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A Survey History of Islamic Da'wah and the Egyptian-Nigerian Connections

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A SURVEY HISTORY OF ISLAMIC DA'WAH

AND THE EGYPTIAN-NIGERIAN CONNECTIONS

by

Luka T. Daniel

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A Thesis in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree Master of Arts in the Field of Middle Eastern Studies

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December, 1979

Abstract

A SURVEY HISTORY OF ISLAMIC DA'WAH

AND THE EGYPTIAN-NIGERIAN CONNECTIONS

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For history sources, I have depended heavily on the relevant

pieces of literature in my possession, on those of Loma Linda Univer-

sity, California, and of the University of Washington, Seattle, and on

those in the Arab Republic of Egypt, particularly at Al-Azhar Univer-

sity, the American University at Cairo, and the British Consulate in

Cairo. Further, I have had personal interviews with professors at

Loma Linda and Seattle, and with Muslim and Christian scholars (clergy

and laity) in Egypt and Nigeria.

Since this survey is more historical than sociological, and since

Islamic da'wah is twelve to thirteen centuries older than sociological

theory as we know it today, I have made little use of sociological

theory. However, I have noted, in passing, both conflict theory and

functionalism. By the conflict theory, I am referring to (p. 67) that

of George Simmel, not Karl Marx, who stresses domination and subjuga-

tion. Simmel stresses the socializing and unifying functions of

conflict. I have equated the rationale of Islamic jihad (holy war) to

Simmel's conflict functionalism. Further, I have equated the Muslim

global brotherhood (p. 116) to Emile Durkheim's "collective conscience,"

a concept which stresses the eufunctions of religion in society.

I have found that the effectiveness of Islamic da'wah in the

developing countries, especially Egypt and Nigeria, can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. The less the social or cultural integration, the more inclined is a person or the more vulnerable is a society to Islam, e.g., the nomadic Arabs (pp. 3-9) and the Hausa city-states of Nigeria (pp. 95-99).

2. The more culturally accommodating or absorbing a cause is, the more readily acceptable it is to the African mind (pp. 77-78).

3. The more futuristic a cause is, the less appealing it is to the African (pp. 78-79).

4. The more a cause can create a substitute to sacred objects ("fetishism") the more acceptable it is to the African, e.g., the "mune" of the Borno (northeastern Nigeria)--see pp. 77, 78, 95.

5. Those who do not like to be restrained by religious structure, such as a church, are more likely to become Muslim (p. 80).

6. Those who aspire to higher posts in politics or civil service are more likely to turn Muslim, e.g., the Nigerian situation (pp. 76, 77).

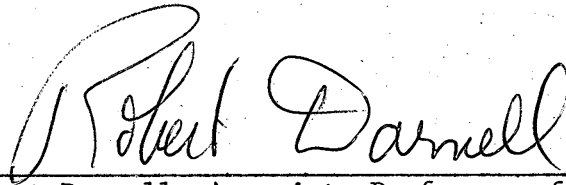7. The more a cause has nationalistic appeals, the more acceptable it is to the oppressed mind (pp. 115-123).

Other conclusions drawn are as follows:

1. Islam and Christianity have influenced each other and shared methods and rationale of da'wah/mission with each other throughout their history.

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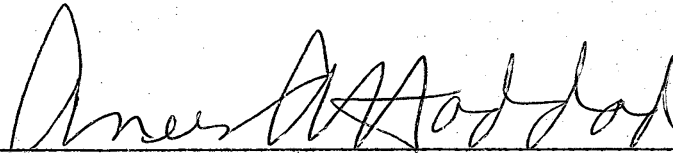
2. The connections between Nigeria and Egypt have been genealogical as well as religious (pp. 94-99).

3. The indirect connections of Islamic da'wah between Egypt and Nigeria seem to be more effective than the direct ones in establishing and sustaining Islam in Nigeria (pp. 107-112).

4. None of the methods of Islamic da'wah discussed in this paper has proven to be the most effective in all places at all times and under all conditions. However, of all the methods, coersive and peaceful, one element, nationalism, seems to prevail, especially the features of brotherly love and sense of global togetherness in peace and war (pp. 115-123).

Finally, I have suggested that Christian researchers and preachers among Muslims should treat the Muslims as equals. They should stress the common-grounds first before tackling the battle-grounds. A one-to-one interaction may be more effective and less suspicious than other methods of mission (pp. 128-131).
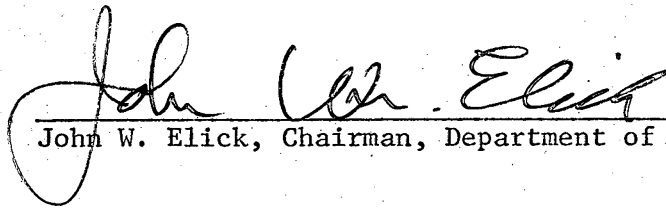
Each person whose signature appears below certifies that this thesis in his opinion is adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree Master of Arts.

_____, Chairman
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

AD   --Abu Daud (Traditions). But "Anno Domini"

        (Year of Our Lord) is written "A.D."

Bu.   --Bukhari (Traditions).

MM   --Muslim (Traditions).

n.y.   --No year.

Tr.   --Trimidhi (Traditions).

Chapter 1

AN OVERVIEW OF ISLAMIC DA'WAH

Islam can, with few scruples, subscribe to most of the tenets of
Christianity and Judaism. Perhaps that is why a prominent historian
like Professor Philip K. Hitti describes Islam as a "Christian heretical
sect" (1967:44), and Canon Taylor calls it a "reformed Judaism" (Ahmad,
n.y.:118). Nevertheless, Islam is a distinct religion. Muslims do not
like others to call them "Muhammadans" or their religion "Muhammadan-
ism," because Muhammad, the founder of Islam, does not occupy the same
place in Islam as Christ does in Christianity (Eph. 5:23, 24) or Judah
does in Judaism (Gen. 49:10). In this discussion of Islamic da'wah,
one may note that Islam may be similar to Christianity and Judaism and
yet still be distinct from both of them.

This paper aims to find answers to questions concerning Islamic
da'wah (mission) such as:

1. How many avenues of da'wah have Muslims used or do they use,
in Africa in general and in Nigeria in particular, to win converts?

2. Which of these avenues seems to be the most effective?

3. What is the relationship between the most effective avenue(s),
if any, and the cultural and/or social background of the average
Nigerian?

