical and scientific terms, hampers scientific work. Agreement as to the possible use of the internationally accepted scientific terms and the adoption of the universally recognized, so-called "Arabic" numerals would, in the opinion of certain delegates, greatly facilitate education, and an interchange of ideas with other peoples.

Two speakers emphasized the sharp distinction between script or alphabet, and language or culture. Others argued that, even if this may be generally accepted, the sacred character of the divinely revealed Qur'an places Arabic and its script in a special category and militates against the adoption of either a Latin alphabet or a purely phonetic script for Arabic writing. The aesthetic beauty of the Arabic script, and the preservation of the artistic values of calligraphy were extolled by some, while others urged experimentation with various alternatives and pointed out that where general education and the great cultural and

social uplift of the vast bulk of the population are concerned, most serious and unselfish thought should be devoted to finding a truly practical solution to these difficulties. Several references were made to the Turkish experience in adopting the Latin alphabet. The original incompatibility of Arabic script to Turkish vowels and consonants, which are quite different from Arabic, was revealed as an often overlooked factor in these comparisons. Turkish speakers were strongly in favor of their change in spite of the great chasm which it has temporarily created with their illustrious and cherished past. They also felt that by increasing literacy and education, simplifying printing, and making a cheaper production of books possible, this fundamental change had increased the reading and appreciation of the Qur'an and other Islamic religious books from an estimated 3 per cent of the population to roughly 37 per cent.

Several Muslims emphasized that the basic importance of the Qur'an and the religious message of Islam lay in its spiritual and ethical teachings and in its effect on the individual lives of men, rather than in the mere external form in which the Holy Word was represented. On the whole, the consensus of opinion was that the Arabic script should be preserved, at least in Arabic speaking lands, but that revisions in regard to vowels and other symbols should be agreed upon and adopted in order to clarify, simplify, and correct the present script.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10TH, 9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M.

History and Ways of Giving the Muslim Youth an Interest in Historical Traditions

Summary of an introductory address on "How to Increase the Interest of the Moslem Youth in their History" by Dr. Nabih A. Faris, Chairman of the Department of History of the American University of Beirut.

I.

Actually Muslims are keenly interested in their own history. They experience the events as though they were the events of yesterday. Early school training, sermons, feasts, folklore and literature keep alive great interest in history.

Modern authors as distinguished as Taha Husayn, 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad, Dr. Muhammad Husayn Haykal, some dramatists and many popular writers make much of history.

II.

Unfortunately much of this literature is weak in the following ways: (a) It is too often an appeal to the emotion and vanity, rather than to accurate research and balance of judgment. Even the textbooks have this failing. (b) It is superficial, listing great names instead of trying to determine in an exact and detailed manner specific cultural contributions. (c) It avoids a scientific study of the place of Arab culture in human history. Most scholars refrain from applying scientific methods to the study of events connected with religion.

As Muslim history is usually Mediaeval in spirit, failing to throw light on the problems of modern times, the youth turn from it to a study of Western civilization. Only when there are studies as profound as Dr. George Sarton's "Introduction to the History of Science" can the youth be expected to solve the problem of blending ancient culture with the demands of modern thought.

III.

The Present State of Historical Studies in the Arab Muslim World

These studies have not been able to disengage themselves from the traditional treatment, emphasis and outlook of the classical historians. The larger part of the historical production is for the most part characterized by the following:

a. Emphasis on dynastic history, outstanding caliphs, generals and theologians.

b. The subject matter is compressed into a bare outline of dates, events and names.

c. Islamic history is treated independently of events which preceded it, and followed it, usually being confined to the period between the Year of the Elephant and the Fall of Granada.

d. The history deals almost exclusively with the glorious aspects of the Islamic past, reading into it the accomplishments of Western liberalism, in a way best described as Muslim Romanticism.

IV.

How Should This History Be Taught?

a. Emphasis should be moved from dates and events to analysis and interpretations.

b. Side by side with political history there should be a study of social, economic and cultural developments.

c. Muslim history should be studied as an integral part of human history. Such a study would show the influence of Islam on Western civilization and give the youth confidence in the past value of their culture. It would force Western scholars to give Islamic history the importance it deserves. Fortunately Western universities and foundations are at last beginning to recognize the importance of Islam.

V.

The best way to interest the youth in their history is to confront them with the present-day problems of their own countries, so that they will be obliged to seek a clear understanding by studying history.

VI.

An unprejudiced and comprehensive study of the period between the Fall of Baghdad and the 20th Century will be especially helpful, as so far it has been neglected.

VII.

Freedom of thought, expression and distribution, without danger of injury are necessary, if history is to be made to appeal to the youth.

VIII.

Qualified teachers and thoroughly trained scholars are also essential.

Summary of an introductory address on Islamic History by Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Minister of Education in Pakistan and Pro-Chancellor of the University of Karachi.

1. Muslims have an excellent record in Historiography. Actually the early Muslim contribution to Historiography has been very remarkable. Interest in their own history has never weakened among the Muslim people.

2. It is true that some of the writers still follow the traditions of the old chroniclers, but in India and Pakistan Muslim historians have devoted greater attention to economic, social, administrative and cultural problems. The Muslim historians of India and Pakistan with a few exceptions have generally devoted themselves to the history of Muslim rule in this sub-continent. But men like Shibli Nomani and Suleman Nadvi have made valuable contributions to Islamic history though, of course, their writings are in Urdu. They have not devoted themselves completely to chronology but have also written on subjects like trade, culture and administration. It would, therefore, be wrong to say that Muslim history in the sub-continent of Pakistan and India is mediaeval in spirit. Today it is as modern in outlook as it is in the West.

3. It is true that a certain amount of romanticism and uncritical glorification has crept into the writings of Muslim historians, but this shortcoming has almost disappeared from the writings of the modern Muslim historians of Pakistan and India. It should be remembered that this romanticism and glorification alike were the result of a strong reaction against the hostile, even unscientific writings of some of the Western orientalists who wrote very often to revile and condemn even what was praiseworthy in the achievements of the Muslims. Islam was, as it were, "put on the mat" by Western orientalists and the reaction among Muslims was to defend it. Naturally, in this process all canons of criticism could not be kept in view.

4. The difficulty persists. A great many Muslim youth read books which are flagrantly hostile to Islam and unjust to Islamic history. In their effort to provide a corrective, Muslim historians develop this trend of romanticism and, therefore, an average young student of history fails to form a balanced judgment, because instead of having a fair assessment of his history, he is confronted with a condemnation or an apologia. So long as Western orientalists continue to be hostile, it is difficult to expect the oriental scholars not to go to the other extreme. The dangers of these trends are realized at least in my country and I can say with a certain amount of pride that

we have been producing reasonably well-balanced monographs. Of course, their number is still very limited, because of our limited resources.

5. There is a tendency to think that the history of the Arab world alone is Islamic history. It is true that the history of the Arab world occupies an important place in the history of Islam. But to get a comprehensive review of the achievements and aspirations of the entire Muslim world we should devote greater attention not only to the history of the Muslim countries lying outside the Arab world, but also to the history of the large Muslim minorities scattered all over the world.

Digest of an address on "Ways and Methods of Creating Historical Consciousness in the Younger Generations" by Professor Sabri Ulgener of the University of Istanbul.

There surely exists no doubt as to the inevitable necessity of creating in the younger generations of Islamic countries a well-grounded historical consciousness. The only debatable problem lies in determining the correct bearing toward which this consciousness should be steered as well as in directing the means through which the over-all development could be achieved.

I regard it to be a most important requisite that the education, which purports to bring about a consciousness of history in the younger generations, must be shorn of all misconceptions, misinterpretations and prejudices, and must be based upon a positive approach, to the greatest possible extent. Evidently, such an approach presupposes and necessitates an extremely careful and meticulous selection of topics and methods. It is the first and foremost principle of the positive approach to history to focus the attention upon those concrete institutions, whose authenticity is self-evident or provable, that is to say, which lie within clear boundaries. Thus we shall decrease the undesirable impact of the narrative approach to history, which utilizes myths, legends and fictions.

As is apparent from the above, there can scarcely be any doubt as to the importance of the positive approach to history, which concentrates its attention upon the external and clearly definable facts. This, however, does not exhaust the entire problem. Obviously, we can hardly expect an adequate contribution from a preoccupied examination of the external appearances (surface panorama) of institutions during the process of a positive education of history. Positive history is certainly not an exclusive and self-restricting preoccupation with externals and outward appearances. It is a vital necessity not only to study the external aspects of events and institutions, but also to go deep into the spiritual standards and values as well as intellectual movements, that is to say, into the body proper of the quintessences of the period under study, no matter how elusive those aspects and essential features may appear.

In this respect, history of the intellectual movements is at least equally as important as that of concrete institutions and organizations. Nevertheless, this whole field constitutes a somewhat elusive ground for study purposes. As the distinguished historian of culture, J. Burckhardt, has very correctly stated it: "Every period of cultural history presents a different panorama to every eye when we come to view the sphere of ideas and concepts in its entirety. Even more so in the case of a civilization which, as the most immediate source of our own civilization, is continuing to exert its impact. In such a case, it is impossible for both the author and the reader of its account to avoid the intermingling of his views with subjective sentiments and judgments."

Despite such precautionary remarks, history of intellectual movements has become an integral part of modern history-writing. A vivid delineation of the literary, aesthetic and ethical works and accomplishments, which have furnished an outlet for the collective intellect throughout the centuries, enables us to get a cogent and crystallized picture of the meaningful historical features of the period under study. To the best of my knowledge, this approach, which presupposes a careful interpretation, has not yet been satisfactorily exhausted in any Moslem country.

In the course of our search for an efficacious means of creating historical consciousness in the younger generations, I have wholeheartedly insisted upon the necessity of a specific conception of historical survey. The necessity for such an approach, which starting from concrete events and institutions extends deep into their cultural and conceptual contents, has its significant reasons also from a pedagogical standpoint. A history of culture, necessarily of an extensive and all embracing nature, will emphasize and underline common and simultaneous beliefs and views among neighboring countries. Such a history will strengthen the consciousness that is inherent in century-long participation. Evidently its usefulness will be as extensive, as has been detrimental

the naïve history-narration, which has inseminated into young minds a narrow and regionalistic frame of mind, through continuous emphasis upon the infinite number of conflicts, altercations and wars between adjacent countries.

But it must once again be emphasized that the approach to history, whose main features we have stated earlier, is efficacious and valuable only in case it is conducted in conformity with positive and objective methods. It is of course unnecessary for me to go into a discussion of the nature and content of these objective methods. One of the various aspects common to these methods is, for example, interpretation and analysis of historical events, not oversympathetically or overratingly, but with the highest possible degree of objectivity. In this connection, the most undesirable hazard that may and at times does confront us is inseminating into young generations divisive and regionalist concepts and views. The creation of a historical awareness in the youth should never be accompanied by an effort to extol the community, of which that youth is a part, by placing continual stress upon fanatical value-judgments.

Such an approach to historical study involves another harmful aspect. Historical statements, which condemn or undervalue certain countries because of prejudices, have caused in those countries the emergence of a special kind of approach that is much too sentimental and open to divergent value-judgments, but is a necessary and justifiable reaction. A great number of historical studies published in Moslem countries and especially in Turkey are paradigmatic of this. The following statement by Mr. Bernard Lewis, Professor of Islamic History in the University of London, is a sound reaffirmation of this fact: "It is difficult not to sympathize with the frustration and discouragement of the young Turk, eager for enlightenment, who applied himself to the study of Western languages, to find that in most of them his name is an insult."* It is essential, therefore, to excuse the Moslem and Turkish historians, who have indulged in an effort to view and judge about events in such a way as to place their own countries above their neighbours, as a justifiable reaction vis-a-vis these intolerant prejudices.

But, nevertheless, it has now become almost perceivable that the non-Moslem world is gradually achieving an eradication of its disparaging prejudices and biases with respect to Moslem countries. Especially, the attitude in the United States and in Europe toward Turkey is infinitely more favourable, as compared to the situation that existed in the past. Likewise, Moslem political entities are simultaneously eliminating their exorbitantly nationalistic interpretation of history, which came about as the result of disappointment, and of reaction against the non-Moslem world. Prevalence in history-writing is now being taken over by the emerging generation, which is the protagonist of the positivist school. The recent developments in historical surveys especially in Turkey can be summarized, again in accordance with the views of Professor Bernard Lewis, in their three essential features:

In the first place, there has been a perceivable trend toward concentrating historical surveys and researches in specific areas and fields, with clearly distinguishable boundaries, instead of expanding them on a much-too-extensive level. Young historians are emphasizing Anatolia and the actual geographical boundaries of modern Turkey as the proper framework for historical studies, instead of Turanian and other Islamic territories. And this can by no means be said to stem from a narrow and one-sided national sentiment, but, on the whole, from the necessity of conducting surveys within the appropriate limits of a clearly-definable frame.

Secondly, there is taking place an inclination toward adopting and applying methods and techniques of study and evaluation that are characteristically Western. I consider the adoption of this modern approach in the place of old-fashioned historiography, which utilized unconfirmable legends and rumours as well as ambiguous inferences, to be a most significant and efficacious step forward.

In the third place, an objective manner of interpretation is superseding the romanticist and exorbitantly nationalistic approach to history. Although this positive approach, which neither purports to start from a conceited self-esteem, nor indulges in an immensity of disparaging remarks about other political entities or cultures, does have its ebbs and flows, it is nevertheless in a constant process of firm establishment and efficient development.

I believe that our efforts should be directed toward the acceleration of this three-way development as the basic solution for an efficient education, through which historical consciousness

* "Middle Eastern Affairs," June-July, 1953.

can be created in the younger generations. In this manner, Islamic countries will serve history itself as a science, and by eliminating all deleterious prejudices will greatly help to establish a feeling of solidarity and a policy of cooperation among neighboring Moslem countries.

Introduction to the "Problems of Studying Islamic History" by Professor Halil Inalcik, Professor of History at the University of Ankara.

As the most practical way of introducing my remarks I shall begin with a very short account of historical studies in my own country. In Turkey as in other Islamic countries it is necessary to divide historical studies into two parts, namely, before Western influence and after Western influence.

In the early stages of the Ottoman Empire, which originated as a state of "ghazis," early historical works such as "gazavâtnâmes" or "menâkibnâmes" appear strongly influenced by the "ghazi" spirit. As a matter of fact these works are written to appeal to the common people. In the XVth century a court historiography was established which produced works in an orthodox spirit for the well educated class. But broadly speaking the Ottoman historians considered the history of their own country as a continuation of general Islamic history. In the XVth century Şûkrullah, who wrote in Persian, and Neşrî, the author of the first important Ottoman history written in Turkish, planned originally their work as general Islamic history. In the following centuries the most distinguished Ottoman historians, Âli and Müneccimbaşi (who wrote his works in Arabic), included Ottoman history as a part of Islamic history.

Let me add that classical Ottoman historiography took as its model the Persian school of historiography which became popular after the great work of Reşiduddin toward the end of the 13th century. However, it should be noted also that the Ottoman historians were interested in the ideas of Ibn Khaldûn in the introduction to their works. For instance Tursun Beğ, who wrote the history of the reign of Muhammed the Conqueror at the end of the XVth century, attempted to summarize in his first chapter the historical philosophy of Ibn Khaldûn. Later, early in the XVIIIth century, Naimâ followed the same procedure. In the same century, Nailî Abdullah Paşa took Ibn Khaldûn as the basis for his interesting book *Mukaddime-i Teşrîfât* on the origins of states.

It was only at the beginning of the XIXth century that Western influence began in Ottoman historiography. Then, for the first time, Şânizâde referred to French works in his history. After the proclamation of the Tanzimat, in 1839, a strong movement of westernization appeared in every field. So at the second half of the XIXth century some of the Ottoman writers referred to Deguignes for Turkish history and to Sédillot and d'Herblot for Islamic history, along with the classical Arab and Persian authors.

As an important result of this growing Western influence, studies on national Turkish history have gained importance. The best known representative of this movement is Fuat Köprülü. His important studies are on the influence of Islamic culture and religion on the Turkish national legacy. Fuat Köprülü as the chairman of the Turkology Department, played an important part in the spreading of Western methods of criticism and research in Turkey.

After the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey in 1923, every reform movement was inspired by the spirit of nationalism. Atatürk gave great importance to Turkish history. He established the Turkish Historical Society and organized a Congress on Turkish history. This national view of history was not free from exaggerations. But after all it encouraged and improved historical studies in Turkey.

Between the years of 1932-1949 this new historical view was taught to all the Turkish youth in the schools. It should be noted that after Atatürk's death a humanistic movement appeared. Translation of Greek Classics was started and Latin was added to the programs of secondary schools.

During the last five years it has been well understood that the most important period of Turkish history was the one which took place in Islam and that Turkish history, together with Islamic history, constitutes an organic whole. As a result the Faculty of Theology, which used to be at the University of Istanbul, was reopened in 1949 at the University of Ankara. An Institute of Islamic Studies was also established at the University of Istanbul. Along with these developments, importance was given to religious education and voluntary religious courses have been introduced into the elementary school program.

Although there are still two opposing views

about Islamic history, one orthodox and conservative and the other Western, the latter viewpoint has become generally accepted. An example worth mentioning is that in 1939 the Ministry of Public Education decided to translate into Turkish the "Encyclopedia of Islam" which was published in Leyden. The persons with traditional ideas criticized this step and decided to publish another encyclopedia with conservative views under the name of the "Turkish Islamic Encyclopedia."

In Turkey the situation that I have summarized very briefly presents the following problems:

1. From time to time the studies in Islamic history have been influenced by political opinions.

2. The conservative and traditional Turkish writers have generally rejected the methodology of the Western historians in dealing with Islamic history.

3. Occasionally, the modern feelings of intense nationalism overlook the fact that the history of the Islamic peoples is an organic whole.

It is not necessary here to discuss the danger of requiring history to conform to current political views.

The second problem directly concerns us. It must be said that today the way the Western scholars deal with Islamic history is essentially scientific and objective. Today I think there is no other way for any serious student to deal with the Islamic past. There is no need to say more about this. The scientific method is concerned only with discovering historical truth and facts and with the causes which brought them to the front.

It is known that Western studies of Islam developed with European colonial expansion. In other words, practical considerations originally contributed important influences to the development of these studies. Today it cannot be claimed that these influences have completely disappeared. At least the subjects of the Islamic studies are often chosen in accordance with particular interests. This phase of Western Orientalism seems to justify to some extent the reaction shown by some conservative Muslim historians.

Modern writers, who have a fanatical devotion to tradition, are unaware that historical truth is also beyond their reach, because they are bound to ancient errors and prejudices. Today the extreme nationalistic movements that have come into existence in Islamic countries constitute a strong factor, influencing historical studies. National prejudices often overshadow historical realities. Sometimes ridiculous assertions are encountered. Today, for instance, certain nationalistic historians of modern Islamic states dispute among themselves as to the origin of certain great Muslim personalities, who belong to all of Islam, and they claim that these men belong solely to their own states. They do not want to believe that any of these great men of the Islamic past concerned themselves with nationality.

In my opinion historical studies should form a strong foundation for the cultural movements in Islamic countries today. The objective study of Islamic history with Western methodology will bring about general progress in connection with all Islamic learning. Certain Islamic fundamentals, such as the Koran, the Shari'ah and the Islamic institutions, have provided the unity of Islamic history and played the role of being the most important factors in the history of all Islamic peoples. I suppose the history of any one Islamic country cannot be understood, unless it is studied in the general framework of Islamic history as a whole. This Colloquium itself is, no doubt, a good expression of this fundamental idea.

Let me add that there should be a genuine collaboration between the historians of Islam today. For instance, the Ottoman Empire, which unified the greater part of the Islamic world under its sway, has left to us in modern times very rich state archives, and many libraries filled with manuscripts of importance for the study of the history and development of all Islamic countries. Especially from the end of the XVth century, the archives constitute the most important source for the study of the Islamic countries.

I will mention only the general imperial registers, which contain census, land survey and taxation records of the provinces. Contemporary research with these archives may give us a detailed picture of the social conditions in those times among the Arab countries. Such sources proved to be very important for the study of Turkish history.

Another important source is the record of the local "kadis" in the provinces. The oldest of such records in Turkey, now kept in the provincial museums, goes back to the year 867 of the Hijrah. There are now in Turkey rich collections of this kind for most of the provinces. This material in the Turkish archives should enable us to write a social history of the Ottoman Empire, based on documents, and such a work could

show truly basic developments and explain the problems of our joint history.

Resumé of remarks on "History, with Special Reference to Historical Research," by Professor Mustafa Amer, Director General of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities.

1. Islamic History is recent, compared with the Ancient History of the Near and Middle East. It covers only the last fourteen centuries; but it possesses a wealth of valuable and important information, for the students and the advanced scholars and research workers of the period.

But Moslem historians of the past, and here I refer particularly to Arab historians, wrote their history in their own way. They recorded events and dates and were less concerned with critical and analytical study. In that they did not differ from their colleagues, who in that same period wrote the history of the West. For methods of historical research were not known in Europe at that time.

2. Indeed history as a science is something new: it is the product of the 19th century. The new school has been intent to arrive at historical truth whenever possible. Absolute truth, however, may be difficult to attain, but the bigger proportion of truth obtained, the more real history becomes.

To attain these ends, insofar as Islamic history is concerned, we must insist upon scientific treatment. History has ceased to be a narrative of past events and happenings; it is no longer a means of glorifying the deeds of men and nations. It cannot be written or studied scientifically without method. The modern scientific historian looks upon history as dealing with all aspects of human life and activity. All of the various elements of human culture must be taken into consideration.

3. Such should be the aim of the study of Islamic history. It should give us a picture of Islamic society as something mobile and continually evolving, and it should not overlook the important fact that man makes history under special circumstances. Hence the importance of the study of environment is a factor, and a very important one too, because of its influence in directing the course of events and in shaping man's history.

The study of the stage on which events have taken place is, indeed, of the greatest importance to the historian in general and to the Moslem historian in particular. And if history deals with man and time, it should not overlook the element of place or environment. The importance of all this lies in the fact that man cannot explain the present without understanding the past, and the correct knowledge of the past gives him the experience of years and centuries.

4. The study of historical methods of research are important for the advancement of historical studies. These methods, however, did not take root in the Near and Middle East until the end of the first quarter of this century, in spite of the efforts made by some historians before that date. It was thanks to Professor Asad Rustum of the American University of Beirut that the first book on the subject in Arabic saw the light. I am referring to "Muṣṭalaḥ li-Tārīkh," which was published in 1939 and which dealt with methods of historical research.

Scientific bodies in the East have, indeed, given the matter their attention, especially since the establishment of the new universities and their various departments of history, as the study of method is necessary both for those teaching history and studying it. Efforts have thus been made to collect and publish historical records and to study the methods of historical research.

In 1943 Professor Hassan Osman, of the University of Cairo, published his book. In the meantime articles were written in the scientific and literary periodicals on the subject of method and how to handle historical material.

Writing history, however, is not an easy matter. The real historian must possess certain qualities; truth and impartiality are very valuable assets, while criticism and sound judgment are no less important. In addition the historian must possess the implements which facilitate his task. A knowledge of foreign languages, literature, art, diplomacy, palaeography, heraldry, numismatics, papyrus and geography is necessary. The study of original sources, the preparation of bibliographies, and the final presentation of the facts collected, are some of the goods of the historian. There is an immediate need in our countries to prepare scientific bibliographies and to give to historians the necessary facilities to study original records, wherever they may be found.

5. It is also time to look at Islamic history from a fresh angle. Hitherto attention has been given to the political history of Islam. There is need to write the cultural and scientific history

of Islam, including the contributions Islam has made to world culture. This should be done in the light of universal history, as well as in the light of archaeological investigation. In trying to do this, it is not enough to depend upon the material handed over to us by the Moslem historians.

6. Islamic archaeology should come to our aid. New horizons have already been opened up by excavations made in such places as Fustat in Egypt and Samarra in Iraq. Without the aid of archaeology, the new pages of the cultural history of Islam cannot be written and the picture will remain incomplete. In most of the Moslem countries, the vestiges of the near past are still buried below the surface of the earth. They will see the light only when systematic excavations are made. We sincerely hope that Islamic archaeology will come to the help of the historian.

Introductory address on History by Dr. Jawad Ali, Secretary of the Iraqi Academy.

History, honorable members of the Colloquium, is a branch of human knowledge in which the Arabic language duly takes pride, on account of the many historical works written through its medium. Wüstenfeld enumerated some five hundred and ninety historians who flourished in the first millennium after the Hijrah and yet he left out a good many. Celebi ibn Abd Allah, who died in 1067 after the Hijrah, counted 1,300 historical works. Many hundreds more could certainly be added, which deal with the various branches of history, branches which al-Safadi, himself a historian, reduced to forty.

Yet, in spite of this large body of historical writings we unfortunately do not have a book on Islamic history like Mommsen's history of Rome. It is true that many books have been written by Müller, Weil, Brockelmann, Huart, and Dr. Philip K. Hitti, but most of these books deal with the political history of Islam, and are based on the theory that the individual makes the history of mankind. Thus they left out and ignored the other forces which played a very important role in the history of Islam. Moreover, the sources on which these histories were based were for the most part the general well-known sources on political history, such as the histories of al-Ya'qubi, al-Tabari, al-Mas'udi, Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn al-Athir, al-Dhanabi and their like. The works of al-Jahidh, abu al-Faraj al-Isbahani, al-Tanukhi, Ibn Abd Rabbihi, and others were left out as sources. Although these are primarily literary works, yet they should be considered as important sources for writing the history of Islam. I should also point out that it is difficult, in works written in Arabic, to distinguish between literature and history, for the two are so closely related to each other and shade off the one into the other. Indeed, we might find in works of a literary nature material, which is not to be found in works of a purely historical character. It is the literary sources and not the avowedly historical ones that contain information concerning the common people, their thought, feeling, the tendencies to which they were prone, and the forces which directed them. Such books are "al-'Aghani," the "Arabian Nights," and the other works which deal with the stories of fools, of Banu Sasan, of the wits, the licentious, the stingy, books of proverbs, and books which contain stories about animals, but from which morals are drawn which apply to human society. These sources, then, are of inestimable value to the modern historian, who wants to write on Islamic history.

Reference must also be made to the Syriac and Christian sources, to the papyri, the "sermons" and the works of the Christian historians and scholars, who wrote in the pre-Islamic as well as in the post-Islamic period. These works contain material not mentioned by the Moslem historians, material concerning the Christians who lived within the boundaries of Islam. The "sermons" of John the Damascene, who lived during the Umayyad period very close to the Caliphs, and Theodore abu Qurrah are all important sources. Their importance cannot be underestimated by a historian who wishes to write a modern history on Islam. These works contain a lot of material on Islam, the Qur'an, the condition of the Christians, and the controversies between them and the Moslems. In short, they contain such material as we do not find in the Arabic sources. Therefore all of us Moslems and Orientalists should accord these sources the attention they obviously deserve. I must also add that we find much in Isidore the Spaniard on the history of the Umayyads, which would modify or change some of our conceptions and conclusions concerning that dynasty.

In my opinion the history of Islam is a vast book the first chapters of which were neglected, so that we have been for a long time in ignorance of what these first chapters contained. Then the

Orientalists labored hard and discovered some of these pages. For what they have done we owe them a debt of gratitude. Through their discoveries we have become acquainted with some of the contents of these chapters to which the term Jahiliyah, "Time of Ignorance," is applied. The word Jahiliyah was commonly understood to mean "Ignorance." The Arabs were said to have been "ignorant" before Islam, people who had no science, or religion, and who were unacquainted with the problems and affairs of the other nations. It was not until Islam that they took an active part in the making of history, and since then have become known to history. Some of the Orientalists, like Goldziher and Brockelmann, stated that the Arabs did not record history and had no idea of historiography, before the organization of the Islamic State and the subsequent translation of the "chronicles and lives of the Persian kings." Some even asserted that the word *Tarikh* (history) is a Syriac or Persian word compounded of "mah" and "ruz" (in spite of its use in the South Arabian inscriptions which go back to the pre-Christian era).

Since the nineteenth century, historians have come to think that they were wrong in their interpretation of the Arabic history of the pre-Islamic period, and that the Arabs were not living in isolation from the nations of the world. Their ideas changed after they found Ma'inite writings in the Greek island of Delos as well as in al-Jizah in Egypt, which pointed to the existence of pre-Christian Arab communities in these two places. It is to be regretted that most of the efforts of scholars and archaeologists have been directed to Assyrian, Babylonian, Phoenician, Egyptian, and Hebrew studies, while studies in pre-Islamic Arabia have been neglected. We have not heard of an important archaeological and linguistic expedition to the Arabian Peninsula other than small expeditions to Yaman and Hadramawt, but these are insignificant compared to the almost yearly expeditions sent to Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine.

The relations of the Arabian Peninsula to Biblical studies and to the history of Judaism and Christianity is just as close as those of Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine. You are also familiar with what the books of Genesis, Chronicles I, and other books of the Bible contain in the way of material concerning the Arabian Peninsula. Furthermore, mention is made in the history of the church councils of the names of certain bishops who lived among Arab tribes. Should not this lead historians to accord to the Arabian Peninsula and the history of the Arabs before Islam more attention? It is only in this way that the religious life of the Arabs before Islam and the relation of Christianity and Islam can be understood.

What I have said so far should stimulate archaeological interest in the Arabian Peninsula with the object of discovering its historical remains and ascertaining their relation to Biblical events.

The qualities which a historian should possess in order to deserve the name, are integrity, powers of observation, ability to understand historical processes and patience in dealing with his material. Yet historians do make mistakes for various reasons and thus do injustice to themselves and to historical truth whether consciously or unconsciously. The value of history, as you all know, is great in guiding and directing the thought and life of nations. Therefore I hope we will make an effort to avoid mistakes and inaccuracies, and investigate with meticulous care before we pass judgments. I say this because of what I have come across in the way of hasty judgments passed by scholars, who are well known for their high standards of scholarship and originality of thought. Such judgments have been passed about the Arabic language and about Arab thought. Arabic linguistic roots have been uncritically classified as Syriac or Hebrew, although these two languages are cognates of Arabic. Certain rules of Arabic grammar and some Moslem ideas met with the same fate, on the ground of the similarity of these rules and ideas to those in Hebrew, Christian, and Greek thought and language. I do not, of course, wish to deny that nations borrow ideas from one another. In fact, I have early in this paper exposed the error that the Arabs were living in isolation during the pre-Islamic period. Arab thought certainly was influenced by non-Arab thought, but an understanding of this influence cannot be done hastily and needs thorough study before judgment on this matter can be passed and accepted.

Why some orientalists think it surprising that the Arabs or the Moslems in general should produce original thought completely baffles me. Surely the Arabs and the Moslems have been endowed with reasoning faculties like any other people. The truth is that it is very difficult for a historian to write the history of the thought of a

nation to which he does not belong. It is possible for him to write on its political, economic, social, and scientific history, but I think that many difficulties lie in the way of this historian, if he is to attempt a history of thought, particularly if he happens to hold divergent convictions. As it is difficult for me, as a Moslem, to write on the history of Christian or Confucian thought accurately and scientifically, so it is difficult for the non-Moslem historian to appreciate Moslem thought and philosophy, or to understand the technical terms and idioms, the way a Moslem historian does. Therefore some orientalists have made mistakes because of their misunderstanding of Moslem thought. I do not mean to say that orientalists should avoid going into such investigations; all that I wish to say is to warn them not to be hasty in the study of these aspects of the history of Islam, before they master its idiom and terms. Some orientalists like Wustenfeld, Brockelmann, Margoliouth and Rosenthal have written on Moslem historiography, but this subject is still in its very early stages and a long time is required before the problems of the rise of historiography among the Moslems can be solved. I myself experienced many difficulties in this field when I was studying "the sources of the history of al-Tabari." A thorough study of the other historians is necessary in order to discover the points of strength or weakness in their methods of writing history.

It appears from our study of Moslem historiography that the Arabs were deeply concerned with recording events, in particular, births and deaths. They went to the length of recording the night or the day of a birth or a death, whether it occurred in the morning, in the afternoon, or in the evening, not forgetting, of course, the year and the month. The Moslems were the first to pay attention to such details. This feature in historiography was unknown in the West and it was not until A.D. 1097 that it was first used.

These are just fleeting remarks and observations which crossed my mind and which I am anxious to convey to you within the limits of the few minutes allotted to me. I wish to conclude them by emphasizing the necessity for investigation and the application of the modern techniques of criticism to everything we read in history books, or other books which are used as sources in history writing. The sources of history whether written in Arabic or in other languages are susceptible to being subjected to criticism, because these sources are not free from bias, political and other. The historian should not accept an historical statement without first subjecting it to severe criticism and comparing it with statements which occur in other sources so that the writing of history can be based on firm ground and be free from mistakes and inaccuracies.

The history of Islam, honorable members of the Colloquium, is worthy of being written down. It is the history of a vast segment of the globe. It has been going on for hundreds of years. Moslem historians have neglected the history of the Romans and the history of Europe both past and contemporary, and we forgive them for their neglect; but nowadays the history of the Arabs and Islam should not be neglected, and should be given the same attention that is accorded to the writing of the history of the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, and the Hebrews. I do not wish to blame Western scholars only, for we too in the East deserve some blame on account of our neglect of the history of the Arabs and Islam.

The Arabs did not depart from their tradition in writing history and according historiography ample attention, but some of the Arab historians followed methods which do not satisfy an able historian. These methods were criticized a long time ago by Ibn Khaldûn in his famous "Prolegomena," a work unique and without precedent, and by al-Safadi, and others. They maintained that the purpose of writing history is not merely to record figures and trivial matters, like the rise in prices or the occurrence of miracles, but to delve deeply into the problem of causality in history and to record what is valuable and is likely to benefit men in political matters and things in general. This is a view of history which was adopted by the Caliph Mu'awiyah and which was also accepted by the historians al-Mas'udi, Ibn Miskawayh, and others. In their view, history is a record of experiences, which past generations of mankind have passed through and which are of value for the generations to come. This view is of course based on the conviction that what has happened in the past is now happening and will happen in the future, in short, that history repeats itself. Since the makers of history are the heads of states, it follows that those for whom history is most useful and valuable are kings and ministers and those who come next to them in rank. History therefore has great practical value, and this explains why caliphs and

kings are inclined to read history books. It was for the same reason that the caliphs in the days of their weakness were prevented from reading history books.

I have been rather expansive in my talk to you and I have already overstepped the limits of time imposed on the speakers in this Colloquium. I therefore want to cut it short now, hoping that all of us Arab and non-Arab historians will make use of the enormous material which has accumulated throughout the ages in writing a scientific history of the Arabs and Islam. Of late, the Arabs have begun to be interested in history, not only in the history of the Arabs but also in the history of the world in general with the Arabs forming part of that whole. An Historical Society has been formed in Egypt, which publishes historical periodicals; the teaching of history according to the modern techniques has been taken up. The Arab League and the ministries of education in the different Arab countries have given great attention to the teaching of history and the clarification and elucidation of the spirit of Arabism and the concept of Arab Nationalism. I should also mention in this connection that we do not mean by Nationalism the narrow concept which is popular with some, but rather the Arab Heritage and the characteristics of the Arab nation. Another result will follow i.e. the purification of Arabic history from the unwholesome ingredients that have been thrown into it. In this task the Arabs devoutly look forward to the co-operation of orientalists.

Remarks on "The Crisis in Islamic Archaeological, Architectural and Fine Arts Studies," presented by Dr. Myron Bement Smith, Fellow of the Library of Congress in Islamic Archaeology and Near Eastern History and Chairman of the Committee for Islamic Culture.

Mr. Chairman: I rise to speak on the subject of the ancillary historical studies of Islamic archaeology, architecture and fine arts history.

In each of these important fields of Islamic scholarship we of the West face a crisis: practically no teaching is being done in these subjects in the United States, very little teaching is going on in Europe, while in Great Britain the situation, while somewhat better than here, is not too hopeful.

A decade or so ago a graduate student in the United States could take a doctorate in one or more of these fields here at Princeton, at Michigan or at New York University, while a good M.A. could be had at Columbia. These doctorates meant not a course or two, but an organized discipline with a battery of courses, photographs, lantern slide collections and library facilities adequate for the work offered. Today not one of these doctorates is offered. The only course given last year in these fields of which I am aware—and this was a term course as I recall—was one on Moorish art at New York University. Recently our fine scholarly publication "Ars Islamica" was laid in its grave. There are moments, Mr. Chairman, when I wonder if there is not a conspiracy afoot to stifle all appreciation of Islamic culture in America, especially of the beauties of art and architecture whose enjoyment —unlike that of Islamic poetry, religion and other high manifestations of that culture—does not require years of esoteric education.

Last year I sat down with the *doyen* of Islamic art historical studies, a scholar of Central Europe, and we carefully canvassed the scholarly personnel and teaching institutions of the West. This scholar was thoroughly pessimistic as to the future of Islamic archaeological, architectural and art historical studies in Europe, in Great Britain and in the United States. The truth is, we are in a state of near famine in these fields of learning, little or no seed is being sown, and the living tradition of teacher-student relationship, so precious in the continuity of any discipline, will soon be lost as the present scholars pay the penalties of their years.

Now it is well known that the fields of Islamic archaeology, architecture and fine arts history were initiated in the West and arrived late in the larger grouping of Islamic studies. So late were they in starting that they had scarcely reached the stage of discipline before two world wars checked their progress, the last war almost fatally. Only in the field of Islamic art, and here in the museums where experts are needed to determine the authenticity of objects offered for purchase and the monetary values of such objects, has something like stability occurred. Even here there have been but a limited number of curatorial appointments.

Meanwhile, in certain Muslim countries, national museums have been established, courses in Islamic archaeology and fine arts history are offered in the national universities, young men and women are being trained by foreign and local

professors for service in departments of antiquities; some students have been sent abroad for advanced work in these studies, historical monuments are being conserved, the export of antiquities and of fine art objects is controlled, and thus the World of Islam is awakening to the cultural values in its treasures of architecture and art. We of the West can only wish our Muslim friends God-speed in this worthy work.

Now if these studies had not been arrested in the West, and had they been started only a little earlier in Muslim lands, we of the West would now be ready to turn over to our Muslim colleagues leadership in Islamic archaeological, architectural and fine arts historical studies. For mark you, Mr. Chairman, and this is a point that should not be missed, *if these studies are to go on, leadership in them must pass, and this at the earliest possible moment, to our Muslim colleagues*: further development will lie in those countries where stand the monuments of Islamic architecture and from which the objects of Islamic art in our Western museums originated. The lands of Islam contain a wealth of unexcavated sites which —with the architectural monuments—constitute national treasures for the interest of Muslim peoples and of foreign visitors; they are as well a vast reservoir for archaeological scholarship. Excavations, numismatics and epigraphy have proved of prime importance in establishing Islamic historical studies. Is it fair to expect that these studies and studies of Islamic architecture and fine arts history will be forever supported at a high level of scholarship by the West alone when the peoples of Islam, now suddenly the owners of vast natural resources, are themselves the most directly concerned with studies in Islamic culture, have the largest reservoirs of manpower, and will themselves reap the greatest personal rewards and cultural prestige from these studies?

It would not be within the spirit of that frankness which has marked this Colloquium if I did not make a remark at this juncture which I know will be taken by our foreign guests in the spirit in which it is offered, and that is one of helpfulness rather than criticism. In my opinion, our colleagues in Muslim lands are not now taking up this burden. The most hopeful situation is in Turkey, where a first-rate European scholar is training advanced students and several fine Turkish scholars are coming along. Other countries are spending money, some in large budgets, but their students appear to be much slower in undertaking work of high scholarly quality in Islamic archaeology, architecture and art historical studies.

It would not be fair not to warn our Muslim guests that they should not look to our own Government for aid in this problem's solution. It is true that in the past governments of several European countries have supported Islamic archaeological and architectural studies—I need only refer to the *Déscription de l'Égypte* and many other works for which scholars and publication costs were subsidized by the French government. Certainly, the French were early to appreciate the value of such studies in creating and in maintaining French cultural prestige in Muslim lands. Even today, with Europe supposedly penniless after a Second World War, the French government finds budgets for its archaeological *Délégations* in Iran and Afghanistan, for the publication of their *Mémoirs* and for the French *Institutes* in Cairo, Beirut and Istanbul. Unfortunately or not, our Government has not seen fit to use archaeology, architecture and fine arts studies as part of our foreign policy: I am not too sure how well it would have worked if we had.

As for the future of these studies—and I mean here the immediate future, if there is to be any future for them—I hold, Mr. Chairman, that it lies almost entirely in the hands of the national universities in Muslim lands. Ready or not, these Muslim institutions must take up the burden. Faculties in these universities must be brought to a high level, reorganized where the output is weak, and a steady flow of competent scholars assured. We of the West who feel concerned also have a duty: we must see to it that Islamic archaeological, architectural and fine arts historical studies are given their proportionate places in our curricula. It is hardly consistent for us to hold that art and architecture be grouped with religion, music and poetry as the supreme manifestations of the spirit of man and then attempt to present a comprehensive coverage of Islamic culture to our students while omitting the first two, this especially when the world of Islam has endowed civilization with noble architectural monuments, priceless works of art and exquisite objects of utility.

On the personal side, every Western scholar in these fields also has a duty; each of us must accept our Muslim colleagues as fellow-laborers

and in every possible manner co-operate with them in assuring a continuity of this precious stream of thought, study and teaching. Whatever resources we of the West possess must be put at the disposition of our Muslim co-workers, and this in a spirit which will kindle their enthusiasm and renew our courage.

At this moment, as at no moment of history since the Crusades, the West stands face-to-face with the World of Islam. Historians have shown that the fundamental error of the Crusaders lay in underestimating the cultural level of the Saracens, from that error in judgment stemmed centuries of misunderstanding. The great gifts of Islamic architecture and art which Muslim civilizations have given the world speak in a common language understood by all cultivated men; to appreciate these gifts is to understand some of the finest spiritual values enfolded in Islamic culture. We of the West, in enriching our cultural backgrounds by a deeper appreciation of these values, will be going far to avoid the error of our Crusader forebears and be better equipped to stand not face-to-face with our old Muslim friends, but hand-in-hand.

[Communications for the Committee for Islamic Culture should be addressed to Dr. Myron B. Smith, Chairman, Suite 43, 1789 Lanier Place, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.]

General discussion about History and Historical Research.

Informal discussion throughout the day concentrated on points touched upon in the introductory talks. Primary attention was focused on the applicability of historical criticism to Islam, on the historical awareness and role of Muslims in contemporary history, and on the gaps in Muslim historiography and the teaching of history which exist in spite of the marvelously rich heritage of historical literature, tradition, archives, and other source materials, to say nothing of archaeological resources which are available.

One speaker brought out a clear distinction between Islam as a revealed religion, Islam as a state, and Islam as a culture. After considerable comment, it was generally agreed that historical criticism can and should be applied, and already has been applied to Islam as a state and a culture, but that the dogma of the revealed religion can hardly be subjected to such a scientific and rational inquiry. Several speakers alluded to the sensitiveness of Muslims to bias in the writings of Western scholars, but most felt that this was much less today than in the past, and hoped that it was a vanishing phenomenon.

It was pointed out that historiography and the teaching of history must go hand in hand, to awaken an awareness among Muslim youth of their own heritage and its relation to the future, which they must help to create by study, knowledge, and action. Others pointed out that with Mughal India, Safavi Persia, and Ottoman Turkey there is much to study in the centuries between the fall of Baghdad and the rise of independent national Islamic states in recent decades. Present constructive efforts to improve the writing and study of history in Egypt, India, Turkey, Afghanistan, Persia, and Pakistan were cited, but many agreed that much remained to be done on the national, regional, and international level. There is a need for more study, teaching and writing of Muslim history in every Islamic area.

Some attacks against pure objectivity were made but the urgent need for more general adoption of the scientific methods of research were recognized and the interest of al-Azhar University, in these liberal developments was underlined. The study of Islam as a religion, and along with other religions, together with the study of comparative religion is a reality in countries such as Egypt, Indonesia and Turkey.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11TH,

9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M.

Education in the Muslim Countries: Questions Concerning Religious Education

Introductory address on "Religion in Muslim Countries with Special Reference to Religious Education," by Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, Speaker of the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

INTRODUCTION. The educational system which a people evolves is one of the most important and the most characteristic institutions of its corporate life. Being a manifestation of its genius and its spiritual character, it is highly significant for those who would like to understand its spiritual and intellectual life. Its interest and value do not, however, simply lie in the fact that it reveals the character of the people who has evolved it. Once established, it becomes a powerful formative factor in its further development, and thus helps to perpetuate its ideals and its pattern of intellectual life. Considered from this (philosophical) point of view, the system of Muslim education becomes a matter of deep import. Its study should be of special interest to us at the present juncture, when the educational system is undergoing a more or less rapid change in almost all parts of the Muslim world.

CONCEPT OF EDUCATION, ITS AIMS AND OBJECTIVES. "Education is inseparable from life." In order fully to appreciate the significance of this dictum it is necessary to examine the objectives set before themselves by those interested in education. For in an organized society education is essential to the well-being of the State. It aims at the good man and the good citizen. It has been described as denoting "an attempt on the part of the adult members of a human society to shape the development of the coming generation in accordance with its own ideals of life." J. S. Mill included under it everything which "helps to shape the human being." Locke sought to achieve his idea of education—the creation of a healthy mind in a healthy body—by inculcating among the educated, virtuous habits, intelligence and wisdom by which he meant a capacity to conduct one's affairs, good breeding and acquisition of knowledge—this he seems to regard as the least important. He realized the need of imparting moral education, in fact he went so far as to suggest the importance of religious education, thus following in the footsteps of Imam Al-Ghazzali, who, as early as the 11th century of the Christian era, rejected the idea that the object of education was merely to impart knowledge and stressed the need of awakening the moral and religious consciousness of the student.

According to Herbert Spencer the aim and object of education is to prepare the individual for "perfect living." This would seem to suggest that no scheme of education can be considered to be rational and successful unless it takes into account the moral, social and cultural needs of the community.

Is education an end in itself or is it only a means to an end? The question is wide as well as complex. It covers the entire field of the objectives, content and method of education. It may well be argued that the noblest ideal would be education for its own sake, seeking knowledge for intellectual enjoyment. But such an ideal can be entertained only by the favoured few; for mankind in general education must continue to be a means to an end. Education is not a matter of stuffing the child with a certain basic minimum knowledge; the mere acquisition of knowledge cannot give that broad basis of understanding which is essential for leading a successful life as a citizen of a free nation.

EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION LAID BY ISLAM. Islam not only introduced among the Arabs the elements of education in which they had been till then deficient, but raised them to a very high level of civilization. The Holy Quran itself bears testimony to the supreme value of learning and science. The Arabs as a people made no use of reading and writing except in rare cases and the Holy Prophet himself did not know how to read or write, yet the very first revelation which he received from the Almighty God was a command to read. The significance of this order is made clear in the next verse but one of this very Chapter where the order to read is repeated with the addition of the words that thy Lord is most Generous, showing that it is through reading

and writing that man can attain to a position of glory. The Holy Prophet himself laid down several injunctions about the importance of seeking knowledge "even unto China," it being described as the "duty of every Muslim and Muslimah." The following saying of his is the most comprehensive as well as the most significant insofar as it not only makes it incumbent upon Muslims to acquire knowledge but also tells them why they should do so.

"Acquire knowledge, because he who acquires it in the way of the Lord performs an act of piety; who speaks of it praises the Lord; who seeks it, adores God; who dispenses instruction in it, bestows alms and who imparts it to its fitting object performs an act of devotion to God. Knowledge enables its possessor to distinguish what is forbidden from what is not, it lights the way to Heaven, it is our friend in the desert, our society in solitude; our companion when bereft of friends; it guides us to happiness, it sustains us in misery; it is our ornament in the company of friends; it serves as an armour against our enemies. With knowledge the servant of God rises to the heights of goodness, associates with sovereigns in this world and attains to the perfection of happiness in the next."

CONTENT OF MUSLIM EDUCATION. From the earliest period of their history, Muslims have been accustomed to associate education, like all other departments of their social life, with religion. From the very beginning the aim of education has been religious. In brief, religion was education, because it was held that true education was to teach and train a man to act up to his duty to his Creator and his fellow men. The earliest Muslims were therefore wont to memorize portions of the Divine Revelation, which constituted their code of life—religious, moral, social and legal all in one. When the Prophet said that the search of knowledge is a duty incumbent on every Muslim, by knowledge he meant the knowledge of that Divine Truth which had been revealed through his medium.

In the life-time of the Prophet, therefore, education consisted mainly in memorizing portions of the Divine revelation and in instruction in the tenets of Islam. Although he himself did not know how to read and write, he attached great value to writing as an aid to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge. This is illustrated in a very interesting manner by an incident, which is connected with the celebrated battle of Badr. A considerable number of his opponents were taken prisoners on the field of Badr and were brought to Medina. When they were held for ransom, it was discovered that some of them were too indigent to pay the ransom money, which was fixed at four thousand pieces of silver per head. The Prophet decreed that they would be set free if they gave instruction to a batch of ten children each and made them literate. As soon as the pupils had attained the desired degree of proficiency, their teachers were set at liberty. Zaid son of Thabit who later served the Prophet as a scribe and wrote down some of the Divine Revelations in this capacity, was one of those lads of Medina who benefited by this arrangement. Later on, the Prophet ordered him to learn the Hebrew script too, which was in use at that time among the Jews of Medina.

During the regime of the First Four Caliphs, the energies of the Arab race were almost exclusively devoted to establishing the Islamic system of administration in the newly acquired territories, so that they had little time to spare for the development or expansion of education. Instruction in the fundamentals of Islam, therefore, continued to be the main object of education during this period. Thus, the earliest teachers in Islam were the "Qurra" or Quran-readers, who were known to have committed the Quran to memory and were able to instruct others in the same. The Caliph Omar sent a number of these Quran-readers to all parts of the Islamic Empire, with orders to make contact with the people, especially on Fridays in their principal mosques.

Once the Arab empire was firmly established, a primitive system of education, embracing at least the rudiments of knowledge, came into existence, for we soon begin to meet with references to the elementary school, kept by a "Muallim." Elementary education seems to have been thoroughly established in the early Umayyad period. The general public in search of knowledge resorted to the mosques, which besides being places of worship, also served as educational centres. When the child reached the age of six, he was considered old enough to receive regular instruction. Separate buildings such as shops or houses were also used as elementary schools and each was known as a "Kuttab." Teaching began with the reading of the Quran itself. This was combined with instruction in the more important religious precepts and usages, such as the prescribed washing before prayers, the learning of

passages recited during prayers and the practice of congregational worship. The children were at the same time taught how to write. They used tablets for the purpose. They were also introduced to the elements of arithmetic. To these were added life-stories of the Prophets and edifying anecdotes of godly men. Finally, the pupils had to learn selections from prominent poets, with which elementary education seems to come to an end.

The advent of the Abbasid Caliphs ushered in a new era of brilliant prosperity for the Empire of Islam. Peaceful conditions prevailed. Economic prosperity was accompanied by a marvelous outburst of intellectual activity such as the East had never witnessed before. It was in this period that Muslims became acquainted with the scientific and philosophical thought of ancient Greece, Persia and India and their mental horizon was, in consequence, greatly widened. These wide intellectual interests were duly reflected in the curricula developed and adopted in the institutes for higher education which were established and which were known as "Madaris." There the subjects of study were broadly divided into two groups—"Aluloom al-Naqliyyah" or the religious sciences which included the study of the Quran, Hadith, Jurisprudence and literature and the "Uloom al-Aqaliyyah" or the intellectual sciences which comprised philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, etc.

Limitations of time and space do not permit a detailed examination of the courses of study pursued at the various colleges and universities founded from time to time in distant parts of the Islamic Empire. To al-Mamun belongs the credit of founding "Bayt-ul-Hikmat," the very first institute for higher scientific studies—in the year A.D. 830 at Baghdad, but the Nizamiyyah, the Munstansariyya and the Jami-al-Azhar were by no means less important and played a very important role in the development of Muslim Education.

Whatever has been said is enough to show that education in Islam has from the very beginning been religious in character and ethical in aim. There was a certain uniformity of syllabus which refused to recognize any distinction between secular and religious education. In fact, the question could not arise in a truly Muslim Society. In Islam, religion is not something separate from life, it is not a mere conglomeration of theological dogmas, it rather seeks to govern the every-day life of a Muslim in all its various aspects, even to the minutest detail. An important social activity such as education could not therefore remain uninfluenced by the general religious outlook of the Muslims. It is therefore quite understandable that religious instruction, which of course includes moral precepts, has always been the beginning and end of education in Islam, and has constituted the core and kernel of the curriculum in all its various stages.

This religious character of Muslim education has persisted throughout the ages. Even to this day, as soon as a Muslim child has learnt his alphabet and is able to read, he is in many cases put on the Quran as his first reading book. This practice is followed not only in Arabic-speaking countries but also in other Muslim countries where the knowledge of the Arabic language is the privilege of a small section of the educated class. The result of this practice is that almost every person in the Muslim world who is educated on the traditional lines can read the Quran. In this way, he establishes a direct contact with the Holy Scripture in its original idiom; the main source of his religious and ethical ideas. How far this contact will become really fruitful in his life, of course, depends on many other factors.

Education in Muslim India. The Muslim Emperors of India are celebrated in history not only as great conquerors, able administrators and big builders, but also as munificent patrons of learning and promoters of public education in their vast dominions. The reigns of some of these marked periods of literary and educational efflorescence. The Emperors and their nobles established "maktabs" and "madrasas" in all parts of the country, and these were open to all classes of their subjects. Generally the mosque was used, where the elements of religion formed the most important part of the curriculum. The chief aim was to impart religious instruction combined with an elementary knowledge of the 3 R's. The "madrasas" were higher educational institutions, generally attached to mosques or shrines of saints. The Quran, Hadith, and scholastic studies formed an important part of the syllabus. The system included the study of both the social sciences and religion. Thus religious and secular education were coordinated.

Landed properties were set aside as "waqfs" by the founders of "madrasas" and attached to them for their maintenance. Professors received

their salaries and students their stipends out of the income of these waqf-properties. In addition to these "madrasas" with special endowments, the Moghul Emperors also devised another plan for the spread of education. They made grants of money out of state revenue to distinguished scholars in different parts of their empire, so that they might be freed from the cares of the world and devote themselves whole-heartedly to the work of teaching. Hindu as well as Muslim scholars benefited by this arrangement. Royal firmans or letters patent regarding monetary grants to learned men have been preserved to this day in certain families. Emperor Jehangir tapped another source of income for the upkeep of the "madrasas." He issued an edict to the effect that whenever a wealthy man died intestate and without any legal heirs, his estate should be put under government control and its income utilized for the maintenance of "madrasas" and hospices. As a result of this edict, all the old colleges that had become defunct for want of funds, were once again revived by eager students and their teachers. In his Memoirs, Jehangir refers to the city of Agra in these words: "The people of this place have a thirst for knowledge, so that scholars of every creed and community have gathered there in large numbers."

The patronage of learning and the promotion of education were not confined to the Emperors alone. The nobles and the grandees of the empire also vied with each other in furthering the cause of education. For instance, Abu'l Fazl, the celebrated Vizier of the Emperor Akbar, established a "madrasa" in the newly-founded capital of Fathpur Sikri; while the foster-mother of the Emperor endowed a college at the old capital of Delhi and called it "Khair al-Manazil."

There are several reasons why the Moghul Emperors and their nobles were so keenly interested in the cause of education. Firstly, they were themselves educated and cultured men and as such took an intelligent interest in the subject of education. Secondly, the educational curriculum necessarily included instruction in religious subjects. They therefore considered it meritorious to support scholars who were engaged in the teaching of these subjects. It is important and instructive to note that besides the state-supported institutions, there were scholars with private independent means who dedicated their lives to the dissemination of knowledge, independently of government aid.

EDUCATION IN BRITISH INDIA. With the advent of the British, the country came under the direct influence of the West, which was felt more or less strongly in almost all spheres of national life. The newcomers found a large number of "maktabs" which gave elementary education as well as numerous "madrasas" or institutions of higher education, like those described above. In the beginning of their reign, the attitude of the British towards the education of their subjects was negative. The educational institutions of the old type were discouraged; at least till 1813, the East India Company did not consider education of the people their responsibility. The Charter Act of that year for the first time provided for "the revival and improvement of literature and encouragement of learned natives." But a very acute difference of opinion existed with regard to the desirability or otherwise of imparting English education to the "natives" and the controversy about the conduct of education was eventually set at rest by Lord Macaulay's Minute in 1834. The aim of education was laid down as "the training of the Hindus and Moslems to assist in the administration of the country." This induced the then Governor-General, Lord William Bentick, to issue a resolution on 7th March, 1835, stating that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and sciences among the natives of India and that the funds appropriated to education would be best employed in English education alone." Thus concentration on western studies remained the watchword and was confirmed by Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of July, 1854, called "the Magna Charta of English Education in India." Several Commissions and Committees were appointed by Government from time to time but it is not necessary to discuss their recommendations. It suffices for our purpose to refer to the Hartog Committee of the Simon Commission, which was formed in 1928 "to enquire into the standard of education in British India, mainly with the object of supplying data on which to justify a widening of the franchise in the new India" that was then being planned. The Committee came to the conclusion that the continuance of the special schools (in which the courses included teaching in Islamic culture and religion) on a larger scale is *prejudicial to the interests of Muslims*" and "the time is ripe and more than ripe for a determined effort to devise political

plans to transfer the pupils to ordinary schools and colleges."

While the new type of schools introduced the teaching of English as a compulsory subject along with modern science, it completely excluded from the curriculum the religious subjects, which lay at the very basis of the old system. This change was drastic indeed and had far-reaching consequences.

The British rulers of course had their own reasons for adopting this policy. They introduced English as a compulsory subject of study, because they wanted a large number of English-knowing persons for carrying on their administration. The exclusion of religious subjects and religious instruction was explained as a natural corollary of that policy of complete neutrality which the British Government was pledged to follow in regard to the numerous creeds, castes and communities, inhabiting the vast territories under their control.

It would thus appear that a very grave injustice was done to the Muslims by the British imposing a system of education which had no roots in the psychology of the people. The religious neutrality policy of the Government excluded the moral and religious side of education with the result that Muslims lost faith in their cultural values and educated classes were divided into two distinct and hostile groups. While the progressive elements came to recognize the importance and appreciate the advantages of the new education, which threw open to them the gates of modern scientific knowledge and technique, they at the same time felt that it was deficient in one very important respect. They felt the absence of religious instruction which had given the necessary moral tone—nay even sanctity—to the old system. It was a very serious matter indeed in their eyes. Without a religious basis, the new education was lifeless, because it was godless, being without any apparent ethical content. Accordingly, they tried to remedy this defect which they considered very serious, by adopting two measures. In the first place, they retained, as far as they could, the "madrasas" of the old type, in which religious subjects dominated the curriculum. Being left without state support, they have been maintained by private enterprise alone. "Madrasas" of this kind exist in almost every district of Pakistan today. In the second place, they opened their own schools of the new type, in which they tried to produce an Islamic atmosphere by adding religious instruction to the courses of study prescribed by the Government for state schools.

PRESENT POSITION. Learning of the traditional type is represented by the "Madaris," which are maintained by private individuals and associations, such as the Nadwat-ul-Ulema, the Maarasa-i-Alia Deoband, the Jamia Ashrafiyyah, Lahore, the Jamia Mohammadi, Jhang, and the Dar-ul-Uloom-i-Islamiyyah, Tando Allahyar, Hyderabad, Sindh. They are doing very useful work in their own way but their curriculum is dominated by religious subjects—a natural reaction against the secular system introduced by the British—to which are added Arabic language and literature, logic and medieval philosophy. As they have failed to keep their curriculum up-to-date, they have been reduced to the status of antiquated religious seminaries.

The M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and other institutions which were founded on its model throughout India were the outcome of the considerations that have just been alluded to. It is a matter of sincere regret that the partition of the country has had an extremely adverse effect on this institution which the Muslims of India nurtured with their life-blood and which was raised to the status of a university in the early twenties of this century.

In the Punjab, the cause of Muslim education was espoused by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, which was founded by the grandfather of the writer and some other enthusiastic and public-spirited men at Lahore in 1884. Starting with very small beginnings—the total expenditure in the first year being less than Rs. 500/—it maintains one first grade men's college—the biggest in the whole of Pakistan—one first grade college for women, five high schools for boys, one high school for girls (in all these institutions religious instruction forms an integral part), one Tibbia College for teaching the Islamic system of medicine, one orphanage for boys, another for girls and a big publications department, which undertakes to supply the necessary religious literature, by publishing religious primers, readers and other books of Islamic and cultural interest. Special mention is due in this connection to a valuable edition of the text of the Holy Quran, which the Anjuman brought out in 1936, and which is remarkable not only for its beautiful calligraphy but also for its complete freedom from textual errors of any kind. It will take too long to describe the various activities of the Anjuman; suf-

fice it to say that its beneficent work has inspired the Muslims all over the country to form similar educational societies of their own, though on a smaller scale, and to start schools on the model of those run by the Anjuman, with the result that Islamic schools now exist in almost every important town in Pakistan.

With the emergence of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state, which is pledged to abide by Islamic principles, the distinction between the Islamic schools run by public bodies and the state schools in respect to religious instruction has practically disappeared, because the Education Department of the Government has been quick enough to introduce religious instruction in all the schools under its control and has also prescribed a course of study for this purpose. It includes instruction in the articles of the Islamic faith, religious duties and observances and the ethical teachings of Islam. It also includes portions of the Quran and Sayings of the Prophet. In the earlier stages, life-stories of Muslim heroes are also utilized to inculcate more lessons and high ideals of conduct. All these subjects are carefully graded to suit the intelligence level of the students.

The study of Islam as a religious system has also been introduced in the Punjab University under the name of "Islamiyyat" or Islamic Studies. It is treated as a full-fledged subject, which may be taken by students like any other qualifying subject for graduation. One may also specialize in it, by offering it for the M.A. degree or the Doctorate. The scope and standard of the curriculum varies, of course, according to the various stages of University life. A special feature of the prescribed course of study is that the political and cultural history of Islam is invariably included as a background of the purely religious disciplines.

In the post-graduate course of Islamic studies, the scope of the subject is very wide. It covers not only the usual religious science such as the "Tafsir ul-Quran," "Hadith" and "Fiqh," but also seeks to introduce the students to the political history of Muslim states, the development of arts and sciences, the literatures of the Muslim peoples and the progress of philosophic thought in Islam. The scope of the subject has been purposely kept broad because we are convinced that the study of Islam as a religious system and as a civilizing force in the life of humanity can never be complete if we do not take into account the literary, scientific, artistic, philosophic and intellectual developments in Islam, which have been more or less stimulated and directed by the ideals of the Faith. It is not enough to study Islam in its theoretical aspect alone, we must also consider its actual influence on the life of its adherents, and this can be satisfactorily done only when we make a complete survey of Islamic culture in all its aspects.

Importance of Religious Education in the Muslim World. One of the aims of Islamic education was religious. In fact it was the dominant ideal. Al-Zarauji emphasizes the religious aim: "the object of education is to attain the pleasure and goodwill of the Almighty and win eternal life." In his "Fatihat-ul-Uloom," Al-Ghazzali expresses the belief that teaching is a form of worship which would be nullified, if it had a worldly notion. Says he: "He who pursues learning in order to make money, so as to attain a social position or to reduce his taxes and evade his obligations towards the Sultan, he who studies for the sake of any other ambition saving that of serving God exposes himself to dire consequences." The religious aim in education was very prominent, for the chief function of learning was believed to be the service of God and teaching Man how to lead a successful life in this world as well as how to prepare himself for the next.

Modern educational theory also tends to regard the perfection of the individual as the proper end of educational effort. Undeniably religion is one of the cardinal factors in the development of Man; consequently religious instruction must of necessity occupy a very important place in the school society. It can be denied only by those who deny religion as a factor of vital and enduring value in the life of Nations.

It has been remarked that the content of Islamic education consisted in "teaching the Islamic doctrine of Duty which covers the whole span of life." In other words, there was no rigid line of demarcation between "secular" and "religious" education in the early days of Islam and it is difficult to understand why there should be one now.

Islamic Ideology of Education. The supreme need of education today is for a unifying purpose and idea. Half a century ago, no doubt existed about such a purpose; it was to produce the component parts of a bureaucratic machine. Nor was there any doubt as to how its training was to be accomplished. The student was to be

given a purely secular literary education. Now with the establishment of Pakistan the purpose has to be redefined. It has become necessary to reorientate our educational policy according to our present needs.

The First Pakistan Educational Conference held in November, 1947, recognized the evil effects of the British system of education which resulted in the imposition on the people of the culture of the rulers and their social and moral values which were foreign to the Muslim mind. It also led to the creation of a small privileged class which considered itself entitled to special prestige—a classification which proved ruinous to the creation of an integrated society. The Conference therefore resolved that the educational system of Pakistan should be based on Islamic ideology. In other words, development of character and cultivation of virtue should be emphasized, for education without character is vicious. It should produce men who realize that they are members of a universal brotherhood pledged to uphold Islamic principles and to maintain Islamic standards of life, unknown to any other system of belief or social philosophy. In the context of Pakistan, education should aim at cultivating in the largest possible number of our citizens an appreciation of the benefits that accrue to them, as well as, what is still more important, a realization of the duties that devolve on them, as nationals of an Independent Muslim State. Is this goal possible of achievement if education continues to remain divorced from religion?

CONCLUSION. It has been suggested that modern education is irreconcilable with Islam. This objection seems to be based on a misapprehension of the nature of Islam and it is perhaps for this reason that even well-intentioned persons sometimes take it upon themselves to urge the need of what they call the "modernisation" of Islam. Only recently an eminent Orientalist for whose scholarship the writer has the greatest regard, made a similar suggestion. It reminds one of the dictum of Lord Cromer: "If Islam were modernised, it would cease to be Islam." With all respect, it may be submitted that there is no question of "modernising" Islam. Islam is the religion of daily life for all time. It includes a man's whole education. Unfortunately on account of the influence of Western thought it is considered in some quarters to be something quite distinct from the mainstream of life requiring separate treatment. As a consequence thereof, the present system of education makes religious education seem something different from education as a whole. This is altogether un-Islamic. There is no distinction between "religious" and secular education in Islam. What is necessary, therefore, is to bring religion back to life and this can be done only by making modern education Islamic.

The objection mentioned above is also due to a misunderstanding of the real nature of modern scientific education. It is no child of Christendom but a legacy of the enlightened age of Islam. The Muslim scientists were the first to adopt and expound the inductive method of reasoning. In fact the method can be traced back to the Quran itself, which encourages free thought and has again and again adjured the Muslims to exercise the faculty of "tadabbur" or "tafaqquh" and to use the mind which God has given us. There is therefore no conflict whatsoever between science and religion in Islam. No such conflict existed in the glorious days of Islam when science was pursued as a religious duty and there is no reason why there should be a conflict now. The need of the hour is to restore the unity of educational aims that existed before. Religion has been very rightly described as "the cement of society"; it is necessary for cultural revolution.

Short address on "Education in Afghanistan" by Mohammad Hashim Maiwandwal, Counsellor and Chargé d'Affaires of the Royal Afghanistan Embassy at Washington.

It is a great opportunity to speak about education, the most important goal of Islam, among the Scholars of the Islamic Countries. Islam and the Islamic Countries have contributed so much to education that the impact of it is made known in present advancement and bears witness to its valuable place in history, a place of value, I believe to be beyond measure. One of these Countries that has contributed, in the light of knowledge and education in the Middle East, is Afghanistan, the land of the ancient culture of the Zoroasterian period, the cradle of old Aryan hymns, the birthplace of poets, authors, and scholars of Islam; the home of Maulana Jalaludin Balkhi, Senai, Jami, and Sayid Jamaluddin Afghani.

We believe this combination of so glorious a past coupled with present day advances in education will tend to direct our younger generation towards the ethical morality and cultural glory

of the past and the formula finding advantages of today. It is a pity and to be regretted that during a period of about the last one hundred years, our Country was literally locked from the outside world by foreign attempts on its borders. Education was virtually brought to a standstill during this period of strife and stress when the very soul of our Country was at stake; it was impossible to keep the candle of education burning, it was blown out by the bloody struggle for existence and the all consuming conflict for liberty and independence. Today, it is our foremost responsibility and utmost desire to accomplish—to try to compensate for those dark days.

However, not wishing to delve into a tedious history of our educational growth, I shall try rather to outline briefly the strides that we have taken in education; the increased necessity for accelerated programs; and finally the contemplated plans of our Ministry of Education to accomplish these vitally important programs.

Afghanistan has always been of the considered opinion that progress can only be as good and as fine as the standard of education maintained, and we feel in order to attain this important goal, it is of vital importance to have well-informed and qualified instructors. At the present time there are two colleges in the City of Kabul devoted specifically to the training of teachers. These schools are maintained entirely by state funds; students are provided with board, lodging, clothing, tuition, and even spending money. We believe these teacher-training schools to be the fundamental key to the improvement of the standard of education of Afghanistan, as it is the basic criterion of education in all countries. Afghanistan hopes to increase the number of these schools in the very near future. As a matter of fact the Ministry of Education has outlined at this time, a most comprehensive plan for the construction of hundreds of additional schools throughout the Country obviating the necessity for these increased programs.

Education at this time is compulsory through the age of thirteen. In order to provide an incentive for schooling to Afghan youth, the Government assumes all costs, including books and supplies. Sixteen to eighteen per cent of our national budget is appropriated for education. To accommodate children in our tribal areas, village schools have been established all over the country.

Three hundred and twenty-five city primary schools are overcrowded with a total enrollment of 74,500. In addition there are several technical and vocational schools with a total enrollment of some 4,000 students. Prior to this time, though Afghanistan has educated many students in foreign countries, there has been a shortage of adequately prepared men with practical training. Very often our graduate students returned home with a high degree of academic competence, which is of course of primary importance, but the Ministry of Education recognized a need for practically trained men, men able to improvise and direct work of a technical nature. To this end we have established the many and various technical and trade schools that I have just mentioned. With this object in view, we have also granted to our graduate students studying in foreign lands practical study periods to better prepare them for the skilled occupations that await them.

We maintain at this time some twenty-four High Schools with an enrollment of 14,300 students, and a college registration of approximately 4,000, as well as an extensive adult literacy program. Our scholarships offered for study in various colleges in the United States and Europe this year total more than 300, with all costs covered by the Government.

Kabul University, known as Pohantoon, has faculties of Medicine, Science, Training (Teachers), Theology, Law and Political Science, Literature and Fine Arts. Great emphasis is placed on original research for which separate departments have been established, which are supervised by the Ministry of Education and instructed by qualified professors of different nationalities assisted by Afghan graduates.

At the present time we have an Academy of Arts dealing exclusively with language—Pashtu—as well as an Academy dedicated to history and research. Many volumes of translations of ancient references have been edited. We also have an Academy devoted to encyclopedic editing in Persian and Pashtu. Some thirty volumes have been published to date.

As I list these accomplishments for you, accomplishments of which we are inordinately proud, I can think of only one thing—THERE IS SO MUCH TO BE DONE.

May I move rapidly on, and digress a bit, with an explanation of the impact education has had on AFGHANISTAN'S FORWARD MOVE IN AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture engrosses an overwhelming majority of the population of our Country, and to the advances of the science of agriculture, the College of Agriculture was established in 1943. This school has accomplished many fine things in the field of research under the careful guidance of the Ministry of Agriculture. Foreign experts have participated on a consultative basis with the partly Afghan faculty of this College. Problems of soil erosion have been met with astuteness—this College will play an important role in the great irrigation projects that have been completed and many that are still in progress. Thousands upon thousands of heretofore barren lands are under reclamation. Two major dams have been completed on the Helmand River and its tributaries—the Arghandab north of this city, and the Kajakai on the upper Helmand. Kajakai, the larger dam, is 160 feet high and provides a reservoir thirty-two miles long. Industrial development is another phase of the Helmand River Program. Tanneries, cotton gins and other plants will be established along the main river and its tributaries. Afghanistan, far from being satisfied with these gigantic undertakings, is more aware of what needs to be accomplished than at any time in her history. Settlement of heretofore nomadic families upon experimental farms is proving most helpful in adult education. The Government has designed a subsistence program whereby thousands of families have been assigned an acreage allotment and after a period of time when these farms yield satisfactory returns, the land-holders become self-sustaining and able to contribute to the advocated program of progress.

I believe I said before, and I ask your permission to reiterate—THERE IS SO MUCH TO BE DONE—it has been my aim this afternoon to impress upon my good listeners one fundamental fact:

AFGHANISTAN IS READY TO IMPROVE HER EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS IN THIS EVER-ADVANCING WORLD AND THE ONLY STEP SHE CONTEMPLATED IS—FORWARD!

Introductory address on "Education in Muslim Countries" by Dr. Muhammad Nizamuddin, Dean of the Faculty of Arts of the Osmania University at Hyderabad, India.

Mr. Chairman, Learned Colleagues and Fellow Delegates,

I deem it a great privilege to be given an opportunity to speak on this occasion and to supplement the remarks of the leader of the discussion this morning. Education, as you full well know, is a sacred mission. It is a link between the individual and society and between man and God. It is the ornament of intellect and the food of the soul. It is the art of making a man sublime and bringing out all that is best in him to fulfill the purpose of creation. He who adopts that art is practising the noblest profession and should be given the highest place in society. It is the highest expression of human knowledge translated into action. It is the fountainhead of all human endeavour from which emanate all Arts, Sciences, philosophy and discoveries in the material and spiritual spheres. In short, it begins with the study of self, leads to the control of forces of nature and ends in the illumination of the soul and beatific vision. This whole argument can be summed up by the beautiful Sufiistic expression in Arabic:—"He who knows his mind, verily he knows his Creator."

Today the Islamic world is faced with several problems. One of them being education, which is most vital for the well-being of all nations. Now we have to see in the light of Islamic teachings what are the essentials of religion and how far the Islamic peoples are adopting or deviating from them and what are the ways of reforming them.

Islam in the early days was one community; but it is not so today. It has spread far and wide and its adherents are found almost in all continents. They stretch across Africa, Asia and Europe, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Central Asia to Central Africa. They are over 350 million in number: that means the Muslims form one-seventh portion of the human race. There are 10 countries in which Islam is the State religion, viz. Morocco, Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Jordan, Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Iran to which Pakistan may also be added. There are others under non-Muslim or State Governments, but comprizing large majorities and important minorities as in Spanish Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, French West Africa, French Central Africa, Albania, Turkey, Yugoslavia, the Sudan, British East Africa, Eritrea, Ethiopia, the Soviet Union (24 million), China, India (40 million), Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines. Thus the Islamic communities are spread all over the world.

The problem is, what should be the motive force for the connection of the Islamic communities which are scattered so widely over three continents and what should be the guiding principles and ethical and scientific precepts that should be adopted as the basis of education in the Muslim countries?

Faith or Reason, which should rule? Science or philosophy, which should bring happiness to man, and under these circumstances, which path should one select? Islam, as expounded through the Quran, expects every Muslim to reflect on the workings of the forces of nature and so mould his life as to keep him on the *straight path*. Such being the purpose of the Quran and the injunctions of the Prophet and the meaning of the faith, it cannot make distinction between what is called religious or secular education. The ideal is that every effort to extend knowledge must serve the supreme purpose of self-realization, introspection and purification of the soul; but it has been the misfortune of the Muslim countries for over a thousand years that religion has been made a hand-maiden of politics. The result has been that life in each community is not uniform, and is unprogressive. Under the influence of the West, what we call modern education has been organized everywhere, but to speak the truth it has touched only the fringe of society and has not solved the basic problems.

If the Muslim communities are ever to present the character of a people attached in a single faith, namely Islam, a first step that they need take is to bury their age-long differences and sectarian tendencies, keep aside their national emotions, transcend geographical boundaries and adopt the true tenets of internationalism which Islam enjoins—the brotherhood of man and the peaceful solution of intercultural problems.

Religion, insofar as it is a part of education, is often being confused with morality. A characteristic of the modern attitude is neglect of the things of the spirit. There is in India an additional reason for this attitude:—the multiplicity of religions and the experiences of riots and suspicions in the name of religion. "Religions as they are taught and practiced today," said the liberator of our Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, "lead to conflict rather than unity." On this occasion the same great apostle of freedom said, "unless there is a State-religion, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to provide religious instruction, as it would mean providing for every denomination and they are so many."

There is a general unrest among the youth of India today. Their minds are unhinged on account of the impact of western ideas, scientific progress and political ideologies. The Muslims in India are in a strong minority of 40 millions and faced with many kinds of linguistic, social and educational problems. They are now adjusting themselves to the modern constitutional changes and living peacefully side by side with their Hindu brethren as the love of homeland impels them to unite. Likewise, Iran, Egypt, Morocco and several other countries are undergoing a crisis. So then they have also to adjust themselves to their environments and to think in broader terms.

Thus the Islamic peoples in other parts of the world are also faced with grave national problems and with economic, social and political turmoil, which I need not point out to this august assembly as they are witnessing these changes themselves every day.

This means that the representative educationalists of the world must put their heads together and evolve a plan by which modern education, side by side with the spirituality of Islam might reform the Muslim brotherhood afresh, and propel the energies, which are today acting in every country and in almost every faith, to convert mankind into a single brotherhood. Of all the religions, Islam comes much nearer to the ideal as it is a natural and scientific religion, and appeals to the intellectual strata of Europe and America equally.

I need not lay too great a stress on this idea for, if only the Islamic world develops a common educational outlook, it may foster a mind such as may be a force for true democracy and a force for an abiding peace.

Education in the broadest sense should aim at harmonizing of interest and effort and should ensure the full development of personality and preservation of life in evolving a higher state of society. If education really means the gradual adjustment of the individual to the spiritual possessions of the race, then the problem arises; how far our institutions in the Middle East, Near East, Far East, South East Asia and in other foreign countries are conforming to these standards. If the older nations look back to their spiritual and cultural heritage and neglect the modern scientific progress, I am afraid they are falling short of the modern demand of society and the intellectual development of the human

race, which is the prime object of education. On the contrary, if they plunge into the abyss of materialism and become creatures of the machine age, the soul of those nations will become dead and cannot respond to the higher instincts of reason and morality. Therefore, a balance has to be struck wherein there is a healthy growth of the mind and the body, and a harmony between reason and intuition, between abstract philosophical dogmas and practical necessities of life. This should be our aim in education.

Digest of an address on "Islam in Malaya" by Professor Zainal-Abidin b. Ahmad, Senior Lecturer on Malayan Studies at the University of Malaya at Singapore.

I. Origin and History

1. Islam is the present religion of the indigenous people, the Malays. Other Muslim elements in the population are Indians, Pakistanis, Arabs. There are very few Chinese Muslims despite the fact that the Chinese form nearly half the total population of over six millions.

2. Islam was first introduced into Malaya towards the end of the 13th Century but there is very meagre information about this—Marco Polo mentions native Muslims in Sumatra in 1292 and there is the Trengganu stone recently discovered in Malaya, dated 1320.

3. Islam was not introduced directly from Arabia but by Muslim merchants from India. Direct contact with Arabia came later. It spread from Sumatra to Malaya and from Malaya to the other parts of Malay Archipelago.

4. Before Malays became Muslims they were Hindus or Buddhists of a sort. Earlier still, they were animists. Traces of both these earlier beliefs still survive. "Malays" and "Malayans" should not be confused. Altogether three layers of religious beliefs exist among Malay Muslims.

5. Islam came to Malays when its lustre had already faded both in the West and the Near East. After the sack of Baghdad in 1258, thoughtful Muslims turned quietistic—otherworldly in outlook. This type of Muslim teaching has persisted in Malaya to this day. The results were the same as those of other parts of the Muslim World until quite recently.

II. Present Conditions

1. Muslims in Malaya, whether Malays or non-Malays are almost all Sunnis. There are very few Shi'ite Muslims in the country but survivals of early Shi'ite associations in "Boria" pantomimes, in two early works (before 1535), and in popular ideas and legends concerning the might and miraculous prowess of Ali such as the cashew-nut legend.

2. Malays and Arab Muslims are all Shafi'ites; Indian Muslims and Pakistanis mostly Manafites; but all live harmoniously together, each community following its own "Madzhab" and school of interpretation in matters of canon law. In big cities each "Madzhad" often has its own mosque.

3. Malays are always strong in their faith but lax in their practice except fasting. Whatever part of Islamic teaching in matters of worship is observed, emphasis is always on externals, forms, and rituals whereas the spirit and original intention for moral and spiritual uplift are largely ignored.

4. With Malayan Muslims "alim" always means only "learned in religion." If very learned, a religious teacher is referred to as an "ulama" without the plural sense. There are not many "alims" and "ulamas," perhaps one or two in one village; 10 or 15 in each of the nine Malay states. Almost all of them have never had the advantage or even the chance of education on modern lines; their studies and training always in the old traditional way, their views and outlook uncompromisingly mediaeval. "Knowledge" for them is only religious knowledge: theology (usul al-din), law (fiqh) and Sufiism (al-tasawwaf).

5. Fifty years ago children were not allowed to attend English schools. Earlier, they were not allowed to attend even Malay schools. Girls have been allowed to go to school only in the last 20 years, lest they would receive and write love letters, if they were taught to read and write.

6. The "alims" condemn any departure from traditional forms of belief and practice. Independence of judgment as practiced by the early scholars and doctors of Islam is taboo. Any new interpretation to adjust Islam to modern conditions is heretical, and the door of "ijtihad" or independent investigation is closed.

7. Some of the "alims" or "ulamas" are really learned and pious; they deserve and get all respect for that, but their method of approach to problems of modern life is antiquated. Few of these old type "alims" have broad sympathies; their attitude towards life and the world is warped.

8. The younger generation of "alims," who have studied and graduated from the modern religious schools of Mecca, Egypt (even from al-Azhar), India or Pakistan are less uncompromising, but they, just for that reason, are not generally recognized as the "true alims"—they usually busy themselves with matters of small importance, e.g. whether such and such practice in Islam is really "sunnah" (practiced by the Prophet) or "bid'ah" (innovation); whether a dog is clean or unclean, etc. And for such efforts at minor reform they are often dubbed by the old type "alims" as "Kaum Muda" (the Modernists) as opposed to "Kaum Tua" (the Traditionalists).

9. On the other hand the younger people, who have received only Western education, have little or no knowledge of Islam properly so-called. They respect the religious teachers for their learning and piety, but cannot agree with their mediaeval outlook and outmoded teaching and views of Islam. In public life the two groups tacitly recognize separate "spheres of influence" for each other.

10. The Malays are suspicious of Christian missionaries on the score of their trying to draw children away from Islam. Malay Muslims, like other Muslims throughout the world, are always jealous of their religion, even though they are often lax in its practice. There are no known Malay converts to Christianity in Malaya.

III. Signs of Awakening

1. In the past Islam in Malaya has always echoed and followed the steps and movements of progress or of decay that were afoot in the larger world of Islam outside. It is conceivable that the same process will be repeated in the future in the direction of progress.

2. As signs of awakening are seen everywhere in all parts of the Muslim World, so Malaya too is not behind-hand. Contact with India, Mecca and Egypt and the reform movements in those countries are beginning to influence Malayan Muslims.

3. Larger numbers of students go to Mecca and Egypt nowadays to study. Returned students are slowly beginning to assert themselves. Through the press and public meetings they exert an influence upon the more literate Malays. They are usually classed by the old type "alims" and their followers as "Kaum Muda" (Modernists).

4. "Wahhabis" are no longer decried today. The ideas of Mohammed Abduh are slowly being accepted in quarters where formerly they were anathemas. The views of the enlightened modernist schools of Amer Ali, Rashid Ridza and their like are gradually trickling through to be absorbed by the more enlightened among the masses. The great lack is a first-hand knowledge of the subject because of not knowing the Arabic language.

5. Thirty years ago the doctrines of the Ahmadiyyah Movement in India were first discussed and condemned in the Malay press. Now educated Muslims in Malaya are becoming less intolerant to the more sober views and interpretations which the moderate Ahmadis are putting forward. They take the ideas, but shun the name "Ahmadi."

6. Arabic schools are springing up in the larger cities and on a much humbler scale in purely Malay villages. But the organization is still poor and old-fashioned. There is no government aid for these schools, nor interference or recognition. By treaty terms the British Government does not interfere in matters of religion and customs, except where necessary and that with Malay approval, e.g. in certain aspects of Muslim Criminal Law, education for girls, etc.

IV. The Great Need

1. Islamic education in the true sense is greatly lacking in Malaya. Every Malayan Muslim reads the Quran, correctly or incorrectly, but very rarely any of them understands anything of it. The Quran is only regarded as providing charms and amulets and is read only for its mysterious virtues.

2. Anyone trying to improve the situation is hindered or discouraged by the "alims" and sometimes branded as an innovator, desiring to lead the common people astray from Islam and orthodoxy. The effect of all this on the Malay with only Western education is to drive him away from Islam and from any religion at all.

3. The great and most essential need as far as the Muslims in Malaya are concerned is to have Islamic education on modern lines combined with Western education as understood today. The two must be made complementary to each other if really beneficial results are to be obtained.

4. Islamic education on the old lines is no longer compatible with the needs of the present world, nor can Western education alone be of

much help to Muslims other than on the material plane. The former can only end in stagnation and decay; the latter can but lead to spiritual barrenness and apathy.

5. There should be schools where Arabic and English, for example, are taught together besides Malay. There should also be a properly organized higher institution for Islamic studies. At present the traditional religious dogmas are taught in Malaya schools and colleges, but this only perpetuates the old outlook which needs revitalization.

6. Serious Muslim thinkers everywhere today do realize the great need for reform, rejuvenation and re-adjustment in Islam, going back to first principles where necessary and starting over all anew. They are convinced that this can be done for Islam if only Muslim scholars of today adopt the same freedom of judgment and of investigation as did the Muslim scholars of the first five or six centuries of Islam. This can only be achieved if Muslims are given both Islamic education on modern lines and the liberal Western education of the present day.

7. Muslims all over the world firmly believe that their Quran is perfect in all essentials, that they have in it and in the record of the Prophet's sayings and doings, the germs of teaching, capable to be developed or adapted to meet any new situation that arises facing Islam. This can only be realized by having Islamic and Western education going hand in hand.

8. Thinking Muslims in Malaya are fully conscious of all this. To reach the goal they are striving most earnestly for a real start. In addition to the various religious and Arabic schools they already have, they are now collecting funds to establish an "Islamic College." Whether they will succeed in getting the College organized and staffed on modern lines, whether the teaching will include modern subjects and languages, and whether the standard of work done will be high enough to be worthy of the name "College" remains to be seen.

General Discussion about Education in Muslim Countries and Questions concerning Religious Education.

Open discussion dealt chiefly with the questions involved in the modern tendency to distinguish between religious and secular education, and the ideal of treating all education as a unity in which religion naturally plays an important, indispensable role, but where science, and other branches of knowledge are equally well integrated. The need for better, and more general instruction in the Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Malay, and other Islamic languages and cultures was recognized, and the lack of adequate materials and personnel for the prosecution of these studies was underlined.

Various attempts to solve the dilemmas involved in education, where children of various religious faiths are citizens of one land, were described. The provision for religious education for Muslims, as well as for Copts, Jews, or adherents of other creeds in the state schools of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, India and Afghanistan was cited as an adequate solution to this question. Others felt that the problem went far deeper than this, and reminded delegates that human nature is frail, and that, even in the best religious hands, education may fall prey to abuse or to the temptations of power. Therefore, there should be groups in the community able or entitled to act as counter-balances and checks in order to insure that fair, equal, treatment and instruction would be available to all groups at all times. Still others argued for the gradual re-integration of secular and religious education and cited a trend in that direction in Egypt. All agreed on the importance of religious teaching and were unanimous that without such religious instruction society was threatened with decay.

Other important points raised dealt with the urgent need to stimulate independent, practical thinking among teachers and students, and the problem of overcentralized control of educational programs in the Arab countries. The encouraging steps toward more local and regional control, being worked out in Iraq, were mentioned. Ways and means of reconciling traditional thought with modern views were also discussed and the need for recommendations in regard to the translation and publication of certain works of key interest to Muslims.

There was also a discussion about ways and means of improving education. It was agreed that there should be efforts to end the tendency to separate religious from secular instruction, and to treat religion as an underlying and integral part of education. It was pointed out that, as there is no ordained clergy in Islam, the great mosque-university of al-Azhar should provide more general, scientific education instead of the essentially Muslim theological training which it

has recently offered. In reply to this it was pointed out that many of the improvements in education in contemporary Egypt were initiated by graduates or professors of al-Azhar, which is itself carrying out a series of reforms designed to revitalize its curriculum.

Some comments warned against the separation of education from religion, others pointed out the dangers inherent in any religious or political censorship of instruction. The importance of relating the educational aims and structure of a country to the social needs, and to its economy was stressed as essential. The problems of literacy, fundamental and mass education, the training, remuneration, and vital role of teachers, and the need for improved curricula in schools all received considerable attention.

A suggestion of particular interest to Muslim countries was the proposal to employ new scientific principles of linguistics in the analysis of Arabic. The aim would be to prepare a word count, graded readers, basic word lists of 200, 500 and 5000 words occurring most frequently in the language and to integrate these with proper methods of teaching the language to native Arabs and to foreigners.

The basic prerequisite for any educational improvement is a clear understanding of the aims. Obviously, too much education is now at the higher and urban level. It produces a white collar class unwilling and virtually unable to serve in the rural areas where knowledge, sympathy and cooperation are all in great demand. Steps taken in Egypt, India, Pakistan, Syria, Indonesia and Turkey in the direction of rural education were briefly described by several delegates, but they agreed that a more general awareness of the needs of the peasants, who form a country's basic resource, is necessary.

What role education can play in providing a constructive, dynamic antidote to materialistic or communist appeals to students, white collar workers, laborers, and peasants was considered briefly and some asked for further discussion of this topic.

Specific methods of facilitating mass education, which were suggested, included the assignment of a larger share of the budget for this purpose, probably at the expense of higher education, which absorbs over one sixth of the cash and some sixty per cent of the space, and is concentrated in urban centers. Communications must be improved to enable the teacher to work decently in the villages. Imaginative use of libraries for rural communities, audio-visual aids, India's great "learn and earn" program, and the logical use of the mosque as a center for such endeavors were recommended.

Steps taken to encourage and attract teachers and to improve their quality and training were outlined with special reference to recent advances in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Egypt. The need for teachers, who are themselves spiritually motivated and mature people, and for better training to enable them to answer hitherto unanswered questions of their students relating to morality, sex, modern life, and religion was reiterated.

It was pointed out that in Turkey, where secular education has been current for a generation, Islam is still strong, although Muslim learning is at a low ebb and efforts to remedy this weakness are now being made.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12TH,

9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M.

Social Reform in the Communities of the Muslim World

Introductory remarks by Muhyiddin Nusuli, Editor-in-Chief of "Beirut" with special emphasis upon the work of the Muslim philanthropic society of the Lebanese Republic.

Allow me to speak to you about one of the most important Moslem institutions which deals with Primary and Secondary Education in Lebanon namely Al-Makassed Al-Khairyeh Al-Islamieh, or "the Charitable Moslem Endeavors," the center of which is in Beyrouth. It runs today something like 30 Primary Schools, located in the Lebanon Capital and in the different Moslem and Christian villages of Mount Lebanon, and in

which all students—girls and boys—receive their instruction freely without paying anything, or if they pay anything they pay a trifling sum.

This Charitable association runs also a Secondary boys' school which is called after the name of the association, namely Al-Makassed College, which holds something like a thousand students, who receive at the end of their instruction their Baccalauréat in its two parts: the first and the second part, according to the French System.

Those who receive the second part of the baccalauréat are entitled to pass to the Freshman class in the American University or if they are willing they can enter the first class in the French Jesuit School of Law in Beyrouth, or the preparatory class of the French Jesuit School of Medicine, after undergoing a strict examination.

The Makassed runs also a kindergarten where coeducation is conducted on very modern, up-to-date lines and where Arabic and English are being taught with all of the modern equipment you find in European kindergartens.

A Secondary School for girls, independent of the College of boys, counts something like 500 students, and also grants the Baccalauréat in its first and second parts.

These two Secondary Schools for Girls and Boys and the kindergarten charge fees but the tuition paid is very reasonable if compared with the tuition imposed by other indigenous or by the foreign Schools in Beyrouth.

I can say that the Makassed educates something like 10,000 students, girls and boys, in Beyrouth and the Mountain and brings them up according to the principles of Islam and its history and philosophy. It also inculcates in them the love and admiration of Arabic literature.

Most of the Makassed students, girls and boys, excel in the writing of Arabic and I may say that Al-Makassed is the stronghold of Moslem teachings, the Arabic language and Arab national aspirations in Lebanon.

This Association was founded in the early eighties of the 19th Century and is governed by a board of trustees composed of 24 Moslem notables of Beyrouth, amongst whom we may recognize doctors, engineers, successful merchants, big proprietors, and alumni of the Makassed.

The Makassed is privately financed. Faithful Moslems in the past 70 years have generously given land and property, the rents of which are spent for the running of this institution. But the most generous endowment was given by those Moslems who passed away and were buried in cemeteries handed over to Al-Makassed, after the city extended a great deal. When these cemeteries in the heart of the old city were removed to the outskirts and big buildings were erected in their places, the gain to the society was a great help.

The budget of Al-Makassed amounts to $300,000 a year, an amount which comes wholly from the "Wakf."

Egypt has helped the Makassed in sending learned Shaikhs versed in the Koran and Arabic.

Besides the spreading of the 3 R's of Arabic and of learning, the Makassed runs also a hospital, which is still being developed and which has cost until now three-quarters of a million.

Our orphanage is attached to the Makassed. It is built on its own property and holds 300 orphans, 100 of whom are Palestinians. The orphans are taught how to read, write and study arithmetic and also the technique of weaving, carpentry, etc.

We are, I think, proceeding in the right path in Beyrouth. Religion should be taught to the Moslem youth and it is being taught, and I am glad to say that Communism has not crept into the Makassed Schools as it has crept into secular schools.

Moreover many of the directors and teachers of the Makassed are graduates of the American University of Beirut and the spirit of the University is a spirit of freedom, public service and respect for all religions.

Digest of an address by Dr. Ahmed Hussein, the Egyptian Ambassador to the United States of America.

(As Dr. Hussein's address is being printed in Arabic and English, only a summary is included here.)

Before I go into the question, I would like to express a feeling I am sure you all share with me. It is that this gathering is one of the most effective methods of creating friendly relations between the West and the Muslim World. This is so because the basis of real friendship is understanding.

Our topic for today's discussion—Social Reform—is, to my mind, the right avenue to real understanding. It is an area in which we cannot afford to differ. The broadness of the field makes it necessary that I confine my remarks to part of our experience with social reform in Egypt.

Promising steps have been taken since 1923. That year is significant, because it marks the inauguration of constitutional life in the country and partial emancipation of the administration from British control. One of the first schemes attempted in 1924 was meant to wipe out illiteracy. Elementary education was recognized as a state responsibility. The results, however, were far from satisfactory. Modeled for urban society and applied without adaptation to rural communities, these schools were far from successful.

Over the last ten years, some innovations produced a definite improvement. A new type of rural school was developed with a new ideology in principles and goals of education. Only half the day was now given to classroom life, the other half being devoted to training in better methods of cultivation, animal husbandry and handicrafts in workshops or gardens attached to the school. In addition, the Government introduced organized medical care in schools.

The next example is from our experience with the cooperative movement, which first started in 1909. At that time a spirited leader, Omar Lutfi, campaigned up and down the country-side for the establishment of cooperatives. When he died in 1911, there was unfortunately no one to carry the movement forward.

The movement was picked up again in 1923. This time the Government took the initiative. It passed the first cooperative law. Soon there were hundreds of such societies throughout the country. The peasants had no real grasp of the meaning of a cooperative. They were not convinced it could serve their interests. The general low level of education increased the difficulties. No wonder, then, that the scheme evaporated.

In 1927 the Government made another attempt to establish cooperatives. The movement expanded and the number of societies increased tenfold. But in the process our enthusiasm got ahead of our sober planning. The individual peasant did not understand his responsibilities and democratic privileges as a member. The big landowners were not ready to accept the principle of equal vote.

In time, however, and with the spread of education, conditions gradually improved. As a result many of the 2,000 enlisted societies gained strength and their varied services made a real contribution to their communities.

Then there was the field of public health. The main concern was the spread of endemic rural diseases. Bilharzia and enkylostoma were sapping the peasants' strength. Efforts were concentrated in zealous attempts to treat and cure the unfortunate victims. It was soon realized, however, that time and money spent on that approach went mostly down the drain.

About ten years ago, we realized that prevention was more effective than cure. We knew that canal snails served as hosts for the disease germs. Scientific research developed practical methods for the extermination of these snails. The concerted efforts have finished the job of snail eradication in three fourths of the provinces. The cost of the new method was far below what we had had to spend on the previous approach.

Another venture was in the field of housing. The Government and non-governmental organizations started projects for building model dwellings. The cost involved was too high for the public budget as well as for the people's means.

As a result of this unhappy experience, it was decided as a matter of policy that government assistance in housing projects be offered to the people only if they themselves desired it and were willing to pay for it. One major aspect of this change was that it resulted in the organization by the people themselves of cooperative housing societies.

The Government established in 1939 a special ministry for social affairs, incorporating the departments of cooperatives, labor and social services. A full chain of labor legislation conforming to the recommendations of the International Labor Organization was completed. A new department for peasant affairs was established. It was my good fortune to be appointed as its first director.

The Ministry's efforts were crowned by the passage in 1950 of the Social Security Act. Under that legislation, and to start with, four major groups were entitled to pensions, namely, the aged, the disabled, the widowed, and the orphaned. Other groups, such as the unemployed and the sick, were considered as entitled to assistance. Moreover, the law, stressing the principle of social solidarity, granted full coverage for the urban and rural population, on a non-contributory basis.

Many private philanthropic societies have been doing a good job for years and can claim an honorable record. There are today 3,000 such societies in Egypt. Many of them are very active

in the fields of health, education and social services.

The cornerstone of rural development in Egyptian villages has come to be the Social Centre, introduced by the Department of Peasantry Affairs. It is now twelve years since the first of these centres opened. Today we can boast of one hundred and sixty of them. Each centre is designed to serve about ten thousand people. It includes a meeting hall, provided with a radio and a library, dispensary, a maternity home, a pure water station with washroom and baths, a workshop for small handcrafts, a rural club, and any other services that the people may choose to add. In every respect the centre must be a people's responsibility in its establishment and management. Its decisions must be made democratically by its freely chosen committees.

The success of the Social Centre is a living proof that sincere cooperation between Government and people can do much to bring about a real uplift in the social standards of rural areas.

There is no doubt that, first by trial and error, and later by sound planning, we are getting closer to the right approach to social reform. We realize, however, that we are still at the beginning of a long and hard road.

One problem required a different approach. Serious defects in land distribution gave a few owners disproportionate powers. The credit for rectifying this situation goes to the New Regime. In a courageous move, a few months after its inception, this regime passed the Agrarian Reform Law. It established a ceiling of two hundred acres on land ownership. It ordered distribution of the excesses in lots up to five acres each and at reasonable prices. The law also fixed lower land rents and more rewarding minimum wages for workers.

Our experience in social reform has taught us that the problems we face are deep rooted, intricate and inter-related. They cannot be solved overnight. Nor can they be treated piece-meal. We now realize that the roots of social ills are embedded in depressed economic standards. We believe that economic development is the solid foundation for social advance. In full recognition of this the New Regime established a National Council for Economic Development and gave it a free hand to make studies, chart plans and start on projects for development in all sectors of the National Economy.

Well trained technicians are greatly needed. For years we have been improving and encouraging technical education in our own land. We have kept sending young Egyptians on study missions overseas. We are availing ourselves of the generous services of experts from international organizations.

Finally, in Egypt we lack the funds to carry out as many projects as we would like in the shortest possible time. However, one fundamental consideration in social reform may more than compensate for lack of funds. If we were to arouse the full consciousness of the people, if we were to capture and utilize their great abilities and resources and work for them through working with them, we can be sure to harness great powers that no government effort can match. Such powers of self-help, when aided technically and financially and coordinated with government efforts in overall plans for social reform, will produce maximum results and bring us closer to success.

(As only about half of the original paper is contained in this summary, it is hoped that the reader will not fail to study the very important paper printed in its complete form in the "Muslim World.")

Introduction to the afternoon discussion by Dr. Amir Ali, Dean of the College of Agriculture of the Osmania University at Hyderabad, India.

Dr. Ali pointed out that social maladjustment is one of the reasons underlying the need for reform in the Muslim countries. He inquired if his colleagues were satisfied with the pace of social reform in Muslim lands. He suggested that if it was agreed that Muslim society, in spite of its conservative tendencies, was capable of social reform, it would be worth while trying to analyse the external factors impeding reform in each one of them. In order to stimulate discussion, he proposed an attempt to discover the estimates of the members of the Colloquium, by asking each one to indicate how ready his land might be for change in connection with (1) the adoption of the Roman script, (2) drastic measures for birth control, (3) compulsory abolition of the veil, (4) conformity of Ramadan and the month of the Pilgrimage with a fixed season, (5) enforcement of maximum and minimum sizes of land holdings, and (6) the preparation of standard translations of the Qur'an.

Address of Madame Ahmed Hussein on "The Position of Women in Egypt."

(As Madame Hussein's address is to be printed in its complete form in Arabic and English, only a brief summary made by the Rapporteurs is included here. It is hoped that the readers can see the complete address as the following account does not do justice to Madame Hussein's most interesting analysis of a very important subject.)

Madame Hussein described the unveiling and emancipation of women in the past thirty years since their famous leader, Madame Hoda Sha'rawi first cast her veil into the sea. The ladies were simply part of a wider movement of liberation begun in 1881 by Colonel 'Arabi, and continuing to this day. In 1919 the women of Egypt fought the British for the freedom of their men, then they fought the men for their own freedom. Madame Hussein indicated that the veil had only been adopted in sophisticated, urban Muslim centres, never in the rural areas where most people live. She described the generally liberal attitude of Islam to women, citing the great Muhammad 'Abduh's opinions on this matter. She explained Islam's recognition of woman as an independent being, who can keep her family name after marriage, dispose freely of her property, act as a guardian over minors, sue anybody in court without her husband's consent, engage in trade, and share in inheritance as she had not been able to before the advent of Islam. She added that in questions of polygamy and divorce, the Qur'an enjoined justice and kindness, and imposed severe restrictions on both practices. Moreover, in case of injustice, or where the wife has so stipulated in the civil marriage contract, the wife can initiate divorce, or can go to court for redress. Egyptian statistics for 1950 indicate the very low figure of three per cent of married men with more than one wife. The educated classes are coming to regard polygamy as practically illegal. Women now have equal opportunity with men in education in Egypt.

Their progress in the realms of education and social acceptance, and in social welfare work during the past thirty years has been prodigious. In 1921-22, 24,316 girls attended government schools, with only 43 in the sole secondary school then available. Another 653 received teachers' training. In 1950, 527,008 girls were enrolled in government and subsidized private schools, with 19,511 in secondary schools of diverse types. In 1952, 3,500 women attended universities and women's colleges. Many women are now engaged in professional work as doctors, journalists, lawyers, etc.

New attitudes toward education for women, and their role in society are reflected in the Girl Guide movement with 15,000 members, and 100 social service agencies run by women such as the Feminist Union, and the New Woman, named after the famous book by Qaim Amin. The New Woman society undertook to direct an orphanage previously operated by the Ministry of Social Welfare and did it so well it was asked to help out in other ways also. World War II found women working in affiliation with the men of the Red Crescent Society, and proving their worth.

The Village Committee of the Cairo Women's Club, formerly a group which did minor philanthropic work in conjunction with its social activities, has done much good work in the new Social Welfare Centre in the Sandyoun Village, near Cairo. The ladies found that their desire to help was welcomed by the villagers and by the technical staff of the new Social Welfare Centre. Within a year the village had its own women's committee active in sewing, knitting, making jams and other preserves, which were all new activities to these ladies. The ladies from Cairo, with their village friends, helped to organize a nursery school project for children from 3 to 6. This attracted favorably male villager attention, and led, in turn, to the formation of adult education classes. More projects have since developed.

Most important, however, has been the fact that the Cairo ladies have learned, by experience, to recognize that genuine democratic attitudes are a prerequisite for success in any social reform, and that these must satisfy acute local needs. Moreover, help proffered in an attitude of mutual interest is responded to by the villagers, who show real initiative and energy in working with outsiders under such conditions. In conclusion, Madame Hussein declared that Egyptian women have proved themselves indispensable in the social field and are learning, by experience and study, thus equipping themselves for better citizenship. All this will stand them and the community in good stead when the time is ripe and they are able to exercise the right to vote.

Remarks on "The Village, or Primary Group Community, as the Basic Cultural Resource of Society," by Arthur E. Morgan, President of

Community Service Inc., Yellow Springs, Ohio; Member of the University Commission appointed by the Government of India.

The Egyptian Ambassador, in his sound and inspiring address this morning, drew attention to a fundamental social truth which too commonly is overlooked; and his wife, Madame Hussein, in the latter part of her address this afternoon, reinforced his statements.

The Ambassador said in effect that the village populations are not ignorant and inert masses, as is often represented. They are people of stamina, intelligence and sound practical judgment, who have long been beaten down to poverty by exploitation, and who need release and encouragement in defining and realizing their aspirations. Similar statements can safely be made concerning villagers in most lands where migration to the city has not too greatly or too recently skimmed off the best quality, and where war and conquest have not greatly marred the common life.

Americans on the whole are but a short way from being villagers. They are mostly descendants of the peasants and the poor from across the Atlantic, who in their home countries were looked upon as of little consequence. In America their natural energies were released. Those Americans who came from the Near East show the same vigor and initiative as those from colder climates.

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I wish to emphasize the importance of the village, or as it is sometimes called in America, the primary group community, as the world's greatest social resource. In nearly all Muslim countries from 75% to 90% of the people are villagers. When we speak of culture we are inclined to think of the refinement and erudition of a very small class. The basic universals of human culture we take for granted, as we take for granted the air we breathe. Yet it is that basic culture which makes human society possible.

The normal Muslim village is more than just a collection of individuals. It is a living social organism, carrier of an ancient culture, held together by mutual understanding, mutual confidence, mutual help, and a realization of common destiny. It is those qualities which constitute the cement which holds society together and keeps men from flying apart from each other, each concerned with only his own affairs. Society survives in our cities chiefly because these traits are continually renewed with migration from the villages. This fact was first made clear more than five centuries ago by your great Ibn Khaldun, the father of sociology. Let me quote him:

"What proves that village life is the basis of town life and precedes it is the fact that when we inquire about the population of any town we find in the first place that most of it comprises the villagers who lived in the vicinity, and when they became prosperous and inclined toward comfort and luxurious living they settled in towns.—The conditions favorable to town life have their seeds in a village life, and are dependent upon it."*

In his writings he stated that in general when a family moved from village to city it died out in about four generations. From various studies we conclude that the length of survival of urban families has not increased from his day to this. Ibn Khaldun foresaw the decline of the great Arab Empire, and attributed it largely to this cause.

As the persons of greatest ability and culture move from village to city the reserves of those qualities in the villages tends gradually to become exhausted, and the entire culture of both city and village then declines or collapses. The very cause of the rapid rise of culture, wealth and power of a society may also be a cause of its decline. As the abler, more cultured and more vigorous persons come from village to city and associate intimately, they stimulate each other to heights of excellence and to climaxes of wealth, culture and power. But their families generally die out quickly, and when the source of supply of high quality from the villages approaches exhaustion, decadence follows. If civilizations developed less abruptly and spectacularly they might last longer and reach higher levels. When a culture becomes exhausted, several centuries may be necessary for its rejuvenation.

America may be no necessary exception to this course of events. Her cities are new, and there has not yet been time for the process to work itself out there. Seldom has any people drawn so heavily upon the ability of its small communities in the development of its cities. The freedom of motion, universal education and abundance of opportunity have accelerated the process of migration from rural to city life. As recently as when my paternal grandfather was

* Translation made for the speaker at Muslim University, Aligarh.

born there were only six cities in the country with as much as 8000 population. Now two thirds of Americans are urban or suburban dwellers. At the present rate of migration to urban centers, American culture might be short lived.

In Europe, also, large scale urbanism is recent. When America was discovered, about 460 years ago, there were only about six cities in all Euorpe with as much as 10,000 population. (The claim of 60,000 was rhetorical, and used in many cases. For instance, the University of Paris was said to have 60,000 students. England claimed 60,000 parishes, whereas a definite count showed 7,000.) There is evidence of a lowering of human quality in heavily urbanized European countries. Britain is two thirds or more urban, and some of her foremost psychologists hold that the intelligence level of England is dropping two or three points on the scale each generation. London families are said to survive no longer than those described by Ibn Khaldun.

Human life and basic human culture always have rested on the villager. No culture has long survived the disintegration of its rural life. The Western World has gone far toward robbing rural life of its quality. The Arab World has yet time to get its bearings, and to take a safer course. It will do well to make its own course, and not simply to follow the West in this regard.

The village or primary group community, so far as we can tell, was the universal habitat of man from the origin of the species to perhaps ten or twenty thousand years ago—for perhaps more than 99% of his existence. It is doubtless because he has been so deeply adjusted to this environment that human families seldom have survived for more than a few generations in any other.

Yet, while the village has been the habitat where integrity, human fellowship and mutual service have survived best, and where family continuity has been best assured, it has very serious limitations in our modern world. Characteristically the village has been conservative, resisting change and progress. There was a time when the necessity of keeping the tradition unmarred was great, but the present world is in rapid change, and calls for quick adjustment. The rigid conformity of the old time village is as dangerous now as it was once desirable. As it has been exploited to a condition of extreme poverty, and as its creative minds have fled to the city, it has become less and less satisfactory as the home of intelligence and aspiration.

The city, on the other hand, has been the place of tolerance for new ideas, of education, of inquiry, of adventure, and of intellectual growth. But it has been a place where mutual confidence and integrity tend to decline, and where families soon die out.

Thus human society has developed a social schizophrenia or split personality. Neither the city as it is nor the village as we know it, will sustain a good society. This, in no small degree, is the reason for the tragic course of humanity during the relatively short course of human history.

The problem of social change is to see what elements of city life and of village life are vital to human well-being, and to design our communities so that they will combine the advantages of both city and village, and will avoid the fatal weakness of both. In my considered opinion, such wholesome social units will mostly be of small size. I shall not take time to give my reasons for that opinion.

Four steps are necessary for realizing this aim.

First, we need to understand the profound importance of the village in human history and in human destiny. Until recently this realization has been lacking.

Second, we need to realize how the uncontrolled drift of events is destroying the vital, living structure of village life, and so is threatening the survival of our culture.

Third, we need to develop a clear, conscious picture of what would be the desirable elements of human association, which together will make up the patterns of good social units. Except as we have such clear patterns we may be stumbling in the dark, and our efforts may do more harm than good. It does not follow that there will emerge a single pattern of *the* good community. The tendency for life is toward variety, and excellence will take many forms.

Fourth, we need to develop practical ways for bringing about such desirable and wholesome units.

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Today there are strong trends running in the world, and we may feel ourselves to be helpless before them, but that was not the original spirit of Islam. The Prophet was born into a world of strong trends, many of them evil. He challenged many existing trends, and created new

trends. That is why Islam is important. The same duty exists today. We should create and encourage desirable trends, not surrender to those which happen to prevail.

For instance, industry tends to get bigger and bigger, and to swallow up and to destroy the age long, living structure of village or small community. The Egyptian Ambassador in his talk this morning challenged that trend. In that he was right. Where large industry has developed in the Middle East or the Far East, drawing workers from the villages, such workers often cease to be parts of the living social organism of the village. They become desocialized, frustrated individuals, even where there is modern sanitation and welfare work. Their ethical and social standards tend to dissolve, and they become raw material for propaganda in violence.

Small, modern, efficient industries can be developed which can be carried on in single villages or in groups of villages without destroying the living social structure of the village. Big business is in part competitive feudal ambition, turned from land to industry. In part it is highly developed excellence. Just as when Hitler captured Denmark he was a bigger dictator, but Denmark was not necessarily a more prosperous country, so in some phases of industry the enlargements of industrial units does not necessarily mean greater well-being, especially if social as well as financial results are considered. If as much creative thought and effort had been given to making small scale industry highly efficient as has been given to making it big, a very large part of our industry could be highly efficient in small units. I speak from some first-hand, personal experience. Modern, highly efficient, small scale industry can be developed in many fields which will help maintain the living organization of the village or small community.

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No one element of excellence will make a good community. Some wealthy communities are deadly dull. Some very religious communities are so poor that young people have to leave them to make a living. Some that are good educational centers lose most of their educated young people because those young people see no way to make a living in their home communities. We must try to see what are *all* the fundamental, wholesome desires and needs of men, and then we must try to develop villages or other small social units in which all these needs shall be met—economic, health, social, educational, cultural and recreational. Today, with modern technology, this is becoming possible as never before in the world's history.

The Arab World should not try to imitate the West and catch up with it. The West, in pioneering in the new, unknown world of science and technology, has made many mistakes. If it could begin the industrial age again with its present knowledge, it would plan differently. The Arab World may well look ahead to what it and the West would like to have achieved in the next century, in both social and economic life, and then aim directly at those ends; in some cases quite omitting the long, round-about route the West has taken. In those plans, the welfare and development of the village as the basic unit of society should have a prominent place.

General Discussion about Social Reform.

General discussion included a statement with regard to Turkey's land distribution law of 1945, revised in 1950, and its implementation. Mention was made of the special desire of Iran and Indonesia to share experience and to exchange information with fellow Muslim countries, in trying to solve closely related social welfare problems. The essential role which religion and culture play in the successful carrying out of these self-help projects, was discussed and also the practical problems of implementation of the projects. It was brought out that cooperative organizations can assist in obtaining the advantages of large-scale operations of land on small, individually owned plots, but that technical assistance, credit, and the participation and acceptance of the peasants must go hand in hand in order to achieve success. Egypt's recent land distribution law began to be implemented on July 23rd, 1953, when the first plots of land were given to peasants. This new law recognizes the need for cooperatives in rural areas, and provides help for them. It also will tend to solve the problem of absentee land ownership because the limit of a single holding is now 200 acres, which is so small that an absent landlord cannot afford to neglect it. The urgent problem of over-population in Egypt was discussed. Emigration, and birth control were not favored as solutions. Better use of existing Egyptian resources, material and human, even the sea, should be more fully developed in a general effort to solve this problem of population pressure.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH,
9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M.

The Law and the Modernization of Legal Systems in the Muslim Countries

Summary of an introductory address on "Muslims: Decadence and Renaissance—Adaptation of Islamic Jurisprudence to Modern Social Needs," by Dr. Sobhi Mahmassani, Lecturer on Islamic Jurisprudence at the American University of Beirut and the Faculty of Law at the Université Saint-Joseph.

INTRODUCTION. The study of Islamic culture has a special importance today, because the intensity of the relations between the East and the West has greatly increased. Moreover, the attitude of Islam towards current international trends, especially as regards democracy and socialism, is one of equilibrium and conciliation. Islam asserts the principles of personal freedom and personal property, tempered by the rules of equality and the requirements of public welfare.

The subject of Islamic culture has been treated by orientalists, by conservative Muslims and by liberal scholars. It is important in this connection, to stress the fact that the concept of reform in Islam according to the liberal view means the return to the past and the restoration of the teachings of the Puritan Veteran School [Madh-hab As-Salaf As-Saleh]. In other words, reform should be found in the first principles of Islam, which were laid down in the Koran and the Prophet's Traditions, and should proceed with the reinterpretation of all rules based on opinion in the light of those first principles of Islam and the needs of modern society.

After this introduction, I shall examine the most important causes, which, in my humble opinion, brought about the decadence of Muslims.

FIRST CAUSE: PROHIBITION OF INTERPRETATION AND NEGLIGENCE OF LEARNING. Islamic jurisprudence (Al-Fikh) includes religion and law. This interrelation between the two sciences had a great influence on Islamic thought and on all aspects of Muslim life.

The sources of Islamic jurisprudence are of two kinds. The first includes the primary sacred sources of the Koran and Traditions. The others are secondary and include "Ijma'," or unanimous agreement of jurists, and analogy. To these may be added the source of equity and custom which was the basis of "Istihsan" in the Hanafi School and "Masalih Al-Mursalah" in the Maliki School.

The study of these sources was the subject of a special science called 'Ilm Al-Usul. It gave rise to what is called "Ijtihad," i.e. the effort or endeavor to interpret legal sources and to discover proper solutions for religious and legal cases. Ijtihad was thus an important factor in Islamic legal history, in adapting legal rules to the need of civilization, and was one of the causes of the florescence of Islamic jurisprudence in the classical period of the Abbasside Caliphate.

But after the fall of Bagdad in the 13th century, Islamic civilization began to fade, and orthodox or Sunni jurists agreed that the four well-known Sunni Schools, i.e. the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali, were sufficient. They thus agreed upon the "closing of the door of Ijtihad." As a result, new interpretations were prohibited, and consequently inconsiderate and slavish imitation (taqlid) became general.

Thus, imitation was a cause of intellectual stagnation in the history of Islamic jurisprudence. To ready this evil, it is necessary to reopen the door of Ijtihad. This view was supported by the Shi'ites and by the reformist Sunnites, such as Ibn Taimiyya, Ibn Kayyem Al-Jawziyya, Muhammad Ibn Abdulwahhab, Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, and Chiakh Muhammad Abduh. All these jurists, and their followers, affirmed that, for Muslims, Ijtihad is not only permissible, but it is a duty, and that inconsiderate imitation (taqlid) is unlawful.

But in order to practice Ijtihad, a jurist must possess the necessary legal qualifications. Among these is learning, which, in Islam, is a condition of Ijtihad. Moreover, it is a duty imposed upon Muslims by many sacred provisions of the Koran and the Traditions.

So in order to remedy the intellectual stagnation in the Muslim world, it is necessary to perform the duties of learning and Ijtihad. In this way the renaissance of Islamic culture and jurisprudence and the freedom of thought may be attained.

SECOND CAUSE: ACCEPTANCE OF FALSE TRADITIONS. In Islamic jurisprudence, the term "Nass" or text includes the Koran and the Prophet's Traditions. The Koran was written down by order of the Prophet and was compiled in its present form by order of the Caliphs Abu-Bakr and Othman. The authenticity of the Koran and all its verses was and still is accepted by all Muslim Schools.

But the Traditions were not codified in this manner. One of the Prophet's sayings even prohibited its compilation, and so did action of the Caliph Omar Ibn-Al-Khattab. Such a compilation, it was thought, would give Traditions undue importance and might induce Muslims to neglect the Koran. The compilation of the famous Collections of Traditions dates only from the Abbasside period.

For this reason, many unauthentic Traditions were propagated, notwithstanding the strict rules laid down in this respect by the jurists in the Science of Traditional Method ('Ilm Al-Hadith).

The danger of unauthentic Traditions was obvious. They gave rise to disagreement among legal schools, and to the establishment of rules which were contrary to reason and to the welfare of the Muslims. This was one of the causes of Muslim decadence.

To remedy this evil, it is necessary to scrutinize carefully the authenticity of Traditions, and to reject all unauthentic Traditions. In the first place, Traditions which were accepted unanimously by the well-known schools of jurisprudence should alone be considered as authentic. As to other Traditions, they could be accepted only if they were in harmony with reason, which was considered by Ibn Taimiyya as the only measure of authenticity in this connection.

THIRD CAUSE: ATTACHMENT TO FORMALISM, TECHNICALITIES AND PARTICULARS. In Islamic jurisprudence, legal rules based on sacred texts are few in number, as compared with those based on opinion and Ijtihad. Sacred texts laid down basic principles only. But most of the rules relating to particulars and details were the work of juristic Ijtihad, which was based on the secondary sources of jurisprudence, namely consensus of opinion, analogy and equity. These rules of details and particulars formed a huge mass of "fatawas" or "responsa" and filled up a great number of books and commentaries.

In course of time, and especially in the period of "taqlid" or slavish imitation, details and particulars gained undue importance and came to confuse the basic principles. Moreover, their study gave rise to a kind of formalism contrary to the spirit of Islamic jurisprudence and to the real meaning of sacred texts.

Examples of this disease in Islamic thought may be found in the questions of intention in contract, freedom of contract, and purification for prayer. In these and in similar examples, the basic principles were simple and unformalistic, but the technicalities created by detailed rules masked those principles and gave legal rules concerning such questions a very formalistic taint. This led to servile adherence to details and externals, and to the consequent obliteration of essentials.

The remedy for this cause of Islamic legal decadence is to stress the importance of fundamental principles, and to abolish all "fatawas" and unwarranted opinions that have concealed such principles.

FOURTH CAUSE: SECTARIAN PREJUDICES. One of the results of the freedom of thought and the permissibility of Ijtihad in Islam was the plurality of legal schools.

The first great division was between Sunnites and Shi'ites. The first were so called because of their reception of the authority of the "Sunna" or Prophet's Traditions. They represent the majority of the Muslim population. The most important of the Sunni Schools are the Hanafi, the Maliki, the Shafi'i and the Hanbali.

The Shi'ites were so called because they were the partisans of Ali (Shi'at 'Ali), the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. They supported his claim to be the first Caliph or successor to the Prophet, and consequently denied the rightful claims of the first three caliphs. The chief of their schools are the Imami, the Zaidi and the Ismaili.

In the field of jurisprudence, the chief causes of disagreement among these various schools were the following: differences arising from the construction of some Koranic verses, disagreement on the authenticity of some Traditions or on their construction, disagreement on the acceptance of some legal sources, especially analogy and equity (Istihsan), differences in view and in interpretation on some practical cases.

It is important to note, however, that differences between the various schools are not, generally speaking, differences in basic principles and precepts, but differences in the details of law,

arising chiefly from the varying application of principles to practical cases.

The plurality of the legal schools has the merit of mitigating the occasional harshness of the law, and was one of the sources of flexibility and development in Islamic jurisprudence.

But besides this merit, this plurality created sectarian partisanship and gave rise to many factional disputes. These evils constituted a cause of weakness and disunity and contributed in a way to the decadence of Muslims.

To remedy this cause, some bases for the unification of Islamic schools may be suggested, and summarized as follows: adherence to the mandatory provisions of the Koran, to those Prophet's Traditions whose authenticity is unanimously accepted, adherence to other Traditions only when consonant with reason, and adoption of those legal views and doctrines based on Ijtihad as are most adaptable to modern social needs and consistent with public welfare and the principles of justice and equity.

Unification of legal schools was advocated by the reformist jurists. It is in harmony with the spirit of Islam which asserts the unity of Muslims and of mankind, and in accordance with a Koranic verse addressed to the Prophet, which reads: "Those who are discordant in their religion and separated into parties, do not belong to you." (VI, 159)

Fifth Cause: Failure to Study the Effective Causes of Legal Rules. In view of the fact that the interests of mankind are the underlying basis of the law of transactions in Islam, it follows necessarily that legal rules relating to such transactions may change with changes of time, clime and social environment. Muslim jurists accepted this principle without difficulty for legal rules based on pure "Ijtihad" and not on a sacred text of the Koran or the Traditions.

As to legal rules based on such sacred texts, the change in their interpretation was allowed by many Caliphs and jurists in the following cases:

First, in the case of necessity or public interest.

Second, where the effective cause (illat) or raison d'être of a legal rule had ceased to exist. It is one of the principles of the Science of Usul (sources of Islamic jurisprudence) that: "A legal rule based on an effective cause depends for its existence upon the continuation of its effective cause." For example, the Caliph Omar abolished the share of alms attributed by the Koran to certain tribal chiefs to "gain their hearts" (Al-Mu'allafatu Qulubuhum"). That Koranic text was based on an effective cause: the weakness of Islam in its early days and the need to gain support of those chiefs for the cause of Islam. That effective cause disappeared in the days of Omar.

Third, where a legal rule is based on custom or usage, and these change with time, the text may be differently interpreted and consequently the legal rule may be changed in order to follow the new custom. For instance, a Prophet's Saying provides that wheat and barley are to be dealt with by the kail, or measure of capacity. This was based on the custom of those days. But commercial usage became different in later periods, and wheat and barley became things measurable by weight. Abu Yusof, the Hanafi Chief Justice of Baghdad, upheld the validity of transactions based on this new usage, notwithstanding the old legal rule based on the old custom and on the Prophet's Saying.

This proves that Islamic jurisprudence is not doomed to immutability, and that Islam admits legal reform in order to meet the needs of modern civilization.

Unfortunately, this rule, which is based on authentic precedents, was ignored by Muslim jurists in their period of decadence. This led to stagnation in the study of the science of jurisprudence and in the development of Islamic culture.

In order to remedy this evil, it is necessary to reveal the real spirit of Islamic jurisprudence and to point out its dynamic principles. The renaissance of Muslims depends on the revival of such principles.

Sixth Cause: Confusion of Religion with Worldly Matters. One of the salient features of Islamic jurisprudence is that it includes at the same time the study of Religion and Law. This feature gave rise to a reciprocal influence between religious and moral teachings, on the one part, and legal provisions on the other part.

Jurists distinguished in some cases between religious rulings and judicial rulings, as we see for instance in the case of divorce which religiously should be based on justifiable grounds.

But the distinction was not always clear. Jurists of the decadence period often confused essential rules of religion with incidental rules of moral affairs, and treated them on the same level.

They even considered worldly affairs as unchangeable as any important religious dogmas. As a result, all kinds of innovation were prohibited as "bid'a." For example, some jurists consider that learning foreign languages, wearing a hat or eating with a fork are things contrary to Islamic tradition and custom, and consequently condemned them as sinful. This led to extreme fanaticism and to complete stagnation of thought and of social progress.

All this is contrary to Islamic spirit and principles. Puritan Muslim jurists consider that Traditions relating to worldly affairs are not mandatory. They based their statement on a Tradition of the Prophet himself. The Prophet once passed by some people engaged in fecundating date palms by the usual method of pollination, and he observed: "Even if they didn't, the dates would ripen." So the people stopped, but they had no crop that year. When the Prophet was informed of this, he said: "Verily, I am only a human being. If I order you to do something dealing with your religion, do it. But if I order you to do something on the basis of my opinion, well I am only a human being. You know better your worldly affairs."

Islam is primarily concerned with religion and with the moral code attached to it. It has left ordinary worldly affairs to the concern of the Muslims themselves. This important feature should be present in mind when we study the Traditions of the Prophet. The distinction between religious duties and worldly provisions should be made clear, especially in connection with legislative reform in Muslim countries.

Conclusion. We have outlined the chief causes of decadence of Islamic jurisprudence. The remedies to these causes, and the conditions for renaissance may be summarized as follows: Liberty of "Ijtihad" and thought, concern for learning, rejection of false Traditions, emphasis on essentials rather than on external details and formalistic technicalities, unification of Islamic Schools, revival of the principle of the evolution of law according to time, clime and social circumstances, distinction between mandatory religious rules and optional worldly provision, and consequently between Religion and Law.

To adopt these remedies is a vital duty for Muslims if they want to live in the modern world, and to build their new life on the bases of liberation from ignorance and on liberty and knowledge. These bases proceed from the real spirit of Islam and from its basic principles.

Introductory address on "Views on the Transition in Turkey from Islamic Law to a Western Legal Set-up, the Reasons for this Transition, and the Relations between Islamic Law and Religion," by Professor Hifzi Timur, of the University of Istanbul.

My worthy colleagues,

The gentlemen who have preceded me gave us a clear picture of Islamic thought, with special regard to the sphere of law. The majority of the factors responsible for the emergence of divergent views, which have divided millions of Moslems into innumerable factions for thirteen centuries ever since the day Mohammed passed away, are legal principles. The four Islamic schools are originally and essentially based on legal doctrines. This ostensible importance of Islamic law has led the organizers of the colloquium to give due attention in the Conference to the topic at our hand.

My ten minute introductory speech will consist of three parts. The first part will be devoted to the legal reformation that has taken place in Turkey since 1926. The over-all reasons which have necessitated and brought about this transition will be discussed in the second part. And those views expounded for the purpose of coping with the doctrinal diversities that exist in the Moslem world with regard to legal concepts and provisions as well as significant relations between religion and jurisprudence, will constitute the subject-matter of the third part.

Throughout the centuries the Turkish Empire suffered from considerable difficulties in its judicial affairs vis-à-vis the body of those diversified and divergent provisions, interpretations (ittihat) and fatwas, called in toto "Islamic Law." In fact, the existence of Moslems affiliated with different and irreconcilable religious sects and orders within its territory on the one hand and the continual increase of non-Moslem citizenry ever since the annexation of Istanbul by Sultan Mohammed the Conqueror on the other, have been conducive to insurmountable difficulties and incompatibilities in the domain of jurisprudence. Throughout its entire history, the Ottoman Empire has poignantly felt the necessity for the establishment of a well-settled, universally accepted and universally applicable legal system. Conse-

quently, a significant aspect of the Reformations of 1839 was the conscious attempt to put an end to the apparent dearth of stability in the judicial sphere which weakened the over-all legal set-up, and to extend legal equality to all citizens without any discrimination based on religious affiliation. As a matter of fact, in 1841 a criminal code was drawn up, ratified and promulgated; laws regulating land and sea trade and procedure laws followed thereafter. But there still existed a lack of initiative toward the legalization or codification of family and marital relationships which constitute an integral part of society.

Following the 1923 Lausanne Peace Conference, the new regime in Turkey decided upon the formation of a special committee to draft legal provisions necessary for the efficacious regulation of legal relationships throughout the country. According to the preliminary order, the preparatory work of the committee was to be exclusively based upon the existent religious codes and judicial principles, because Turkey once more regarded the extraction and derivation of the needed codes from the ready source of Islamic law as the most propitious and efficient means for the over-all codification. Even at the very start the preliminary discussions led nowhere but to impasses. A plethora of questions were raised and widely divergent views expounded as to the nature and correct meaning of the contradictory provisions and stipulations stated by the fatwas and by the interpreters of Moslem canonical law. Long disputes came to the foreground even over the selection of traditions according to their validity, authenticity and correctness. And the workings of the committee, lasting a whole year, resulted in an absolute dead end. The Turkish Government thereupon proceeded to dissolve the committee and reached the decision that the process of codification should be conducted in conformity with the legal systems of modern European states. This time, entirely novel codes were drafted following the provisions of the Swiss Civil Code, Italian Criminal Code, German and Italian laws of land and sea trade, and the Neufchâtel procedural law, all of which were accepted and ratified following the regular discussions in the Grand National Assembly. After a time other codes followed these.

This extensive legislative achievement, conducted under the leadership of Ataturk, was by no means a haphazard selection based on an irrational admiration of the European legal systems, but an inevitable solution to the centuries of paradoxes and conflicts described above. The over-all legal innovation that took place in Turkey was not a transition from the legal machinery of one religion to that of another, for Western judicial systems are of a secular nature and divorced from religious legal provisions. This drastic shift to an entirely novel institution achieved in a turbulent and shaky period unfortunately had its excesses as would have been the case with any movements having their origin in a profound dissatisfaction. This explains why some amendments have been and can be made to the new Turkish legal system.

Reasons which led Turkey into such an extensive reform are many. On several occasions, Turkey, as a sovereignty deriving power from a deeply religious population, had engaged in drafting laws and rules in accordance with the provisions of Moslem canonical law. But every single attempt she had launched upon to legislate had failed, or the newly introduced law proved inadequate. The aforementioned failures stemmed from the following facts and factors, which prove to a certain extent the erroneous nature of the notion that it is essential to regulate the legal relationships of an Islamic society in conformity with the provisions of its canonical law and which supplies an index of the impracticability of such a law, in the face of the developing requirements of a modern society.

In the first place, the Koran must be considered as a great book for all time. But we must frankly ask ourselves why it became necessary in legal matters to create and develop three other sources of Moslem law. Although certain rules and provisions set by sources other than the Koran are obviously general principles of justice and equity, with a high degree of objectivity, a considerable majority of them are essentially and primarily regulations necessitated by the social nature and structure of the Arab community of that time. As a matter of fact, this structure of the Arab community was largely responsible for Mohammed's acquisition of a personality which was not restricted to the spiritual domain only, but called for his indispensable guidance and teachings relating to the sphere of everyday relationships between individuals, and necessarily embracing legal concerns and principles. Let us leave aside the wide disputes over the authenticity of the Prophet's words which are called traditions. It is still essential to state the fact that

these traditions, some of which are remarkable for their wisdom for all times, include traditions which covered specific subjective cases and which are not widely applicable to our contemporary society. Likewise, the body of traditions available is not wide and comprehensive enough to offer reasonable solutions to legal problems of every kind. I deem it unquestionable that we would still have the great Islamic religion had Mohammed been born into another era and place; but in that case most probably there would never have come into existence a legal system as wide as the Moslem one or exactly the same as the one which we have inherited. The primary reason for the relatively more limited number of legal concepts and doctrines that can be found in Christianity is certainly the existence and effective execution of the wide legal institution which we call the Roman Law, in the territory where Christianity came to be accepted.

It is essential to admit the fact that aside from the Koran proper and a few of the traditions, the remaining two sources of Moslem jurisprudence were essentially created to meet the needs of the community existing during and after Mohammed's era. But it is a postulate of social sciences that no society remains unchanged through time, and it is bound to go through a series of metamorphoses which naturally involve and bring about modifications in value judgments. The acceptance of the fact that such inevitable changes take place in a developing society, is also in conformity with the underlying principles of Islam.

Another factor that prevented Turkey from engaging in legislation or codification in complete accordance with religious sources was the absence of provisions in these religious sources applicable to the complicated and diversified requirements of any modern community. In fact, Islamic law contains no provisions regulating the sundry relationships of political institutions and commercial transactions. Likewise, rules relating to the vast field of criminal law and jurisdiction are simply too limited in number to serve adequately—not to go into a discussion of insurmountable difficulties this whole domain presents to any religion purporting to cover it in its entirety. It is an essential principle of religion, for instance, that reward for good and virtuous living is rendered in the world to come just as the punishment for evil and sinful acts is extended up there. In that case, what would be the standing "in the other world" and as delineated by religion itself, of an individual who has already been punished for a misdemeanor on the earth, or who has evaded the execution of the judgment, or to whom amnesty has been extended?

On the other hand, the prevalent political concepts of our times makes it a requisite for a state to extend an equal footing to all of its citizens regardless of religious differences that may and do exist between them, and to apply the same laws to them without discrimination. It is absolutely contrary to the democratic and humanitarian principles of this century to establish separate courts of justice exercising jurisdiction over different segments of the population in the same country, on the ground of differences in religious affiliation, and consequently to hand down vastly varying court judgments applicable to separate individuals in quite similar situations. Who can deny that all great religions contain the same fundamental principles of equity and justice?

Moreover, a great many Islamic codes and legal provisions have either been left untouched and unpractised in all Moslem countries, as previously in Turkey, or have become impracticable in that they have at some point in time fallen short of meeting the requirements brought about by the continuous metamorphoses of the communities, and have completely lost their vitality. For example, thousands of articles incorporated into the Megelle on the ground that they were vital and integral parts of the Moslem law have become a dead letter because of their inapplicability. Polygamy, for one, is not a practice in effect in Turkey. According to Gibb, 90% of the Moslem population in India are monogamists. It evidently is unnecessary to legalize and codify this loose religious provision, as a civil code when and where it is not a universal practice. Polygamy, which is permissible according to the Koran, but only under exceedingly difficult and perhaps unrealizable conditions, was a great improvement over the unlimited polygamy of pre-Islamic Arabia, thus pointing the way to monogamy.

Furthermore, during the legal reformations in Turkey the potentialities and possibilities inherent in and/or derivable from Moslem canonical law have also been scrutinized before the final establishment of an over-all legal system in the European sense. The factors leading to, and the principles underlying this innovation, have never caused the emergence of resentment against Islam as a great religion. It must of course be

granted that the efficacy and the degree of success of these reforms can only be determined after a certain lapse of time. And this brings me to the last part of my remarks.

Although Turkey's solution of her legal dilemma is apparently achieved, the important question still remains before us Moslems as to what should be done to reconcile the embarrassing divergences existing in the framework of Islamic jurisprudence. The Honorable Judge Mahmassani has presented and proposed a set of solutions, which in spite of their extremely interesting character, strikes me as somewhat unrealistic and impracticable. The unification of four schools is an example. Although this desired unification may take place, it would hardly solve our problems. The reason for this is that each of the four legal schools is based on relatively early Muslim opinion and tradition, both of which reflect an entirely different social era and milieu. Therefore, the unification of the four schools would not provide us with legal solutions to many contemporary problems and would still leave serious gaps in Islamic canonical law.

May I dare suggest the following? Religion is a relation that exists between God and man; it regulates and must regulate primarily the spiritual and ethical life of the individual. In Islam there is no hierarchy or intermediary between Allah and man. The Islamic religion is a universal religion and not the particular property of either Turks, Arabs, or anyone else. As a Muslim, I believe that religion inspires all life. Yet I also believe that our daily action should not be entirely prescribed (pre-determined) by detailed religious injunctions. God (Allah) gave us freedom and independent judgment for our guidance in this world. He alone will judge us in the next. In the case of a society which has achieved such a religious relationship I do not think that the application of Islamic law is a necessary requisite for true religion.

It must be granted that the Berbers and other Islamic communities who have been preserving a legal institution different from that of Moslem canonical law for centuries, are still good Moslems too. Likewise, it should not be asserted that the constitutions of Egypt, Syria, Iran and Iraq, which accept and resort to several originally and characteristically European concepts and institutions, as vital requisites for the continued existence of their political entities and for the firm establishment of their communities, are in violation of and incompatible with certain legal principles of Islamic religion. But, in a way, they bear out my assertions since such provisions in the constitutions cannot exactly be said to be compatible with the traditional Islamic principles, which require unconditional obedience of the subjects to the ruler. In a somewhat similar manner, the Turkish population has preserved its allegiance to Islam with an intact and uninterrupted enthusiasm in spite of the fact that Islamic law has not been in force for twenty-seven years.