4. What is the relationship between Islamic da'wah and Christian
mission?

5. Does Islamic da'wah account for Muslims outnumbering Christians

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in Nigeria?

    6. Would it be morally right for Christians to use the methods of Islamic da'wah in their world mission, particularly in their mission to Islam?

SECTION I

ISLAMIC DA'WAH DEFINED

The Arabic word Islam simply means "surrender." Those who surrender
are called Muslims. The Qur'an describes the divine messengers of the
most ancient times as followers of Islam. Islam is used as a generic
term applicable to every revealed religion. Islam was the religion of
Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus (Surah 5:3; 42:13; 3:52).

We need, further, to understand the Muslim concept of religion. On
this point, Maulana Muhammad in his book The Religion of Islam, explains:

> "The Arabic word for 'religion' is din or milla the
> root-meaning of the former being 'obedience' and that of
> the latter 'to dictate.' ...Another word for religion
> is madhab which is not used in the Qur'an. It is derived
> from the root dhahaba meaning 'he went,' and madhhab
> signifies 'a way that one pursues in respect of doctrines
> and practice' in religion. ...According to some author-
> ities, the distinction between the three words is thus
> expressed: din in relation to God who reveals it, milla
> in relation to the prophet through whom it is revealed,
> and madhhab in relation to the mujtahid who expands it"
> (Ali, n.d.:1).

This explanation of the Arab understanding of religion is a preview, in
a nutshell, of what we shall discover in this paper.

Da'wah means "calling" or "invitation." In a spiritual sense, it
means "a calling for mankind to surrender to Allah." Professor Isma'il
Al-Farugi states in his article, "On the Nature of Islamic Da'wah,"
that this da'wah is "based upon the Islamic assertion that primeval
religion or monotheism is found in every man (din al-fitrah), and that
all he needs is to be reminded of it" (International Review of Mission,
Oct. 1976:395).

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However, Islam, like other religions, is not sure that reminding is enough. Surah 2:256 categorically says that there is "no coercion in religion," but the Qur'an also enjoins Muslims to "slay the idolaters" until "they repent and establish worship" (9:5). Later on in this paper we shall notice how Muslim scholars try to explain this and other difficulties.

SECTION II

WHO?

(The Ideal Da'iyah)

Before we consider the ideal da'iyah (caller), Muhammad, the
founder of Islam, let us first survey the area from which he came--
Arabia.

Professor Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, former Rector of the University
of Assiout, Egypt, explains that the pre-Islamic history of Arabia is
uncertain for two reasons: 1) the lack of political unity and, 2) the
prevalence of illiteracy. "The result," he says, is "that no recorded
history existed before the end of the Umayyad period (A.H. 132/750 A.D.)"
(Hassan, 1967:15).

Although earlier the geographical designation "Arabia" had various
meanings, by the time of Muhammad it was, as today, the large peninsula
of southwestern Asia, bounded by the Red Sea in the West, the Indian
Ocean in the South, the Arab Gulf in the East, and Kuwait, Iraq and
Jordan in the North. The Arabs call the Peninsula Jazirat al-Arab or
"the isle of the Arabs" (Ib. 16).

It was Muhammad who provided political unity for Arabia. Before
Muhammad every tribe ruled itself. Several clans formed a tribe. At
the head of the tribes was a shaykh (elder), who was selected from
among the ahl al-ikhtiyan--people old enough to have proper choice.
The shaykh was advised by a majlis (council) consisting of the heads of

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the families and clans. With his death, the shaykh's authority dis-
solved automatically; there was no rule of succession--another shaykh
had to be elected.

Within the tribe all members had duties which arose from their
blood relationship, among these was the obligation to stand by one's
relatives in distress whether they were right or wrong. If a member of
a family was killed or wronged by a member of another family it was the
duty of the former's family to avenge the wrong done. This led to many
tribal wars. Dr. Ahmad A. Galwash quotes a tradition that about 1,500
such wars had been fought before Muhammad (1957:7).

It should be noted, however, that the Arabs had made some attempts
towards what might be called "artificial solidarity" through joining a
hilf (confederacy) and by jiwar (the formal granting of protection).
For many purposes the halif and the jar, (the "confederate" and the
"client") were treated as members of the tribe or clan. But these
attempts did not produce a lasting political cohesion.

Neither was Arabia united in religion. Every tribe had its own
god. Nevertheless, the oasis city of Mecca was a center of religion for
all of pagan Arabia. Here stood the Ka'bah, the Arabian shrine of
Allah. Here the tribes met on annual pilgrimage to rub and kiss the
Black Stone, to run around the shrine, to sacrifice, and to hang por-
tions of their garments on sacred trees.

Although some writers like Zwemer claim the presence of 360 idols--
one for each day in the year--at Mecca (1908:7), the names of only nine
dieties are known from the Qur'an (Surahs 71:23; 53:19-22). The Qur'an

does not name any idols at Mecca, but refers to the worship of goddesses and nearby idols. These have been described as follows:

Pagan God	Shape	Quality Represented
Wadd	Man	Manly power
Suw'a	Woman	Mutability, Beauty
Yaguth	Lion or Bull	Brute Strength
Ya'uq	Horse	Swiftness
Nasr	Eagle, or Vulture or Falcon	Sharp Sight, Insight
al-Lat	Sun	- - -
al-Uzza	Venus	Fortune, Fate
al-Manat	Morning Star	- - -
Allah	- - -	- - -

The Qur'an knows nothing about shapes or qualities. Instead Al-Lat, al-Uzza and al-Manat are the names of the daughters of Allah, who was the Supreme God. It is said of the Quraish, Muhammad's tribe, while practicing their devotion, that they used to sing thus: "Al-Lat and Al-Uzza . . .and Manat . . .these are the three super beings through whom we seek mediation" (Atta, n.y.:17, cf. 53:19-21). Allah did not have any visible representation (Boer, n.y.:11).

Finally, in pre-Islamic Arabia the Arab nomads knew neither land ownership nor the meaning of individual property. There is no known instance when they tried to conquer land for the sole aim of possessing it. All they recognized about land, according to Ali Abd al-Kader, was the _hima_ (homeland), land which was kept as a sacred territory, and

land reserved for the exclusive use of a tribe or a tribal chief. By

a common agreement some tribes could share the use of the hima, or

they might use it alternatively with others.

The period of Arabian history which immediately preceded the rise

of Islam is known as Jahiliyah. This is translated as "ignorance" or

"barbarism." Muhammad seemed to have intended the later meaning. There

may be some legacy of the Jahiliyah period in the modern Arab World.

> "The Arabs, whether they are Moslems or Christians
> or Jews, are deeply religious. It may be as a result
> of this that there is a measure of extremism in Arab
> character and in the Arab's commitment to whatever he
> believes. This extremism is uncompromising and denies
> individuals the ability to cooperate. This is one of
> the weaknesses of the Arabs today in their attempt to
> establish a more perfect union. . . .

> "The Arab mind usually sees things in terms of
> black and white. You are either 100 percent correct
> or 100 percent wrong. Either 100 percent for my belief
> or 100 percent a 'kha-en' (traitor). Seeing things in
> black and white terms an Arab is susceptible to simple
> thinking and accepts simple answers to complex questions.
> Almost any theory which explains things is acceptible
> even if that theory has no factual foundation whatever.
> Accordingly, 'conspiratorial theories' which explain
> things in terms of 'conspiracy against us by the out-
> sider' are commonplace in the Arab Market" (Mehdi,
> 1977:47).

This is the observation of the great Arab scholar and philoso-

pher, Dr. M. T. Mehdi, the founder and secretary-general of the Action

Committee on American-Arab Relations (Ib. 45).

The Bible suggests four main groups of inhabitants of Arabia:

the descendants of Hamitic Cush (Gen. 10:7), of the Semitic Joktan

(vs 26-29), of Abraham by Keturah (ch. 25:1-4), and of Ishmael (vs

12-16). Of the four, the descendants of Joktan are considered pure

Arabs; the other are taken as naturalized Arabs. Through intermar-
riage and long association, these distinctions today have almost
disappeared.

However, in spite of the difficulty in establishing descent, the
Quraish tribe of Mecca to which Muhammad belonged traced its lineage
to Ishmael (Isma'il). The Meccans understood that Abraham (Ibrahim)
and his son, Ishmael, built the first Ka'bah and dedicated it to the
worship of God (cf. Surah 2:125-127).

Having thus surveyed the major characteristics of pre-Islamic
Arabia, we will next consider Muhammad, the first and perhaps the last
to unite the Arabian peoples.

Life of Muhammad

Muhammad was born in Mecca about 570 A.D. Abdallah, his father,
probably died before Muhammad was born, and his mother, Aminah, died
six years later. He was raised by his grandfather, Abd al-Muttalib,
and later by an uncle, Abu Talib. Tradition states that at the age of
twelve he travelled with a caravan to Syria, where a Christian monk,
Bahira, was supposed to have recognized him as the future messenger of
God (Doi, 1971:16).

Khadijah, a wealthy widow of Mecca, employed Muhammad in business,
and although she was his senior by fifteen years, she married him by
the time he was 25 years old. The marriage was happy. It freed
Muhammad from poverty and it gave him status among Meccans. Khadijah
bore Muhammad three sons and four daughters. The three sons (Qasim,
Tahir and Tayyib) died in infancy, but the four daughters (Rugayya,

Umm Kalthum, Zaynab and Fatima) survived. Rugayya married Uthman, who
became the third Caliph (successor of Muhammad), Umm Kalthum married
Utayba, Zaynab married Abul-As, and Fatima married Ali, who became the
fourth Caliph.

After Khadijah's death (619 A.D.) Muhammad took other wives. Of
these, two are noteworthy: A'ishah and Mariyah. Abu Bakr, a close
companion of Muhammad, betrothed his daughter, A'isha, to him when she
was nine years old (623 A.D.). Mariyah was an Egyptian slave-girl who
was presented to Muhammad by the ruler of Egypt (about 628 A.D.).
Mariyah is said to have borne a son, Ibrahim, but he died in infancy.
But Mariyah remained with Muhammad until his death in 632. He was
also survived by other wives who were known as "mothers of the believers"
(Watt, 1977:395-397). By the time of his death, Muhammad had succeeded
in uniting Arabia under one banner, one law (shari'a), one religion
(Islam), and one government.

The message of Muhammad is summarized in a tradition attributed
to Abu Hurairah, a contemporary of Muhammad and a source of many tra-
ditions concerning his life. He states that one day a man came to
Muhammad and asked, "What is faith?" Muhammad replied: "Faith is
belief in God, the angels and the judgment day, and in His messengers
and the resurrection." Then the man asked, "What is Islam?" Muhammad
answered: "Islam is that you worship God alone, that you keep up
prayer, pay the poor rate (zakat) and fast in Ramadan" (Doi, 1971:65).

Qualities of a Da'iyah

I am indebted to Muhammed Atta's work, "Al-Da'wa Al-Tahririya

Al'Kubra (The Call to Greater Liberation), for the systematic approach
to the subject of Muhammad as an ideal da'iya. He organizes the sub-
ject under the following headings:

    1. <u>He Must be a Man of Acumen and Judgment</u> (Atta n.y.:8)

       Muhammad displayed acumen and judgment by preaching the right
reform at the right time. He chose monotheism as his theme. In effect,
he became one of the <u>Hunafa</u> (sing. Hanif), a word originally meaning
"those who turn away," but later used in the sense of "upright" or "by
nature upright" (Draz, 1958:4). Those who used to practice Hanifism
or <u>Tahannuf</u> (confounded with <u>tahannuth</u> in the Meccan dialect) retired
to a quiet place to worship God.

    2. <u>He Should be Able to Successfully Challenge the Already
Established System</u>:

       It has been already pointed out that pre-Islamic Arabia was
polytheistic. So Muhammad's first effort was to call the Arabs to
worship the supreme God, whom they already knew. He preached that the
other gods were only their inventions and could not help them (Surah
29:61, 63; 12:39, 40). Muhammad also condemned their fathers who had
died unbelievers. This message sparked opposition among his fellow
tribesmen, but in the end Muhammad's message prevailed.

    3. <u>He Should be a Man of Foresight, Guarding Against All
Eventualities</u> (Atta, n.y.:8):

       When a date was set on which Muhammad was to be slain, he
learned of the plot and responded wisely. Before the slayers arrived
at his house he gave his cloak to Ali, bidding him lie down on the bed
so that anyone looking in might think Muhammad lay there. The slayers

had planned to strike him as he came out of the house, whether in the night or early morning. Muhammad was already miles from Mecca when they discovered that it was Ali who came out in the morning.