Obviously, to accept certain codes, which have been evolved for the purpose of regulating the legal relationships in a society existent thirteen centuries ago, and which at times emerged from dubious sources after Mohammed's death, as binding upon the communities of this century, and to insist upon those codes as rules offering solutions to all the legal problems of the present day, suggests a narrow and hazy insight into our times. Likewise, preoccupation with highly ambiguous inferences from broad religious concepts, instead of seeking reasonable and practical solutions in conformity with general principles of justice and equity that are derived from religion itself, and having recourse to our religion for the purposes of settling petty disputes over ordinary transactions to which a religion should never be lowered, would necessarily be to the detriment of the dignity of our religion. When there exists no legal provision in the Koran and even in the authoritative traditions covering a specific case, the imposition of rules extracted by inference might easily bring about a dwindling in the religious faith of the community. Both of the parties in a suit may claim and believe to be right. In certain cases the rightful party may lose the suit and an innocent person be condemned as guilty. The possibility always exists that the resentful reaction of such persons, who have been condemned in the name of religion might well cause a simultaneous reaction against religion itself. It is not always necessary to hand down judgments in the name of religion.

The remarks and views I have presented are not intended to be an assault on any person or institution. I apologize if my words have offended anyone. Some of my ideas might appear to have gone too far and may even sound presumptuous, but I hope that they are excusable as representing my sincere beliefs on this important subject, beliefs based on a clear series of facts as I see them. Please allow me to invite your criticism and to

assure you that I am quite willing to modify my views.

Brief summary of the address on "Secularization and Islamic Law" by Professor Majid Khadduri, Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

One of the significant features of social change in the Modern Middle East is the influence of the West. The introduction of Western civil codes, operating side by side with Islamic law, has raised the problem of reconciling the two systems in order to avoid conflict.

Owing to Dr. Sanhuri's approach, in the new civil code which he has prepared for Egypt, Syria and Iraq, the movement for modernizing and secularizing Islamic law has gained some support. Sanhuri's contribution in the field of law is in fact a continuation of Muhammad Abdul's modernization movement which aimed at combining the best of Islam and modernism by his arguing that essentially there was no conflict between Islam and Western civilization. Sanhuri's approach, however, has gone further than Abduh's, namely, by trying to achieve a synthesis between Islamic principles of law and Western principles that may be adapted to modern Arab life.

Sanhuri has been silent about the feasibility of secularizing the Shari'a, although his synthesis accepts implicitly what amounts to secularization. His process of selection, adaptation, and synthesizing Islamic and Western law may be said to include four different types of secularization:

(1) The adoption of Western legal rules and principles which are not covered by Islamic law, that is, the Shari'a is silent about matters dealt with in Western law.

(2) The adoption of Western law which is in principle in conformity with Islamic law, but is not dealt with in such details that would fit the conditions of modern life as influenced by the West. Western law may be adopted to cover such new phases of modern life which are not in conflict with Islamic law.

(3) The adoption of Western law which may take the place of certain Shari'a rules that have become obsolete.

(4) The separation of the devotional part of the Shari'a from the penal and civil parts—the latter has been the only part which Sanhuri has worked out in his legal synthesis.

Introduction to the discussion on Shari'ah Law by Shaykh Muhammad al-Hajri of al-Yaman.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Colloquium:

I should have liked to have spoken to you on a very important period in history which is not well known to many people, namely the pre-Islamic history of al-Yaman commonly described as the Himyarite period. I would like to describe the very decisive role which al-Yaman played in the trade and economy of the ancient world, and the high standard of material civilization which it reached. Proofs of which still exist. The dams, canals, and amphitheatres have won the admiration of modern scholars and observers who have visited the country. Time and the request of the administrative body of this Colloquium have prevented me from dealing with that topic. Therefore my subject will be a brief discourse on the Shari'ah in al-Yaman.

Before I start discussing the Shari'ah, I wish to mention three principles which are considered fundamental in the study of the Shari'ah in al-Yaman.

(1) The first principle is really one of the principles of the science of the "Roots of Jurisprudence" as understood in al-Yaman, namely that "Ijtihad" (interpretation) is required of everybody. This principle guides and directs the way of the literate and educated people at the same time it testifies to the way in which the liberal and emancipated attitude of the people of al-Yaman has distinguished that country throughout the ages, long before the birth of the great movement which was led by al-Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and the Iman al-Shaykh Muhammad Abduh (may God have mercy on them).

(2) The second principle is to a great extent related to the first, namely that every "Mujtahid" (Interpreter) is right. This is one of the excellent principles of Islam.

(3) The third principle concerns "Ibadat" (Religious Duties) and maintains that the Imam as leader of prayer is a master who should be followed. This is a sound rule which produces confidence, tolerance and respect. It also contributes to the elimination of any differences which may come up between the Imam and those who follow and imitate him and who may follow a method which is not identical with that of the Imam.

The learned scholars of al-Yaman have al-

ways accepted these sound principles. In their writings they followed an excellent system and tried to be neutral. They understood their task to be confined to a faithful reproduction of the thought of their predecessors and never attempted to be dogmatic. The Yamanite author would pose the problem, then he would quote the views of the famous Imams who were authorities for that particular problem, like Imam al-Shafi'i, Abu-Hanifah, Malik, Ahmad ibn-Hanbâl, al-Awza'i, Sufyan al-Thawri, al-Hasan al-Basri and others, and finally he would record his personal opinion on the matter if he happened to have one. Thus he would leave it to the reader to decide for himself what he considered to be the most plausible solution of the problem. In many cases the Yamanite scholar would be careful to include the reasons adduced by each Iman for the support of the view he was maintaining.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of the members of the Colloquium to some of the rare books written in al-Yaman, which may surpass the books written in the other parts of the Moslem world. The most important of these books are:

1. "The Light of Day": by Imam al-Hasan ibn-Ahmad al-Jalal a scholar of the eleventh century (of the Hijrah).

2. "The Overflowing Sea" (al-Bahr al-Zakhkhar): by Imam Ahmad ibn-Yahya al-Murtada a scholar of the ninth century. It is published in five volumes, a copy of which can be found in The Library of Congress in Washington.

3. "The Interpretation of Flowers": (Sharh al-Azhar) a work in four volumes a copy of which can also be found in The Library of Congress.

Among works of this kind, which are very many, mention should be made of the work of a learned lady of al-Yaman, Dahma' bint-Yahya, who wrote in the ninth century after the Hijrah. This technique in writing was applied by the scholars who wrote on Interpretation and the science of Tradition. I am sure that many of you are familiar with the works of the Imam Muhammad ibn-Isma'il, the San'ai Amir, who wrote "The Ways of Peace in Tradition," and the works of al-Qadi Muhammad al-Shawkani, a scholar of the thirteenth century who wrote a book on the science of Interpretation, called "Fath al-Qadir fi-Tafsir." When al-Imam al-Shafi'i wanted to visit abd al-Razzaq al-San'ani he said what has become a proverb, "There is no escape from the necessity of going to San'a' even if the journey there is a long and arduous one."

The sources and bases of legislation in al-Yaman are five:

1. The Glorious Qur'an. Yamanite scholars have singled out of the Qur'an the five hundred verses which deal with legislation and written law books on these Qur'anic verses. These books are studied as law books together with the books which deal in general with Qur'anic exegesis.

2. The Sunnah of the Prophet, which includes what the Prophet said or did. The standard books on the tradition and the "sunnah" are well known. These as well as the critical books on the Tradition, which seek to establish the validity and the authenticity of the different traditions ascribed to the Prophet, are also available to guide the scholar who wants to embark on the task of Interpretation.

3. Consensus of Opinion (Ijma') among the companions of the Prophet or the scholars of a particular age.

4. Analogy (al-Qiyas).

5. Personal Interpretation (Ijtihad).

The inhabitants of the northern part of al-Yaman are called the Zaydis. I notice that many are mistaken in their understanding of the meaning of the term Zaydi and what it stands for. Some in fact think that the Zaydis are Shi'ites in the sense that some of the Iraqis are Shi'ites. The truth is that the Zaydis are to a very great extent Sunnis. In matters of detail they do not differ from the Hanafite School, and in theology and philosophy they do not differ from the Mu'tazilites. They agree with the Mu'tazilites in the denial of the beatific vision, the denial of all resemblances between God and his creatures, and in their appeal to reason.

They are called Zaydis after al-Iman Zayd ibn-Ali ibn-al-Husayn ibn-Ali Ibn-Abi-Talib, who taught that Moslems could revolt against tyrannical rulers if the rulers were incorrigible and if it were impossible to influence them by peaceful methods. The Imam Zayd ibn-Ali, as is well known, revolted against Hisham ibn-Abd al-Malik ibn-Marwan, the Umayyad Caliph, because it was his conviction that he was a tyrant. The theory which Zayd ibn-Ali believed was identical with that of some of the Companions, who told the second orthodox Caliph plainly, "If we had found in you any crookedness or unrighteousness we would have straightened it out with the edge of our swords." Abu-Bakr the

first Caliph obviously accepted this view when he told the Moslems, "Obey me as long as I obey God." An authentic tradition quotes the Prophet as having said, "No one should obey a ruler who disobeys the commandments of God."

Freedom of belief and the necessity of Ijtihad in the matter of religious duties, thus prevail in al-Yaman. Concerning social and commercial relations, the Government of al-Yaman decided to apply a uniform and well-worked out code of laws to reduce to a minimum or to prevent completely the possibility of disagreement. These laws are the result of the research of a number of pious and eminent scholars and legal authorities, who codified the laws which govern marriage, divorce, sale, rents, pawning, taking by violence, religious endowments, oaths, litigation, simple loans, testimonies, appointment of proxies, punishments, crimes, eligibility to the caliphate and the methods of electing a caliph. The choice of these laws was determined by their apparent validity. This body of legislation, therefore, has become the law which the Government of al-Yaman has applied throughout the ages.

What the Yamanites did in the sphere of legislation is reminiscent of Napoleon's attempt to impose legal uniformity in France; an attempt which culminated in the Code Napoleon. This famous Code became a source from which many other countries have drawn inspiration and which they have used as a basis for their legal systems.

I have noticed that many seem to misunderstand the enforcement of law in al-Yaman and think that a good deal of narrow-mindedness and cruelty is involved, especially in connection with theft. I therefore wish to discuss this matter briefly. It is perfectly true that the Qur'an states that theft shall be punished by cutting off the hand of the thief. The Qur'an gives no more details concerning theft and the punishment of this offence, but the Prophet Muhammad did not leave us ignorant as to how we should punish the offence and supplemented the brief mention in the Qur'an. He explained in great detail the conditions and circumstances which must obtain before this severe punishment can be applied. One of the main conditions is that the thief shall not be hungry, otherwise he has a right to the possessions of every Moslem and consequently he is not liable to be punished. Another condition for the application of the punishment of cutting off the hand is that the thing stolen does not belong to the "Treasury of the Moslems" (Bayt al-Mal), which is financed by the freewill offerings, the fifths, the spoils of war, and the produce of public lands and mines, for the benefit of the Moslem community. If the money is stolen from the "Treasury," the offender is not liable to be punished. The third condition is that the money stolen does not belong to the relatives of the offender. A fourth condition is that the theft does not occur in broad daylight. A fifth condition is that the property or money stolen is of a certain value. A sixth condition is that the offender has unlocked or broken into something, such as the unlocking of a chest or the breaking of a treasury door, in order to reach the money. A seventh condition is that the offender is not acting under duress, and is not insane, or drunk and that he does not claim that he was in any of these conditions when the theft was committed, in which case the punishment would be suspended even if the offender confessed his guilt. All this is in full conformity with a saying of the Prophet, "Suspend punishments in case of doubt." Therefore the application of this severe punishment is really almost impossible as there are so many conditions attached to it. I remember only two cases when this punishment was applied and both of them were cases of murder as well as theft.

The laws of al-Yaman fully ensure the rights of the individual. Each one has the right to dispose of his property as he wishes, but the law considers illegal the squandering of money or causing of harm to others. A sick man on his deathbed is not entitled by law to the use of more than a third of his possessions except by the express wish of the heirs, and he is not allowed to disinherit his lawful heirs.

The women of al-Yaman enjoy all the rights accorded to them by Islam. A woman has the right to dispose of her property as she wishes, without the least interference on the part of her husband. She has the right to choose her husband and marriage cannot be concluded without her wish. She has the right to ask for a divorce from her husband if he is permanently disabled, unable to support her, or afflicted by a disease which prevents him from intercourse. She has the right to ask the representative of the law to arrange for her marriage if her guardian refuses to do so. The wisdom in legislation concerning polygamy is obvious, but the conditions attached to polygamy are so hard that it is difficult for one man to take more than one wife. Therefore the matter is of academic rather than practical importance. Islam

is not very strict in the matter of divorce but it frowns on it. The Prophet is quoted as saying, "Of all the acts allowed in Islam, divorce is the most detestable in the eyes of God." But if harmony and understanding are so lacking in the life of a married couple that conjugal happiness does not exist, both man and wife have the right to ask for a divorce. The man can ask for a divorce directly while the wife must ask for it indirectly and through the representative of the law. Both of them can marry whom they wish after they are divorced. Therefore the Moslem woman really has more freedom than other women. The marriage tie in Islam has never been a chain from which there is no escape, as is the case with non-Moslems. This strictness which is a feature of marriage among non-Moslems has had bad social results in the West and has discouraged men in the West from marriage. It has also encouraged Western women to make full use of their privileges so as to become indifferent to the promotion of family ties and the giving of due attention to home life. The result is that civil divorce cases in the West, which are not recognized by the Church, have multiplied and greatly outnumbered divorce cases in Moslem countries. This then is a social problem which I believe Islam has treated and solved most satisfactorily.

One of the most valuable laws in the Moslem Shari'ah is the law concerning the right of pre-emption. One has the right to buy whatever his neighbor wants to sell of immovable property. Should this property be sold to somebody else without the knowledge of the neighbor, he has the right to buy it again for the same price. In my view this attention to the rights of neighbors, in the matter of the sale of immovable property, is one of the most valuable aspects of the Moslem Shar'iah. Concerning the problem of personal interpretation (Ijtihad) it is obvious that only a few are qualified to practice it. Therefore it is necessary for the majority to follow the opinion of the Imams or at least of one of them. The people of al-Yaman either follow the Imam al-Shafi'i or else the Imams, whom I have mentioned before and who are called the Zaydis. The Moslem schools of law do not differ in essentials, they only differ in matters of detail. The fundamental principles of Islam, its pillars of faith and sources, are always the same. Differences occur only in matters of detail and the reason for this is the principle of personal interpretation (Ijtihad).

Al-Yaman played a very important role in the propagation of Islam in some of the islands of the Red Sea and the African coasts. The learned Yamanite men of Hadramawt together with the Indian traders are mainly responsible for the propagation of Islam in Indonesia.

Yamanite scholars have contributed much to the sciences of Criticism, the Roots of Jurisprudence, Law, Exegesis and Tradition. Some of their studies have been published in Egypt as for instance "Al-Alam al-Shamikh" by the Qadi Salih al-Muqbili of the eleventh century after the Hijra, and "Ithar al-Haqq" by the Imam Muhammad ibn-Ibrahim al-Wazir.

Yamanite law schools include students from French and Italian Somaliland and from that part of Tihama which belongs to Su'udi Arabia. Al-Yaman has put its libraries at the disposal of learned Moslem expeditions. The latest of these expeditions to visit al-Yaman was the one sent by the Arab League Cultural Committee in collaboration with "Dar al-Kutub." This expedition photographed many rare manuscripts on various subjects. The Qadis in al-Yaman are chosen from among the graduates of the schools, after a long training in the law courts. They are chosen on the grounds of intelligence and maturity, qualities essential for Qadis as this little anecdote I am going to relate will show. One of the Qadis was once considering a case where the defendant was accused of having hit the plaintiff in the face. He ruled that the defendant should have his hand cut off or his eye put out or pay half a dirham to the plaintiff. On hearing the sentence, the defendant hit the Qadi in the face, gave him a dirham and said: "Here is a dirham, take half of it and give the other half to the plaintiff." I wish to assure the members of the Colloquium that this Qadi was *not* a Yamanite.

I have spoken as briefly as I could lest I should speak longer than the time allowed by the chairman. I hope I have succeeded in explaining to you the theory and practice of the Shari'ah in al-Yaman.

General discussion about the Law and the Modernization of Legal Systems.

The discussion, for the most part, revolved about two problems: the reopening of the door of "ijtihad"; and the relation of Islam as a faith to social life and conduct. The jurist from Turkey affirmed that Turkish experience had proved

a middle ground impracticable. He and his associates were compelled to follow the logic of their modifications and to take up a position that involved the necessity of dispensing with the Shari'ah as the regulatory basis of the communal life of a nation. This meant accepting Islam as a personal religious faith inspiring but not drafting the pattern of social life. With this the majority of delegates could not agree, affirming that Islam is a way of life, with basic principles laid down in the Qur'an and the Hadith, which must be applied in changing times and circumstances to the creation of a social pattern of conduct, which will be an approximation of Allah's revealed will for the communal life of men.

For the majority of the delegates the real problem for discussion was the proper use of "ijtihad," and the limits to which it might be pressed. With emphasis placed upon "ijtihad" as permissive rather than mandatory, this problem became most acute in the application to modern circumstances, when the jurist is confronted by the clear and precise injunctions of the Qur'an itself, as for example, in regard to polygamy, the punishment of theft, fornication, and the like. At this crucial juncture considerable difference of opinion was expressed, resulting in no unanimity, despite the concluding conviction that, whatever the difficulties, Islam must be considered to be a total way of life governing most of man's relations with his fellow men and with Allah. Thus the questions of possible secularization of the Shari'ah, separation between religion and daily life, and the adaptability of Islam to changing conditions, attracted most attention during the discussion. It became clear that Islam is at once a religion and a society, guided by socio-religious practices, ideally set forth by Allah in the Qur'an. Muslims have constantly striven, but, being human, have failed to reach the ideal. The actual situation does not necessarily reflect the "true" Islam.

A few insisted that any thought of secularization of law in Islam was erroneous. Most suggested that the genius of Islam was its capacity to adapt the Shari'ah to changing conditions and that it could provide for modern situations. Their chief concern was how to achieve this. Pakistan is most acutely involved in this problem at the moment as she has appointed a commission to study means whereby all legislation can be brought into conformity with Islamic principles.

It soon became clear that, despite the traditional views of some, in actual practice, all Muslim countries with the exception of al-Yaman and Saudi Arabia have adopted modified Western legislation for virtually all matters except those relating to personal status. It was suggested that this was a natural development, agreed upon by the majority of the Islamic communities and hence might be considered to represent their consensus, or "ijma."

The importance of reinterpreting one's religious heritage, and clinging to it was also mentioned. It was put forward that it is necessary to interpret the Qur'an, the Shari'ah, and the authentic traditions in the light of both their obvious and symbolic meanings, and then to put their teachings into practice. The old Islamic use of authorized suspension of certain rules in view of new conditions was cited, for instance, in relation to fixing commodity prices.

Two obstacles to the unification of the Muslim community were mentioned. One of these was the theological difference between the Mu'tazili on the one hand, and on the other hand the Sunnis and Asharite Shi'is, with regard to the creation of the Qur'an. The other was the insistence on the doctrine of the Imamate by the Shi'is.

The discussion closed with a strong plea to stress the message and quality of inner spiritual faith in Islam, rather than unimportant details and rites.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 9:30 A.M.

The Shari'ah and the Problems of Modern Life

Summary of an introductory address on the "Shari'ah" by Shaikh Mustafa Zarka, of the Syrian University at Damascus.

A. THE SHARI'AH IN GENERAL. Jurisprudence in a nation is like its literature; both impart a true picture of the social and economic reality and point to the development of life and social perception in it. The high standard of jurisprudence and the capacity of its principles for eternal existence depend upon the existence in that jurisprudence of certain concepts worthy of world consideration.

Jurisprudence has three great functions in society: treatment, prevention, and orientation. It is a treatment for social ills and economic problems; it is a preventative for expected ills and problems; and it is an orientation for the continuance of coordination until the organization of rights, obligations and interests reaches its highest point.

For the realization of these three functions, jurisprudence must be binding. Obedience to legislation demands an additional kind of rules called "sanctions," as punishment for crimes and as the voidability of contracts which are contrary to public order. These sanctions are what distinguish law from pure moral exhortations which have no sanctions.

B. THE ISLAMIC SHARI'AH. The Shari'ah is a collection of commands for doing or refraining, and of practical judicial rules. Islam requires the application of this collection of rules for the realization of its general reforming aims in human society.

Islam has three aims:

1. The liberation of the human mind from the slavery of imitation and superstitions. Islam has fought paganism because it is mental degeneration, and called for free scientific thought.

2. The improvement of the individual psychologically and morally. Islam therefore set up a system for the worship of God whereby the individual is directed to observe his Creator and to take account of his actions in view of the belief in the Day of Judgment where pious and evil deeds are rewarded or punished respectively.

3. The improvement of the social life in such a way that public order and justice become supreme among men, and where the private freedoms of the individual and the public rights of the community are safeguarded. For the realization of this social aim, Islam established certain doctrines of a legal order for the creation of a state.

Islamic law is composed of the legal rules pertaining to these three aims. This is what is meant when it is said that Islam is a religion and a state. The third aim—the legal order—is what concerns us here.

The Shari'ah Legal Order

The Shari'ah legal order consisted of fundamental principles which formed a basis for a great jurisprudence and for extensive legal theories in the two fundamental parts of law today: private rights, and public rights. Various schools of law emerged under this legal order, the most famous of which were the four living schools: Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i, and Hanbali.

The differences between these schools do not pertain to religious doctrines; they are legal and judicial differences, which have given rise to a great wealth of legal theories.

The Main Principles of the Shari'ah Legal Order

FIRST—*Private Rights, Civil and Criminal.*

A. Civil rights: The Shari'ah considered one of the sources of obligations every action harmful to others and implicating the responsibility of the direct or indirect doer, and obligating him to pay a financial compensation even though the harmful action was committed in error. If that action is intentional, punishment becomes necessary. This principle was expressed by the tradition of the Prophet which says, "Injury may not be met by injury." The Shari'ah also considered all obligations as guaranteed by the sanctions of the judiciary. The judge has wide judicial powers even over the Sultan.

The Shari'ah established the following principles for contracts:

1. A legal contract is binding upon a party to it and no other. The Koran said, "O ye faithful, fulfill your contract."

2. Contractual conditions are free and binding upon the two parties, except those which violate public order and morals. This principle was established by various schools including the Hanbali.

3. All contracts depend upon the consensus of the parties; they become binding by the mere agreement of the parties and do not require certain forms. It is to be noticed that Europe was not able to attain such a principle and to free contracts from the forms inherited from the Romans except in the latter part of the 18th Century.

4. In the formation and the execution of contracts, the Shari'ah required the existence of good faith. It therefore made fraud, deception and malfeasance in the execution of the contract by one of the two parties, a justification for the dissolution of the contract.

5. It considered customs and usages as a basis for defining the limits of obligations and rights in all questions not mentioned by the contract.

B. Criminal Rights: The Shari'ah established the system of punishment upon two principles: every forbidden action is considered a crime, and every crime requires a just punishment proportionate to the action and sufficient for the chastisement of the doer. The Shari'ah did not provide punishment for crimes—except for five of them. It delegated to the ruling authority the right to prescribe punishments by regulations in accordance with the circumstances of the place and time. These delegated punishments are called *ta'zir*.

SECOND—*Public Rights, Internal and External.*

A. Internal Rights:

1. Constitutionally, the Shari'ah established three fundamental principles:

The first principle—the freedom of the individual—provided that public order and morals are not violated, and that the freedom of others is not trespassed upon.

The second principle—equality before the law in all rights. There is no special privilege arising out of nobility of birth or pertaining to a class of people, as was the practice among the Arabs, Romans, and Persians. The Koran says, "The most worthy in the eyes of the Lord is the pious among you." Again a tradition of the Prophet says, "There is no merit for an Arab over a foreigner, nor for a white man over a black man, except by piety," i.e., by pious deeds.

The third principle—government in Islam rests upon a consultative basis (shura). It is not permissible for government to be despotic. But Islam did not define this consultative basis; it can be established according to a republican, constitutional monarchy, parliamentary, or presidential system, depending upon the need and public interests.

The Shari'ah does not approve of the principle of inheritance of power. The nation must always choose the person most qualified for the supreme authority. The Prophet pointed out to his Companions that the government of the Islamic state will deteriorate if it should deviate from the Caliphate and the principle of consultation to kingship.

2. Administratively, the Shari'ah granted the representative of the supreme authority (the Imam) in the state unlimited administrative and executive powers, among which is the authority to issue temporal orders (regulations). The Shari'ah grants the Imam this authority of legislation insofar as it is an application of the general Shari'ah texts already established, and not a new legislation. But this does not run counter to the principle of separation of powers, which necessity or public interest might bring into being, because, fundamentally, the Shari'ah caters to public interest and modifies its own application in accordance therewith.

Financially, the Shari'ah established the principle of separating the State Treasury from the Sultan.

B. External (International Rights):

The Shari'ah established the following principles:

1. All peoples are equal in human rights (contrary to the theory of the chosen people found in some religions or nations).

2. Dealings between the Islamic state and other states must rest upon a basis of justice. In peace all rights acquired by other states and their nationals are respected; in war it is not possible to go beyond the limit necessary for repelling the mischief of the enemy. Accordingly, it is not permissible to mutilate those killed, nor to torture the prisoners of war, nor to practice gradual killing, nor to destroy fruit-bearing trees, nor to kill an animal except for food, or for a military necessity, nor to harm those men of religion in monasteries or those people who cannot carry arms, such as women, children, the aged and the sick.

3. Treaties between the Islamic state and the

other states are respected and considered binding like contracts between individuals.

4. Waging war is not permissible before directing a call to the potential enemy to accept the truth, and before transmitting a warning. The story of the Caliph Umar ibn-Abd-al-Aziz with the people of Samarqand affords a good example. A delegation from these people complained to him about the way in which the Islamic army entered the town. Umar appointed a judge to adjudicate between the people and the commander of the army. The judge ordered that the Islamic army leave Samarqand—an order which has no equal in history!

5. Retaliation is not permissible except in that which violates Islamic principles. (The Imam Awza'i accordingly ruled that it was not permissible to kill the Byzantine hostages when the Byzantines violated a treaty with the Muslims. His argument was the Koranic verse which forbids punishment for a crime committed by another.)

C. The Rights of the Family (Personal Status):

The Shari'ah brought forth a legal system which regulates all of the affairs of the family. It started by delivering the woman from her depressed status, for she did not even enjoy the right of life, let alone other rights. The Shari'ah granted her all legal capacities enjoyed by man, as well as the right to inheritance, the freedom to marry and to choose her husband, a capacity to be a guardian, the right to dispose of and exploit her property, without the permission of any man whether he is a husband or a near relative. The Shari'ah further laid down the rules of marriage and its dissolution, the rules regarding general guardianship or guardianship for the purposes of marriage, and the rules of inheritance.

FIRST—*Marriage and its Dissolution.*

A. *The conclusion of marriage and its Results*:

The Shari'ah considered marriage a civil contract like all other contracts. It is concluded by agreement between the man and woman in the presence of two witnesses and without the intervention of a religious body, because Islam does not recognize a class of men of religion who enjoy religious authority not granted to others, nor can anybody mediate between God and man. Even the Prophet himself does not have religious authority to exercise in relation to the future of any individual with his God, in fact, the Prophet's religious mission, according to the text of the Koran, is limited to the delivery of a message, and his temporal authority is limited to the application of the Shari'ah.

Accordingly, it is not possible to imagine marriage in Islam to be anything but civil. Thus Islam preceded the modern codes which have adopted civil marriage. The Shari'ah made it obligatory upon the woman to follow her husband, to live with him, and to obey him within the Shari'ah limits. It made it incumbent upon the man to support his wife and children. It further established the legitimacy of children in untrue marriages, as in true ones, in order to protect the children. It forbade sham adoptions and limited sonship and its rights to real descent.

B. *The Dissolution of Marriage and its Results*:

The Shari'ah permitted the dissolution of marriage by divorce, in order to evade forcing the spouses to continue in marriage when they are incompatible. It gave this right initially to the man so that it should be more limited than if it had been given to both the man and woman, and as the man must pay for a dower. The Shari'ah, however, gave the woman the chance to get out of marriage, if there should be a reason, by resorting to the judiciary.

The Shari'ah further required the woman, upon the dissolution of marriage through divorce or death of the husband, to wait a certain period of time during which she cannot marry, in order to ascertain that she is not pregnant.

Inheritance.

The Shari'ah established inheritance between the two spouses and between the relatives in accordance with new maxims and rules built upon the following principles:

1. Inheritance is obligatory, so it is not possible for the deceased to disinherit his legal heir. Even if the husband should divorce his wife in his death sickness without her consent, he is considered to have misused the right of divorce in order to disinherit her and consequently she receives her share.

2. The Shari'ah established the right of inheritance among relatives according to a system dependent upon the degree of nearness to the deceased. The share of a person not yet born at the time of the death of the deceased becomes vested, if the person is born alive.

3. The eldest son does not hold any preference in inheritance over his younger brother, contrary to some European codes today.

4. The female receives half the share of the male. This question is often misunderstood and

considered an injustice to the female. Actually, it is tied to the system of financial obligations in the family. A girl before marriage, for example, receives her maintenance from the man nearest to her in the family; after marriage she receives it from her husband. If she should receive half of the share of her brother, who is legally charged with maintaining himself, his wife and his children, she would be much better off that he.

Summary of an address on the "Legal Family Rights in Islam" by Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, President of the Muslim Religious Board of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Recognizing the fundamental importance of the family in the social structure, Islam has devoted much attention to it. It built the family on a firm basis, and minutely organized the rights and duties of its members.

Marriage is the corner-stone of the family, and is the honourable way of realizing it truly and stably. Islam has asked the man and woman to choose with deliberation and freedom, to seek primarily moral character, not money, beauty, or birth.

Let us briefly mention the rights and duties of parent and child before discussing those of husband and wife.

Duties of Parents: The father is responsible for the support and education of his children.

The parents should guide them to right and useful paths in life, and, by their own word and deed, set the good example.

The parents should not care for some and neglect others, but treat all children justly and without prejudice in all matters.

Duties of Children: Children should respect and always obey their parents, except in what angers God and runs counter to the common good.

Marital Rights and Duties: Islam has given the husband and the wife equal and similar rights, and made them share equal rights and duties in kindness. "And they (women) have rights similar to those (of men) over them in kindness, and men are a degree above them." (Surah ii, 228; Pickthall.)

This degree in which husbands are above their wives is the duty to manage affairs. Marriage is an association, and thus needs a head to keep it orderly and running. Man is more capable of performing this task because he is better acquainted with the aspects of what is advantageous, he is in better control of his emotions, and more capable of executing with his strength and money.

The partners should be faithful to one another.

The husband shall attend to his wife's financial needs, pay her dowry, and be a kind partner.

The wife shall manage his house, and in his absence take care of his property.

If both partners attend to their duties and treat one another conscientiously, then their life will be happy, and their marriage smooth and stable.

Woman Before and After Islam

Before Islam woman suffered great injustice. She had no social status, and was not entitled to inheritance.

Islam was fair to her: it improved her condition, gave her a specific share of inheritance, as well as all the rights given to a man. For, as a wife, she enjoys all the rights due to a free person with an independent will. She may use her wealth in whatever way she wishes, within the limits set by Islam. There is an equality between her and the man with respect to financial transactions, receiving punishment, and all that is good for the soul, mind, and body.

Is Islam unjust to the woman in what concerns divorce, polygamy, and inheritance? We shall see the wisdom intended by the laws controlling these matters.

Divorce. Quarrels often arise between husband and wife that make the continuance of marriage a source of unhappiness, and the marital bond becomes a chain. Since the man is sounder in judgment, more capable of self-control, and the one who has to pay the alimony, Islam has given him the right to dissolve marriage. Yet he is admonished not to divorce unless it is absolutely necessary, for that is hateful to Allah, and a good Muslim would not want to displease Him.

The woman is liable to abuse such a right since she is temperamental and emotionally unstable; also since it is the man alone who has to pay the alimony. Yet Islam has permitted the woman, on concluding wedlock, to ask that the matter of divorce be the same for her as for the man. Furthermore, the woman is permitted to seek a qāḍī to help her gain divorce, if the man has mistreated her, or been too miserly.

Should quarrels arise, the couple ought to seek an arbiter, who might even out the discord and give time for reconsideration.

Divorce is effective after three decisions. This facilitates the return should they repent after the first and second. If return is desired after the conclusive decision, then the punishment is severe. The wife has to marry another man and divorce him, then spend her legal period of retirement before she can come back to her husband.

Polygamy. The verse in the Qur'ān on the permissibility of many wives is: "And if ye fear that ye will not deal fairly by the orphans, marry of the women, who seem good to you, two or three or four; and if ye fear that ye cannot do justice (to so many) then one (only) . . ." (Surah iv, 3; Pickthall).

Man is allowed many wives but only if he can be just to them, and if there is the faintest doubt that he would or could not, then he should limit himself to only one.

Justice here refers to marital duties not to emotional inclination.

Polygamy is not urged in Islam; it is merely allowed with reservation. It is sometimes necessary, as when one wife is sterile or sick, yet she and her husband do not want to separate; or after a war, when the women outnumber the men and many of them are left without means of support.

Inheritance. Islam has made the share of the man double that of the woman in inheritance. This seems like an injustice to her. But let us remember all the duties and obligations that the man has. He has his own financial burdens, those of his children—their support and education, and those of his wife—her dowry and her support, even if she were rich. Besides, the man has duties towards society. The wife has none of that.

It is thus plain that Islam has given the woman a just and ample share.

General discussion on the Sharī'ah and the Problems of Modern Life.

The discussion was chiefly concerned with two main questions. One was the source of power or sovereignty in Islam. The other was the position of women, as it is described by the Sharī'ah.

It was brought out that in Islam, power can reside in a group for counsel, but that the community must have a supreme representative. Hereditary constitutional monarchies have existed in Islam, but they contravene the spirit of the Sharī'ah. Power, although ultimately derived from and responsible to Allah, also derives from the law based on religion and custom, and on the consent of the people.

Islam favors the equality of the sexes, but tends to give to the male freedom of action in social and political life. Polygamy is infrequently practiced in Islamic countries due to humane, economical, and social reasons, and is gradually decreasing because of education, and changing conditions. Many women enjoy the vote in a number of Muslim countries and since the time of Abu-Hanifa, women judges have been known in Islam.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 4:00 P.M.

The Problems Raised by Modern Science in the Communities of the Muslim World

Summary of an introductory address on "The Problems Raised by Modern Science" by Dr. Orhan H. Alisbah, Head of the Department of Mathematics of the University of Ankara.

A great many people are inclined to emphasize not science as such, but the practical consequences of scientific achievements in transforming industry or engineering; in fact the changing of the shape of the human life beyond recognition in the course of less than two centuries, with perhaps even more rapid changes to be expected in the time to come. Not many scientists will agree with this utilitarian explanation of their endeavour. Questions of values are, indeed, the most delicate ones; it is not our intention to discuss this point in detail. In spite of all this, one thing is sure, that science now offers the possibility of far greater well-being for humanity than has ever been known before. One of the obvious ef-

fects of scientific technique is that it makes society more organic, in the sense of increasing the interdependence of its various parts.

Society is scientific in the degree to which scientific knowledge, and scientific technique based upon that knowledge, affect its daily life as a whole and try to transform ordinary life with ever-increasing velocity. The increase of industrialisation as a result of scientific technique has brought into existence new types of problems or conflicts.

This situation stimulates the necessity to regulate international relations. In other words a stable peace depends very intimately upon these activities. Some people accept war as an unavoidable natural law. There is nothing wrong with this. For law is the sum of our ways to achieve peaceful change through time; ways which do not transcend our inherited understanding of the moral boundaries beyond which positive law should not step. Law in action must not weaken the idea of the dignity and freedom of man. Therefore, peace as such is a more valuable aim than ever. For this reason, the chief problem of international relations should be the attainment of a stable peace among the nations.

In the sphere of thought, civilization is roughly synonymous with science or scientific technique. But science as such has no logical connection with morality. It is man who has to use it for good rather than evil. Science may set limits to knowledge, but cannot and should not set limits to imagination. Science alone is not satisfying; men need in general also philosophy, art and religion. The world of our experience consists of two parts: an objective and a subjective. The objective part is the sum total at any given time we may be thinking of; the subjective part is the inner state in which thinking comes to pass. The subjective part of our experience is the most basic element shaping personality. Science is a way to value our observation in accordance with the rules of logic, which we agree upon in general without doubting their validity. Science as such is impersonal. On the other hand, the pivot around which the religious life revolves is the natural interest of the individual in his personal destiny. The scientist does not study nature only because it is useful to do so. He studies it also because he takes pleasure in it, and he takes pleasure in it because it is beautiful.

It is then also a search for this special beauty, the sense of the harmony of the world, that makes us select the facts best suited to contribute to this harmony; just as the artist selects those features of his subject which complete the portrait and give it character and life. And there is no fear that this instinctive preoccupation will divert the scientist from the search for truth.

In principle, we are compelled to give up the attempt to determine in advance the motives guiding our actions on purely causal lines, *i.e.* by means of purely scientific cognition. In other words, there is no science capable of answering the important question facing us in our personal life, the question that is, of how we are to act. The aspect of the subject which has here been dwelt on is that scientific progress, considered historically, is not a strictly logical process. New ideas emerge into intuition, come into consciousness, nobody knows how, and become the material on which the mind operates forging them gradually as a part of our knowledge. This circumstance, I believe, will remain independent of scientific achievements. And this fact leads us to agree on the importance and independence of the spiritual life of individuals.

Address on "The Problems Raised by Modern Science" by Dr. Lutfi Sa'di of Detroit, Michigan.

It is indeed a privilege and honor to be invited to speak before this Colloquium on Islamic Culture which is co-sponsored by the Library of Congress and Princeton University. This kind of meeting is certainly a very timely one when all Nations are vitally concerned with War and Peace. It is unquestionably true that mutual understanding in education is the surest safeguard toward promoting peace for future generations. The purposes of Educational and Cultural Organizations of the United Nations are set forth as follows:

1. To develop and maintain the mutual understanding and appreciation of the life and culture, the arts, the humanities and the sciences of the peoples of the world as a basis for effective international organization and world peace.

2. To cooperate in extending and in making available to all peoples for the service of common human needs the world's full body of knowledge and culture, and in assuring its contribution to the economic stability, political security, and general well-being of the peoples of the world.

This may well serve as a pattern for our purpose today in this meeting.

Thanks to institutions of learning, such as Princeton University, with leaders of the stature of men like Prof. Philip K. Hitti, and Dr. Bayard Dodge, public opinion and interest in the Islamic Nations is far different from what it was some thirty years ago when I first came to this country. Islam and its institutions were not well known and understood in this country. In fact, the majority of Americans were without adequate knowledge in this respect, and misinformation was perpetuated and influenced public feeling to the extent that it made them largely dwell on the differences, rather than the similarities of the two respective cultures, Christian and Islamic.

To gain a correct perspective in our evaluation of the influence of science in bringing modernism in its wake in the Islamic countries and institutions, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the early Islamic culture. I must necessarily restrict my remarks to the Islamic countries and those inhabited by Arabs with which I am personally best acquainted. Since I am a physician there will be references to the history of science with particular emphasis on medicine, of which I have a better knowledge.

Studying the decline of the Roman civilization, we find the Latin West broke away from Greek science and the hiatus was further widened by the triumph of the Church and the feudal system. Thus from the fifth to the latter part of the ninth centuries, the advance of science was checked and in medicine, for example, faith healing held sway in Latin Europe.

While the West was led astray in the darkest period of civilization, the genius of one man, Mohammed, and the advent of Islam was providing the Arabs with the necessary incentive for consolidation into an efficient army. The people were unified and the military conquest brought in its path a mastery of things scientific, cultural, and spiritual as well. Christian Europe had reached the darkest depths of ignorance and degradation when the cities of the Islamic world—Baghdad, Cairo, Cordova, and Toledo—were growing centers of civilization and intellectual activity. Islam was a movement of universal magnitude. Aside from its divine mission it aimed at assimilating the achievements of all previous civilizations and urged its adherents to seek this knowledge wherever it might be found. There were some translators, although of inferior quality, as early as the sixth century. However, during the Umayyad and Abbaside Dynasties (662-1258) we have translations from the Greek, Hindu and other sources. Caliphs became the patrons of learning and art. Their ministers, as well as others in their courts strove to outdo their masters by unstinting endowments towards research work establishing schools, hospitals, and obtaining rare manuscripts.

At the college of translators (Bayt-al Hikma, i.e. House of Wisdom), a host of Nestorian scholars already versed in Alexandrine medicine began the translations from Greek to Syriac and to Arabic of many outstanding scientists. One of the most illustrious translators of this school was Abu Zaid Hunayn ibn Is-haq al-Ibadi, a physician, author and translator, who stands preeminently as the dominating figure at the beginning of the evolution of Arabic science. His translations of Galen, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Discorides, Ptolemy and other Greek authors formed the cornerstone on which the edifice of Arabic science was built. The importance of this activity can be measured also in another way by stating that the translations prepared by Hunayn and his school were the foundation of that Muslim Canon of knowledge which dominated medical thought almost to modern times.

THE DECLINE came at the end of the thirteenth century when religious dogma and political dissension held sway and in this it is analogous to the decline in Christian Europe some centuries earlier. The decline was furthered by the onward movement of the Mongol Hulagu, who sacked Baghdad, destroyed its libraries and put to death the Caliph Al-Musta'sim (A.D. 1258). The conquest of Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 dealt a similar blow to Arab culture in Andalusia. This was also heightened by scholasticism divorced from life and theological obscurantism which prevailed and was instrumental in paralyzing Islamic culture until the nineteenth century.

For example, we find, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the practice of medicine in Egypt was undertaken by a group of men, the scope of whose knowledge did not exceed the limits of certain fundamental facts which were handed down by word of mouth and for the most part were traditional. A few of them enlarged their stock of medical knowledge by reading the old books written in the golden days of the Arabs (A.D. 750-850). It was not unusual to find that the Qanun of Ibn-Sina, which was written many centuries earlier, was the last

resort of the practitioner. Minor surgery was relegated to barbers, who had not even primary education, nor the least knowledge of anatomy. The bonesetters of Egypt were an ignorant lot, who played upon the simplicity of the people. Scientific medicine, as we know it today, was unknown in Egypt at that time.

French scientists were invited to come to Egypt by Mohammed Ali and were headed by the well-known French physician and scientist, Clot Bey, who was instrumental in establishing the first school of medicine in the hospital of Abu-Zabal near Heliopolis (A.D. 1825). A year later this was transferred to its present site at Qasru' l-Ayni. The first medical mission, consisting of twelve medical students, interested in post-graduate study, left for Paris in 1832 accompanied by Clot Bey. After a sojourn of eight years and nine months in Europe, they returned to Egypt and commenced the translation of Western medical literature into Arabic. In less than twenty years they had translated about twenty-six of the best known books on medicine. These early publications constituted the foundation of the latest revival in Arabic medicine up to the present time.

The situation in Syria at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not differ greatly in scientific, political, and social sense from that in Egypt. The necessity for higher institutions of learning in Syria at this time was strongly felt, and in this movement American Missionary agencies played an important part. The Catholic Missions were active, and their influence became widespread, but, while their contributions to the general progress of education were valuable, their influence on Arab literary revival was only slight. From the beginning, the American missionaries were fully recognized for their excellence of education.

The Syrian Protestant College, which later became the American University of Beirut, opened its doors in 1866 to sixteen students, and at first confined its courses to higher secondary education and medicine with the language of instruction in Arabic. The college grew steadily and its instruction extended until it reached full university status. The first president was the Rev. Daniel Bliss, D.D., who came to Beirut in 1856. He remained president until 1902, when he retired, and was succeeded by his son Howard Bliss. His daughter, Mary Bliss, succeeded her mother when she became the wife of Bayard Dodge, the third president.

Among those through whom the flow of Western culture was quickened in that land was young Dr. Cornelius Van Alen Van Dyck who came to Syria as a medical missionary. He soon became convinced of the supreme importance of liberal education, as an integral part of missionary work, and devoted himself chiefly to teaching and the organization of schools in different places. He studied Arabic and became a proficient translator of works into the Arabic language. Besides his translation of the Bible, which had been begun by Dr. Eli Smith, he wrote as well as published many textbooks, and books on scientific subjects. Because of his capable rendering of the Arabic language he was an invaluable teacher in the early days of the American University of Beirut. However, his influence reached beyond the university campus for his "Science Primers" became very popular with the public.

Van Dyck's greatest and most enduring service to the people of Syria lies in the impetus he helped to give to their intellectual and spiritual renaissance, by his daily conversation, teaching, and published writings. He played a similar role to that of Hunayn one thousand years earlier. He was able to bring many young men to a realization and appreciation of the value of natural knowledge, i.e. of the physical and natural sciences, and to a recognition of the intimate bearing of such knowledge on everyday life. He humanized knowledge and, although he laid no claim to originality in research, he brought into the country certain fundamental educational principles and certain vital types of knowledge in rehabilitated Arabic form.

In the last half century or more, Islam has greatly felt the impact of science, and various efforts have come into fruition in a manner which is gratifying to those who have labored so unselfishly. It has influenced the Muslim as an individual, and modified his socio-economic status in the community. It also has broken the political unity of Islam.

For the individual, it was a beginning toward the establishment of true science and a recognition of the critical acceptance of what the Muslim was practising in the tenets of his religion, by a realization of the fact that superstitious accessories, not essential to religion, had to be discarded. Some made an attempt to interpret Islam accord-

ing to its primary teaching, but they were confronted with the ignorance and prejudice of the people which to some extent thwarted their best endeavors. Illiteracy, widespread as it was, accentuated the difficulty of the task. But the ferment went on, helped by the intelligent Muslims of the world, and gradually many outworn customs, conventions and practices were thrown aside. Fortunately, leaders of the calibre of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Mohammed Abdou, both aware of the change in world ideas, gathered around them those loyal followers who furthered the task and introduced reforms in Al-Azhar University. Mohammed Abdou was rightly entitled the Luther of Islam. While the extent of the reforms varied in different parts of the Muslim world, they found greatest expression in Turkey, and to a lesser extent in other communities. No great revolution of thought and practices has developed but an awareness to return to true Islam.

In the socio-economic field there is a growing social conscience among Muslim women. We witness a modified status of women and changes in the customs of the veil, marriage, and divorce appear in varying degrees in different parts of the Islamic world, even to a complete annulment of the veil and, as in Turkey, to the adoption of the European civil laws, to replace the canon law of Islam [the Shari'ah]. Kasim Ameen, a lawyer by profession, who was educated in France, became acquainted with the current thought prevalent in Europe and distinguished himself by being the first champion of women's suffrage in the Islamic East. It was a daring and courageous move to pioneer, but the time was ripe and someone had to start. The status of women, as compared to Turkey, is somewhat modified in Syria and Egypt but there has been a definite advance toward emancipation. Women are enrolling in schools, in increasing numbers, as teachers, nurses, doctors, writers, etc. They are initiating women's clubs, doing social work, and beginning to occupy their rightful advanced place in the community.

The appalling poverty and widespread illiteracy are perhaps the greatest hindrances in planning for a better socio-economic status. There has, however, been a definite change in many sections in the feudal system of the lord, peasant, and slave relationship. The mechanization of agriculture in Turkey, with the financial help of American money, has given these people an important position in the world's grain market. Mechanization and improvement in agriculture is infinitesimal in most sections but with agricultural schools being established and the American University of Beirut taking an active part in an educational program, plus the Point Four program with its technical assistance, the future looks hopeful. Cotton is an important crop in many parts and industrialization is inevitable. In fact, small industry is sprouting in many communities and interest in specialized training is growing.

There is a slow but gradual progress in public health and sanitation programs. The public are being awakened to its needs and thinking in terms of welfare of the community, and realizing, for the first time, that something can be done to relieve their misery instead of accepting their fate as the will of Allah. They are asking their governments for reforms and this calls for leaders with honesty and vision, so that an orderly line may be followed rather than revolution.

The concept of Nationalism was introduced into the Islamic political unity. The Muslims had to give in to patriotism as a means of dealing with the expanding nationalism of the West and thus the traditional Pan-Islamic solidarity was replaced by Nationalism. This influence manifested itself in the republic of Turkey by deposing the Caliph and annulling Islam as a religion of State. Now that the Islamic World is free and in the process of true renaissance, at the threshold of a rebirth of civilization, let us hope it will be as glorious as the one it produced in the Middle Ages.

General discussion on Modern Science in the Communities of the Muslim World.

Various speakers attempted to distinguish between the traditional concepts of science and the dynamic, systematic application of the scientific method, which has challenged so many accepted beliefs in the past two centuries. It was pointed out that, although the content of science has been continuous, its method has been revolutionary, and this fact has been only generally recognized in Muslim lands in recent years. Although religious leaders have tended to be conservative, nevertheless, they have gradually acquiesced in a number of new developments, such as the abandonment of the veil, the use of banks, and limited acceptance of birth control. However,

the chief resistance to science and the scientific method springs more from ignorance, and the low level of a particular socio-economic unit than from primarily religious scruples. More and more learned religious men are acknowledging that science is man's heaven-sent means of understanding Allah's revelation and the wonders of his creation in the universe. One delegate stated that he felt confident that the findings of science would not abrogate the Qur'an, on which his faith stood.

It became clear that contemporary Muslims, like their forebears, are but mildly interested in the theological implications of scientific discoveries. This was attributed to the possibility that whereas in Christianity, theology was central, in Islam the emphasis was on social justice. It was also suggested that the result of the technological revolution in Europe, which has thus far most impressed the Islamic World, is the tremendous increase in physical power which this revolution has made possible. As Islam ultimately considers all power to derive from Allah, why, inquired Muhammad Iqbal in his "Shiawa," did the infidel Europeans become so much more powerful than the Muslims?

The true, eternal Islam, must not be confused with partial, temporal, human manifestations of Islam which cannot be perfect. One speaker indicated that, at this very moment, a Conference of Muslim scholars is meeting in Alexandria to consider the relation between science and religion. Their definition of science was that it was "something which seeks the truth in any realm of knowledge." Because science has transformed the physical world, men easily come to believe that it can accomplish everything, and so they forsake religion.

Science has changed the relationships between the will of man and the will of God, but science is the gift of Allah. What is the meaning of these changes?

Cannot Muslim and Christian thinkers cooperate to understand them?

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 9:30 A.M. AND 4:00 P.M.

Trends of Muslim Philosophy and Ways of Meeting Modern Ideas in the Islamic Communities

Summary of an introductory address on "The Philosophical Trends in Islam and the Attitude towards Modern Thoughts in Muslim Communities," by Dr. Mohammad el-Bahay, Professor of Islamic Philosophy in the University of al-Azhar.

In the Name of God the All-Compassionate, the Merciful.

1. INTRODUCTION. The 18th and 19th centuries were the scene for the movement of the Islamic thought, after it had been only turning in the circle of the past without any deviation. For it is known, in the history of Islamic thought and its trends, that the Moslem leaders and Imams used to follow one of the theological and jurisprudential schools, which had been founded in the first three centuries. They adhered to the teachings of this school and had to observe in their deductions the same principles that had been adopted by the founder of the school. Almost all the efforts of these followers were reduced to the explanation and commentation of their school's doctrines and rules, or to submit a new case to a general rule, by analogy to another precedent case, settled by that rule.

The Islamic thinking followed this course, until the age of Ibn El-Kayem and Ibn Taymieh (in the 14th century A.D.). From that time, thanks to these two great thinkers, the precedent dependence to one of the definitively established schools turned to (Election), and the Islamic thought began to take a new and different direction. For Election differs from Imitation of others' opinions and doctrines; and is contrary to the submission to the rules of one particular school. But it is based on (Criticism), and the product of this rational operation of criticism is

the elected part attributed to the (Critic) and constituting his contribution.

Ibn El-Kayem and Ibn Taymieh were, then, the two Moslem scholars who first employed rational criticism to reform Islamic thought, whether relative to the society and its guidance or to the Creator and the relations between Him and His creatures.

Their work is regarded as the commencement that prepared the way for the coming of new movements in Islamic thinking, or these movements are considered to be the development of their work.

Therefore, if we see in the Holy Koran the first stage in the Islamic guidance, the period of the formation of the theological and jurisprudential schools should be considered the second stage in this guidance, and the period of Imitation and dependence to these schools the third. Then we see in the age of Ibn El-Kayem and Ibn Taymieh the fourth stage and in the modern Islamic movements the fifth stage in this guidance, or the continuation, of the precedent one.

2. THE MODERN ISLAMIC TRENDS, THEIR FORMATION AND THEIR TENDENCY. In the 18th century appeared in the Negd the Wahhabi movement, with Mohammed Ibn Abdel Wahab as its leader.

In the 19th century appeared in Egypt the Salafieh movement, under the leadership of Gamalud-Din El-Afghani (died in 1897) and Mohammed Abdou (died in 1905).

In India appeared the school of Ahmed Khan (born in 1817). This school was afterward under the leadership of Mohammed Ikbal (died in 1938).

In Berka (Cyrenaica) arose the Senoussi Movement founded and developed by the great-grandfather of the king of Libya.

These movements and their like, which arose in the 18th and 19th centuries, in the Middle and Near East, are considered to be the modern trends of Islamic thought. All the later ideas and doctrines are regarded as the echo of these movements.

The historian who studied these movements and their evolution in this way, is forcibly inclined to relate the connection between them and the influence of Imperialism on the Moslem peoples in Asia and Africa.

The Salafieh Movement in Egypt: During the stay of Gamalud-Din El-Afghani, one of the founders of this movement in Egypt, all his speeches were consecrated to denounce the influence of British imperialism in Moslem countries.

He demonstrated that this imperialism produced dangerous effects in every important side of the Islamic life, and was harmful especially to the spiritual and intellectual life as well as to the economical and social organization. The remedy he prescribed to Moslems was to cling to their religious teachings and to Jihad in particular, which means the struggle for the protection of their faith and their integrity. His opinion was that Moslems must fight energetically and desperately against imperialism, in which he saw the source and cause of all weakness and corruption in the individual and social life of the Moslem countries in Asia and Africa.

Sheikh Mohammed Abdou striving for the same object determined by Gamalud-Din, which was the attack of imperialism, did not approve of the means advised by him to carry out this attack, i.e. a religious revolution under the banner of Jihad in the name of God. But he shared his other opinion, which declared that the sole remedy to relieve Moslems, from their state of humiliation, submission and backwardness in the path of progress and civilization, was to observe strictly the teachings of Islam, in every aspect of their life. And in this way Mohammed Abdou went still further than his predecessor Gamalud-Din.

He began by determining the Islam which must be observed by Moslems to save themselves. In his determination he found that it was not the Islam followed by Moslems of his time, or the conceptions of Moslem people in the later centuries. But the Islam as it had been believed and followed by the first Moslem generations. He argued that the later conceptions were stimulated by the circumstances and events of the epoch, and that such circumstances and events would not allow Moslems to see the exact meaning or have a clear image of the Islamic teachings. The authorities of that time were only Moslem in appearance, but the march of Moslem life was not in line with the Shari'ah or in conformity with its teachings.

After determining the true Islam, Mohammed Abdou realized that, the declaration of a religious revolution, to drive the occupant away from the Moslem countries, was more a question of emotion and momentary enthusiasm, than a real and determined resolution.

Therefore, he advised Moslems and their lead-

ers to use, once more, the system that had been employed by their ancestors in the constitution of the first Moslem community, and to form, educate and direct the Moslem people, with genuine Islamic conceptions, clearly and accurately explained and released from all the corrupted ideas that had been accumulated through centuries.

And to set a practical example of the determination of Islam, according to his opinion, and its purification from all strange and corrupted ideas, he compiled some theological books and explained some others in circulation. One of his compilations was his treaty on (Monotheism) and he published a commentary on the book (Bassair El-Nassirieh). He made also an attempt to interpret the Holy Koran, after a new method that was considered original in his time and was imitated afterwards by many other savants.

In addition, he created the schools called: (Islamic Benevolent Association Schools), in Egypt and at Beirut.

By the first and the second means, he proposed to prepare the way for the rational work in Islam and to set the germ for a practical method in the education and guidance of Moslem youth.

Thus was his line of action in all his activities, to try to make clear these two fundamental principles:

a) To attack Imitation (Taqlid) and to exhort researchers to free themselves from it, whenever they have the capacity to do so. This capacity may be acquired through scientific preparation, or be the product of special mental disposition. He went so far in his demonstration of the dangers of Imitation, as to say that Islam itself, as a religion, is not based on Taqlid. Here he declared that Ijtihad (free and independent research) is a rational necessity as well as a religious one.

b) To assure the liberty of man and his free will in his action, for it is contrary to the great esteem granted to him by God to make him absolutely dependent on others in his activities. Also the free and willing person is an active element in the construction of human productive society. He believed that Islam does not mean to create a paralysed society, but to build a living society full of energy and activities, striving for the general welfare of all mankind.

For this attitude, Mohammed Abdou was accused of heresy and apostasy by his rivals, in spite of the fact that he did not add any new idea to the work of Ibn El-Kayem, whose rational criticism, attributed to his predecessor Ibn Taymieh, led practically to the adoption of Ijtihad (free and independent research) and to the denouncement of Taqlid (Imitation), as well as to the implied acknowledgement of the liberty of man and his free will in his acts.

The Islamic Movement in India. The Islamic movement of India started from the same two principles as the Salafieh movement in Egypt: denouncement of Imitation and acknowledgement of the liberty of man and his free initiative, so that he will be responsible for all his acts.

Mohammed Ikbal, one of the leaders of this school is reported to have said: "I see in Moslems nothing, now, but blind imitation and selfish images. My soul shudders within me, for I fear the day will come, when we are deprived from the Holy Name of the Almighty God, to be put in the heart of other peoples."

And this is another passage attributed to him: "The man who does not possess a creative power (Allah said to the poet) is nothing in my eyes but an atheist and a blasphemer. He has no part in my love. He has not tasted the palm of life. O Man of God; be sharp as sword, be yourself the man who determines the march of the world in which he lives."

Therefore, this Indian Islamic movement, if based on these two principles, tends to the same objects as the Salafieh movement in Egypt, and is equally based on the work of Ibn Taymieh.

It is also believed that the Indian movement was influenced by the same factors that stimulated the similar movement in Egypt. These factors were nothing but imperialism and its mischievous influences.

The observers who examine the intellectual work of Mohammed Ikbal and his practical influence in India, find that it resembles that of Mohammed Abdou in Egypt. He gave the same definition to Islam and advised Moslems to return back to that Islam. He also attacked Imitation and warned of its evils. He denounced Fatalism and assured that the man is free in his activities. At the same time he established, in order to realize his objects, model schools to educate the Moslem youth. So he founded Aligarh High School in 1875, exactly as Sheikh Mohammed Abdou had created the Islamic Benevolent Association Schools in Egypt and at Beirut.

The Senoussi Movement at Berka (Cyrenaica). Though this movement has not assumed an

evident form, as the two precedent movements, it was based on the same foundation and strove for the same objects. But instead of model schools, the Senoussi movement had spiritual mystical schools, more open and more efficient in the realization of its objects, in the form of the Circles of Adherents (Halkat Mouridin), which have played and still play a great role in the guidance and direction of the movement's followers. Here also Italian imperialism may be considered as one of the principal factors in the development and great power of this movement.

3. THE ATTITUDE OF THESE MOVEMENTS TOWARD MODERN THOUGHTS IN MOSLEM SOCIETIES. Besides the determination of Islam, the reform and purification of its teachings and the acknowledgement of the two principles on which they are based, i.e. the Ijtihad and the liberty of man and his free initiative, these movements gave their attention to the relations between the Moslem countries and the other countries, especially the Christian world.

At the same time that Sheikh Mohammed Abdou attacked Western Imperialism he distinguished between this imperialism and Christianity, and in exhorting Moslems to cling to their religion he disapproved Fanaticism against Non-Moslems. In the two points, he spoke with the authority of the Islamic teachings, which tend to the establishment of a Moslem Society, in harmony and co-operation with the other human societies.

His Fatwa, well known as the Transvalian Fatwa, allowing Moslems to eat the cattle slaughtered there, demonstrates to what extent Sheikh Mohammed Abdou desired co-operation and mutual assistance with Christian peoples and the rest of mankind. A great number of his speeches and activities were consecrated to preach this co-operation and to demonstrate that it is required of Moslems by the principles of their religion.

And Mohammed Ikbal of the Islamic Indian School declared that Jihad is but a momentary necessity. I think he emitted this opinion to prevent Moslems from thinking of Islam as a warlike and aggressive religion, and to affirm the spirit of peace and concord with others.

He went still further in that way and he declared that the antagonism between Moslems and Christians is the result of Christian misinterpretation of their Gospel.

There is also the attitude of these movements towards modern scientific discoveries and the human contemporary civilizations. Sheikh Mohammed Abdou showed that Islam agrees with reason and with accurate scientific experiments. Thus he allied the knowledge so acquired with the teachings of Islam. He added that Islam means the organization of the human life in all its aspects, and organizes the private life of the individual and his relations with others in the society.

As for the attitude of Islam towards the contemporary political and social doctrines, it must be determined with the criteria set by Islam for the individual and social life. The doctrines which are in contradiction with any one of these criterions are rejected and severely attacked by Islam, while those which are in concordance with its genuine teachings are openly welcomed.

Therefore, the materialist and atheist doctrines and those tending to the disintegration of the family or to the destruction of the human community are condemned by Islam. And the other doctrines that accept consultation and discussion and strive for the establishment of free societies, released from blind Imitation are approved and advised by it.

Since Ijtihad was regarded by Mohammed Abdou and Ikbal as a religious and human necessity, the prohibition of criticism and of the declaration of one's opinion in the political affairs of the society, must be considered contrary to Islam and disapproved by it. Also the restrictions imposed on the spiritual activities and restraining of human good feelings—like benevolence and assistance—in the individual and in the society, are condemned by Islam.

Therefore, the attitude of Islamic philosophical trends, as they have been definitely fixed in our time, towards modern thoughts and industrial civilization may be summed up as follows:

What helps to form the free individual and the perfect human society and to elevate the condition of humanity is approved and advised by Islam.

While, the other thoughts and systems that bring evil and sorrow and create a state of intellectual confusion and spiritual depression, or shake human faith in God, are severely attacked by this religion.

Summary of an address on "Al Ghazali—A Synthetic Thinker," by Dr. S. R. Shafaq of Teheran, Visiting Lecturer at Columbia University.

At the close of the first century A.H. (eighth century A.D.) a great religion, for the first time in history, began opening the doors of its intellectual centers, such as Baghdad and Damascus, to science and learning. This religion was Islam. Ancient and classical learning were sought out; Greek philosophy was translated; and very shortly universities were founded, which became the prototypes of the European universities. Free scientific and religious discussions were encouraged during the early Abbasi period in Baghdad.

According to western scholars like DeBoer, Arnold, Horten, Browne, and Nicholsen, although Islamic philosophers may not have contributed anything purely original to the teachings of their Greek predecessors, yet their work was valuable because it represents the first attempt to appropriate the results of Greek thinking "with greater comprehensiveness and freedom." (DeBoer)

Another aspect of Moslem philosophy as pointed out by Arnold and others is its eclectic and synthetic nature. There is evidence that the great philosophers, like Al Farabi, attempted to bridge the gap between Plato and Aristotle, for instance, and to synthesize Platonism and Neo-Platonism.

As far as mysticism is concerned surely Islamic mysticism has an aspect of its own, especially as expressed in Persian Literature.

On the whole the principle of synthesis in Islamic thinking, as has been utilized by men like Al Ghazali, may be considered fruitful from the point of view of the development of Islamic thought. May I be allowed to point this out briefly in connection with Al Ghazali?

Confronting the principal schools of thought in the Islamic world of his time, that is the eleventh century, he examined each with great scrutiny, and by using his synthetic ability he derived a wonderful harmony. The following are some of the phases of that harmony which may be mentioned.

(1) He was a master of theology and the principles of jurisprudence, but he did not believe that the subtleties of scholastic theology and theological dialectics were enough to solve the problems of faith. Dialectic disputes were, for him, defensive measures, but not persuasive. For him religion was more than dialectic.

(2) As a great Muslim leader he believed in the authority of the orthodox teachers of the faith, yet he earnestly rejected any blind imitation, urging unbiased and independent investigation on the part of every genuine seeker for the truth. Real knowledge is not to be acquired through mere study, or the slavish adoption of the views of others. Even philosophy, which lays the whole stress upon our rationalistic nature, cannot answer our ultimate questions. Genuine thinking plus spiritual experience and inner vision are required to raise us to the level of truth. In fact this kind of knowledge is like a light cast by Deity upon the heart of the sincere investigator.

(3) As a pious and self-disciplined Muslim he is against any indulgence in worldly pleasures, but only to the extent that such indulgence might cause us to neglect our spiritual life. To this extent, therefore, he denies asceticism and clearly considers the blessings of this material world compatible with the blessings of the spiritual world. In fact reality lies at the basis of both worlds and in his vision as agnostic the two worlds are the same; the one world being an external expression of the other, like a purely transparent glass which contains equally transparent wine, both merging indistinguishably into each other.

(4) Again recognizing fully the authority of the Holy Koran and Tradition, Al Ghazali does not reject the value of Analogy, Opinion, and Consensus on cardinal matters of religion. These are indispensable for the development of Islamic society in accordance with the needs of the time.

(5) This harmonizing effort, which emerges so conspicuously from Al Ghazali's teachings, is indeed the direct result of the inner life of the master himself. For him religion is spiritual experience. It is a matter of direct union with the external God through intuition rather than through mere ritual or dialectical proofs or disproofs. Faith, sincerity, and truthfulness should lie at the basis of any religious conviction.

(6) Such inner spiritual vision it is that provides for good deeds, useful works, and service. The really pious are those who have faith and good works.

(7) It goes without saying that preaching without good works is meaningless. Lamentable is the case of those who know and preach the tenets of religion but have not the genuine faith that glows in action. Those who preach and who do not act accordingly are like salt, which though meant to be used to prevent decay, is decayed itself.

In conclusion we may say that here is a great Islamic leader who knew not only how to reconcile different doctrines, but also, through his faith, life, and teachings, demonstrated that a religious life consists of real inner spiritual experience, together with sacrifice and good works progressively developing as dictated by the needs of the times.

Introductory address on "Trends of Muslim Thought in Pakistan," by Mazheruddin Siddiqi, Fellow of the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore, Pakistan.

The Muslim mind in Pakistan is at the present moment confused by the triangular conflict of Muslim authoritarianism, pseudo-scientific atheism and Communistic materialism, none of which seems to offer a satisfactory solution to the problems with which the country is faced. In the ultimate analysis this conflict works to the advantage of the Communist, because the other two rivals are spending themselves out in a barren conflict.

Muslim authoritarianism, while it pays lip-service to the democratic ideals of Islam, gives more weight to authority than Islam ever allowed it. Ideologically, it tends to emphasize the role of the theologian as the infallible interpreter of Islamic law. Politically, it stands for a system of democracy in which the average Muslim and the common man would have really no chance of making his influence felt in matters of vital importance to the community, because having once elected the leader of the community in a system of indirect election, he is debarred from exercising checks and restraints on him. The leader is elected for his life-time and can be removed from the office only by a most difficult process. Economically, this school supports the feudal order of society and allows no proprietary rights to tenants working on feudal estates.

In the religious issues of a controversial character and the domain of Islamic law this school accepts the "Hadith" (traditions of the Holy Prophet) as the final authority on which all doctrinal and legal interpretations should rest. Thus if there is a difference of opinion about the interpretation of a Qoranic verse, the matter has to be settled by recourse to a "Hadith" which deals with a cognate subject. This strengthens the position of the theologian against the average Muslim who can at best read and understand the Qoran in Arabic, but has not sufficient knowledge of the encyclopaediac Hadith literature to pronounce his verdict in the light of prophetic traditions. What is overlooked and disputed by the theologian is that the authenticity of the "Hadith" (prophetic tradition) is dubious. The traditions were collected and classified more than a century after the death of the prophet. Even so, the claim was never made on their behalf that they were verbatim records of the words and deeds of the prophet. On the other hand, the authenticity of the Qoran is recognized even by non-Muslim scholars, as the Qoran was written down under the direct supervision of Mohammed. To base the interpretation of the Qoran on the dubious authority of "Hadith" is to set up the prophetic traditions and not the Qoran as the final standard of judgment. This tends to invest the theologian with an aura of infallibility.

In the sphere of political organization, this school over-emphasizes the role of the "Imam" (leader of the community) and invests him with semi-autocratic powers. The principle of "Shura" is indeed recognized, namely, that the Imam or the leader is bound to consult the elected representatives of the people on all matters vital to the community. But at the same time it is claimed that the leader need not abide by the verdict of the majority of the elected representatives and is free to take his own decisions.

In the domain of legislation this school accepts the juristic view of Islam, namely, that all laws and injunctions laid down in the Qoran are final and eternally valid without regard to changes in socio-economic conditions. The evolutionary character of human society and the need of constant adjustment to new conditions is overlooked by the followers of this group. Actually the Qoran never claimed finality for its specific laws. Its claim was that it has perfected "Deen," namely, that theistic outlook on life and those basic moral values which should govern individual conduct and social legislation.

Against this school are pitted the pseudo-scientists and half-baked intellectuals who surreptitiously or openly advocate the gradual annihilation of religion. The main argument of these people is that religion is opposed to the scientific outlook; is a mass of superstitions, dogmas and supernatural doctrines which tend to belittle the power of reason and make man so otherworldly minded that he loses his capacity for a realistic approach to the problems of life and falls into blind obedience to authority. The

trouble with these people is that they know nothing of religion in general and Islam in particular, except a few of their superficial aspects and corrupt forms. Their knowledge of Muslim history does not extend beyond a few nursery tales or garbled versions set forth by interested propagandists.

Historically the evidence is irrefutable that Islam made the Arabs more and not less realistic. It liberated them from innumerable superstitions and taught them to think rationally about the problems of life. The Qoran is full of appeals to reason and protests against the uncritical acceptance of beliefs and traditions. The Prophet of Islam always refused to adduce supernatural sanctions for his teachings. Many times, when pressed for miracles, he pointed to the phenomena of nature as themselves constituting miracles. Early Islam was noted for its liberal, rationalistic and tolerant teachings and for its progressive reinterpretation of legislative principles in the light of fresh socio-economic changes. The charge against Islam has never been that it was too otherworldly; rather the reverse, that it made its followers too materialistic.

It is true that after the break-up of the Muslim empire into independent kingdoms, the progressive trends of Islam were smothered under the dead-weight of authority and reliance came to be placed more and more on tradition than reason. Legislation became crystallized into a rigid code and the need for readjustment to changed social and economic conditions was overlooked. After four famous schools of Muslim jurisprudence which arose in response to the expansion of Islam beyond the Arabian borders and the need of accommodating new peoples and cultures in the Islamic polity, there was no further development in the domain of jurisprudence and any fresh interpretation of legislative decisions or principles came to be looked upon as a heresy. The theologian and the mufti invested themselves with a semi-priestly authority and the scope for the exercise of individual reason was severely restricted.

But all this was a movement away from the original teachings of Islam, and organized protests against authoritarian tendencies were never lacking. The schools of Sir Sayyad in India and of Muhammad Abduh in Egypt are cases in point. These movements did not succeed because the Muslim masses remained uneducated and looked to the theologian for guidance on all religious matters. As education becomes more general and the average Muslim gets direct access to the sources of his religion, the theologian will progressively lose his importance. Another fact to be noted is that the theologian in Muslim society is at least an individual, with a following great or small. He does not represent a formally organized church. He enjoys no official status and has no extra-spiritual force to back up his authority or coerce into submission those who disagree with him. Every Muslim is free to accept or reject him without the fear of social resentment or physical punishment. The theologian, therefore, does not provoke the more free-minded Muslim to revolt against religion as such or go to the extremes forced upon the liberal Christians by the medieval church authority. In the Western world the church was so well-organized and powerful that it developed into a form of state control with power over the conscience, pocket and even the life of the individual Christian. The religious class in Europe was able to exercise a censorship on knowledge and rational thought which sometimes developed into active persecution of science and learning. This naturally produced in the western mind a revulsion against the very concept of religion. The traditional hatred and conflict between science and religion in Europe has its roots deep in history and western science has not been able to shake off its prejudices against religion. The scientist in Europe is scientific in everything except in his attitude to religion. In the Muslim world even the most reactionary theologian cannot dream of coercing people to his authority. He, therefore, does not produce the same revulsion against religion as his counterpart in the West did in medieval times. The few pseudo-scientists in Pakistan who speak in borrowed terms do not inspire the educated class with much respect for their learning. They have not even tried to develop any system of atheism or agnosticism which may pretend to be scientific.

On the other hand, Communistic atheism is a much more scientific and rational system of thought. What is more, it has a power of inspiration which pure rationalism does not have. It is a faith as well as a science, a social gospel as well as a metaphysical system. It is the only real substitute for religious faith which the champions of science and technology are seeking to undermine in Pakistan. There is nothing surprising, therefore, in the Muslim mind turning towards

Communism when Islam is ridiculed as an outmoded conception or reduced to a set of metaphysical beliefs having little to do with the concrete life of the people in the socio-economic field. It is generally overlooked by the pseudo-scientists and technologists in Pakistan, that the Islamic idea has a reference not only to the past but to the future. It is the socio-economic significance of Islam that makes it a standing barrier against Communism. The Muslim masses are attached to the Islamic idea, just because it offers them the promise of social and economic equality and freedom of expression. Every Muslim, however illiterate and superstitious he may be, knows that Zakat was an essential part of Islam and that the individual under the early Islamic state enjoyed a measure of economic security and freedom from the threat of starvation that is denied to him under the present set-up. He further knows very well that the early Islamic state gave full liberty of speech and democratic freedom of action to the individual. How can he believe, then, that the Islamic state will not be more progressive in these respects? It is true that the average Muslim has no idea of the complexities of the modern world. He does not realize that social and political institutions of the past cannot be revived in their original form without suffering radical modifications. He is, therefore, easily captured by the revivalists and reactionary theologians. Yet the instinctive bases of his belief and loyalty are sound. Only his intellectual formulations suffer from the defect of narrow-mindedness.

A more liberal reinterpretation of Islamic doctrines and socio-economic theories, accompanied by the re-education of the conservative religious classes is the only solution. If any attempt is made to deny the socio-economic content of Islamic teachings, Communism is sure to rush into the vacuum that would be created. For, as I have pointed out, Communism offers both the emotional satisfaction of religious faith and the promise of social and economic security. True, it lacks the democracy and tolerance of the Islamic faith, but the average Muslim is economically so hard-pressed and suffers from so many forms of social indignity, that he can easily sacrifice some features of democracy which do not seem to bring him any tangible benefit in the immediate future. In the Islamic world the choice is not between Communism and secular democracy but between Communism and liberal Islam, because Islam is already a secular religion with a pragmatic approach to life. It accepts the principle of progressive adjustment to social needs and tolerates the most divergent views and modes of life.

Some of the discriminatory aspects of Islamic institutions arose from particular socio-historical conditions and can be eliminated at this stage of historical development. Such elimination far from doing injury to the Islamic structure of society, would actually be a fulfilment and realization of the Islamic ideal of human unity. I refer here to two institutions which have come in for much criticism, namely, the exclusion of non-Muslims from the highest councils of the state and the institution of Jizya. In regard to the first, I must say that nowhere within the whole range of Islamic teachings, authority can be found for the kind of exclusion advocated by our conservative theologians. If it is based on the historical fact that non-Muslims do not figure as ministers and high officials in early Islam, the reply is that in a period of instability when the structure of Muslim society was yet in the process of making; it was considered inexpedient to admit people who did not agree with the basic ideology on which state and society had to be moulded. But this practical necessity cannot be elevated into a sacred theory. The Qoran contains no prohibition against obtaining the co-operation of non-Muslims at any level of state activity. On the other hand, it is clearly stated in some passages that those non-Muslims who do not fight against Islam or prevent the Muslims from the free exercise of their religion can enjoy the trust and confidence of Muslims.

As regards Jizya; it ought to be remembered that it was not an institution peculiar to early Islam, as it was borrowed in a modified form from Persia and Byzantium. In Persia, it was called "Gazit," in Byzantium it was known as "Triloulum solum." Both these states exercised discrimination in taxing certain classes of people among their subjects. Islam did away with class discrimination, but gave it a religious form. Even so, non-Muslims who joined the Muslim army were exempted from Jizya, because it was really a tax for exemption from military duties. The theory was that Muslim citizens of the state were under a religious and legal obligation to fight for the state, but non-Muslim citizens enjoyed perfect freedom and could not be compelled to perform military duties. But even apart from the military aspect of the matter, there are cases

where the Muslim state exempted non-Muslims from Jizya, if they objected to it. Christian tribes of Banu Taghlib obtained such exemption from Omar, the Second, successor of the Holy Prophet.

Thus Islam contains within itself principles of its own liberalisation. It is only a question of progressive interpretation and application of Islamic principles. Leaving aside a microscopic minority of Muslims in Pakistan, who do not believe in the applicability of Islamic principles to modern life, all the most enlightened and progressive Muslims are agreed that Pakistan need not go outside the framework of Islam to mould its socio-political structure. The greatest danger to the stability of Pakistan comes neither from reactionary theologians, nor from the Communists who can offer nothing better to a Muslim, but from those who without any knowledge of the deeper aspects of Islam and of the modern western civilization are trying to create a spiritual vacuum in our life that would safely let in Communism.

Summary of an address on "Trends of Muslim Philosophy and Ways of Meeting Modern Ideas" by Dr. Mahmoud F. Hoballah, Director of the Islamic Center in Washington.

(As the complete address of Dr. Hoballah is to be printed both in Arabic and English, only a summary is given in this volume.)

"It is He who has sent amongst the unlettered an apostle from among themselves to rehearse to them His signs, to purify them, and to instruct them in book and wisdom." (Jumu'a—2.)

"Verily never will God change that which concerns any people until they change themselves." (Ra'ad—71.)

From the above and similar verses in the Holy Koran we get a clear conception of some of the most fundamental principles of Islam which are relevant to our subject today; that is—free inquiry, free will and human responsibility, all of which are the basic elements of human progress.

In the Holy Koran it has been made clear that reason and faith do not and ought not conflict with one another. As conceived by Islam, religion is a way of life that should enable every individual to attain the highest possible development of his spiritual, moral, physical, and intellectual faculties. Its function is to establish harmonious relationships between man and his Maker, and between man and man. Accordingly, the regulation of all aspects of man's life in accordance with the principles prescribed by religion is continuous worship of God. Every moment which the scientist spends at his laboratory, every act of contemplation, every movement for the sake of humanity is an aspect of worship.

As a matter of fact rational knowledge is made the primary condition of faith. He who believes without understanding is no better than the unbelievers. The real belief is the one which springs from choice and free will, and not that which is enforced, inherited or merely accepted as authority. Islam is here revolutionary. Again and again the Holy Koran denounces the belief of those who do not think and understand. It announces that belief on authority, without reason and inner guidance, is a characteristic of the godless, and that one becomes a believer only when he grasps his religion with reason, so that he becomes freely and fully convinced. Intellectual progress, scientific enquiries and developments are in no way antagonistic to belief in Islam.

Science is concerned with the discovery of knowledge through man's physical senses, while religion in its primary attempts to develop man's instinctive, emotional and intellectual natures does not overlook the other side of man, his physical senses and powers.

Some readers of the Holy Koran may be apt to believe that free human agency is denied. For while it speaks about human responsibility as based upon man's freedom of will and thought, it also speaks about Divine Will and announces that it not only orders all things but also acts directly upon men. But when we read the Holy Koran as a whole we realize that such alleged inconsistency is only apparent and that human agency is the rule and is emphatically asserted.

This natural world of ours is a world of sequels —of antecedents and precedents, of causes and effects. It is governed by the law of nature, which means that whenever a thing exists, its existence is the inevitable cause of that which is to follow. But the passages which refer to man and indicate the idea of divine agency upon human will must be explained by other passages, in which that agency is preceded by and conditioned upon human will.

One of the passages of the Koran with which we opened our discourse is a typical example. It reads that God does not change the condition of any people until they themselves act. The agency

of God is here preceded by human agency, but the passage afterwards reads: "—and when God wills a people's punishment there can be no turning back, nor will they find beside Him any to protect."

This last part of the passage does not in any way contradict the first. As a whole it reads: when people change their conduct to the bad, their misfortunes will inevitably follow. Changes take place through man's free agency; other changes as a result of the first ones must inevitably follow.

Hereditary and natural sinfulness and the like are denied in Islam. It is our own conduct which will lead us to Paradise or Hell. "And that man shall have nothing but what he strives for and that his striving shall soon be seen, then shall he be rewarded for it with the fullest reward." (An-Najm, 39-41.) "Every soul is held in pledge for what it earns." (Al-Mudassir, 38.)

The part of God is knowledge, not interference. He knows the courses which each individual will take, as he knows the processes of nature. He knows, therefore, whether I am going to choose the bad or the good. He knows but does not interfere. Man has been endowed with senses. "Have we not made for him a pair of eyes, and a tongue, and a pair of lips, and shown him the two paths?" (Al-Balad, 8-10). Beyond that man is left to his own discretion and choice, to formulate his own destiny. But the assistance of God is ever present to those who seek it; for He helps those who are willing to help themselves.

I wish to be permitted to cast a brief glance on the early period, so as to see how the early Moslems looked upon the problem under discussion. Recognizing man's moral responsibility as being based upon the liberty of human volition, the early Moslems made their discoveries in scientific and other fields, implanted the germs of all aspects of our present civilization and left their vestige apparent in all branches of human activity.

The mere fact that theological discussions were introduced at that period is a good indication of the fact that the early Moslems did not think that rational contemplation and intellectual enquiry were condemned by Islam or that man was not free to formulate his own judgments upon all such questions.

The fatalistic attitude made its first appearance only during the Omayyade period, when a group of people at Damascus advocated extreme predeterminism. Although the theory suited the ruling class and had its attraction for those who possessed indolent natures, it was vigorously attacked by the learned and received no general acceptance. It occasioned another extreme theory, which advocated man's unconditional freedom to act without any limitation whatsoever.

Gradually two schools of theology emerged from these two extremes:—the Mu'tazilade and Ash'arade Schools. In many theological aspects these two schools differed widely. They differed in their explanation as to how man is free, but they agreed that man is a free agent, responsible for his own actions. They denied the validity of astrology as a science determining the future and of fortune-telling and omens. They were rational thinkers believing that there is nothing which binds man, except the dictates of his reason and the general principles determined by the Koran.

This rational trend of thought occasioned among scholars a new notion foreign to that period—namely to write objectively about what we call nowadays comparative religion.

The jurists also applied the same principles. It will suffice to mention a few examples. "Judgments change with the change of time." "When the rule is hard to apply, it has to be simplified." "What is needed is to be considered as what is necessary." "Individual suffering is to be tolerated in avoiding collective suffering." "The strength of the proofs, rather than their multiplicity, is the criterion of their acceptance." "Prima facie evidence may be accepted in the absence of any concrete evidence."

We must remember that apart from the ritual aspects of Islam and some few other matters, the Koran deals with laws regulating social conduct in general and abstract terms. The Tradition deals with a few limited cases, but other cases bound to occur are left to the sagacity of man, to solve in accordance with the general principles determined by the Koran. When a new condition arose the question to be asked,—how would the Prophet have acted in this case? Generally speaking, there was no difficulty in accepting the supposition that the Prophet would have admitted the reasonable and just solution, so long as it did not violate the Islamic principles of justice and equality. In this manner all jurists of that period appealed to their own opinion, but in different degrees.

The number of rational thinkers became so great that it was feared it might lead to confusion.

So Abu-Ja'far al-Mansour, of the Abbaside Dynasty in the 8th Century, asked Malik to write his book, "al-Muatta" as a standard text to be enforced upon all people, so as to avoid fear of confusion. But despite the fact that Malik compiled the book, he declined to have it enforced, for he said "that is an attribute peculiar to the Koran and the Sunnah alone." No man's work is ever binding over another, unless it is rational.

The rational movement was unbroken for five centuries. These first five centuries were the Golden Age of Islam. They were followed by another five centuries of political division and internal disunity; and the last four centuries have seen the political weakness of the Moslem World. How, therefore, can any progressive movement be developed in an atmosphere politically divided and later subjugated by foreigners? These two things can account for stagnation. Yet I must confess that there was another internal element, for we read that this or that science was forbidden or only allowed to persons with certain standards of intellectual development.

Different writers have thought of different reasons for the stagnation in the Moslem World. The lawyers were authoritarian, the ruling classes benefited by fatalistic beliefs, and there were the Sufis and political divisions. One of the things which produced the stagnant attitude of mind was the fact that many individuals and communities were accustomed to attributing to their rulers certain divine qualifications and accepted Islam without being able to rid themselves of that deep-rooted conviction. This was encouraged by the rulers themselves and by the self-interested writers, whom they paid. It was these outside causes, rather than the basic principles of Islam, which were responsible for the lack of progress in the Moslem World.

To me, therefore, the problem is not how to introduce scientific and rational elements to Islam and to make them compatible with it, but rather how to educate the students and the masses, so as to make them understand the religion of Islam in its true perspective, as a force to stimulate the intellect. It is not a question of how to re-interpret Islam, so as to make it compatible with modern movements, but how fully to grasp and understand Islam as it was understood during the Golden Period of Moslem history.

It is a matter of education and nothing more, for—allow me to repeat—all that is objectively true, all that is objectively rational, all that is objectively needed to help further human progress, is Islamic and is made obligatory for all who are capable, to seek to realize for mankind these objective truths.

Summary of an introductory address on "Modern Thought in Islam," by Dr. Fazlur Rahman, Lecturer in Persian Studies and Islamic Philosophy at Durham University in England.

The beginnings of a strong feeling of uneasiness about the theological, sociological and, indeed, political situation of Islam, resulting in self-criticism and suggestions for positive re-construction, even if to a comparatively narrow extent, arose from within Islam before it came into contact with the West. Not sufficient emphasis, I think, has been laid on treatments of Muslim Modernism with this background and on the authors who gave important impulses to stir up the dormant soul of Islam. The first great figure in this connection is Ibn Taimiya who in the 14th century rebelled against the authority of the Schools of Law claiming Ijtihad for himself, violently criticised Sufism and demanded a direct recourse to the Quran and the Sunna, which he declared to be in absolute accord with reason, although he bitterly attacked also the classical philosophers of Islam. The puritanical teachings of Ibn Taimiya and his school provoked the Wahhabi movement in the 18th and 19th centuries. In India in the 17th and 18th centuries arose an orthodox reformationist movement. Shiakh Aḥmad of Sirhind in the 17th century set himself the task of reforming Sufism and bringing it nearer to Orthodoxy. A very interesting personality in Indian Islam is Shah Wali Allah of Delhi who, in the 18th century, claimed to be the trustee of a special divine mission to effect the religious unification of Islam. Wali Allah struck out quite a new line in that, for a religious reconstruction, he started from sociologico-economic considerations. According to him the goal of man is an approach to God (iḳtiral) but in order to achieve this a society is needed with a secure material foundation (istafaḳ).

After these and other internal stirrings, Islam came into contact with the West. Vast and momentous as the problems were, both theoretical and practical, which this impact raised for the Muslims, they were further accentuated by the psychological disadvantages arising from the po-

litical and economic weakness of the Muslim Community. The writings of the early Muslim Modernist thinkers are pervaded by an apologetic tendency, even if their main purpose was to bring about internal reform. Thus we find Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898) rationalising, under the influence of Western ideas, the entire range of Muslim belief and practice. Convinced that Islam is in absolute accord with the demands of reason and the findings of science, he rejects such beliefs and practices as he cannot justify as un-Islamic and lays their responsibility on the misinterpretation of Islam by Medieval doctors. He is led to reject the authority not only of the traditional schools of law, but also generally of the Hadith. His ideas are embodied in his essays and lectures and an Urdu Commentary of the Koran. Sayyid Amir ʿAli, an eminent Muslim Shiʿite Jurist of the 19th Century, was another great champion of the rationalist movement in Indian Islam. It is a remarkable and, I think, significant characteristic of Muslim Modernists that they constantly appeal to some authority or school of classical Islam and their appeals, though often romantic, are not always entirely so and are certainly, in most cases, sincerely meant. Thus Amir ʿAli indeed describes himself as a Neo-Muʿtazilite and a defender of rational values in Modern Islam, just as the Muʿtazila had been in Medieval Islam. According to him, Islam is not only in accord with the modern age, it imperatively demands progress and scientific culture. This belief was later given philosophical bases by Sir Muhammad Ikbal.

It must be said about these modernists that it is their spirit of progress and advance rather than the actual contents of their teachings that has influenced subsequent developments of Islamic thought. A modernist movement rooted more firmly in the Muslim Orthodoxy was that generated by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and his disciple, Muhammad ʿAbduh. It seems that Afghani's chief influence was due to his spirit, conviction and personality, rather than to his intellectual calibre. It was ʿAbduh and his pupil Rashid Rida, who attempted a detailed restatement of Islamic theology in order to adapt it to the requirements of the modern age. This was done in lectures, in a Koran-Commentary and in the journal "Al-Manar." Since the emphasis of the ʿAbduh school was more on the practical side of Islam than on the speculative, the legal, social and political issues are most prominent in its works. Appealing to Ibn Taimiya and his school, it rejects the authority of the Medieval schools, criticises Sufism and shows obvious leanings towards Wahhabism.

Strictly speaking the first philosopher of modern Islam is Sir Muhammad Ikbal (d. 1938), who strove to give a metaphysical basis to his interpretation of Islam. This he did in his powerful poetry but more systematically in his "Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam." He drew inspiration from Sufi poets for his "philosophy of action" and formulated it in terms of Nietzschean and Bergsonian thought, also drawing heavily on the philosophy of modern science and especially the metaphysics of modern atomism. But he constantly quotes and refers to classical authorities and his atomistic philosophy is indeed professedly a re-statement of the atomism of Kalan.

A contemporary movement in Pakistan is that led by Abul Aʿla Mandudi whose central theme is a demand for a theocratic state of Pakistan and rejection of Western democracy. His work, consisting of certain treatises on various social and religious topics and a journal called "Tarjaman-ul-Qur'an," offers the appearance of logical rigour but, to my mind, suffers from certain basic fallacies and has so far been mainly negative.

So far as philosophical problems go, Western thought is permeating into the Muslim World as indeed it did in Medieval times from Greece. One example is the predominance of interest in the causal and scientific determinism and its refutation, instead of the older theistic determinism, in discussions of free-will, even in certain orthodox circles. It is, however, a fact that the Ulema, by and large, are still a long way from realizing the full need for a re-adjustment with the new problems, although those who think that Islam is a fixed plenum, which cannot admit anything new, are decreasing in number. The free modernists too, who divest Islam of all positive content and think of it best only as a motive force, are extremely few. A movement which is to succeed in Islam must regard Islam as a matrix of certain definite spiritual values within which future development must take place. But the actual course of such a development is not yet in sight.

Closing address, at the end of the period of meetings at Princeton, delivered by Hadji Agus Salim, Adviser to the Foreign Minister of

Indonesia and formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chairman, Honorable gathering.

Though our time is very limited you must allow me to say a few words to express my sincere and profound gratitude for the privilege, bestowed on me through the kind invitation of the organizers to attend this Colloquium, that has proved to be to me a wonderful experience. Not only is it the first of its kind, but it appears to me, that the organizers have with the guidance and the help of God, touched upon the right way to enable representatives of all Islamic peoples to get together for a discussion of terribly important points concerning their present and their future, in a sphere that is most favorable for a dispassionate and academic treatment of the points which are brought up. I therefore hope that some way will be found to assure a continuation of the endeavour to insure the possibility of periodical colloquiums of this kind, with more and more active participation of the Islamic countries, but at the same time with growing participation too of orientalists from outside the Islamic countries, interested in the study of Islam and Moslems.

With the time still at our disposal it is not my purpose to have the point brought under discussion, but I trust that this same idea has occurred to other members of the Colloquium, and that God willing, it will find a way of growing into action.

In the second place, Mr. Chairman, I must apologize to you and the honorable gathering, that I do not stick to the agenda as indicated in our program other than only in a roundabout way. I can but sincerely avow, that I am not enough prepared to enlarge upon the trends of Islamic philosophy to this gathering of illustrious scholars of Islam, lawyers and judges as well as theologians: "udaba," "ulama" and "fugaha." Therefore I will make only a few remarks on the subject.