He left Mecca for Yathrib. This journey is called hijrah ("migration") in Arabic. Later, the year of the hijrah (622) was set as the first year of the Islamic era, and Yathrib was renamed Madinat al-Nabiy, (the City of the Prophet), now Medina. The Meccans who took part in the migration were called the muhajirun (emigrants) and known as his ashab, ("companions"). The Medinan converts were called ansar ("helpers").

4. He Should be Willing to Unfold His Secrets Only to Those of His Close Adherents Whom He Could Trust (Atta, n.y.:9):

Muhammad trusted the ashab most. The first example is Khadijah, his wife at Mecca. She died three years before the hijrah, but his confidence in her is expressed in this conversation with his young wife, A'ishah in Yathrib:

> "His wife Ayesha once told him, 'Khadijah was no more than an old woman in place of whom God gave a better wife.' 'No!' answered he angrily, 'God gave me no better. She believed in me when others disbelieved, had faith in my word when others gave me lie, helped me with her money when others offered none, and through her God gave me children, and not through any other wife' "(Ib.:48).

Others of his ashab in whom he had special trust later became the first four rulers of the new Islamic community. Muhammad also trusted his secretaries. The best known is Zayd b. Thabit, who later helped in compiling the official version of the Qur'an.

5. He Should be the Master of Sound Argument. (Ib.:9):

Some of the best arguments Muhammad ever advanced are found

in the Qur'an itself. For instance, when he was accused of only forg-
ing the Qur'an, Muhammad challenged his accusers to produce just a
single surah like any one in the Qur'an (10:38). Moreover, on the
proprietorship of monotheistic religion, Muhammad argues in Surah
3:65-67 that neither the Jews nor the Christians can claim it exclus-
ively, since Abraham, its founder (2:130, 135), was neither a Jew nor
a Christian.

6. He Must be a Staunch Believer in His Mission (Atta, n.y.:9):

From the beginning to the end of his ministry, Muhammad
showed uncompromising commitment to Tauheed--the doctrine of the
absolute oneness of God. His opposition to other gods was unbending.
The Qur'an says: "And see ye not Lat and Uzza. And Manat the third
besides? They are naught but names which you and your fathers have
invented" (53:19, 20, 23). This was in spite of pressing offers of
favor if he would compromise, apparently referred to in the following
passage from the Qur'an:

> "And their purpose was to tempt thee away from that
> which We Had revealed unto thee, to substitute in Our
> name something quite different: (in that case), behold!
> they would certainly have made thee (their) friend! And
> had We not given thee strength, thou wouldest nearly
> have inclined to them a little" (Ali, 1968:715, 716).

7. He Must be Tolerant, Patient and be Acquainted with the
Psychology and Mentality of the Masses (Atta, n.y.:11):

In Medina (Yathrib), there were two main Arab tribes (the Aus
and the Khazraj) living together with three Jewish tribes (the Qurayza,
the Qainuqa and al-Nadir). These Arab tribes fought each other and
also against the Jews. Moreover, the Jews used to tell the Arabs that

they were soon going to have a prophet or messiah who would come and
destroy the pagans and set up a Jewish Kingdom. So on one of their
pilgrimages to Mecca, the Arabs from Yathrib met Muhammad, recognized
him as the talked-about prophet and, apparently, to forestall their
Jewish neighbors, invited him to their town to arbitrate their tribal
disputes.

One of the first things Muhammad did when he moved to Yathrib
was to draw up a document now known as the "Constitution." In it, all
the tribes--the Meccan muhajirun, the Madinan ansar and Jews--were
united under one ummah with God as the Head of State working through
Muhammad, as it were. The "Constitution" guaranteed the retention of
some of the practices in Arab culture, such as the compensation for an
offended or murdered relative (blood wit), but now "with kindness
common to the (Muslim) believers" (Abdul, 1975:34). The Jews were
also allowed to retain their religion. Here Muhammad displayed great
skill in applying tolerance and patience to a highly volatile mixture
of distrustful peoples.

8. He Must be Able to Utilize and Mobilize National Feeling to
Further His Purpose (Atta, n.y.:13):

The introduction of the "Constitution" was an attempt by
Muhammad to introduce his religious, social and political reforms by
peaceful means. But eventually the Jews of Medina opposed him. When
their continued presence in Medina threatened the survival of the
Muslims, they were exiled. Similarly, when the Meccans continued
their attempt to get rid of Muhammad, he introduced the concept of
jihad (effort in the cause of God or holy war). He assured every

mujahid (striver) Paradise, if they should lose their lives in the effort. The victory of the Muslims in the Battle of Badr (624) and the great booty the mujahidun brought back home convinced many a skeptic.

By 630 A.D. (the year of the conquest of Mecca) the prestige of the Prophet of Islam had been established throughout Arabia, and deputations began to come in from tribes far and near. To be included in the new Islamic community, they were required to accept Islam, abandon their idols, and pay the zakat or tax for the support of the ummah (national community). On this point let me quote one Louise E. Sweet:

> "By 631 A.D. a new political order was formed, Muhammad's name appeared, coupled with God's and he had representatives of the Ansar ...and local chiefs acting as governors and tax collectors in most of Arabia" (Sweet, 1970:69).

So what seemed at first as a simple reform was in reality a revolution. The warring tribes surrendered their power to the state. Muhammad established an Arab national community, over which God was ruler and he was judge, military commander, and prophet.

Muhammad--A Prophet?

Biblical commentators do not agree on where to place Muhammad in the prophetic history of the Bible, especially in the prophecies of Daniel and in John's Revelation. Was he perhaps the antichrist or one of the false prophets? I will try to suggest some answers as we go along. But for the moment let us consider what Muhammad claimed for himself and his religion and the claims of his followers on the same

subject.

1. Muhammad's Claim:

In Surahs 9:111; 3:3; 46:12; 6:155-157; 48:29; 5:46, 47, Muhammad

claims that just as God sent Moses with the Torah for the Jews and

Jesus with the Gospel for the Christians, so also He sent him (Muhammad)

with the Qur'an in the Arabic tongue. Muhammad understood that

Scripture predicted his coming (61:6)--an apparent reference to John

14:16 and Deut. 18:18. A tradition about Muhammad describes his weak

physical state at the time of inspiration, much like the weakness of

Daniel (Dan. 10:7-11):

> "Inspiration descendeth upon me in one or two
> ways: sometimes Gabriel cometh and communicateth the
> Revelation unto me as one man unto another and that
> is easy. At other times it affecteth me like the
> ringing bells penetrating my very heart and rending me
> as it were into pieces and that is which grievously
> afflicteth me" (Salik, 1926:54).