For one thing, I think that the ancient Greeks had one great advantage over us with regard to philosophy. In the first place the word had for them no exotic twang and was not associated with some specific discipline. It had a very definite meaning, which was the love of knowledge, to know the sense and the purpose of this wonderful creation and the place of man in it and his task in life, if any. Therefore intelligence, the instrument of thinking and understanding, gained with them priority over the substance; the idea, priority over the matter. This has lead them to concede to human intelligence a lofty place, and to conceive of a super-intelligence at the source and in control of the material universe, so amazingly organized and coordinated in all its parts.

In the second place they had no need of *a* philosophy to justify any prevailing ideology or any adopted way of life, which their community had grown into. These things were in a fluctuating, growing condition in their time, and gave room to the most different trends, while their life went on to follow its fate and doom; while in the meantime they built up a richness of heritage by which the world, western and eastern, was to profit so much in the further course of history.

The part played by the early Moslems in preserving that heritage from utter loss is well known and is given due credit by all sincere servants of knowledge and science. I hope you will let this much, or rather this very little suffice as my contribution to this subject and allow me to proceed with that, which is most on my heart to lay down before this illustrious gathering.

Most of the Islamic countries which enjoy independence and sovereignty, have only recently come into recognized possession thereof, though most of even these have still to cope with the interference or encroachment of foreign powers. Perhaps next to Turkey only Iran and Afghanistan have preserved their independence through the 19th Century, but their existence at the side of the growing empires of the West has been very often a very difficult one, and they too have had to feel the heavy hand of western power in international relations, and even in their internal affairs.

Another good part of the Islamic World is even now still living in subjected conditions under western colonization.

This prevailing condition puts many difficult and complicated problems before the independent and sovereign Islamic countries. It is true, that theoretically we have been accorded equal status with all other independent and sovereign states in the international family of nations. But this recognition means to us often more a liability than an asset. It puts on us commitments and obligations, which are very difficult for us to meet or fulfil in a time, that we really need all our efforts and attention for our internal affairs. After all, the three years which Indonesia has

got, since it first was allowed access to the ranks of the fully independent and sovereign nations, the six years for Pakistan, are not much to make up for the three and four centuries we have lived under colonial conditions, with very little preparation for our independence, which means the full responsibility of the management of all our own affairs, internal as well as external.

At the same time we know that the international world, and especially the western, Christian world are looking on with great misgivings about what is going to happen in our countries. Next and not less than the prevailing fear of our falling into the power of the Communists, or more explicitly of Soviet Russia—which fear seems to be pervading the whole western world with regard to the whole non-western world, and most so in the United States, our host—is the other fear of the rise of theocracy in the Islamic countries, with the accompanying risk of a pan-Islamism, reviving the Djihad, the holy war against all unbelievers.

Some explanation and clarification of this point has been given in the course of this Colloquium. But I think it is useful to say explicitly, that the wars of expansion of the Muslim dominion into Andalusia in the West, and to the ramparts of Vienna, to the heart of Asia in the East and India in the South East, were political rather than religious wars; and still less holy wars or Djihad. On the other hand the ten crusades launched by the Roman Church, including the Children's Crusade, could not be characterized otherwise than as "Holy Wars" ensuring undying fame for the glorious leaders and heavenly reward for all who gave their lives, next to worldly recognition and recompense for those who were lucky enough to come home afterwards.

If a Djihad has been fought in these latter days, the struggles of those, who were on the warpath to rid their country of foreign domination, are the most entitled to be considered as Djihad.

But if on the one hand we assure the West, that we are not going to grow into a peril for the western world, a "brown peril" like the earlier "yellow" and the present "red" peril, which is only a negative statement, on the other hand it is of the uttermost importance for us to get clear ourselves about what we are doing and intend to do in our countries, to adapt to the present pattern of the world and to promote our further progress alongside the progress of the world.

What is our answer to the question whether or not we are aiming at a theocratic government or rule of our countries? The answer is that the world of Islam has not produced a theocratic government or rule at any time of its history. Not even in the time of the prophet Mohammad himself (Slm). Never has the Muslim known a God-anointed prince or priest, deputizing for God on earth, and in token thereof wearing the crown of royalty by the Grace of God. The original meaning of it has never been so clear to me, as when I attended a religious ceremony of the crowning and anointment of a sovereign, where in the sanctuary of the chapel a sovereign was given in a religious ceremony, the Bible, the sword of state and the sword of justice, the crown and the sceptre and in the end the orb with the cross on top, in token that the whole world must be brought under the Christ. All that under the solemnity of a religious service.

But, on the other hand, we maintain that religion is a grace and a blessing, a priceless gift of the Almighty God to mankind for their well-being, giving a sense and a purpose to their life. And therefore we do not agree to exclude religion from the affairs of state, but on the contrary have decided to consider religion as one of the primary constitutional rights of all inhabitants.

But though in Indonesia we are a people of over 90% and in any case not less than 85% Muslims, we have not declared any specific religion as a state-religion. We have, however, put monotheism as the first and foremost of the five principles—the pantjasila—on which we have based our independence.

I am sure this was not just accidental, and has not been done to avoid or evade controversy. As I understand it, Islam is not a denomination of a specific religion.

Before I proceed any further, allow me to make a statement, that I regret to have omitted at the start. This namely that I am standing here solely in a private capacity, by the honor done to me through the invitation of the organizers of this Colloquium. That whatever I have said and will say further on is my responsibility alone as I am not here representing my government or acting as a delegate or deputy of any party, organization or corporation; not even of any specific community, sect or school of thought. I wish to make this perfectly clear; though on the other hand I am aware that I am not alone in

and not even the originator of much, that I am going to propound.

Now then, as I understand it, Islam is not a denomination of a specific religion. Islam, as the Qur'an puts it is the sense even the essence of religion, that teaches belief in the one and only God, originator, organizer, ruler of all the universe, through the power of His will, and the ultimate judge. For all believers in anyone of the revealed religions, Islam means for everyone of them individually the duty to preserve and protect himself, and all creatures from harm, from wrong and from evil, where possible by the force of his hand, the power of his word, or the moral force of his mind. With regard to God, Islam means resignation and submission in the assured belief of God's justice and wisdom: "whose everlasting purposes embrace all accidents converting them to good."

For the Muslim the Qur'an as explicated and clarified by the teachings of the prophet Mohammad (Slm), is God's ultimate covenant with man, after all those, which have come before.

It has come as a confirmation of the earlier revelations and as a check to the unadulterated purity to every one of them, with the admonition to the followers of those books, that it is their own interest, an interest of life and death, that they make absolutely sure, that they do get the real teachings of the Master they profess to follow. The warning that those who do not follow in the regulation of their affairs the precepts that God had revealed are unbelievers, unjust or losers, is repeated thrice in the Qur'an: first addressed to the followers of the Tora, then to the followers of the Gospel and next to the followers of the Qur'an.

It is, in my conviction, rather this message that the Muslims have to carry out to all religious people of the world, leaving the conversion to God Himself, who is the only one to decide which religion anyone will be given to follow.

But now getting back to the countries of the Muslims themselves, what is our next task?

In the consecutive sessions of this Colloquium we have heard that the religion of the Qur'an has all the answers. But the question is, how are we going to make them work? Coming to this we have to keep in mind, that every Islamic country has got its specific background, and in many cases they are very different indeed. We have most of us, God be praised, preserved our religion, through the ages that we have been submitted to foreign and often enough alien rule, with a fundamentally different outlook on life and religion than we have. This has had great influence of the development of legislation; specially in Indonesia, where the Shari'at has been confined only to matters of marriage and heritage, while on the other hand much of our own inherent customary law has been left in force.

In the course of the last fifty years, in which the freedom movement has grown, with very great participation based on the teachings of Islam in its Qur'anic version, the influence of religion has grown and in our final struggle for independence the religious communities have taken a very prominent part as such.

But as in other Islamic countries the teachings of Islam have been but very elementary for the rank and file of the people, who nevertheless in their daily life adhere to the teachings according to their lights.

Thus we have in Indonesia on the one hand preserved our Islamic religion, with a growing tendency to serious study among a growing class of intellectuals; and a people fervently attached to that religion. We are therefore in a majority, or at least in a very great plurality for the maintenance of the "law," and the "din" as the fundamental bases of a legislation adapted to the needs of evergrowing progress, always adhering to the precepts of God. We understand, however, that a wider and deeper education in religion amongst the people is surely the most important task for which the leaders of Islamic science and education will have to exert themselves to the utmost. And then I mean specially a popular education adapted to the understanding of children and adolescents and of adults who have not had the profit of earlier education.

On the other hand our "ulama" and "udaba" and "fugaha" will have to develop more and more interest in the progress of science and technique throughout the world, as well as in the religions other than our own. So that we may come to more mutual understanding and find a way to coordinate our activities, to bring all the peoples of the world to the straight way of God's guidance, and may keep them out of the way of temptation and thereby deliver them, with God's help, from Daddjal the evil one. Thus while promoting true democracy, we may hope, again with the help of God, to make the world safe for peace and freedom.

General discussion on Trends of Muslim Philosophy and Ways of Meeting Modern Ideas in Islamic Communities.

The discussion indicated that, contrary to current views, medieval Islamic thought had developed entirely new concepts, such as those of prophethood, and revealed religion, which had been skilfully grafted onto the Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophical heritage on the one hand, and reconciled with Islam on the other. This is a gigantic intellectual achievement for which men like Ibn Sina and al-Farabi deserve lasting credit. Most European study of Islamic philosophy has either been too superficial and general, or else it has concentrated on minute details and drawn unwarranted generalizations on the basis of this research. It is most important to obtain a more thorough understanding of Muslim philosophical thought and its particular contributions. This can only be done after a great deal of detailed study, editing, analysis and synthesis of masses of virtually untouched material has taken place. This is an important research field for scholars in East and West.

When one approaches modern Islamic thought, or the presentation of classical Muslim philosophical thought in terms intelligible to the contemporary mind, there is little to offer. Students of all religions face the same difficulty in presenting these problems in ways attractive and meaningful to men today.

A plea was made for frank recognition that in earlier times, Islam condoned the persecution of Muslims for their ideas, but that now it is easier to discuss thoughts freely in a more tolerant atmosphere. The Wahhabis differ from other modern Islamic movements in rejecting "ijtihad." The exact position of Maulana Abu-al-Qalam Azad, the Indian Muslim scholar in regard to a secular state linked with individual Islam was mooted, but no clear exposition of his views was given. The attempt of the Muslim brotherhood to win youth to Islam and to rejuvenate society on Muslim bases was mentioned by one of their members as another example of a new Islamic movement successful in Egypt and neighboring countries.

Several members of the conference mentioned facts of interest about different localities.

The position of the social philosopher, Ziya Gokälp in Turkey was described as emphasizing modernism, Islamization, and Turkism, and his ideas were most important elements in Turkey's recent development. The role of mysticism in North Africa continues strong, but in Indo-Pakistan it is in decline because it stresses individual improvement and salvation, whereas modern preference is for social justice. This emphasis on the improvement of the community was cited as one of the benefits of Western ideas, and was likened to the emphasis on the group in early Islam. If the clash between science and religion has not become acute in Islam, it was suggested that Muslims might have to face the rise of strong naturalistic movements now potent in the West. It was asked—How are they preparing to meet these challenges, to harmonize theistic and naturalistic thought, the deductive and inductive methods of thought? Can they assist the West in similar endeavors?

While scholars theorize, in practice youth reject revelation or the Qur'an and succumb to materialism in many parts of the world. The Colloquium was reminded that materialism is based on bad science just as bigotry is based on bad theology.

MEETINGS OF THE COLLOQUIUM IN WASHINGTON

September 17th to 19th

Report about the meetings which were held at the Library of Congress, Islamic Center, and Freer Gallery of Art.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 4:30 P.M.

Mr. Verner W. Clapp, Acting Librarian of Congress, welcomed the members of the Colloquium in the Whitthall Pavilion of the Library of Congress and announced that there would be a tour of the Library buildings.

Address on the "Committee for Islamic Culture" and the "Islamic Archives" by Dr. Myron Bement Smith, Fellow of the Library of Congress in Islamic Archaeology and Near Eastern History: Chairman of the Committee for Islamic Culture.

Mr. Clapp, fellow members of the Colloquium:

You will soon begin your tour of the Library buildings by passing through a special exhibition entitled "Architecture as Cultural Expression."

This exhibition is a collection of photographs of the Islamic Architecture of Iran. Now there are important architectural monuments in every Muslim country, so the question may arise, "Why choose only the architecture of Iran?" Why did we not select from the monuments of Turkey, Morocco, India, Egypt, Iraq or some other area? Or, why did we not take a few from each country?

I must assure our non-Persian guests that there was no favoritism intended. We wanted, within the limitations of space, budget, time, and the documents at our disposal, to make the best possible exhibition to illustrate our theme, Islamic culture. Also, an exhibition—to be successful—has to have a unity within itself.

This limitation of unity forced us to choose between either an historical concept—such as Seljuq, Tulunid or Mughal—or a geographical one. Actually, it was the materials at hand which decided the choice: after looking through our resources we saw that our best architectural negatives were of the monuments of Persia.

And so, my old and new Muslim friends, when you look at this exhibition, please think of it for what it is supposed to represent: a selection of photographic documents from one sub-category in the collection of over 70,000 documents on Islamic culture which forms the Islamic Archives.

Now, before we go further, you must learn something about the Islamic Archives, for if this exhibition has a purpose it is to invite your interest in the Islamic Archives and the Committee for Islamic Culture which sponsors them.

First of all, you should know that neither the Committee for Islamic Culture nor the Islamic Archives have any connection with the Library of Congress or with any other institution, save a tenuous one with the American Council of Learned Societies that goes back to 1939 when the Archives were started and the Committee for Arabic and Islamic Studies of the Council undertook their temporary sponsorship. Our funds all come from private sources, and by that I mean individual persons; practically all of our present operating fund is a gift made by the late Professor James R. Jewett of Harvard University, a professor of Arabic and a great gentleman, who made a *waqf* for the chair of Arabic in that university, and who was a life-long lover of Islamic culture.

The Committee for Islamic Culture was organized in 1949 to sponsor the Islamic Archives and to hold its property until it may be given to some permanent institution of higher learning which will undertake to carry on the project in the spirit in which it was founded and has been operated.

The Committee is an unincorporated associa-

tion. Its members are all members of the Colloquium and are known to you: Professor T. Cuyler Young of Princeton University, Professor John A. Wilson of the University of Chicago, and this unworthy slave.

One point which should be made clear is that the Committee and its work, the Islamic Archives, are non-commercial: the Archives is a co-operative enterprise operated by scholars and for scholars. Our contact with the learned world is made through universities, libraries and museums, and always on the personal level of scholar to scholar.

The documentation in the Archives is mostly photographic; we also gather bibliographical tools, maps and notes which supplement the photographic documents. The unique aspect of the Archives is that the documentation is not assembled according to usual library practice, but is put together as a working tool for scholarship, a feature which has attracted favorable comment from professional archivists and from scholars. We have been told, even, that the organization of the Archives in their unique form is itself a contribution to scholarship: you will find a quotation from this statement in a case of the exhibition.

We operate by borrowing and begging original photographs or photographic negatives—preferably the latter—colored slides and other documents from scholars and travelers. From these we make copies which are carefully catalogued and arranged under various subjects and in various categories, such as archaeology, epigraphy, architecture, art, geography, anthropology, and so on. Most of our best documentation has come —you will be happy to learn—from American scholars who wish to have their research material shared by others.

Scholars consult the Archives for material for use in their research, for use in teaching and for their publications. By these means the Archives make available a mass of organized material which otherwise would have slight opportunity to enter our cultural arteries.

We have nothing to do, you see, with the general public. Our purpose is to provide teaching materials on Islamic culture for college and university professors as well as to provide research documents for these scholars and for their graduate students. To repeat, the Islamic Archives is an enterprise by and for scholars: we are trying to reach American culture only through the intermediary medium of the learned world; we are hoping to improve the quality of teaching of Islamic cultural subjects and to promote original research in the whole area of Islamic culture.

Now, as to how we operate. We can help a teacher of Islamic history, for example, by lending him lantern slides, many in color. We can lend him albums of photographs on various subjects, photographs which he can use for exhibitions or for passing about the seminar table. We have a few *ciné* films and hope to have many more. Visual aids such as these are universally recognized as necessary teaching tools in modern education. It would be beyond the means of any one scholar or one institution to assemble such visual aids from commercial sources were they available commercially, which they are not. Few of the photographic documents on the Islamic world available commercially are of scholarly importance; it all comes down to this: only a scholar knows what a scholar needs.

A scholar's requirements for research are also considered in the Islamic Archives. There he will find unpublished epigraphical documents, other material he can exploit in his studies, and a wide choice of illustrations for his books and learned articles. He will also find maps, unpublished bibliographies and other reference materials, notes and useful documentation which we believe have scholarly value.

So much—and we might go on and on had we the time—about the Committee for Islamic Culture and its Islamic Archives—about how they are organized to improve an appreciation for and knowledge of Islamic culture in America. Through them, we of the Committee, who know how much our Western culture owes to Islam, would like to see the intellectual foundations of America strengthened and broadened by a better knowledge of Islam's contributions.

Some years ago a paper was read by the speaker before the American Oriental Society in which the Islamic Archives were described. No other public notice of the Archives has been authorized to date and none has been made before today of the Committee for Islamic Culture. We have chosen this Colloquium as an auspicious occasion to bring the Committee to the attention of the learned world.

Before closing, I should like to address myself particularly to our Muslim guests and to ask them if they can see any ways and means by which we of the Committee might be of service to the scholars and to the institutions of learning of

their countries in making their own precious heritage of Islamic culture better appreciated by the rising generation of Iranians, Turks, Egyptians, Iraquis, Lebanese, Indians, Afghanis, Moroccans and Pakistanis, and all the others.

One area for such possible co-operation was suggested in Professor Amer's address at Princeton last week; you will recall that Professor Amer and Professor Wilson both made reference to the importance of archaeology in general Islamic historical studies and of the contribution which archaeological research has already made in establishing that history. The soundness of these observations is obvious.

Here I should like to extend our popular meaning of archaeology to include its full coverage beyond excavations to the study of standing monuments and their inscriptions, structure and decoration and to the whole of fine arts history as well.

We of the Committee believe that any comprehensive consideration of Islamic culture must include its architecture and fine arts—to exclude them would be to deny them the position they hold in any great civilization. For it is generally conceded that monumental architecture and the fine arts are works of man's spirit and must be grouped with his other spiritual expressions—religion, poetry and music—if a culture is to be comprehended in depth.

If, as we of the Committee believe, American culture will be enhanced by an understanding of the fine arts and architecture of Islam, how much more does every Muslim schoolboy and schoolgirl need to know these aspects of his complete cultural heritage. But such knowledge, if it is to be real knowledge, must reach the rising generations through scholars—in Muslim lands that means through the scholars in your own universities who train your primary, secondary and university teachers, who prepare texts and who carry on independent research of the highest quality. This teaching, to be at its best, must be free from chauvinistic taint, it must embrace the whole of Islamic architecture and fine arts and not be limited to one area.

When such real knowledge is available to your children, their enjoyment of life will be enhanced and their tastes will be developed to the point that they may weigh the products of our mechanized age against the full cultural background of a civilization which produced some of the most noble architecture and some of the most exquisite works of art known to man.

It has occurred to us that some of the resources of the Islamic Archives may be of help in building a firmer basis for Islamic archaeological, architectural and fine arts studies in your own universities. If that could be brought about, we of the Committee would feel doubly rewarded for our efforts. We wish our own children's lives to be finer and richer from knowing these great manifestations of Islamic culture. We should like to think of our children as sharing with yours in these pleasures of the intellect and of the spirit and—in so sharing—come to know each other better.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH, 8:30 P.M.

After Professor Hitti had read a review of the discussions on Literature and History, held at Princeton on September 9th and 10th, Dr. Ogden gave a report about "Islamic Collections in Libraries." The general discussion, which followed this report, was so brief that further mention of it seems to be unnecessary.

Report on "Islamic Collections in Libraries" by Dr. Robert F. Ogden, Chief of the Near East Section of the Library of Congress.

Questions asked of me during the Colloquium Sessions lead me to two conclusions: one, that every delegate of the Colloquium is interested in every other country represented in the Colloquium, along the lines of what they have in their libraries and what they have written on every phase of Islamic Culture; second, that all are interested in being able to use the books and library materials in other libraries.

But none of us seemed to know very much of what was to be had in the other libraries. Take, for instance, the libraries of the United States. Many of our libraries in universities have some books in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Many more have collections containing some or most of

the basic books in western languages on the Islamic world. But I have reason to believe that the large majority of those collections just happened. For the most part, some enterprising, visiting professor managed to convince the library committee or perhaps only the responsible member of the committee, that these books should be bought. If that is true in the universities, how much more so in the public libraries. I believe we are indebted in many cases in these public libraries to the interest and public spirit of local citizens of foreign origin i.e. of Islamic countries, or to collections made by some American who had resided abroad. In any case, these collections, both in universities and in public institutions, were, with few exceptions, not the result of a planned accessions program over a period of years. Such a program has been the plan at the Library of Congress, with emphasis on the modern period.

It is inevitable that I should be asked, what are the libraries which have Islamic collections? It is a bold man who would categorically say these are the libraries. With much less boldness, I should like to suggest some libraries which do have Islamic collections, knowing full well that some friend will tell me after I finish, "You left out so and so."

Let us start with the universities. You have seen what is at Princeton. In the Garrett Collection of 10,000 manuscripts, they have there, as far as I know, the largest such collection in the U.S. But, Princeton also has thousands of books in western languages besides perhaps thirty thousand printed books in Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Collections of this sort are also to be found at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Pennsylvania. At Hartford the combined libraries of the Seminary foundations form another important source of such language material. Further west, Chicago and Michigan have been most consistently active in such collections; although Minnesota and Illinois have at different times collected in this field, I believe as the result of individual and temporary emphasis in the academic program. Still further west, the center of such collecting has been at California and Stanford with the library of the Hoover Memorial Institute at Stanford deserving special mention.

Of Public Libraries, besides New York Public Library, there are collections at Boston and Cleveland, known to me as considerable. There may be others. Libraries in the United States are perfecting a plan whereby they may co-operate in procuring books from other countries. This Farmington plan is too new yet to estimate its value. I only wish to state such a plan exists for general acquisitions which will include much Islamic material for many more libraries than now possess such books.

What about libraries in Europe and libraries in the Islamic countries? I have personally visited that part of the Islamic world west of Afghanistan and east of Libya. I could tell you something about libraries there. My colleagues in the Library could tell you about those East of there. As far as I know, there is no one source of information on libraries and what books they have on Islamic culture. Some delegates to the Colloquium feel this is desirable. It would be a considerable help if the delegates to the Colloquium would tell us what they know about collections in their own countries. With that idea in view, a brief statement has been made to submit to delegates to the Colloquium. It is my hope that you will be able to indicate such answers as you feel free to give and return this to me on Saturday morning.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 9:30 A.M.

After Dr. Bayard Dodge had read a brief review of the discussions about Education and Social Reform, held at Princeton on September 11th and 12th, the following report was presented.

Islamic Studies in the United States with Special Reference to Princeton University, by Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at Princeton.

In 1878 an adventurous graduate student in Harvard—the oldest, richest and probably most influential university in North America—offered a thesis which required knowledge of Arabic on the part of the examiner. Harvard had to send it

to "the sole and only Arabic teacher in the country, Professor Salisbury at Yale." As a matter of fact Edward E. Salisbury was a Sanskritist who, while studying Hindustani in Paris, had attended certain lectures of the Arabist de Sacy. By that time Oxford and Cambridge had had two-and-a-half century old chairs in Arabic.

Like Salisbury early American Orientalists were all European-trained. Interest in the Near East stemmed from the Old Testament. The Chairs were in Semitics and the studies were mostly linguistic, philological and archeological. Like their European counterpart the incumbents of these chairs generally occupied themselves with the pursuit of Hebraic studies and Assyriology. Any Arabic courses offered were intended as adjunct to courses in Hebrew and not given for their own sake or as a key to the unlocking of the treasures of Arabic literature or of Islamic culture.

Not only was the start late but the progress slow. By the beginning of the second World War there were some ten universities—exclusive of seminaries and institutes—whose graduate curriculums comprised some Arabic courses. These universities extended from Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins in the East to Chicago in the Mid-West and California in the West. Turkish and modern Persian were hardly known. From the student's standpoint the deterrents included exaggerated difficulties inherent in the acquisition of such exotic languages, the absence of an academic tradition and —more importantly—the lack of proper incentive. The typical American student saw no reason as to why he should indulge in such pursuits, even if or when offered.

The second World War, however, served to force upon the academic world and the governmental authorities the consciousness not only of the desirability but of the necessity of cultivating Near Eastern studies in their modern aspect with a view to a sounder appreciation of the problems of the area involved. The responsibilities thrust upon the people of the United States in the post-war period and the resultant political and economic entanglements served to accentuate the importance of understanding the people of Islam as a prelude to cooperation toward regional security and global peace. Princeton was the first university to respond to the challenge. In 1947 it established in its Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures a program in Near Eastern studies centering on Arabic, Turkish and Persian as languages and on the area and culture represented by them. Thereby not only the graduate but also the undergraduate student was provided with an opportunity to concentrate in his studies on the Moslem world. To this core of language and history, courses dealing with anthropology, geography and the contemporary scene were gradually added. Next year courses relating to the economic, social and political institutions of the area will be introduced; in another year we plan to add courses in Islamic art —all to be offered by specialists who have in addition studied the languages concerned and sojourned in the Near East. Thus we are approaching the fully-rounded well-balanced coverage of the area. Princeton is fortunate in possessing one of the largest collections of Moslem manuscripts in the world and in having an Arabic linotype machine on which several books, especially prepared to meet students' needs, have been printed. The University of Michigan has worked out a similar program emphasizing Arabic and open to graduates and undergraduates. Other universities have introduced isolated courses dealing with the Moslem area, but these two universities remain the only institutions where adequate coverage is made enabling a student—on both the graduate and undergraduate levels—to specialize in the Islamic field.

Certain considerations give the United States special advantages in dealing with Islam. American scholars can bring fresh approach, intellectual vigor and a sense of curiosity. They should be able to view Islam more detachedly and objectively and with less of the nationalistic prejudices which have beset members of older nations. With the unlimited resources on which they can draw, the future of Islamic studies in America should indeed be bright.

General Discussion Following Dr. Hitti's Report.

It was pointed out that it would be a great advantage if there could be more cooperation between the East and the West in connection with an exchange of students and professors and joint research projects.

The question was asked whether the time had not come when Orientalists would have to change their methods, so that Islamic History would be studied by a trained historian and Philosophy by a philosopher. It was stated that

Princeton University is actually training experts in different fields of study to understand Islam and the Near East as well as their specialties.

The great need for editing and publishing the Islamic Classics was emphasized, as well as the opportunity to exchange publications between different countries and the desirability of having a common center for Islamic Studies, located somewhere in the Muslim World. Interesting information was given about translation work, which is actually being carried on, not only from an Eastern into a Western language, but also from one Islamic tongue into another.

After considerable discussion as to how to develop an Islamic Center and the possibility of enlisting the aid of UNESCO, the members of the Colloquium asked Dr. Dodge to study these questions and also to try to arrange for the holding of another conference in the Middle East, sometime during the next two or three years.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 2:30 P.M.

Meeting after prayers at the Islamic Center.

Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, Chief of the Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress acted as Moderator and introduced the discussion by saying that mankind is trying to learn how to live in a world that is round; a world in which any spot may be the center, for there is neither a chosen place nor a chosen people. Civilization is basically ethical and spiritual. The great problem of today is to think of civilization, not as something which has to do with things mechanical and technical, but as something which has to do with things spiritual.

Dr. Mahmoud F. Hoballah, Director of the Islamic Center at Washington, welcomed the members of the conference to the new Mosque, which is still in process of construction, and to the Center itself. Professor T. Cuyler Young read a review of the discussions on Law, Science, and Philosophy, which took place on September 14th, 15th, and 16th at Princeton.

Short address by Professor Zainal-Abidin b. Ahmad, Senior Lecturer in Malayan Studies at the University of Malaya at Singapore, on the subject of "How to Win the Muslim Youth from Materialism?"

Irreligion and materialism are found everywhere and not limited to Islam. The educated youth have learned how to think for themselves and do not get satisfaction from the kind of religion that is taught to them by religious teachers.

The causes of indifference in Malaya are, in the first place, a lack of intelligent religious instruction and preaching. Then, in the second place, there is a lack of proper teaching of the language of the Koran, that is Arabic. Instead of understanding the Koran, the young people recite it by rote, so that the students cannot appreciate Islam.

The remedy lies in the elimination of these two lacks. There must be teaching, preaching, and interpretation in ways that appeal to the youth, with their modern frame of mind. The non-Arabic speaking youth of Islam must also be taught Arabic, so that they can understand the Koran and appreciate the meaning of their Faith.

Address on "The Acquisition and Transference of Faith" by Dr. Amir Ali, of the Osmania University of Hyderabad, India.

The Colloquium has conferred on me the honour of opening a discussion on two questions, which, by analysis, may be summarized as follows:

First, how can we ourselves acquire faith?

Second, how can we impart faith to our younger generation?

These questions are evidently of human importance. They have faced all peoples at all times and without ever being answered quite satisfactorily. In accepting even to open the discussion, therefore, I feel like the original Adam (Man) who, according to the Quran, accepted a responsibility which angels had declined to bear!

Even for raising questions, it will be futile, within the fifteen minutes available to me, to try to set the ball rolling in the wider field of faith

in general. I may therefore be permitted to restrict by remarks to the more limited sphere of faith as it is imparted through religion.

But what ever kind of faith we have in mind, we cannot, evidently impart something which we do not ourselves possess and the first question above admits our poverty from that point of view. So let us, for the present, leave the younger generation, and, thinking only of ourselves, let us analyze what we have in mind when we speak of faith.

Even a little self-analysis will reveal that by faith in general we mean something beyond mere conviction; something far stronger than belief. It is a noble one-mindedness, something that fires the imagination and impels one to devoted action, to righteous endeavour without fear of consequences. Indeed, men of faith seem to delight in and develop with possibilities of dangers and necessities of sacrifice.

One meets with men of faith in the histories of of all peoples. The degree of faith varies with individuals, but even where it exists in the minimum, it is discernible like a halo. It is only such men and such women that have taken humanity higher and higher, step by step. And the light of their faith has lit the path on which others have followed.

In the case of Christ, it was evidently the attraction of a highly magnetic personality. The fishermen just left their nets and followed him. And even today, the devoted love which some Christians bear to the personality of Jesus is the secret of their palpable faith.

In the case of Mohammad, the drama was of a very different and of a more impersonal kind. It took him several years to acquire adherents and many more years again to overcome the opposition of those who had no faith. He did this simply through unbending resolve and persevering defence; but, by the time he came out of the struggle he had many men of faith with him, men who had acquired faith through his teaching.

Fortunately, this teaching of his, embodied in the Quran, is open to our study. What is there in it which imparted this single-mindedness? Around what main idea did the faith of his adherents develop?

The chief tenet of his teaching, as we all know, is—"There is no God but God." But monotheism existed long before him. That idea was not new. What *was* new was his *insistence* on the Oneness. People did not then, and some do not even now, understand why he harped upon that point so unendingly. But therein, precisely, lay the secret of his whole teaching. The existence of God he took for granted, and insisted over and over again on his Oneness to such an extent as to eliminate all duality and plurality from the minds of his followers.

"Mohammad is the messenger of God," was added as a corollary defining his own position as far removed from God. Its essential meaning was that Mohammad is *not* God. And it is the incorporation of this in the very "*kalima*" of Islam which has prevented even Nussairies, who deified Ali, from associating Mohammad with this One and Only.

The followers of Mohammad were thus brought face to face with the One God and his vast creation so consistently, so persistently, that they lost the consciousness of their own individualities. The petty selves and the exclusive clans of those who were inspired with the zeal of Mohammad lost themselves in the infinity of Creation. God became the point furthest away from Self. *Godly* and *Unselfish* became synonymous. Instead of becoming socialized by such stages as family, clan, city, community and nation, the "*Momin*," the man of faith, advanced in one leap from the infinitesimal Self to the infinite Non-Self. His actions ceased to be for himself and at once began to be for God. And by this sudden advance he had become morally so much stronger than those not fired by this spirit that not only Mecca surrendered but even the older and powerful kingdoms succumbed before the power of the men of faith.

The Quran, which contains the essence of Mohammad's message, the "textbook" which he used for imparting faith, is, fortunately, still with us. But, now it seems to produce few men of faith. It does not inspire us towards righteous endeavour, not matter in what sweet tune we hear it. Its reading seems to make us satisfied with the glorious past of Islam rather than dissatisfied with the squalor of Islam's present. Since the contents are undoubtedly the same, this tragic non-effectiveness can only be attributed to the method, sequence and meaning in which the Quran is presented to us, and this is easily confirmed.

A study of the *Sirath* (biography of Mohammad) and a chronological study of the Quran illustrates the original method adopted in the divine instruction. For years the personality of

Mohammad is gradually built up. We can only get glimpses of this development. The fatherless, motherless infant gives place to the precocious child. This precocious child develops into a young man organizing his comrades for protecting the helpless among the pilgrims to his city. Gradually he becomes the *Ameen*, "the trustworthy" in his community. And when he has fully matured, the call of leadership comes to him. "Proclaim, in the name of thy Lord who created man through association; who taught him by means of the written word what he could not otherwise know."

He is afraid. He, a common man, how can he proclaim himself a teacher? a messenger of God to his people?! He is tortured with doubt, with hope. "O thou on whom has fallen the Mantle!" The call becomes more and more clear. Gradually he accepts the responsibility. Through short, fiery, heart-stirring *suras*, that find echoes in the minds of men, women and children, he awakes their conscience, impels them to discern the squalor of their life, the inhuman callousness of their social institutions. Over and over again, by reminding them of the One God, and his beautiful creation; he diverts their attention from their petty egos. Gradually he builds up the faith of his followers till they are ready to suffer exile and torture. Khadija, Abu Bakr and Ali, the earliest to be imbued with faith, show how his teaching could affect woman, man and child alike. And the example of his own faith keeps the light burning in the hearts of others. "Verily, even if they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left, they shall not make me recant." The old uncle, Abu Talib, even he is fired with faith without accepting his nephew's new ideas.

In other words, Mohammad's insistence on One God which imparted faith, thirteen hundred years ago, can also inspire faith in our own day. For when there is only One God and we are all, Arabs, Hindus, Jews, Christians, Zulus, Japanese, Russians, Englishmen, Americans and Muslims, when we realize that we are all creatures of the One, Just and Benevolent God, how then can we fight among ourselves? And how can any one of us claim to be the chosen people?

Our misfortune lies in the fact that we did not pay sufficient attention to this fact, this part of our common heritage. We took the Oneness of God for granted and did not stress it sufficiently for our younger generations. We paid lip-service to the idea of monotheism but did not make it a part of our own thought and living. It was realized, partially, by those who saw the Oneness of Man; and such persons reached heights very near to those of faith. They realized the Brotherhood of Man but failed to see the Fatherhood of God. They saw the great Design but not the Designer. Islam, on the contrary, insisted on the Designer, and the Brotherhood of Man only followed from his Oneness. As far as that part of his culture is concerned, the Muslim, thanks to this teaching, finds less distinction between man and man even today than any other people.

Similarly the technique of educating the young, of imparting faith to those who have it not, this technique too is illustrated in the Quran, if we choose to study it as one of Mankind's greatest source books on education, a book which transformed numerous illiterate Arabs into men of great faith. All that Muslims need to do is to present this teaching in an assimilable form.

Such a task, I admit, is not easy. Muslims throughout the thirteen centuries have vaguely felt the power that lies in the Quran. To the best of their ability they have tried to analyze the essence and the meaning. But tools of critical, literary research were not available to them; and their efforts, due to this obstacle, instead of clarifying the meanings of the Quran, have often confused them further.

The Christian orientalists, armed with the new techniques, have gone far deeper; but these too, tend to lose themselves in the details of minor importance and sometimes give the impression that their aim is to find fault and thus ultimately to discredit the Quran, rather than to bring out its great educational value. Such an impression is, I admit, often false and unworthy, but, unfortunately, natural. What is needed is a cooperative effort in which Western analysis and Eastern synthesis will together give us the unchangeable words of the Quran in a form, meaning and sequence which will have the same effect as it had thirteen centuries ago.

In this sense, the Colloquium on Islamic Culture, which is about to end, may prove to be the beginning of a new era; and this gathering, organized on an ad hoc basis to initiate understanding, may provide a permanent source of cooperation through which not only the Muslims but the world at large may be inspired with Faith as inculcated through the Quran. Likewise, let us hope, the teachings and personality of Christ,

that have provided faith to innumerable men and women in the service of God, will influence and intensify the faith of Muslims in addition to that of the Christians.

In short, the lamps from which Faith shone forth are with us. All that we can strive to do is to burnish the candelabra and remove the rust that has accumulated on them through the centuries. All that we can hope for is that this will be achieved in our lifetime.

General Discussion on "How to Win the Youth from Materialism?"

In order to meet the new scientific method and its influence on religious ideas, both among Muslims and Christians, it was suggested that there should be developed a new Science of Religion. In this way it might be possible to discover to what extent the religious spirit of man, with its manifestations in law, politics, morality, and sociology, is the natural outcome of the psychological forces operative in the universe. The validity of spiritual things might, therefore, be shown to be eternal. Science as a disinterested pursuit of thought, has been applied to the Natural, but not to the Social Sciences.

It was then pointed out that college students, who are not themselves deep thinkers, follow the example of the professors, whom they admire. We need teachers, who are loyal to a personal faith. Students find a confusing difference between the world of their traditional religious training and the world of modern science and philosophy.

The youth do not reject faith but object to inconsistent manifestations of faith. If we are to appeal to the youth, we must consider their point of view.

Religion has usually been taught as something transcendental and from the past—not to be questioned. This does not fit in with the modern mood. To make religion important for the modern youth, we must approach religion from a pragmatic point of view.

The Moderator closed the meeting with the remark that "Teachers and scholars are made for the students, and not the students for teachers and scholars."

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 18TH, 8:30 P.M.

General Meeting in the Auditorium of the Library of Congress

Mr. Verner W. Clapp, Acting Librarian of Congress presided and introduced the speakers. The general subject of the evening was "Inter-Cultural Relations."

Summary of an address by Dr. Luther H. Evans, Director General of UNESCO.

During the end of 1952 at the Seventh General Congress, UNESCO demonstrated that it had reached a new stage. In spite of the resignation of its Director General and a readjustment of its budget UNESCO came through the storm with very little damage. This was because both the Staff and the General Conference have reached a stage of coordination and maturity.

There have been periods when the member states felt that UNESCO was some big Santa Claus, but that has pretty well died out now and we realize that UNESCO means hard work. It is working to improve the percentage of people who can read and write, to establish public libraries, to train people in science and technology, to improve the teaching of social science and philosophy, and of international relations, to raise the level of education, science and culture, to increase the facilities of mass communication, and to let men communicate with one another about the world in which they live.

UNESCO accepts the philosophy that lies behind the United Nations, that peace requires the following things:—that security arrangements be made so that an aggressor who breaks the rule of law can be put down; collective support of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly; attempts to regulate armaments and to control atomic energy, as well as the establishment of an international force of some kind. The United Nations also means the work of the Economic and Social Council, to satisfy more nearly the economic

needs of peoples, because it is believed that hunger, frustration, and ignorance contribute to an unstable and eventually to a warlike world.

UNESCO accepts things and tries to use its facilities to educate the people of the world about them. It also has other assignments. It is trying to raise the educational level through the public school system, through universities, workers' education, and all sorts of adult education. It even tries to raise the educational level of women, who have recently been enfranchised, to take part in political activity. But the political education is of a general nature, rather than of party issues.

UNESCO gives technical aid, holds seminars, sends missions to make surveys and to report to governments, and tries to achieve a free flow of information. One of the areas of science in which UNESCO is interested is that of the arid zones. Here, in some cases, science finds itself fighting certain cultural patterns. UNESCO must take account of local cultural patterns, but this is often more a matter of method than of substance. It is easy for a bustling technologist to pay no respect to sacred religious places, when he wants to build a canal or set up a well, but if the local cultural requirements are respected, usually the work of science can go on without much difficulty.

UNESCO is trying, according to its constitution, to promote tolerance of the diverse cultures of the world. Here, there are two ideas that are in conflict. The first idea is that the world benefits by a rich diversity of culture. The second is the idea of promoting the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

One thing that is wrong with the world today is that there is an insufficient amount of agreement on moral values for a peace really to be established. We need some solidarity among all peoples on those intellectual and moral principles, which are necessary for the establishment of a just and lasting peace. There is an injustice in the world that no amount of intellectual and moral solidarity will resolve unless such solidarity results in the correction of the injustice. We certainly can strive for more of this intellectual and moral solidarity, which does not get rid of the richness of diverse cultures, but which makes all people understand that there are certain agreed bases on which we get along in the world of nations.

UNESCO has no official position as to what cultures or parts of cultures are bad. But there have been cases in our time of cultural peculiarities being seized upon to promote nationalist interests or the ambitions of some politician. There are some countries that are seizing upon language and erecting that into a symbol of nationalistic differentiation, even when it is to the disadvantage of that country to have such a language, rather than the one that is already prevalent in the country.

UNESCO fights to reduce the isolation of cultures. Thus UNESCO is working for education, science, the flow of information, and tolerance. UNESCO has some special programs that are creative in cultural fields, such as its work in copyright, to protect the rights of creators of literature, of art, music, drama, of painting, sculpture and many other kinds of creative effort. UNESCO is also strengthening the intercommunication of music between nations and is showing how the theatre can be used for international understanding.

One of the important fields is social science, because the accommodation of cultures to one another, the problem of the change of culture, the question of introducing industrialization into a primitive culture, without destroying the equilibrium of that society and thus of leaving the people without a philosophy of life; these are some of the big things that we are studying at the present time.

In the technical assistance program of UNESCO there are important anthropological principles being put into effect, so that the technicians will not run around ignorantly antagonizing people, contrary to their habits and patterns, and thus prevent the work from being successful.

At a recent conference of UNESCO the Germans made a very interesting proposal, which gets right into the field of this Colloquium, namely that UNESCO should make a study of the common elements in the religions of the world. The purpose would be to see what the basic tenets of the various religions have to say about the working out of the principles of moral solidarity conducive to peace.

UNESCO is undertaking a big project called the "Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind." This is not an easy task, as it is so difficult to be fair on a world basis to the point of view of each culture, which has been in conflict with others in the course of history.

May I conclude by saying that the kind of operation you have engaged in, at Princeton and

The Library of Congress during the last two weeks, is greatly contributive to the kind of thing which UNESCO encourages. It is better if an activity of this kind can be done spontaneously with local sponsorship, rather than by UNESCO. Thus I give you my greetings and congratulations for the good work you have done.

Summary of an address on "Inter-Cultural Relations," by Mustafa Amer, Director General of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. (As Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi was unexpectedly called back to Pakistan, Mr. Amer very kindly took his place, although he did not have sufficient time to prepare for his address.)

Before we discuss the subject of "Inter-Cultural Relations," we must bear in mind that the two thousand million people, who inhabit this planet of ours, are entitled to be looked upon as members of one and the same family, which means respect for race, language, religion, and culture. The earth is our home and our collective efforts should aim at establishing a peaceful and prosperous world, in which the members of the family work together to understand each other's problems and unite in finding a solution for these problems.

The problems faced by different societies are not entirely of their own making, as the terrestrial globe is not homogeneous in physical characteristics and does not offer all societies equal opportunities. The surface features, as all geographers know, the temperatures, the rainfalls, the vegetation and animal life—all of these differ from one place to another. On the human side we find a variety of races, social organizations, languages and, in short, what we call cultures.

All of these differences, physical and human, should, however, be considered as patterns in one single unit like the patterns in a beautiful Persian carpet. We should look upon them as representing what may be called "diversity within unity." The existing cultures supplement one another and form the heritage of mankind.

To bring the different cultural groups together, they must first of all learn to understand each other and they cannot do this unless they study one another's problems. Dr. Evans has mentioned the principles which guide the United Nations. As citizens of the world we wish to have these principles applied to every society, to every nation, and to all peoples irrespective of religion, language, and culture.

It is difficult to make uneducated people understand what is meant by democratic ideas, which can only be understood as we fight illiteracy. We want education as an element to raise the standard of living, combat disease and improve the conditions of men, especially in undeveloped countries. The youth should be taught all over the world that mutual respect and understanding are necessary to bring the people of the world closer together.

Although it is unnatural that there should be one culture for all peoples, we should work together towards world citizenship, and this can only be done by enlightened and sympathetic understanding. In my opinion the study of other peoples' cultures can help a great deal and inter-cultural relations are very necessary. Many of us, especially those who have been abroad, understand Western culture. A few Westerners understand Islamic culture as it should be known. We have been pleased to hear of the advance that has been made in Islamic studies in America.

In the 19th Century, Islamic studies developed in Europe, but although Europe studied Islamic culture, it did not understand Islamic nations. The history of the 19th Century is a proof. The First World War brought America to Europe. The Second World War brought America to North Africa, and since the war ended Islamic studies have advanced by leaps and bounds. It is important for us to help, if we can, to strengthen these studies in your country and academic institutions. The subjects dealt with in the Colloquium have shown the immensity of the problem.

Inter-cultural relations mean many things. How can we attain these things in the future?

The region which is occupied by Islam extends from the Atlantic eastward as far as China and from Southern Russia as far to the south as East Africa. We agree that it is a cultural region, but we must also agree that within this region there are shades of differences. We must strengthen ourselves in this region of Islam by exchanging ideas, exchanging professors, exchanging students, and exchanging books.

We must also think of increasing inter-cultural relations with other regions of the world. Although we have had foreign teachers in our universities and institutions of higher study, we have so far succeeded in having a proper exchange of teachers with Europe, in only a few rare instances. As far as America is concerned, the program being put into force is known to every-

body, so that I need not go into details. In a short time this program has done wonders.

I suggest that it would be much better to teach the American students Islamic languages, before they are sent abroad. Although the difficulty is not great in connection with post-graduate courses, because most of the teachers know English, we desire to have American students attend undergraduate courses too. If they know Arabic, Turkish, Iranian, or Urdu, they can gain a taste for the language as well as a knowledge of the subject matter.

The Colloquium has brought up several problems of great importance. If such meetings can be repeated, it will do much to establish better relations between the Islamic World and the West. Such cooperation is much needed.

Even for us, the Colloquium has opened up new horizons. Discussing the problems from the point of view of our American colleagues has given us food for thought. When you are away from home you can see things from a new angle, so that we have had a good lesson as we have discussed the problems of the Colloquium.

There is one remaining point, which I wish to refer to. If lately Islamic studies have advanced in Islamic regions, it has been thanks to the liberty which has been attained. I believe that even greater strides will be made in the future, as the problems which face us become solved.

Even our modern universities in Egypt were in the dark until 1925, when internal conditions became settled. I believe that the Islamic World as a whole will progress, as liberty is definitely won.

I repeat once more that, in the future, collaboration will be needed for the good of Islam and for the good of the Western World. The world must live in peace, but peace cannot prevail without understanding between nations. Science can do a great deal and contacts can accomplish much. If we go forward I hope that we shall be helping the United Nations to achieve its ends and aiding UNESCO with its progressive program.

Summary of an Address by Dr. Filmer S. C. Northrop, Professor of Philosophy and Law at Yale University. (As Dr. Northrop did not write his address, this summary has been taken from a recording that was made when the address was given. Dr. Northrop himself has not edited the summary. It is expected that the entire address will be published in Arabic along with the papers submitted to the Colloquium.)

There is nothing harder in the world than to put together two different cultures, but in the light of this conference I want to concentrate on one of the easier problems of putting two different cultures together, the problem of introducing modern Western legal methods and procedures and modern Western technological-scientific procedures into an Islamic culture.

As the solution of the problem centers not in the realm of practical affairs, where most people think it is located, but in basic religious and philosophical beliefs, the task of putting together certain legal and technological processes from the modern, Christian West with the culture of Islam is relatively easy. I am emboldened to venture in this field because of Iqbal, and there is a personal concern here, for he and I are both sons of the same philosophical teacher, McTaggart. Iqbal is, in my opinion, one of the greatest men of this century. He faced this problem and he brought to the facing of it an equipment and talent that was truly remarkable. His thesis was, that no government, no positive law anywhere can ever be effective if it does not root itself in the underlying living law of the people. He pointed out that a secular state has living law roots only for those people in the world whose forebears passed through the Protestant Reformation and who have been exposed to modern British Empirical philosophy or perhaps the modern Continental Rationalism. For such people, the secular state is the sacred state. It is fundamentally a religious state because it is born out of the religious values and beliefs of the people. That is, their own living law, their own morality, their own religion makes the secular state for them a sacred state. Iqbal saw quite clearly that the living law of India, for every community in it—Hindu, Moslem, Jain, Buddhist—is a living law community in which the secular state is meaningless. For all of those communities, to be a religious man is to embody your religious principles in your conduct. The heart of Islam is found in the law because it is the law that specifies for a religious Moslem's personal and social conduct, what it means to be a Moslem. Thus, it is almost as important that we study the law of Islam as it is that we study and read the Koran.

Not only was Iqbal one of the great poets of

our century, one of the great lawyers, one of the wisest students of society in the foundations of effective law and effective government in our time, but he was also a truly great philosopher. I do not believe that anybody can read Iqbal's *Development of Metaphysical Thought in Persia* and not realize that Islam has as rich and detailed a development of philosophical and theological systems as has the West. In the light of his studying of the great cultures, he analyzed that of the West and as a result of that analysis came to the conclusion that in the Christian Western tradition, there is too great a gap between the ideal and the deed. This is part of what he meant when he says at the beginning of his book, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, "Islam is a religion of the deed." I think that there is no religion on earth that has ever achieved "putting Sunday in every day of the week," as has Islam. This is another fundamental reason why Iqbal came to repudiate, the secular state.

The ideal of a secular state has another danger. This is the danger of the moral and the religious crusade—of getting one's ideal so much in one's action that one forgets that other people have other ideals. Iqbal raised the question as to whether there was not a prostitution of Islam in the caliphate, whether it is not of the essence of the teaching of Muhammed and the doctrine of the Koran that all men are equal before Allah.

But there are things in Iqbal's analysis which I think he failed to carry through. Practically every Islamic nation today is incorporating Western law and Western technology. Out of this there comes the problem:—How to introduce Western law and have it effective, when only a few people have gone abroad and mastered that law and the ethics and values that it presupposes for its success. I believe this is one of the reasons why such law usually has to be put in first by a dictator. It cannot come in as a mass movement because the masses are in the old tradition. You have got to carry the masses with you and the masses do not understand what you are doing. The Islamic countries are not merely bringing in Western law but they are bringing in Western medicine, Western technology, and all kinds of mechanical instruments. This reorganizes people in society. It pulls sons out of patriarchal families. It requires the introduction of capital, it requires loyalties on a national level across local village and family lines and the danger then is that corruption comes in, not because people are immoral but because their own morality is tied to local village and family ties. Their natural moral inclination is to do what is valuable for the family, rather than to do something for this abstract constitution and this abstract theoretical state. Sooner or later if you are going to succeed with your new Western law, you must depend upon the masses.

The culture of the Islamic and the Judaic Christian West really started in ancient Greece and it was started not by religious people in the professional, departmental, university sense of the word nor by humanists. It was started, I believe, by mathematical physicists. These mathematical physicists made a discovery that is unique in the history of the world. This discovery transformed religion, transformed ethics and transformed law. They came to believe that real nature, in real man, is not inductively observed nature in man, but a theoretically conceived nature in man made up of scientific objects and relations that the intellect theoretically constructs but that the senses do not observe. Every physicist and every school boy for instance now believes that this apparently empty space between you and me, which to our senses is empty, is really filled with electromagnetic waves, traveling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second, and sound waves bringing my voice to you, traveling at a lower speed. We do not see anything. We believe that this object here is made of electrons whirling around protons, all of these obeying abstract theoretical laws. Thus, a new way of knowing man and nature took hold of the world and this had the effect of breaking ethics away from concepts of tribe, family and color.

I will now give you the theory of the Platonic School of mathematical physicists. The greatest mathematical physicist in Greek times was Eudoxus and he created this particular School. According to this theory, the universe, everything—tables, chairs, planets, human beings, Socrates, Plato—everybody is a system of ratios and the Greek word for ratio is "Logos." They believed that the universe was a pattern of ratios. Thus, the first sentence of the Fourth Gospel of the New Testament is:—"In the beginning was the Word and the Word was God. . . ." Now the Greek for "word" is "Logos" and the scientific meaning of the word "Logos" is "ratio." That is, that ultimate reality is at bottom an intellectually known thing, a rational thing. Conse-

quently, the vision of creation was not the Hindu sequence of transitory things: but the idea of the ideal pattern. That pattern, or "Logos," is the intellectual love of God and that pattern comes into the formless matter to differentiate it from the sense objects that make up our sense world. This mathematical physics and philosophy were taken to Asia Minor by Christians, but the Christians dropped them. Then the Islamic world took them up, carried them on and advanced them.

I do not believe that science is purely instrumental. It is only applied science that is instrumental. Science gives us knowledge about reality; what we are and what the universe is. Science is only instrumental if you do not analyze it back into its basic assumption, into its philosophical foundation. But the minute you do that you have got a philosophy and the minute you have a philosophy you have values. This again is what I mean by saying that the technology of the West which comes out of this mathematical physics; is a sacred technology. It is an expression of the intellectual love of God coming into the world to transform it.

But a thing happened in the West that did not reach Islam and this is my key to the legal problem. When mathematical physics passed over, through Greek philosophy, to Rome, the Romans got the idea that no proposition in politics or in morality is good unless it applies to every individual man, just as in mathematical physics you do not have a different law of gravitation for every inductively given class of physical objects. Out of this came the creation of Western legal science. Western legal science was created by lawyers, all of whom were Stoic philosophers whose idea was that moral man was universal man. The difference between law after those Stoic Romans and law everywhere before them is this, that the previous law was a law of statutes and the law after the Stoic Romans was a law of contract.

Moral man is universal, but this is not the basis of the Hindu caste system. If you are a Brahman, what is moral is one thing. If you belong to the second caste, what is moral is a different thing. If you belong to the third caste, what is moral is a third thing and the morality is tied to sense differences because the caste rests on inductively sensed differences. But both Christ and Muhammad expressed the idea that religious man and moral man are not inductive tribal man. It is not because he is an Arab, a Persian, an American, or a Frenchman, that he is religious or moral but because he is a man. Moral principles are theoretically known, not inductively observed. This permits societies to advance, to shift from laws, which are descriptive of inductive social status at a given time, to laws theoretically constructed to meet social problems. Religious moral man is a son of Allah. Every man is a son of Allah; man is universal. It does not depend on his color, it does not depend on his tribe, all men are equal before God. On this Christianity, Judaism and Islam are in complete agreement, but the tragedy is, I believe, that the Islamic World never got that shift from the law of status to the law of contract and thus it lost the capacity to meet new problems.

Now all the Islamic World has to do to solve its problems, is to pick up the mathematical physics, of which it was at one time the sole custodian, and to grasp the idea of man as theoretically constructed in terms of postulated principles—that is the law of contract. Then, out of its own spiritual heritage, I believe, that Islam can solve its own problems inside its own cultural traditions.

Finally, I believe that there is another component of human nature and the divine nature. There is in every human being, not only the universal lawfulness which makes him equal before the same moral codes with all other men, but also an element of the particular and unique. Therefore, there is one part of us that is unique and this leads to a unique kind of law. It leads to a law such as you have in Confucian China in which it is immoral to settle a dispute by recourse to legal cause, because you are falsifying human nature, if you treat two people according to the same rule. As Existentialism has discovered this fact in our own time, what we come to is a tremendous synthesis, which Islam and every other civilization of the world must achieve.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH, 9:30 A.M.

Meeting in the Freer Gallery of Art and a Visit to the Smithsonian Institution

A welcome was given by Dr. Leonard Carmichael, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

He told how an Englishman named James Smithson left a bequest, to be used to establish a museum in the young country of the United States of America. In 1838 the money was brought across the Atlantic and recoined in American currency worth over half a million dollars. With this generous gift to serve as a basis for growth, the Smithsonian Institution has become a great national museum, with extensive programs of scientific research and publication. The Freer Gallery of Art is attached to the Smithsonian Institution and represents the enthusiasm for collecting, as well as the generosity, of a great American philanthropist.

Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, Associate in Near Eastern Art at the Freer Gallery of Art, gave an interesting lecture and showed stereopticon pictures of some of the Islamic art treasures in the Gallery. After the lecture there was an opportunity to see the magnificent collection of Islamic art in the Freer Gallery, and also to visit part of the museum section of the Smithsonian Institution.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19TH, 5:00 P.M.

A delightful reception was given by The Library of Congress for the members of the Colloquium and many invited guests from Washington. The reception was held in the great open courtyard of the Library building.

After the reception, some of the scholars from overseas remained in Washington for a number of days, to be entertained by their embassies and by friends in the city. They were also received by President Eisenhower at the White House. Most of the members of the conference, however, returned to their homes, so that the Colloquium officially came to a close on September 19th.

Report of the Committee on Resolutions.

During the course of the conference the delegates appointed a committee, to make such resolutions as might seem wise about the questions which were discussed in the meetings.

The following report was submitted by this committee:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Colloquium:

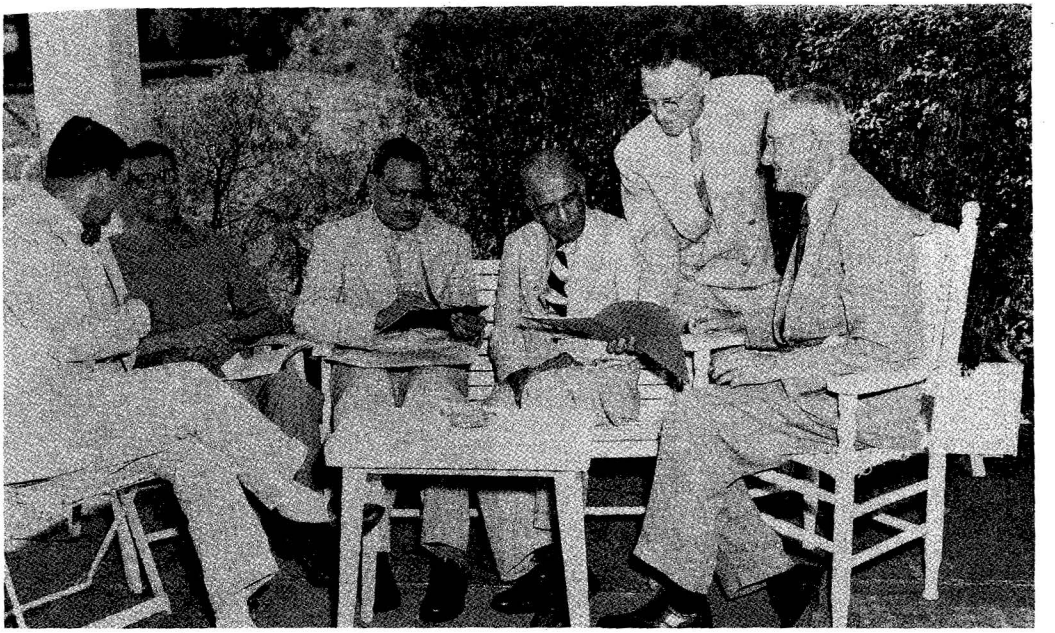
The Committee on Resolutions was appointed by the Chairman to consider recommendations or suggestions which might be offered by members of the Colloquium and to report back to the Colloquium the Committee's recommendations for action. The Committee has received several helpful suggestions and has given them serious consideration.

As a result of its deliberations, the Committee has decided not to lay before the Colloquium a series of resolutions arising out of the discussions at the several sessions. In the first place, the very nature of a colloquium—a "talking together"—is the friendly discussion of common interests, not burdened by any sense of responsibility for definite action. Secondly, we have come to this conference as private individuals, and not as the formally accredited deputies for countries, for whom we can and should speak formally. Thirdly, this Colloquium has no corporate life after we adjourn next Saturday. Fourthly, in Washington on Thursday and Friday there will be summarized reports of our discussions here in Princeton, summaries presented by Drs. Hitti, Dodge, and Young. In the fifth place, we have met together for the first time and have embarked upon discussions of various subjects, but we have never had the time to push any one question to a decisive point. Finally, the discussions have shown a broad general consensus and harmony on the nature of the problems in Islamic culture and on

the spirit in which these problems must be studied; we do not wish to mar this harmony by calling for votes on a number of very specific matters.

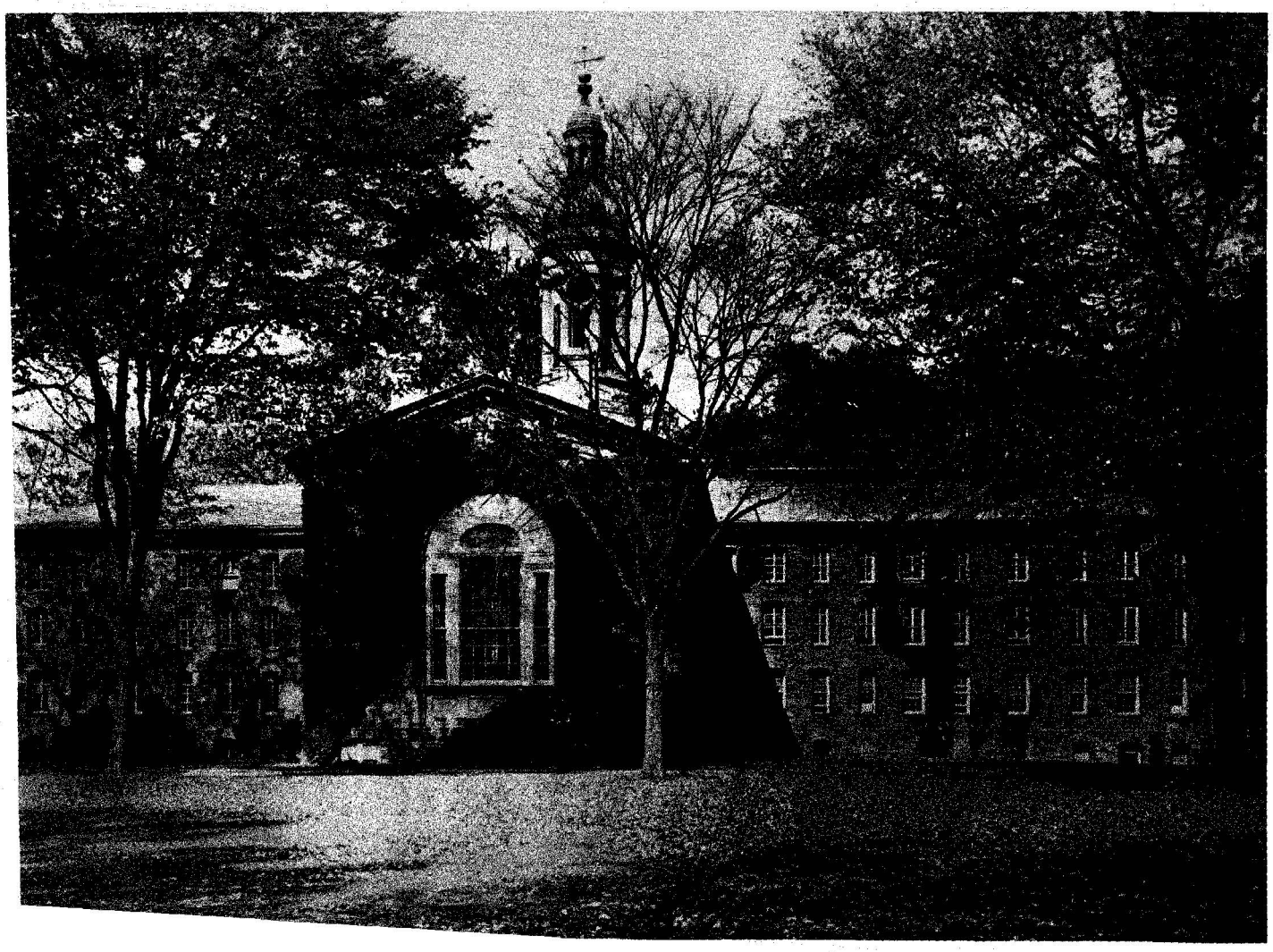
However, Mr. Chairman, your committee does have one motion to lay before the Colloquium, a resolution of thanks and appreciation, which I now present to this session for approval.

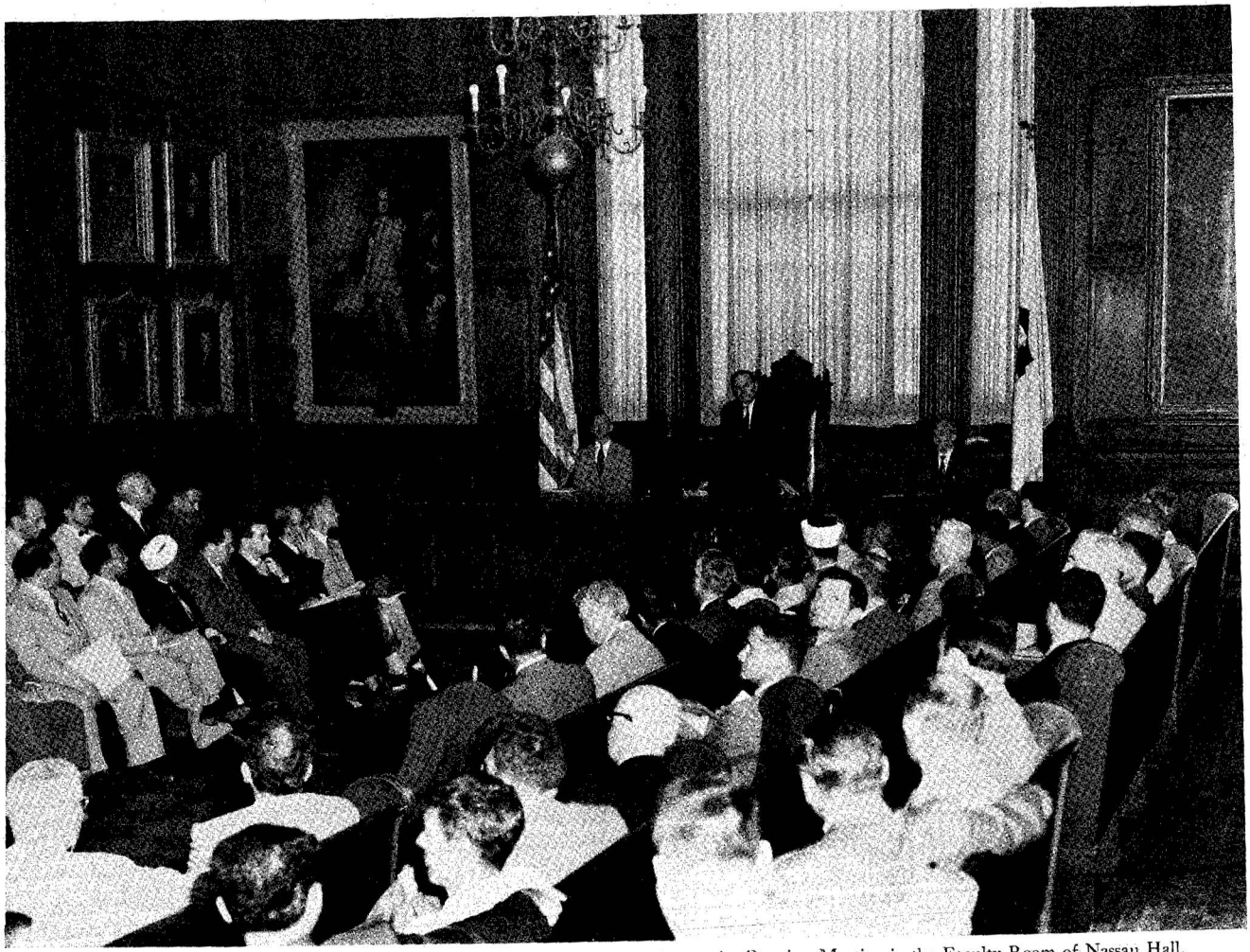
The Colloquium on Islamic Culture is exceptionally fortunate in that Princeton University and The Library of Congress opened their doors in generous hospitality. The delightful setting and the excellent facilities offered for our meetings have helped to make the conference not only successful but also very pleasant. In particular, we acknowledge with thanks the devoted work of the Director of the Colloquium, Dr. Bayard Dodge, and his assistants. To President Dodds, to the Trustees and administrative officers, and to the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures of Princeton University; to the Acting Librarian of Congress, the members of the staff of The Library of Congress, and to the other helpful officials of the United States Government, this Colloquium on Islamic Culture extends its warm thanks for the cordiality and planning and hard work which have resulted in a rich and unique experience. We hope that the success of this Colloquium may make it the first of a series of such conferences.



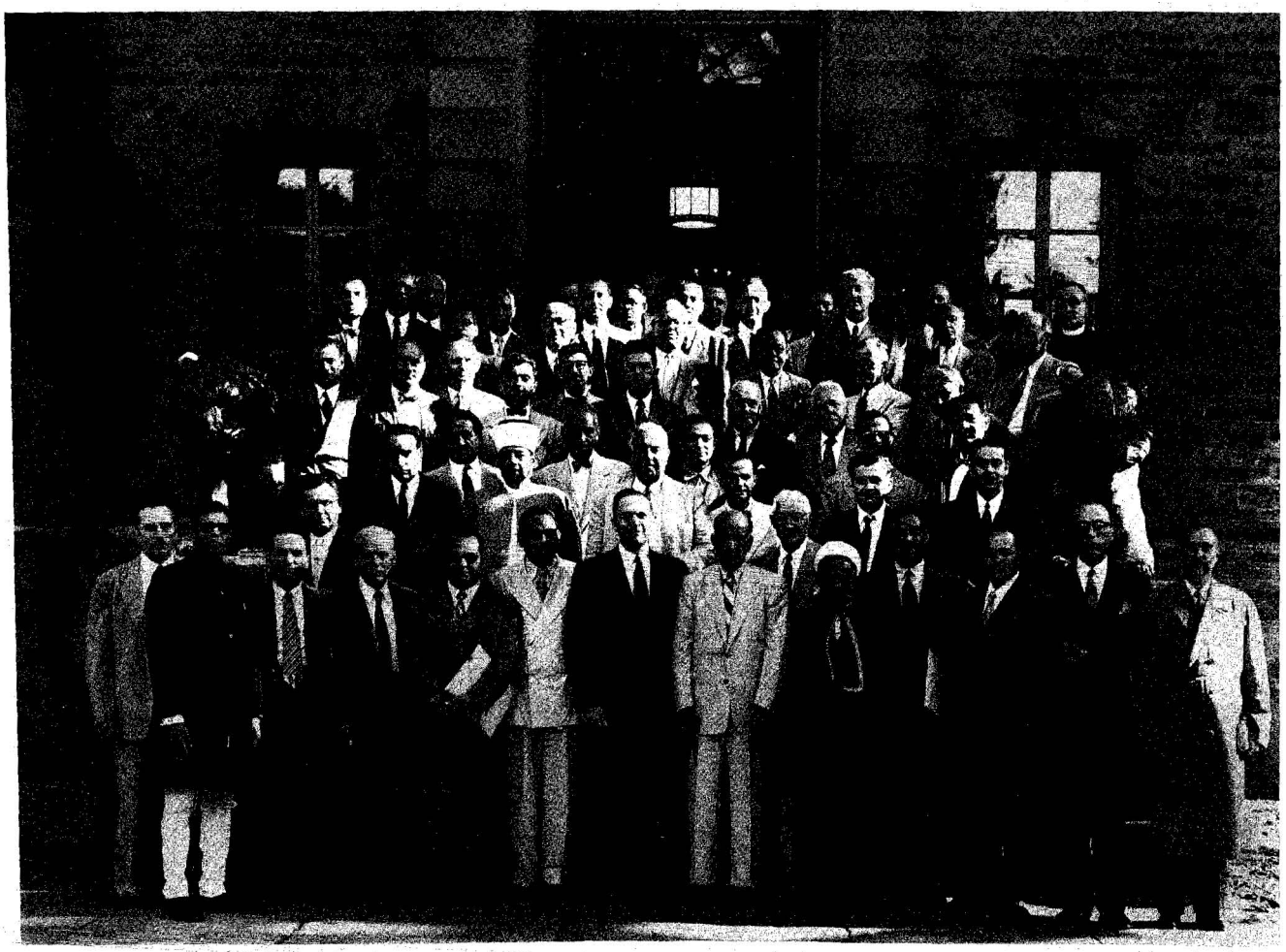
Newly arrived at the conference. Prof. Faris, Dr. Nizamuddin, His Excellency Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, Messrs. Shujauddin, Basler and Dodge on the terrace of the Princeton Inn.

Three of the delegates from Turkey relaxing on the terrace of the Princeton Inn after their arrival at the conference. Professors Inalcik, Timur, Ulgener.

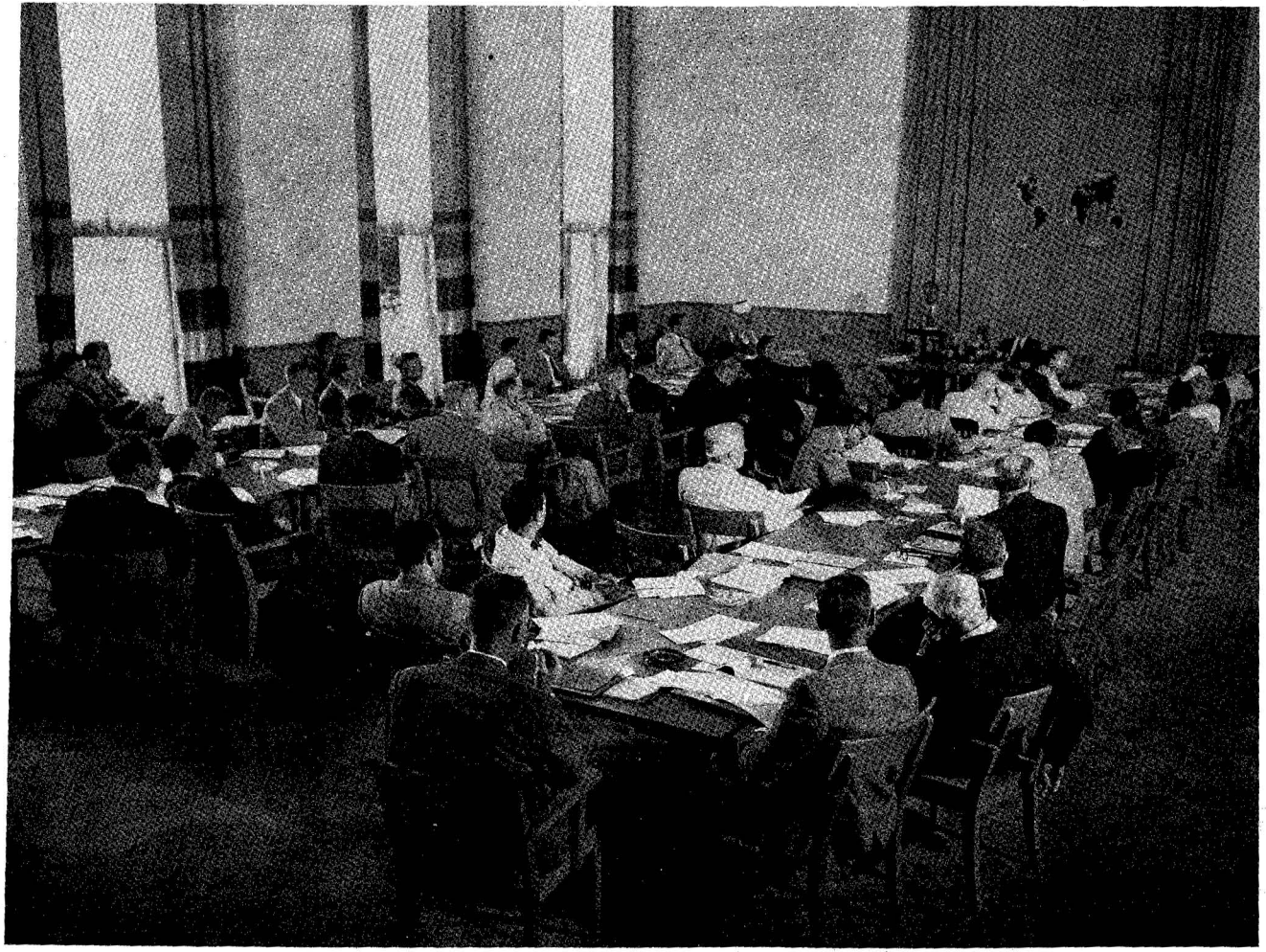




Dean J. Douglas Brown welcoming the Delegates to Princeton University at the Opening Meeting in the Faculty Room of Nassau Hall.



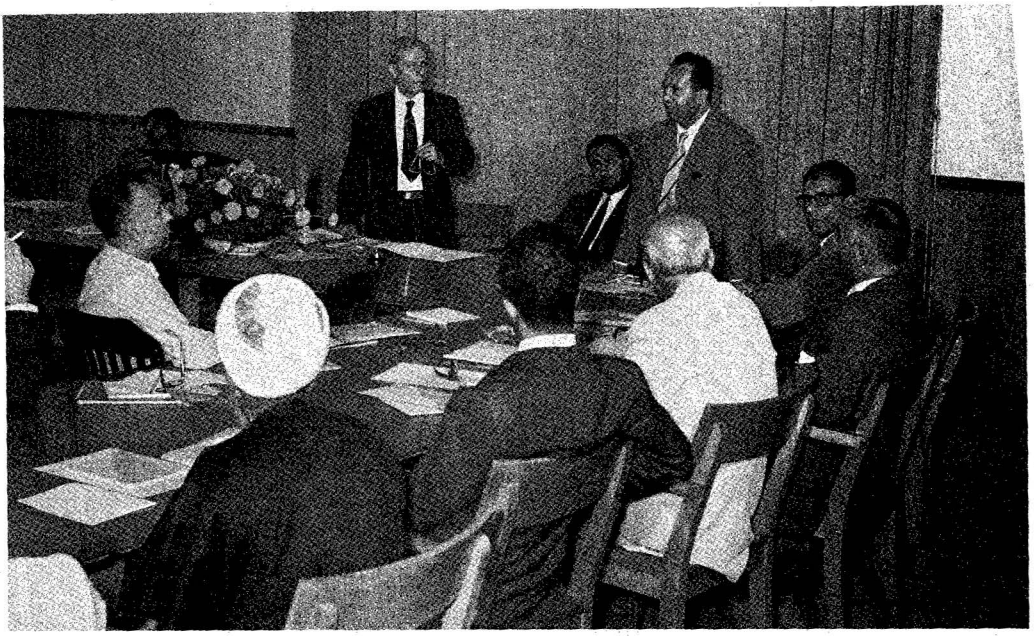
Members of the Colloquium on the Steps of Nassau Hall.



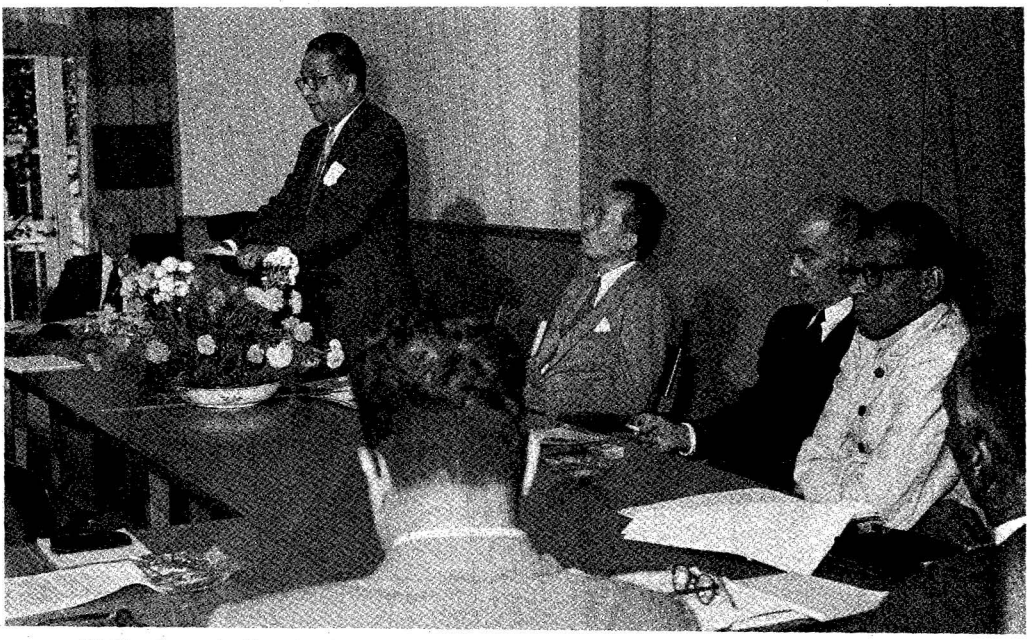
Meeting of the Colloquium in the Woodrow Wilson Hall Conference Room.

Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, Professor Philip K. Hitti and al-Qadi Muhammad al-Hajri in the Faculty Lounge of the Firestone Memorial Library.

A Group of the Delegates Enjoying Afternoon Tea in the Lounge of Woodrow Wilson Hall.

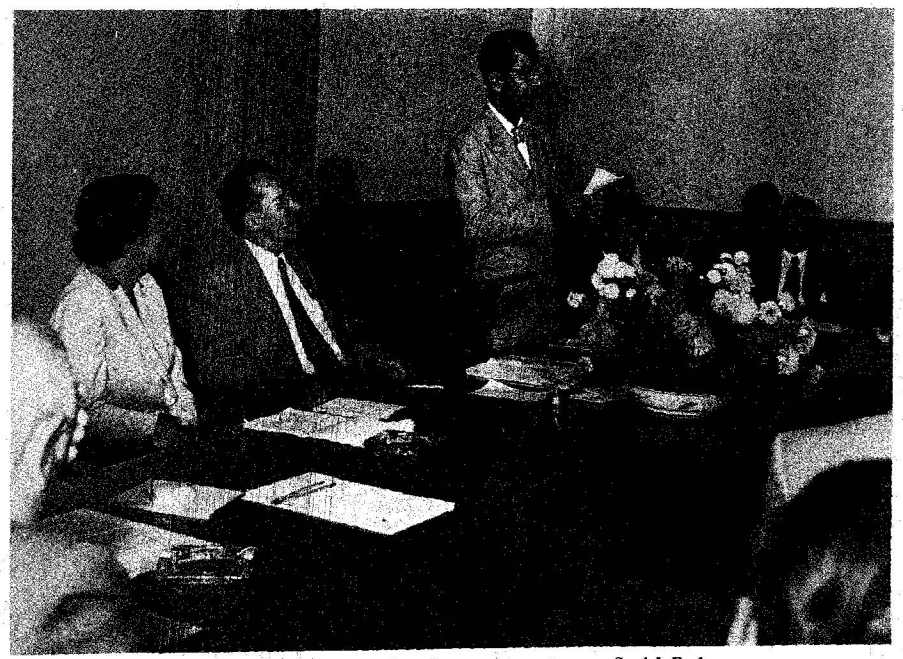


Dr. el-Bahay speaking at the meeting on Education with Dr. Hitti serving as Moderator.
Left to right around the table: Prof. Mustafa Zarka, Prof. Zainal-Abidin, Mr. Ramadhan, Dr. Nizamuddin, Mr. Amer, Dr. Shafaq, His Excellency Abdurrahman Abutaleb, and the Qadi al-Hajri.



His Excellency the Egyptian Ambassador Speaking to the Delegates and the Guests of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the Meeting on Social Reform.

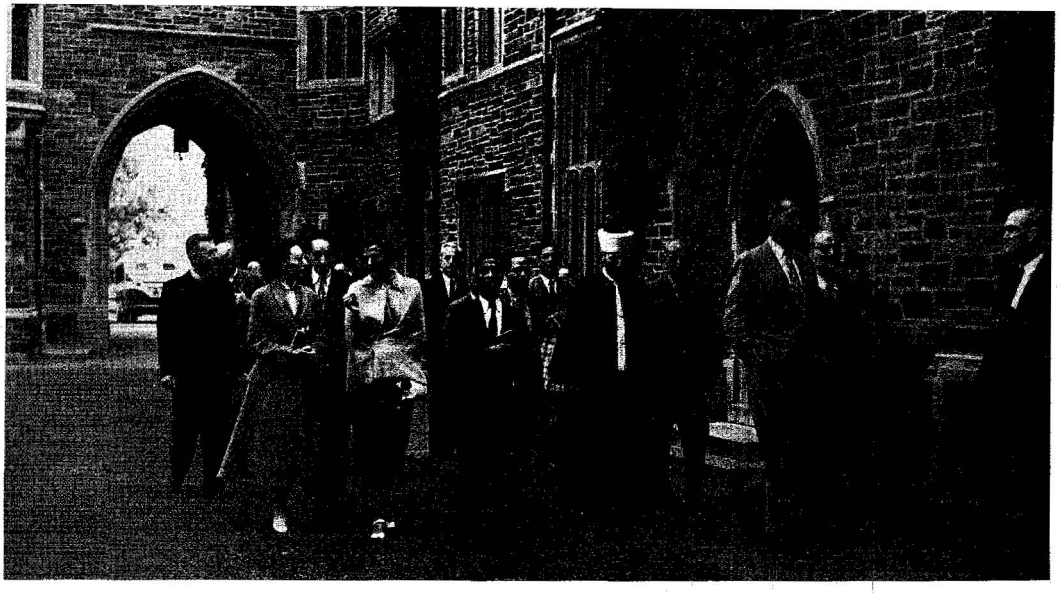
Mr. Nusuli Addressing the Meeting on Social Reform. Seated at the speaker's table are: Prof. Hitti, Hadji Agus Salim, the Egyptian Ambassador, Prof. Young, Dr. Nizamuddin and Mr. Amer.



Dr. Amir Ali speaking at the afternoon meeting on Social Reform.
Madame Hussein, Prof. Young, Hadji Agus Salim and Mr. Amer at the Speaker's Table.

Professor Khalafallah interpreting some remarks about Social Reform.

Madame Ahmed Hussein addressing the meeting on Social Reform.



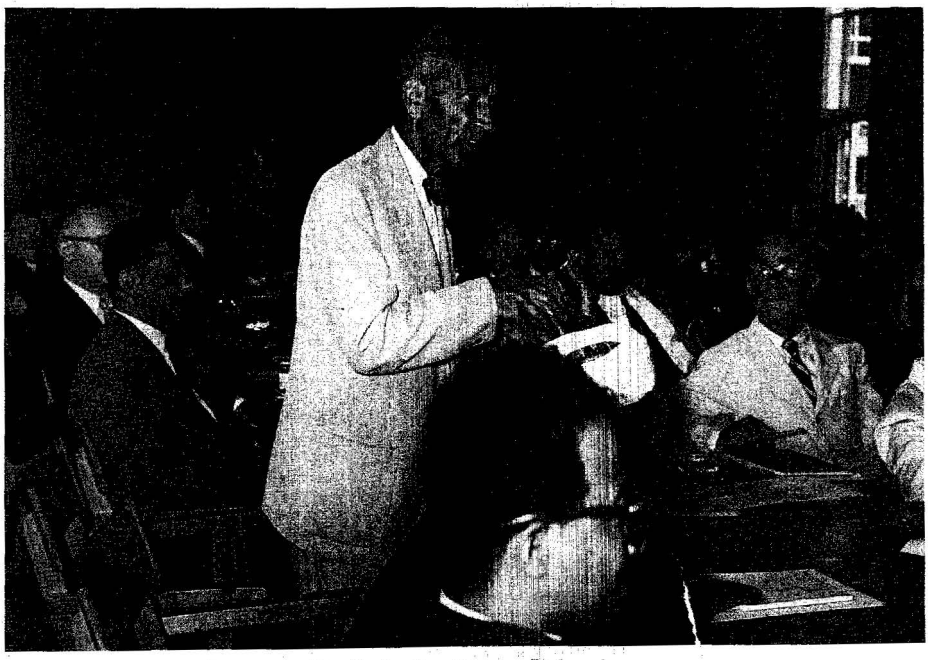
Sunday Tour of the University Campus.

Sunday Tea with President and Mrs. Dodds.
Mrs. Dodds, Dr. Burrows, Dr. Morgan, Madame Salim, Hadji Agus Salim, Madame Alisbah, Dr. Alisbah, Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, Madame Hussein, Prof. Zainal-Abidin, President Dodds, Prof. George Thomas.

Mr. Mazheruddin Siddiqi Speaking Informally to the Delegates.

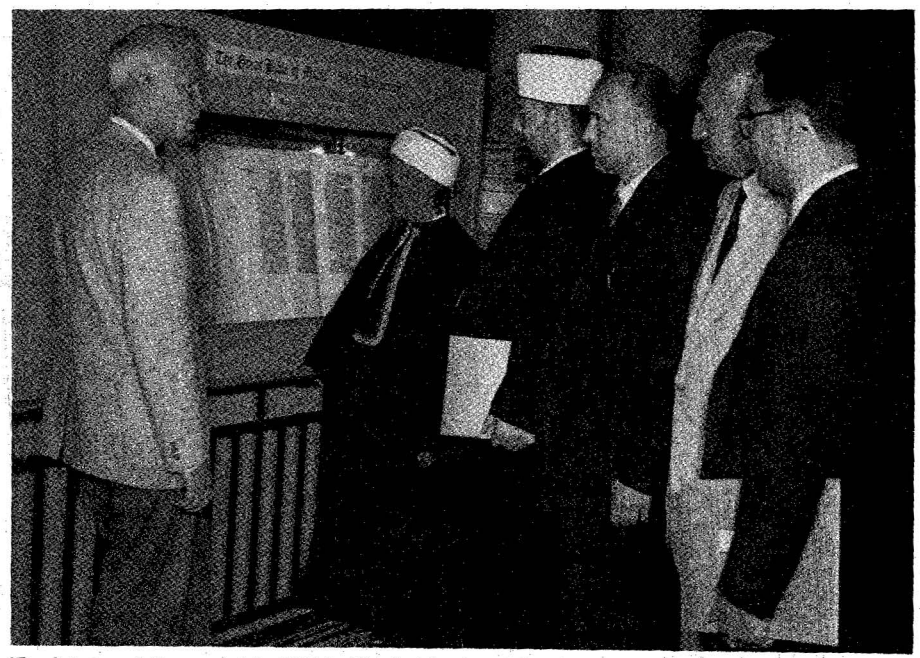
Father Connell Taking Part in the Discussion.

Dr. el-Zayyat Addressing the Delegates.



Dr. Shafaq Speaking on Philosophy.

Mr. Verner W. Clapp, Acting Librarian of Congress, welcoming the delegates to The Library of Congress.

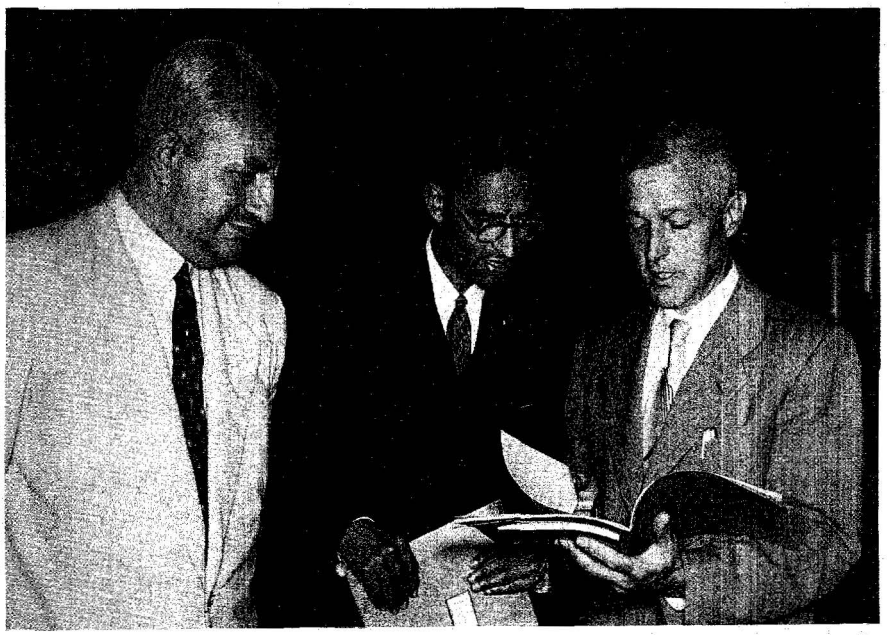


The Library of Congress: Mr. Welsh, Chief of Stack and Reader Division, showing the Bible of Mainz to the Qadi al-Hajri, Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, Prof. Mustafa Zarka, Dr. Jawad Ali and Mr. Ziadeh.