Finally, Muhammad claims to be the "seal" or the last of the prophets

(33:40).

2. Claims of Muhammad's Followers:

One of the most popular quotations Muslim apologists use to prove

that the Bible predicted Muhammad's prophethood is Deut. 18:18 where

God promised to raise a prophet like Moses "among their (Israel's)

brethren." This text, they contend, clearly shows that the prophet was

not going to come from the Israelis but from "their brethren." Now,

since the Jews boast of Abrahamic descent (John 8:39) through Isaac

(Rom. 9:7, 10) and the Arabs claim the same descent through Ishmael

(cf. Gal. 4:22, 23), his brother, it follows that the promised prophet

"from their brethren" must be from the Ishmaelites and not from the Israelites.

In the New Testament, John 14:16 and 16:12, 13 are cited. According to Dr. Ismail A. B. Balogun of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, who lectures there in Arabic and Islamic Studies:

> " 'The Spirit of truth' referred to by Jesus Christ is a person, and not as Christians believe, the Holy Ghost which descended on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. ...Because it was already present in Jesus Christ..." (Balogun, 1970:41).

> "The pronoun 'he' used by Jesus Christ for 'the Spirit of truth' indicates that what was intended was not a ghost but a human being, thus the prediction concerning the Spirit of truth was fulfilled in the person of Muhammad (Ib.:42).

Finally, Muslims believe that since Muhammad is the Khatam-un Nabiyyin (the seal of the Prophets) and his scriptures are the last of God's messages to mankind, he must be the most important of the Prophets. However, Muhammad made no such claim (2:136).

These are some of the claims made by Muhammad and by others. Was he the prophet or a prophet? Was he the false prophet or no prophet at all? Do the above claims answer these questions? We shall come back to this subject again. For the moment we note that Muslims consider Muhammad to be their founder-prophet and to be the one to whom they look as the ideal da'iyah and the ideal example.

WHAT?

(The Meaning of Islamic Da'wah)

In Section I we defined Islamic da'wah. But in this section we shall try to find out what it is and what it is not. Again, I am indebted to Atta's definition:

> "The 'what' of the Islamic da'wah means invitation to Islam as a faith and as a way of life, as al-din. ...It is an invitation, not merely to the acceptance of a certain historical event, but to engage on a dynamic and unceasing process of understanding, training and social action, towards the transformation of human life through tarbiyah (education or training), to suggest the relevant Islamic values" (Atta, n.y.:127).

Looking at Islam on the surface, one could be tempted to regard it as a saved-by-works religion. But, on the contrary, faith is the first principle of Islam, and it consists of five or six items, which are called "pillars" of faith. The five are found in Surah 2:177.

1. Islamic Faith (Iman):

Muslims testify that there is no deity but God. The first pillar of Islamic faith is belief in God. The doctrine of the absolute oneness of God is called Tauheed. According to the Qur'an (21:22), if there were more than one God there would be chaos in the universe. Hence God is not one in a trinity (5:76) nor one of two (16:51). He does not have a son nor daughters (2:116; 6:100-101). Neither does He have partners of any kind (6:163-164). In fact the unforgiveable sin in Islam is the ascription of partners to God (4:48). The attributes of God which are

found in the Bible are also found in the Qur'an, e.g. Creator (7:54)
and Sustainer (29:60-62).

The second pillar of Islamic faith is belief in angels. According
to the Qur'an, angels are God's messengers (35:1); they cannot be seen
(33:9). There are also spirit beings called jinn. These are said to
have been created of fire (15:27), while the angels are said to have
been created of light according to a tradition narrated by A'ishah
(M. 53:10).

The work of angels differs from that of jinn (singular jinni or
genie). While angels strengthen the prophets (2:87), jinn deceive men
(114:4-6); while angels are allowed to carry messages to prophets
(4:163), jinn are denied access to God's secrets (72:26, 27); and while
the angels record the deeds of men (4:97), will intercede on the day of
judgment (53:26), and even bear God's throne (40:7); the jinn are re-
moved from the very presence of God (26:192-212) and they will finally
share in hell fire (11:119). The leader of the angels is Gabriel, who
is also called the Holy Spirit (16:102) and the leader of the jinn is
Iblis (the devil) (2:34; 18:50).

The third pillar of faith is belief in the holy books. These
include the Torah (5:43045), the Ingil (Gospel) (45:46-47) and the
Qur'an (4:48). Muslims believe in progressive revelation. In addition,
since the original text of many writers of the Bible cannot be found,
and since the rabbis and the monks later tampered with their copies
(9:34; 4:46), the Qur'an represents the only dependable revelation
(16:63, 64).

The fourth pillar of faith is belief in messengers. According to the Qur'an every nation has had a prophet (2:213; 10:47; 35:24). A tradition states that there are as many as 124,000 prophets. The Qur'an names 28, many of whom are known from the Bible. Muhammad 'Ali suggests that the prophets Hud and Salih (Surah 11) were Arabian before Muhammad, that Lugman (31:12-19) was an Ethiopian, and that Dhul-Qarnain (18:84ff) was Darius I, king of Medo-Persia ('Ali, n.y.:221).

Dr. Balogun attempts to draw a difference between a "prophet" and an "apostle:"

> "Even though the terms Rasul (i.e. Apostle or Messenger)
> and Nabiy (i.e. Prophet) are sometimes used synonymously,
> the difference between the two, according to Muslim scholars,
> is 'that the former was sent with a law and a book special
> to him, whereas the latter was only to preach and utter
> warnings" (Balogun, 1970:44).

He states that 9 of the 28 prophets mentioned in the Qur'an are "apostles:" Nuh (Noah), Lut (Lot), Isma'il (Ishmael), Musa (Moses), Shu'ayb (Jethro), Hud (Heber), Salih (Methusellah), Isa (Jesus) and Muhammad (Ib.:48).

A Muslim must also believe in the Day of Resurrection. God appoints death (56:58-61) and it is a state of sleep (36:52). As for the state of the dead, Muslims hold that the rest in the grave passes as but a moment until the resurrection day (17:52; 46:35; 79:46; 2:262). However, they allow that martyrs go to Paradise immediately (3:168, 169; cf. 89:27-30). The wicked are assigned to Hell (Bu. 23:90). There is an investigation of the dead called barzakh (23:99, 100; 80:21, 22), though this is not well elaborated. Only God knows when the Day of Resurrection and Judgment will be (79:42-44).