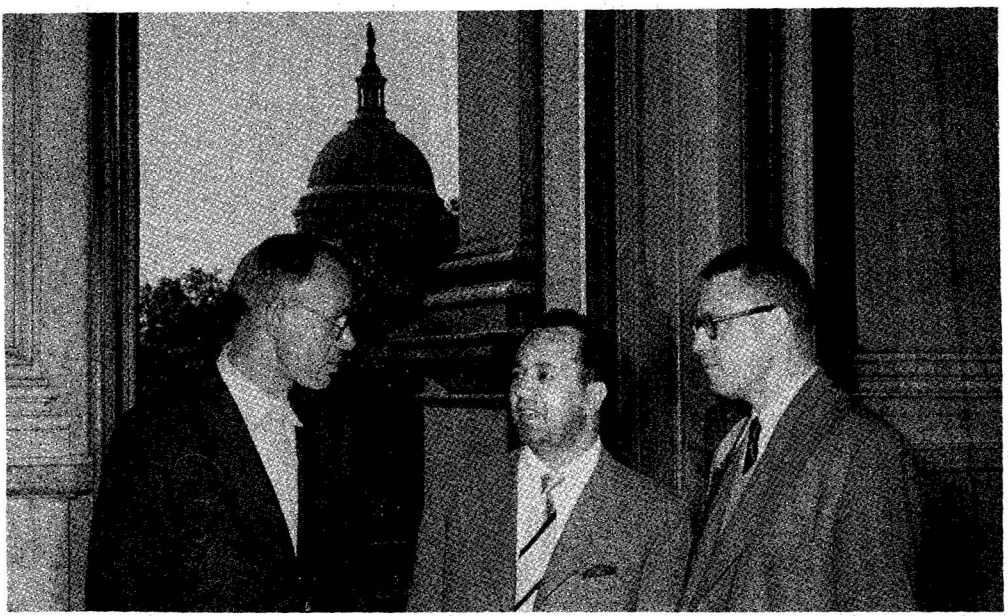
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

The Colloquium Moves to Washington. Assembling on the steps of The Library of Congress.

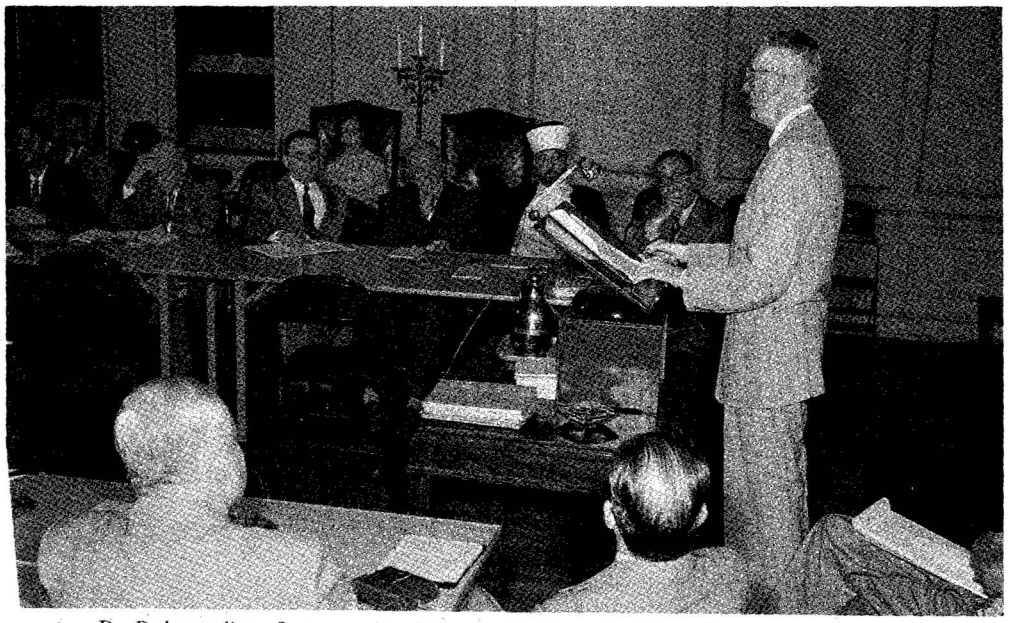
The Library of Congress: the Qadi al-Hajri, Dr. Ogden and Mr. Nusuli talking with a member of the Yemenite Legation staff.



The Library of Congress: Dr. Jawad Ali, Dr. Fazlur Rahman and Dr. Harold B. Smith Discussing the Program.

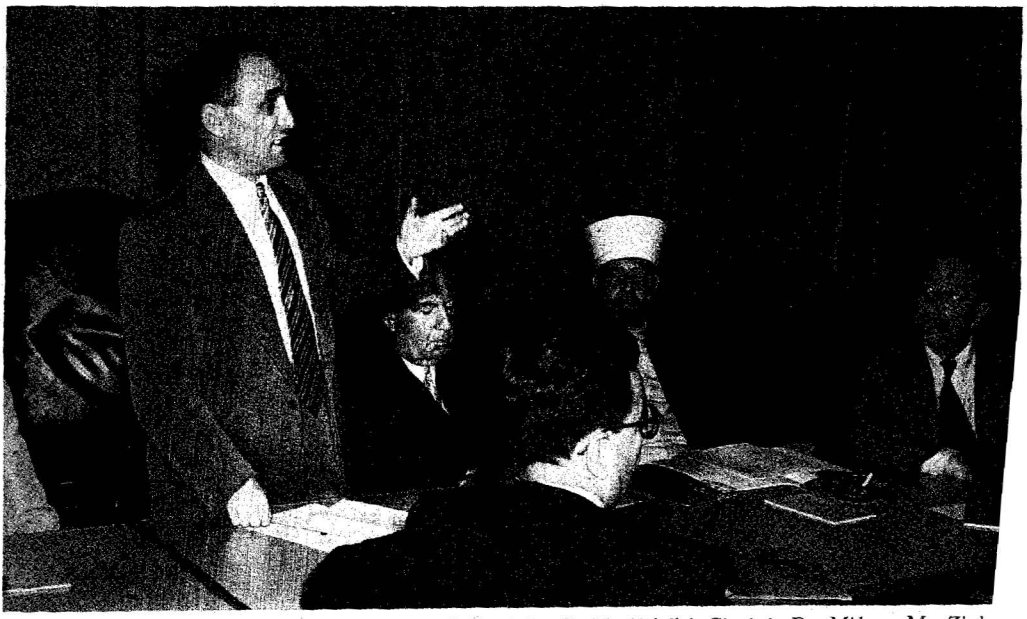


Mr. Siddiqi and Dr. el-Bahay talking with one of the hosts at Washington, with the dome of the Capitol in the background.

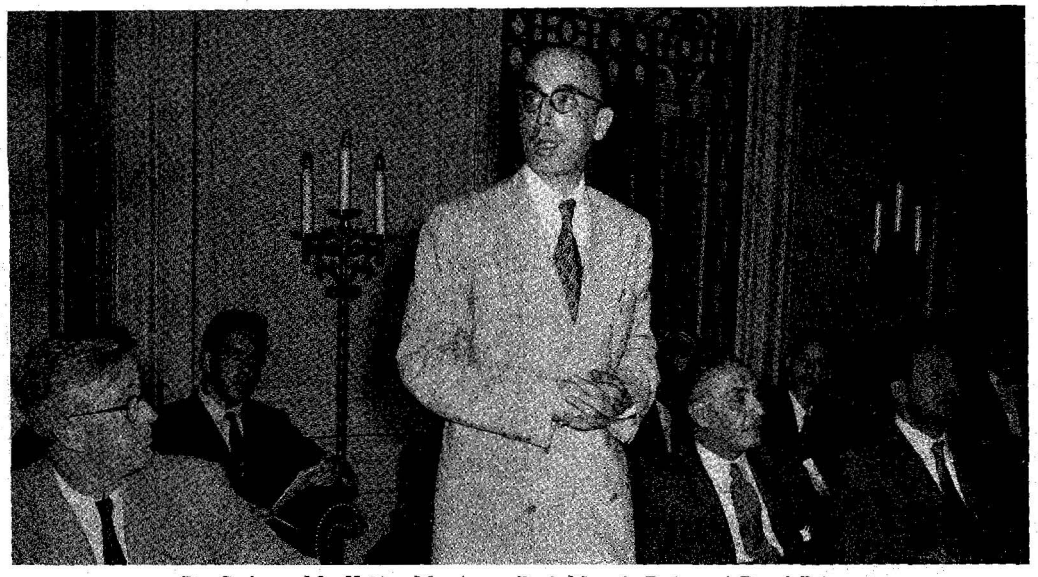


Dr. Dodge reading a Summary of the Discussions on Education and Social Reform at a meeting in The Library of Congress. Facing the camera: Dr. Rahman, Dr. Allen, Dr. Mahmassani, Mrs. Dodge, Dr. Jabri, Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, Dr. Midany.

His Excellency Mohammad H. Maiwandwal Speaking at The Library of Congress.



Dr. Mahmassani at The Library of Congress. Seated: Dr. Jabri, Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh, Dr. Midany, Mr. Ziade



Dr. Carleton, Mr. Hekim, Mr. Amer, Prof. Mustafa Zarka and Dr. el-Bahay, listening attentively as Dr. Timur addresses the delegates.

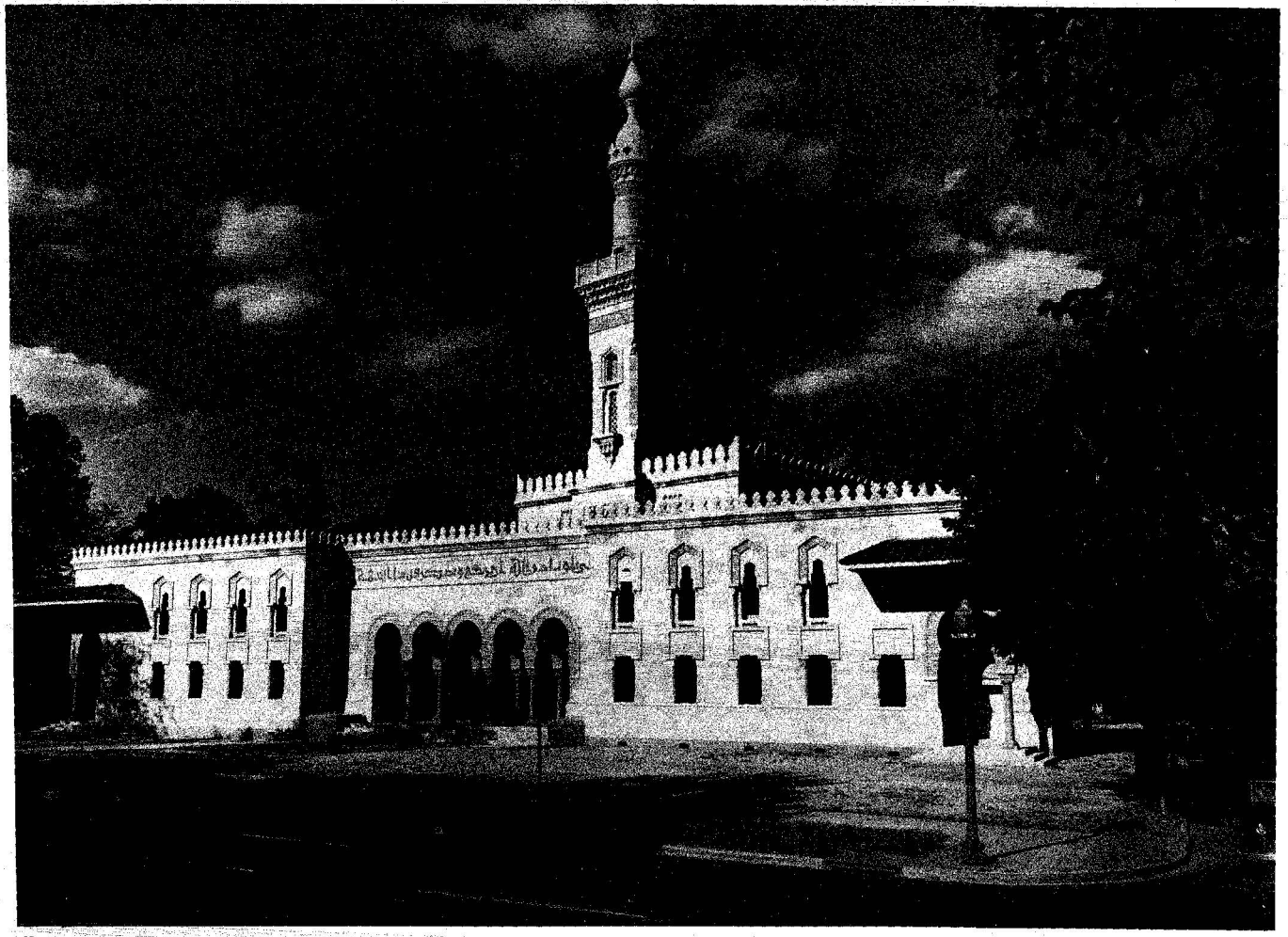
Dr. Howard Reed, one of the Rapporteurs, speaking informally. Facing the camera: Mr. Said, Mr. Keiser, Dr. Fisher, Prof. Inalcik, Dr. Mahmassani, Dr. Jabri and Shaikh Abdullah Ghosheh.

At the Mosque: Dr. Basler, Dr. Jawad Ali, Mr. Said, Prof. Minovi and Dr. Amir Ali.

At the Mosque: Dr. Nizamuddin and Dr. Amir Ali.

At the Mosque: Examining New Designs—Dr. Nizamuddin, Mr. Amer, Dr. Basler, Dr. Rahman, Dr. Lewis Thomas, Prof. Minovi and Mr. Hazemzadeh.

Meeting at the Islamic Center: the Director, Dr. Hoballah speaking; Prof. Young presiding.



The New Mosque, Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower Receiving the Delegates Who Remained in Washington after the Close of the Colloquium.
Left to Right: Messrs. Dodge, Minovi, Inalcik, Timur, Shafaq, Nizamuddin, Jawad Ali, Shujauddin, Salim, Alisbah, al-Hajri, Amir Ali, Midany (hidden), President Eisenhower, Zarka, Jabri, el-Bahay, Nusuli, Ghosheh, Mahmassani, Khalafallah, Amer, Hoballah, Ramadhan, Clapp.

The Speakers at the General Meeting at The Library of Congress—Messrs. Clapp, Amer, Northrop and Evans.

Saturday Afternoon Reception at The Library of Congress—Dr. Harold Spivacke, Head of the Music Division of The Library of Congress, Dr. and Mrs. Basler, Messrs. Ramadhan and Joseph.

ADMINISTRATION

Verner W. Clapp,
Acting Librarian of Congress,
The Library of Congress.

Dr. Roy P. Basler,
Chief, General Reference
and Bibliography Division,
The Library of Congress.

Dr. Harold W. Dodds,
President,
Princeton University.

Dr. Philip K. Hitti,
Chairman, Department of Oriental
Languages and Literatures.
Princeton University.

Dr. Bayard Dodge, Director of Colloquium.

Marschal D. Rothe, Liaison, Middle East Institute.

Mrs. Frank Anderson, Colloquium Secretary.

Dr. Harry W. Hazard, Information.
Lecturer, Princeton University.
Compiler, "Atlas of Islamic History," 1951.

Farhat J. Ziadeh, LL.B., Information.
Lecturer, Princeton University.

Mrs. Ledger Wood, Office Secretary.

RAPPORTEURS

John Joseph, Princeton.
Irfan Kawar, Princeton.
Hossein Kazemzadeh, Princeton.
Hazem Z. Nusaibah, Princeton.

Dr. Howard A. Reed, Institute of Islamic Studies,
McGill University, Montreal.

Fadlou Shehadi,
McGill and Princeton

SCHOLARS ATTENDING THE COLLOQUIUM

Abutaleb, His Excellency Abdurrahman A., Chargé de'Affaires of the Mutawakelite Kingdom of Yemen.
Address: Legation of el-Yemen, 4402 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Ali, Amir, Dean of the College of Agriculture, Osmania University.
Address: College of Agriculture, Osmania University, Hyderabad, India.
Higher education: Universities of Bombay, Chicago, Cornell (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Research Fellow, Visva-Bharati, Bengal; Private Secretary, Prime Minister, Hyderabad; Deputy Secretary, Supply Department, Hyderabad.
1953, Visiting Professor, Fulbright and Ford Foundation programs.
Principal publications: "Facts and Fancies" essays, 1946.

Ali, Jawad, Secretary and Member, Iraqi Academy (al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Iraqi).
Address: 3A:2:9 al-Waziriyah, Baghdad, Iraq.
Higher education: Higher Teachers Training College, Baghdad; Universities of Berlin and Hamburg (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Teacher in al-Markaziyah School, and normal school; Translation and Publication Department, Ministry of Education; Director of Examinations, Department of Secondary Education; Secretary of Committee on Translation and Composition.
Principal publications: History text for primary schools, 1928; "The Mahdi, the Twelfth Imam, and his Four Emissaries," 1928; "History of the Arabs before Islam," two of ten volumes already published; contributions to the Journal of the Iraqi Academy and other miscellaneous compositions.

Alisbah, Orhan H., Professor of Mathematics and Head of the Department of Mathematics, Ankara University.
Address: Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey.
Higher education: University of Berlin (Ph.D.).
Former Positions: Dean of the Faculty of Sciences, Member of the Senate, Ankara University.
1953, Visiting Professor, Princeton University; Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

Allen, Harold B., Director of Education, Near East Foundation.
Address: 54 East 64th Street, New York 21, N.Y.
Higher education: Cornell, Rutgers and Columbia Universities (M.S., Litt.D.).
Former positions: Assistant, Agricultural Education, Rutgers; Director of Education, Caucasus Area, Near East Relief; Inter-Area Director of Education, Near East Relief, H.Q.—Greece; Monroe Educational Mission to Iran; Scientific Advisory Mission to the Middle East Supply Center; President, National Agricultural College; Chairman, UNESCO Mission to the Arab States; Consultant, TCA.
Principal publications: "Come over into Macedonia," 1943; "Rural Education in the Middle East," 1946; "Rural Reconstruction in Action," 1953; co-author "The Navajo Indian Problem," 1949.

Amer, Mustafa, Director General, Department of Antiquities, Government of Egypt.
Address: 8 Rue Salamlek, Apt. 48, Garden City, Cairo, Egypt.
Higher education: Higher Training College, Cairo; University of Liverpool (B.A. Honours, M.A.).
Former positions: Professor, Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University; Vice-Rector, University of Alexandria; Vice-Rector, Fouad I University; Under-Secretary of State for Education; Rector, University of Alexandria.
Principal publications: "Some Problems of the Population of Egypt," 1929; "Maadi before History" (Arabic) 1931; "The Ancient Trans-Peninsular Routes of Arabia," 1926; "Excavations of the Egyptian University in the Neolithic Site of Maadi (with O. Menghin), Maadi I, 1932, Maadi II, 1933.

Anderson, Robert I., Personnel Officer, Kuwait Oil Company.
Address: Kuwait Oil Company, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.

Badeau, John Stothoff, President, Near East Foundation.
Address: 54 East 64th Street, New York 21, N.Y.
Higher education: Union University (B.Sc. in C.E. and honorary D.D.), Rutgers, (B.D.), Union Seminary and Columbia University (S.T.M.).
Former positions: Associate Professor of Philosophy, Dean of Faculty of Arts & Sciences, President, American University at Cairo.
Principal publications: "East and West of Suez," 1942; "The Emergence of Modern Egypt," 1953.

Bahay, Mohammad el-, Professor of Islamic Philosophy in the College of Arabic Language and General Supervisor of Research and Islamic Culture, al-Azhar, Cairo.
Address: 3, Midan el-Mostashfa el-Faransawy, Abbassieh-Sharkieh, Cairo, Egypt.
Higher education: Universities of al-Azhar, Berlin and Hamburg (Ph.D.).
Principal publications: "Interpretation of Greek Thought and its Influence on Arabic Language and Literature," 1931; "Zwei Deutungen des Islam" (Hegel & Muh. 'Abduh), 1935. "Muhammad 'Abduh," Eine Untersuchung, seiner Erziehngs-methode zum National-Bewustein zur nationalen Erhebung in Aegypten, 1936; "The Theistic Aspect of Islamic Thought," three volumes, 1945, 1948, 1953.

Basler, Roy Prentice, Chief, General Reference and Bibliography Division, The Library of Congress.
Address: 3030 Lake Avenue, Cheverly, Maryland.
Higher education: Central College; Duke University (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Head, Department of English, Alabama State Teachers College; Professor of English, University of Arkansas; Head, Department of English, George Peabody College; Executive Secretary, The Abraham Lincoln Association.
Principal publications: "The Lincoln Legend," 1935; "Abraham Lincoln: His Speeches and Writings," 1946; "Sex, Symbolism and Psychology in Literature," 1948; "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln," 1953.

Burrows, Millar, Chairman, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures, Professor of Biblical Theology, Yale University.
Address: Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.
Higher education: Union Theological Seminary (B.D.); Cornell and Yale Universities (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Professor, Brown University; Visiting Professor, American University of Beirut; President, American Schools of Oriental Research; Director, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.
Principal publications: "Founders of Great Religions," 1931; "Bible Religion," 1938; "The Basis of Israelite Marriage," 1938; "What Mean these Stones," 1941; "Outline of Biblical Theology," 1946; "Palestine is Our Business," 1949; "Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery" (Editor), 1950.

Carleton, Alford, President, Aleppo College.
Address: Aleppo College, Aleppo, Syria.
Higher education: Oberlin College and Hartford Seminary Foundation (Ph.D.).
Principal publications: "The Government of the Minorities under the Ottoman Empire" (thesis); numerous articles.

Chisholm, Roderick Aeneas, C.B.E., D.S.O., D.F.C. and bar, Kuwait Oil Company.
Address: 19 Tedworth Square, Chelsea, London.
Higher education: Ampleforth College; Imperial College of Science and Technology (B.Sc., A.R.C.S.).
Former positions: Royal Air Force, Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Coon, Carleton Stevens, Professor of Anthropology and Curator of General Ethnology in the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
Address: P.O. Box 1016, Devon, Pennsylvania.
Higher education: Harvard University (Ph.D.).
Former position: Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University.
Principal publications: "Tribes of the Rif," 1931; "Flesh of the Wild Ox," 1933; "The Riffian," 1934; "Measuring Ethi-

opia," 1935; "Races of Europe," 1939; "Principles of Anthropology" (co-author), 1942; "A Reader in General Anthropology," 1949: "Races" (co-author), 1950; "Mountains of Giants," 1951; "Caravan," 1951; "The Story of Man," 1953-1954; Also contributions to volumes on Southern Arabia, North Africa, etc.

Cragg, Kenneth, Professor of Arabic & Islamics and Editor of "The Muslim World," Hartford Seminary Foundation.
Address: 92 Girard Avenue, Hartford 5, Connecticut.
Higher education: Oxford University (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Department of Philosophy, *American University of Beirut*; Warden, St. Justin's House, Beirut; Rector of Longworth, England.
Principal publications: essays and articles.

Cresswell, John Reginald, Professor of Philosophy, West Virginia University.
Address: 215 Hillcrest Avenue, Westover, Morgantown, West Virginia.
Higher education: Brandon College, Manitoba; Universities of Cornell (Ph.D.), Columbia and Bonn.
Former positions: Instructor in Philosophy, New York University; Professor of Philosophy, West Virginia University; Cultural Relations Attaché, Beirut; Lieutenant-Colonel, MI-USAR.
Principal publications: "An Argument of Duns Scotus for God's Existence," 1948; "Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History," 1949; "Univocity of Being" according to Duns Scotus; 1951; "The Mystic's Claim," 1952; "Duns Scotus on the Will," 1953; "Some Conjectures about John Dewey," 1953.

Devenny, Joseph Austin, S.J., Candidate for Doctorate, Department of the History & Philosophy of Religion, Harvard University.
Address: 300 Newbury Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Higher education: Boston College (A.M.).
Former positions: Teacher and Principal, Baghdad College.
For publication: thesis comparing the Quranic argument as found in Tabari's "Tafsir" and in the commentary on the "Fiqr al-Akbar," attributed to al-Maturidi.

Ettinghausen, Richard, Associate in Near Eastern Art, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington; Research Professor of Islamic Art, University of Michigan; Near Eastern Editor, "Ars Orientalis."
Address: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington 25, D.C.
Higher education: Universities of Munich, Cambridge, and Frankfort (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Member Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton; Lecturer in Islamic Art, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Associate Professor of Islamic Art, University of Michigan; Editor, "Ars Islamica."
Principal publications: "Studies in Muslim Iconography I. The Unicorn." (Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers I, 3, 1950.)

Faris, Nabih Amin, Professor of Arab History; Chairman, Department of History, American University of Beirut; also Director of Arab Studies Program.
Address: American University of Beirut, Beirut, Lebanese Republic.
Higher education: American University of Beirut and Princeton University (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Curator of Arabic Manuscripts, Princeton University Library; Head of Arabic Desk, Office of War Information, Overseas Operation Branch, New York.
Principal publications: "The Antiquities of South Arabia," 1938; "Catalog of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Manuscripts in Princeton University Library," 1938; "The Story of the Alphabet," 1940; "Al-Iklil," 1940; "The Arab Heritage," 1944; "Arab Archery," 1945; "Al-Arab al-Ahya'," 1947; "Ta'rikh al-Shu'ub al-Islamiyyah" (5 volumes) 1948-1950; "Ghuyum Arabiyyah," 1950; "The Book of Idols," 1952; "Min al-Zawiyah al- 'Arabiyah," 1953; "Hadha al-'Alam al-'Arabi," 1953.

Fisher, Sydney Nettleton, Professor of History, Ohio State University. 1952-1953 editing "The Middle East Journal."
Address: Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
Higher education: Oberlin College; Univer-

sities of Illinois (Ph.D.), Princeton, Brussels.
Former positions: Instructor, Robert College, Istanbul; Professor of History, Ohio State University; Country specialist, Department of State.
Principal publication: "The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481-1512," 1948.

Frye, Richard Nelson, Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University.
Address: 546 Widener Library, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.
Higher education: Universities of Harvard (Ph.D.) and London.
Principal publications: "United States and Turkey and Iran" (co-author) 1951; "The Great Powers and the Near East" (Editor), 1951; "Iran, Key to the Middle East," 1953; "Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana," 1949; "A Mediaeval History of Bukhara," 1954.

Ghosheh, Shaikh Abdullah, President, Muslim Board of Elders.
Address: Jerusalem, Jordan.
Higher education: Kulliyah Rawdah al-Ma'arif, Jerusalem; al-Azhar University, Cairo; Judges' School, Cairo (Doctorate); Law School, Jerusalem.
Former positions: Judge, Shari'ah Court, Jerusalem; Chief of Judiciary, Minister of Justice and Minister of Education, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

al-Hajri, al-Qadi Shaikh Muhammad, Chief of the Department of Finance in the Mutawakelite Kingdom of al-Yemen.
Address: San'a, al-Yemen.
Higher education: Mosque school system of al-Yemen.
Former positions: Member of the Royal Council; Chief of the Customs Department.
Principal publications: "A History of the Mosques of San'a"; "A short History of al-Yemen"; "The Geography of al-Yemen and the Genealogy of Some of its Peoples"; "Catalogue of the Books of the San'a Mosque."

Hitti, Philip K., Professor of Semitic Literatures and Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, Princeton University.
Address: 106 FitzRandolph Road, Princeton, New Jersey.
Higher education: American University of Beirut; Columbia University (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Lecturer, Columbia University; Professor, American University of Beirut.
Principal publications: "History of the Arabs," 5th edition, 1951; "History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine," 1951; "The Arabs: A Short History," 3rd edition, 1951.

Hoballah, Mahmoud F., Professor of Ethics and Psychology, al-Azhar University; now delegated as Director, The Islamic Center, Washington, D.C.
Address: 2551 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Higher education: al-Azhar University; University of London (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Cultural Attaché at the Egyptian Embassy, Pakistan; Lecturer in Ethics, al-Azhar University.
Principal publications: "Spinoza's Conception of Human Individuality," 1943; "Humanism in Islam," 1946; "Individual Liberty in Islam," 1946; "God and His Existence," 1946; "Mankind's Need for Divine Guidance," 1946; "The Prophet Mohammed and His Mission," 1946; "Emotion and Belief," 1948; "Status of Minorities in a Moslem State," 1949; "Islamic Democracy," 1949; "Islam and Why I Am Moslem," 1949; "Islam and World Peace," 1952; Translation into Arabic, "The Will to Believe and Other Essays" by William James.

Inalcik, Halil, Professor, University of Ankara; Dil ve Tarih Cografya Fakultesi, Department of History.
Address: Yenisehir, Konur sokak no. 10/6, Ankara, Turkey.
Higher education: University of Ankara (M.A.); University of London.
Principal publications: "Tanzimat and Bulgarian Question," 1943; "The Ottoman Register of Timars of Albania dated 835 of Hijra" (in the press); "Studies on the Time of Mohammed the Conqueror" (in the press); "Timariotes Chrétiens en Al-

banie"; many articles in learned journals and encyclopedias.

Jabri, Chafic, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Syrian University; Member of the Arab Academy and Correspondent - member, Fouad Academy, Cairo.
Address: Syrian University, Damascus, Syria.
Higher education: Lazaristes' French College.
Former positions: Censor of Press; Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Interpreter to French in Department of Press; Chief, Department of Ministry of Education.
Principal publications: "Al-Mutanabbi"; "Al-Jahiz"; "Al-Aghani"; "Psychological Elements of Arab Politics," 1945; "Between the Sea and the Desert."

Kafrawi, Mohammad, Secretary-General, Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs; Member Indonesian Board of Film Censorship; Secretary, Council of Secretaries-General; Adviser to faculty and board, Islamic College, Djakarta.
Address: 9 Djalan Subang, Djakarta, Indonesia.
Higher education: Government High School for Middle Ranking Officials of the Native Service; Academy for the Home Service, Government Administration Faculty, University of Indonesia.
Former positions: varied government posts; Chairman, National Committee of the Regency of Bondowoso for Enforcing the Republican Order; Regent, assistant to Ministry of Home Affairs, Djokjakarta; Regent, assistant to Bureau for Dutch Occupied Areas in the cabinet of the Indonesian Prime Minister, Djokjakarta; Member, Technical Staff, Central Joint Board under U.N. Committee, for implementing the truce agreements with the Dutch; Resident, Head of the Residency of Banten.

Khadduri, Majid, Professor of Middle East Studies, School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University; Director of Research and Education at the Middle East Institute, Washington, D.C.
Address: 4454 Tindall Street, N.W., Washington 16, D.C.
Higher Education: American University of Beirut; University of Chicago (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Professor at the Higher Teachers College and Lecturer at the Law College, Baghdad; Adviser to the Iraqi Delegation at San Francisco Conference; Visiting Professor, Indiana University; Visiting Professor, University of Chicago.
Publications: "The Law of War and Peace in Islam," 1941; "Independent Iraq," 1951.

Khalafallah, Mohammad, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Professor of Arabic Language and Literature, University of Alexandria.
Address: 24 Sharia Muhammad Bey Farid, Bulkley, Ramlah, Alexandria.
Higher education: Dar al-'Alum, Cairo; University of London (M.A.).
Former positions: Professor of Arabic Language and Literature, and Chairman of the Department of Arabic and Oriental Languages, University of Alexandria.
Principal publications: "The Child from the Cradle to Maturity," 1939; "How the Mind Functions" (translation) 1946; "Study and Criticism of Literature from a Psychological Point of View," 1947; "Studies of Islamic Literature," 1947; "Quranic Studies as a Factor in the Development of Arabic Criticism," 1950; "Development of Literary Arabic."

Khaliq, Syed Ghulam, Cultural and Educational Attaché, Embassy of Pakistan.
Address: Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D.C.
Higher education: Panjab University; Cambridge University.
Former positions: Senior Lecturer in Indian and Islamic History in Government, Islamia College, Calcutta; member of Oriental and Art Faculties, Calcutta University; Senior Lecturer in Indian and Islamic History, Panjab University; member of Oriental and Arts Faculties and Fellow of the Panjab University; Visiting Lecturer, Columbia University, 1952-53.

Mahmassani, Sobhi, Barrister-at-law; Lecturer on Majallah and Roman Law, American University of Beirut; Lecturer on Islamic Jurisprudence, French Law Faculty, Beirut; member of the Arab Academy.

Address: Azariah Building No. 1, Beirut, Lebanon.

Higher education: American University of Beirut; Université de Lyon Doctorat en Droit; University of London (LL.B.).

Former positions: Judge of the Court of First Instance, Tyre; Justice of the Peace, District of Chouf; District Attorney and Judge of the Court of First Instance, Beirut; Judge of the Court of Appeals, and Attorney General of the Muhammadan Sunni Court of Appeals, Beirut; President, Civil Chamber of Court of Appeals, Beirut; Legal adviser for Lebanese Delegations to Conferences of San Francisco and of the Arab League; Lecturer on the Law of the Constitution, Lebanese Academy, Beirut.

Publications: "Les idées économiques d'Ibn Khaldoun," 1932; "Philosophy of Jurisprudence in Islam," 1946; "General Theory of Obligations and Contracts under Muhammadan Jurisprudence," 1948; Year Books of Cases of the Mixed Section of the Court of Appeal, 1938-43; Year Books of the Civil Chamber of the Court of Appeal, 1939-45; "Constitution and Democracy," 1952.

Maiwandwal, Mohammad Hashim, Counselor, Chargé d'Affaires, a.i. of Afghanistan.

Address: Royal Afghanistan Embassy, 2001 24th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Higher education: Habibia College, Kabul; George Washington University.

Former positions: Editor, "Itafaqi"; Editor, "Islam"; Director, Literary Society of Herat and Editor of the society's monthly journal; Editor, "Daily Anis," Kabul; General Director, Encyclopedia Afghanistan; Press Adviser to King of Afghanistan; President of Press and Publications Department.

Matthews, Charles D., Member of the Research Division, Arabian American Oil Company, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, with rank of a Senior Arabist.

Address: c/o Research Division, Arabian American Oil Company, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

Higher education: Birmingham-Southern College; Yale University (Ph.D.).

Former positions: Professor and Library Director, Birmingham-Southern College; Captain in Military Government, Army of the United States, in North Africa and Italy; Cultural Relations Attaché (Department of State), Cairo; Professor of Humanities, University of Redlands, Calif.

Principal publications: Revision of Blaikie's "Manual of Bible History," 1940; "Palestine—Mohammedan Holy Land," 1949.

Matthews, Roderic D., Professor of Education, School of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

Address: School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Higher education: Grinnell College; University of Pennsylvania (Ph.D.).

Former positions: Teacher, American University at Cairo; Instructor-Professor, University of Pennsylvania; Director, American Council on Education, Commission to Study Education in Arab Countries; Chairman, Commission on Secondary Schools, Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Principal Publications: "Post-Primary Education in England," 1931; "Education in Arab Countries of the Near East" (with Matta Akrawi), 1949; "Evaluative Criteria" (Director of Revision), 1950.

Midany, Sami, President of Syrian University, Dean of the Law Faculty and Professor of Law.

Address: Qassa, Damascus, Syria.

Higher education: Universities: Berlin; Heidelberg (Doctor of Law); Paris.

Former positions: Administrative Director of Hejaz Railway; Judge; Member of the Municipality; Legal adviser of Electricity Company and Socony-Vacuum Oil Company in Damascus.

Principal publications: "Islamic Family Rights"; "Private International Law"; "Private Syrian International Law."

Minovi, Mojtaba, University of Tehran; Chief of the Department of Higher Education at the Ministry of Education.

Address: Ministry of Education, Tehran, Iran.

Morgan, Arthur E.

Address: Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Higher education; Antioch College.

Former positions: President, Antioch College; Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority; Member, University Commission appointed by government of India.

Principal publications: "The Drainage of the St. Francis Valley in Arkansas," 1909; "My World," 1927; "Small Community Economics," 1943; "The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy," 1945; "Nowhere was Somewhere," 1946; "Higher Education in Relation to Rural India," 1949.

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Principal publications: "Introduction to the Jawamiul-Hikayat of Muhammad Awfi," 1929. (Vol. I of a critical edition of the Persian text of the above work is in the press); Editor and collaborator of many volumes in the Dairatul-Maarif publications.

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Former positions: Master, Silliman College, Yale; President, American Philosophical Association, Eastern Division.

Principal publications: "Science and First Principles," 1931; "The Meeting of East and West," 1946; "The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities," 1947; "The Taming of the Nations," 1952.

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Former positions: Member, Council of Ministers, Lebanese Republic.

Principal publications: Numerous articles.

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Former positions: Field representative, Presbyterian Mission in Syria and Lebanon; Public Affairs Officer, American Legation, Beirut; Damascus.

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Former positions: Director of Research, Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology; Visiting Lecturer in Anthropology, Columbia University; Viking Fund Post Doctoral Fellowship in Anthropology; Visiting Professor of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania; Lecturer in Anthropology, New School for Social Research; Lecturer in Education, New York University; Consultant on the Middle East, Dept. of Social Affairs, United Nations.

Principal publications: "The Science of Man: An Introduction to Anthropology," 2 vols., 1947; "On Culture and Its Working in Modern Palestine," 1947; "Man and Temple in Ancient Jewish Myth and Ritual," 1947; "Israel Between East and West: A Study in Human Relations," 1953; "Social Conditions in the Middle East," in Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1952 (Anonymous).

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Former positions: Professor of History, University of Delhi; Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Delhi; Professor of History, Punjab University; Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation, Government of Pakistan; Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan.
Principal publication: "The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi," 1942.

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Higher education: University of Lahore; Oxford University (D. Phil.).
Principal publication: "Avicenna's Psychology," 1952.

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Higher Education: Cairo University (B.A. and LL.B.).
Former positions: Editor, "Alshihab," lawyer.
Principal publications: contributions to "Almuslimoon" and a booklet, "What are You?"

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Address: University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.
Higher education: University of Berlin (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Assistant Professor of Semitic Languages, Hebrew Union Colleges, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Principal publications: "A History of Muslim Historiography," 1952; "The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship," 1947; "Ahmad b. at-Tayyib as-Sarakhsi," 1943; "Muslim Autobiography," 1937.

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Higher education: Lycée Académique Impérial; American University of Beirut (M.D.).
Former positions: Diplomate American Board of Internal Medicine; Diplomate National Board of Medical Examiners, Washington, D.C.; Diplomate by delegation of the Haut Commissaire de la République Française; Lecturer on History of Medicine, Wayne University Medical School.
Principal publications: "Reflection of Arabian Medicine at Salerno and Montpellier," 1933; "A Bio-Bibliographical Study of Hunayn Ibn Is-Haq Al-Ibadi (Johannitius)," 1934; "The Millennium of Ar-Razi (Rhazes)," 1935; "Al-Hakim C.V.A. VanDyck," 1937; "Life and Works of George Edward Post," 1938.

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Former positions: Instructor, Principal of high school, Superintendent of Administration, Ministry of Education, Baghdad, Iraq.
Principal publications: "Everyday Life Vocabulary" (1938); translations into Arabic; "Literary Arabic and Grammar" (1951).

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Former positions: Za'im; Foreign Minister.
Principal publications: Numerous short publications in Dutch and Indonesian.

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Former positions: Professor, Tehran University; member of Iranian Mejlis; member of Iranian Senate.
Principal publications: "Abridged History of Iranian Literature"; "A History of Iranian Literature for Higher Education"; "Annotations to a Short History of Iran"; "Shahnama, Glossary with a Study on Ferdousi"; "Fight Against Superstition"; "Reminiscences of a Trip to Switzerland."

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Principal publications: "Islam and Communism," 1944; "Marxism and Islam," 1950; "Historical Materialism and Islam," 1952; "Women in Islam," 1952; "Islamic Theory of History," 1951; "Islamic Theory of Economics," 1950.

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Principal publication: "Material for a Corpus of Iranian Islamic Architecture" (Series, 1939-, 11 numbers issued).

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Principal publication: "Modern Islam in India," 1943.

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Former position: Teacher, Robert College, Istanbul.
Principal publication: "The United States and Turkey and Iran," 1951 (with R. N. Frye).

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Principal publications: Text with Translation and Notes of "The Commentary of Pappus on the Tenth Book of Euclid," 1930; Text with Translation and Notes of al-Hajjaj's translation of Fifth and Sixth Books of Euclid, 1932.

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Principal publications: "Le lien du mariage à travers l'histoire juridique turque," 1936; "Universiteler Kanum," 1949.

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Principal publications: "Economic Mind and Mentality in Turkey Since the End of the Middle Ages," 1951; "Early Economic Crises and Disturbances in Islamic Countries," 1951.

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Former positions: Asst. Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Asia Institute; Chairman, Department of Arabic, Asia Institute; Asst. Professor of Arabic, Associate Professor of Arabic, University of Chicago.
Principal publications: "Medieval Islam," 1946; "Muhammadan Festivals," 1951; "Die Wirklichkeitweite der früharabischen Dichtung. Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung," 1937; "A Tenth-Century Document of Arabic Literary Theory and Criticism," 1951.

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Principal publication: "The Burden of Egypt. An Interpretation of Ancient Egyptian Culture," 1951.

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Principal publications: Articles in journals, Encyclopedia Britannica, Encyclopedia Americana.

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Principal publication: "Near Eastern Culture and Society," 1951.

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Principal publications: Books in Malay: (Titles given below in English) "Whetstone of Reading," 1924; "Studies in Malay Grammar and Composition," 1926-27; "The Art of Malay Composition," 1934; "Tales from Shakespeare," 1929-1930; "Conclusion from the Discussions of the Learned," 1934; "Lights on the Malay Language," 1940-49; "Malay Spelling List," 1941; "Secrets of Jawi Spelling," 1931; "The Root of Progress," 1932; "The Seeds of Progress," (a collection of essays and articles) 1917-1931. Numerous books published serially in Malay newspapers and periodicals. In English: papers, short studies and articles in journals and newspapers.

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Former positions: Professor of Islamic Jurisprudence and Arabic Literature in the Aleppo Shari'ah College, attached to the Department of Awqaf.
Principal publications: Numerous books and articles on Islamic Jurisprudence and Awqaf; "Islamic Law in its New Setting."

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Higher education: Fouad I University, Cairo; Oxford University (Ph.D.).
Former positions: Assistant Lecturer, Fouad I University; Lecturer, Instructor, Assistant and Associate Professor, University of Alexandria.
Principal publications: "Persian Influence on Arabic Court Literature," 1947; "Making Use of Our Literary Heritage," 1948.

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Previously, Acting Director, Office of Near Eastern Affairs, and Consultant to the Assistant Secretary of State.

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Previously, Research in Near Eastern Law, and Lecturer, University of Pennsylvania; Research Analyst, Office of Strategic Services; private research foundation and special legal adviser.

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Previously, Assistant Professor of Classics, Washington University.

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Previously, Director, Princeton University Press.

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Previously, British Civil Service, Ceylon; President, Eastern Division, American Philosophical Association; Member, Mind Association, England.

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Previously, member of faculty: Cornell, Stanford, California Institute of Technology, University of California at Los Angeles; Graduate School, Brooklyn College, and New York University.

The Principal Cultural Centers and Agencies, which were Visited by Members of the Colloquium, after the Conference Ended.

Colleges and Universities

1. Arizona, University of, Tucson, Arizona.
2. Baylor University, Waco, Texas.
3. California, University of, Berkeley, California.
4. Chattanooga, University of, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
5. Chicago, University of (Oriental Institute, Library), Chicago, Illinois.
6. Colby College, Waterville, Maine.
7. Columbia University, New York, New York.
8. Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.
9. Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.
10. Florida, University of, Gainesville, Florida.
11. Fordham University, New York, New York.

12. Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Connecticut.
13. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
14. Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.
15. Illinois, University of (Library), Urbana, Illinois.
16. Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.
17. Iowa, State University of, Iowa City, Iowa.
18. Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota.
19. Maryland, University of, College Park, Maryland.
20. Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
21. Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
22. New Mexico, University of, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
23. New York University, New York, New York.
24. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
25. Oklahoma, University of, Norman, Oklahoma.
26. Pennsylvania, University of, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
27. Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.
28. Principia College, Elsah, Illinois.
29. Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.
30. School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, D.C.
31. Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.
32. Stanford University, Stanford, California.
33. Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
34. Texas, University of, Austin, Texas.
35. Utah, University of, Salt Lake City, Utah.
36. Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.
37. Virginia, University of, Charlottesville, Virginia.
38. Washington, University of, Seattle, Washington.
39. Wayne University, Detroit, Michigan.
40. Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.
41. Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Agencies, Organizations and Newspapers

1. Adult Education Foundation of Akron, Akron, Ohio.
2. Adult Education Center, Sioux City, Iowa.
3. Adult Education Council of the Chattanooga Area, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
4. Adult Education Division, Board of Education, Niagara Falls, New York.
5. American-Egyptian Society, Inc., New York, New York.
6. American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., Chicago, Illinois and New York, New York.
7. Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio.
8. The Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
9. The Denver Post, Denver, Colorado.
10. International Moslem Society of the United States and Canada (chapters).
11. The Iran Foundation, Inc., New York, New York.
12. The Islamic Center, Washington, D.C.
13. Mitchell, Raymond O. (Consultant, Governor's Committee on Business and Industrial Development), Phoenix, Arizona.
14. The Middle East Institute, The Near East Society and Near East College Association, Cleveland, Ohio; Los Angeles, California; Dallas, Texas; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; New York, New York.
15. The New York Times, New York, New York.
16. Tennessee Valley Authority, Chattanooga and Knoxville, Tennessee.
17. United States Army Language School, Monterey, California.
18. West Texas Regional Program, Adult Education, Lubbock, Texas.
19. World Affairs Council of the Monterey Peninsula, Monterey, California.
20. World Affairs Council of Northern California, San Francisco, California.