An interesting view is reported by the heterodox Ahmadiyah commentator, Ali:

> "The two words most frequently used regarding the
> Resurrection are al-qiyama and as-sa'a. The first of
> these refers apparently to the 'rising,' which is its
> literal significance, the second to destruction, being
> the 'hour of doom.' Now as regards this latter word,
> Raghib says that there are three sa'as in the sense of
> resurrection; viz., kubra or the 'greater resurrection'
> which is the rising up of the people for reckoning; wusta
> or the middle resurrection which is the passing away of
> one generation; and sughra or the minor resurrection
> which is the death of the individual" ('Ali, n.y.:274).

Muslims generally describe the resurrection hour as the sound of a trumpet. A violent shaking of the heavens and the earth (81:1-7; 82:144) opens the graves and the risen ones come forth with changed bodies (56:58-62). There is a suggestion that there will be two resurrections--one of the righteous and the other of the wicked. Then all will appear before the judgment throne, with their sins hanging on their necks (17:13). The books of the righteous and the wicked (83:18, 7) will be opened, and all--as individuals or as nations--will be judged according to their deeds (18:49; 45:28). If the good deeds weigh more than the bad the individual is rewarded; otherwise his fate is the Fire (7:8, 9). The concept of weighing deeds on the day of judgment is called wazn (measuring) and mizan (balance).

After the judgment, those who make it to Paradise will enjoy life with their close relatives (40:8). Paradise is populated with beautiful virgins known as the hur (56:10-24). Many theories have been advanced concerning the hur, but I prefer identifying them (according to a hint in Surah 56:35-38) with the wives of the saved who apparently are

recreated in Paradise as virgins. Others understand that the hur are some kind of special creatures already there.

As for the inmates of Jahannam (Hell), their food will be of "thorn-fruit" (88:6, 7) and their water will be boiling or abnormally cold (14:16, 17; 38:57, 58). Their fate has already been decided, because, on the day of resurrection, "Allah will not speak to them...nor will He make them grow" (2:174; 3:76).

However, it seems the abode in Hell will not be forever. It is suggested that Hell is a purifying experience because the Qur'an calls it the maula (patron) or umm (mother) of the wicked (57:15; 101:9). The expressions of themselves do not connote a benefactor, but Dr. Balogun explains:

> "One point to explain in connection with the view of purgatory nature of Hell is in relation to the word 'abadan' which the Qur'an uses three times in respect of Hell (viz. Q. 4:169; 33:65; 72:23). This word is usually translated as meaning 'forever.' Its real meaning, however, is 'for a long time' and it corresponds to the English idioms 'for ages' and 'time without end'" (Balogun, 1970:56).

Therefore, according to a Hadith (Bu. 97:24), after the wicked had suffered for a long time in Hell, the Lord will listen to the intercession of the angels and the prophets and take out the inmates of Hell even including those "who have never done any good."

Some Muslims add the doctrine of predestination to the pillars of faith. The Qur'an is ambiguous on this subject, but there is a Hadith recorded by Muslims:

> "The Holy Prophet was one day sitting outside among a number of people when there came to him a man and said, What is faith, O Messenger of Allah! The Holy Prophet

replied, That thou believe in Allah and His angels and
His book and the meeting with Him, and His messengers,
and that thou believe in life after death and that thou
believe in qadar, in the whole of it" (M. 1:1).

Another rendering of the same Hadith substitutes for the last phrase

"the whole of it" "the good of it and the evil of it" ('Ali, n.y.:348).

Qadar is fate.

Another Hadith, quoted by Galwash, enumerates the items that God

predestines:

> "The prophet also said: 'God hath predestined five
> things to his servant; their duration of life, their actions,
> their dwelling places, their travels and their portions"
> (Galwash, 1956:238).

However, some Muslims oppose the doctrine of qadar. While admitting

that God is fore-knowing (Bu. 23:93) and all-knowing (2:215), they main-

tain He does not interfere in one's freedom of choice. They understand

that since God holds one responsible for his deeds (37:22-25), He can-

not predestinate their deeds. Further, the Qur'an is full of references

of God's mercy and forgiveness (e.g., 4:25, 26).

The Islamic Observances (Ibadat)

The "pillars" we have considered are called Iman (faith). There

are further pillars of ibada (worship). These also number five or six.

The first pillar is called kalimatus-shahadati (word of witness).

This is the testimony, "There is no god but God, and Muhammad is His

Messenger." This declaration is not all found in one text in the Qur'an

but derived from different texts (e.g., 2:163; 48:29). However, we

know from the Hadith that the essential acceptance of Islam was the

acceptance of Islam was the acceptance of these two statements (Bu. 2:40).

The second Islamic observance is prayer. Five daily prayers are observed:

    a) <u>Salat al-Subh</u> (morning prayer)

    b) <u>Salat al-Zuhr</u> (noon prayer)

    c) <u>Salat al-Asr</u> (late afternoon prayer)

    d) <u>Salat al-Maghrib</u> (sunset prayer)

    e) <u>Salat al-Isha'</u> (night prayer)

It may by that the formal number of five was a later development. Surah 11:114 mentions only three regular prayers--morning, afternoon and evening. However, other verses (17:78-79 and 20:130) mention other times for prayer, but these were for the believer's occasional "spiritual joy" (see 'Ali, 1968:818). Members of the Yemeni Zeidi sect of Islam pray only three times daily.

A Hadith on the authority of Muslim reports that Muhammad once said: "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee thou shalt perform the prayer and that is a <u>Masjid</u>" (mosque). Thus in Nigeria, it is common to see travelers stop to pray by the road.

The third observance is the month-long fast. Since this was not appointed in Mecca, some have suggested that it is an assimilation of the Jewish "Ashura" and the Christian "Lent," observances Muhammad may have learned in Medina. The fast is observed in the month of Ramadan, and it is binding on all able-bodied Muslims. The sick, the traveler, and the old may be exempted, but they later fast the same number of days at a more convenient time or make gifts to the needy (cf. 2:184, 185). For instance, it is said of Anas, when he was old, that he fed

one who was in need daily with bread and meat for a year or two (Bu.
65:25).

During the fast, the faithful abstains from food, water, sex and
other practices from sunrise to sunset in order to reflect on higher
spiritual things. He seeks victory over his flesh and an understanding
of his duties to God (Huquq Allah) and to his fellow human beings
(huquq al-'Ibad) (Doi, 1974:150).

It is reported that the month of Ramadan was chosen for the fast
because the Qur'an was sent down on the "Night of Power" in that month
(2:185; 97:3). This night is said to have been one of the last ten days
of the month (Bu. 30:8). An alternate suggestion is that the fast
commemorates the Muslim victory of Badr in 624. Interestingly, Muhammad
warns:

> "He who does not give up uttering falsehood and
> acting according to it, Allah has no need of his giving
> up food and his drink" (Bu. 30:20).

The giving of alms is a basic religious observance, and the fourth
of the prescribed observances. Muhammad introduced the poor's right
(70:24)--a minimum of two and one half percent of one's cash balance in
order to alleviate the suffering of the poor (2:177; 9:60). In a
Muslim state the zakat (alms tax) may be collected by force, but this
apparently is not practiced in modern times. A Hadith from both Abu
Dawud and Trimidh says, "the collector of zakat is equal in merit to one
who takes part in a war to defend religion (jihad) (A.D. 19:6; Tr. 5:18).

There is a more voluntary form of almsgiving called sadaqah
(charity). While the zakat is given by the rich for the poor, sadaqah

can be practiced by both rich and poor, since it can be offered in the form of various articles, like dresses, food, cash, or even physical help. Unlike the zakat, the sadaqah is not a fixed amount.

The pilgrimage to Mecca was a pre-Islamic Arab practice which Muhammad preserved, though with some modifications, as one of the major observances. The pilgrims continued to circuambulate the Ka'bah, kiss the black stone, and sacrifice animals (22:27, 29, 33). The sacrifice commemorates Abraham's sacrifice of his son (37:99-111). This observance is incumbent only upon those who are able (3:97).

There is a lesser pilgrimage, called umrah, which can be performed any month of the year and which does not require the sacrifice of an animal. The ritual at the Ka'bah is not directed to the Black Stone but to God. 'Umar once said, "I know you are a stone, which can neither help me nor harm me; if the prophet had not kissed you, I would not have done so" (Abdul-Masih, 1965:28). The Qur'an states that the pilgrim's devotion reaches heaven, not his sacrifice.

Not all Muslims include jihad as a required observance, perhaps because it acquired a military sense of "holy war." Jihad apparently meant to Muhammad a "spiritual striving" (29:8, 69). Muslims today call the spiritual efforts the greater jihad and holy war the lesser jihad. The greater jihad includes the mission to spread Islam by peaceful, wise arguments (16:125) leaving people who cannot be convinced in peace, (5:108; 3:176-177; 47:32), since there is no coercion in religion (2:256; 10:99, 100).

Jihad acquired a military sense after Muhammad was on the defensive

from Meccan attacks. He then taught that it was a duty of the believer

to join in the defense. In this way, the "spiritual struggle" became a

"physical struggle." At first jihad was against only the idolators (9:5),

but later included the Jews and the Christians (9:29). Wars that were

primarily staged in self-defense (4:75-76) became aggressive (9:10-13).

As the Muslim community developed its institutions hadith such as the

following were circulated:

> "Ibn 'Umar says, The Holy Prophet said, I have been
> commanded to fight people until they bear witness that
> there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the messen-
> ger of Allah and keep up prayer and pay the zakat. When
> they have done this, their lives and their properties are
> protected unless there is an obligation of Islam, and their
> account is with Allah" (Bu. 2:17).

The struggle moved from preaching to the sword, under the shadow

of which Paradise lay (Bu. 56:22). The military conquests account,

even if indirectly, for the ultimate success of Islamic da'wah in North

Africa, Syria, Persia, and the eastern provinces. Thus the principle

of observing jihad presents a problem for Islamic da'wah. By its appli-

cation to both persuasion and war, the principle leads to corresponding

positive and negative results.

The Scope of Islamic Da'wah

We note a further problem for da'wah. Islam is identified with

Arabia, just as Christianity is identified with Europe. Yet, just as

Christianity claims universality, so also, Islam claims universality.

Muhammad thought of himself, at one time, as an Arab messenger to

the Arabs (62:2), the Qur'an as a book in plain Arabic (26:192-195),

and of the Arabs themselves as a chosen people (3:110), though wayward

(19:97) and heedless (36:5) for lack of a warner.

Khalid, a leading Muslim general, obviously understood the Arabic

character of Islam. When he besieged the town of Hira, a Christian

Arab center which resisted the inducements of Islam, he told represen-

tations of the people there:

> " 'Who are you? Are you the Arabs or Persians?'
>
> Then Adi the spokesman of the deputation replied,
> 'Nay, we are pure-blooded Arabs, whilst others amongst
> us are naturalised Arabs.'
>
> K: 'Had you been what you say you are, you would
> not have opposed us or hated our cause.'
>
> A: 'Our pure Arab speech is the proof of what I
> say.'
>
> K: 'You speak truly. Now, choose you one of
> these three things; either (1) accept our faith, then
> your rights and obligations will be same as ours, whether
> you choose to go into another country or stay in your own
> land; or (2) pay the tax (on non-Muslims under Muslim
> rule) or (3) war... Unbelief is a pathless desert and
> foolish is the Arab who, when two guides meet him
> wandering therein--accept the guidance of the foreigner' "
> (Ahmad, n.y.:94, 95).

The foreign guidance referred to by Khalid is Christianity, a guide

which contrasts to Islam in that Islam is Arabic.

On the other hand, Muhammad also view his religion as universal.

He claimed to be a prophet to all men (34:28) and a mercy to all

nations (21:107). Muhammad is said to have sent letters to the

Emperor Heraclius of Rome, the king of Persia, the governor of Yemen,

the governor of Egypt, and the Negus (king) of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in

618 inviting them to accept Islam. The following is given as an

example:

> " 'In the name of God, the Merciful the Compass-
> ionate. Muhammad who is the servant of God and His
> Apostle. ...After this, I say, verily I call you to
> Islam. Embrace Islam, and God will reward you twofold.
> If you turn away from the offer of Islam, then on you
> be the sins of your people. O people of the Book,
> come towards a creed which is fit for us and for you.
> It is this--to worship none but God, and not to call
> others God. Therefore, O ye people of the Book, if you
> refuse, beware. We are Muslims and our religion is
> Islam' " (Ahmad, n.y.:72).

The Qur'an allows that Jews and Christians will be saved if only

they keep to their sources of revelation (2:62; 5:69). It also

teaches that Islam is the only acceptable religion (3:85) and that

Muhammad's message prevails over all religions (9:33). Today Muslims

understand that Islam has abrogated the previous monotheistic religions,

but will itself never be replaced.

Summary

Islamic da'wah proceeds from a religion of both faith (iman) and

deeds (Ibada), which uses both persuasion and coercion, and is a

religion both Arabian and universal.

SECTION IV

WHENCE?

(The Sources of Islam)

The religion of Islam is derived from the Qur'an and the Hadith.
Consequently, these are for the Islamic da'wah the main sources of
teaching Islam. The Qur'an is the primary source and the Hadith form
a secondary source. The Bible and the traditions of Jews and Christians
indirectly have influenced Islam by their influence on the Qur'an and
Hadith. Modern Islam, including its missions, is shaped further by
the contributions of the various Muslim sects and orders in history.

The Qur'an

Qur'an means "recitation," or "reading." The Qur'an is not
arranged in a chronological order. Surah 97, which begins with
"Recite," or "Read," is thought to be the earliest surah, and verse 4
of surah 5, which says, "This day have I perfected your religion," is
often cited as the latest revelation. In the formal arrangement, the
first Surah is al-Fatihah (The Opening), a prayer which is used by
Muslims much as Christians repeat the Lord's Prayer. The last surah
is An-Nas (Mankind), a charm formula to protect the book.

Chronologically, the Qur'ian is divided between surahs revealed
at Mecca (610-622 A.D.) and those revealed at Medina (622-632 A.D.).
Although 93 surahs are dated Meccan and 21 Medinan, because the earlier
surahs were often quite short, the Medinan portion is the greater.

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The subject matter of each period is characteristic, as Dr. Rahman
Doi explains here:

> "When the Prophet disputes with his countrymen
> about the resurrection of the dead or the oneness
> of God; ...when he fights the custom of burying newly
> born girls alive, we know that we are in Mecca....
>
> Wherever we find warnings to the Jews on account
> of their evil deeds; summoning people to the holy war
> (in the way of Allah) or when criminal and civil legis-
> lation are laid down, we are in Medina" (Doi, 1974:48,
> 49).

It must be understood that Muslims do not regard the Qur'an as

the work of Muhammad but as a copy of a revelation that had been kept

in heaven. Dr. Richard Bell summarizes the Muslim belief as follows:

> "The Qur'an is the Eternal Word in a book form.
> More popularly and concretely, if with less theological
> exactitude, the original of the Qur'an is thought of as a
> book preserved in (the seventh) heaven in the presence
> of God. This is assumed to be what is meant by the pre-
> served tablet, lawh mahfuz, spoken of in LXXXV, 22.
> Sometimes it is thought of as having been sent down to
> the nearest heaven on the night of power, lailat al-gadar,
> described in XCVII, so as to be available for revelation
> to the Prophet by the Angel Gabriel. Muhammad is thus
> not the author, but only the recipient of the Qur'an"
> (Bell, 1958:37).

The Qur'an as we have it today was compiled during the caliphate

of Uthman b. Affan (644-656 A.D.) after quarrels concerning the correct

readings emerged based on earlier private collections. The Caliph

appointed a committee under Zaid b. Thabit, to come up with a standard

version. The task was accomplished:

> "The discrepancies were reconciled and a correct
> edition was prepared. The existing copies of the
> divine book were ordered to be burnt and the new
> copies were issued" (Salik, 1926:402).

Reactions were mixed, but the collection was officially adopted.

Uthman ordered the burning of all other collections.

One may ask if Uthman's version was complete. No one has produced convincing evidence of surahs or ayahs (chapters or verses, respectively) which have been left out. There is, nevertheless, an interesting case concerning the "Verse of Stoning."

> "There is a tradition from A'isha, the prophets's wife, that a certain chapter which now consists of 73 verses once contained no less than 200, and that when Uthman compiled the Qur'an the missing verses could not be found. One of them was called the Verse of Stoning, and is said to have contained the order to stone a man or woman who had committed adultery. It cannot be affirmed with any certainty that this verse ever formed part of the Qur'an; it is more likely that it was either a genuine hadith of the prophet or a very early invention of one of his followers. The fact remains that this verse is said to have been part of the original Qur'an. Many early authorities say so, and what is very significant is that the first Caliphs punished adulterers by stoning; this is still the penalty prescribed in Muslim law-books, whereas the Qur'an (24:2) prescribes a hundred stripes" (Guillaume, 1976:191).

Where there are differences between verses of the Qur'an, Muslims say the latter abrogates the former. For instance, 2:115 states that God's countenance is present any direction one turns, but v. 150 decrees that prayers must be done facing the direction of Mecca; 2:256 says that there is no compulsion in religion, but 9:5 enjoins Muslims to "slay the idolators until they repent and establish worship;" 2:62 says the Jews, the Christians, and the Sabians will be saved, but 3:85 maintains anyone who is not a Muslim will be lost; and 2:185 states that the Qur'an was revealed in the month of Ramadan, but 17:106 reveals that it came in stages. Also included in the concept of the abrogation is the substitution of a verse by a second, which alone was

retained in the Qur'an. The principle of abrogation is derived from 2:106; 13:9; 16:101 which state that God substitutes or replaces a verse with a similar or better one. As-Suyuti recorded as many as twenty examples of abrogation in his Itqan (Bell, 1968:98).

The Hadith

The things that Muslims saw Muhammad do, what they heard him say, and what he approved by his silence constitute the example of Muhammad, or the Sunnah (custom) of Muhammad. Reports concerning the sunnah are called Hadith (traditions). Sometimes the two words are used inter-changeably. Muhammad is considered by Muslims to have been a perfect example, so they regard a sound tradition concerning Muhammad's practice to be as binding as the Qur'an. One tradition reports that Muhammad said in his farewell address that he was leaving two things behind--the Qur'an and the Hadith (Abdul, 1975:26).

The recording of Hadith began during the lifetime of Muhammad, but Muhammad may not have approved. Abu Hurairah tells the following story:

> " 'The Prophet of God came to us while we were
> writing the Hadith and said, What is this that you are
> writing? We said, Hadith which we hear from thee.
> He said, What! A book other than the Book of Allah?' "
> (Ali, n.y.:62).

However, with or without Muhammad's consent, the preservation of the Hadith continued, whether in writing or in memory. Today, ortho-dox Muslims accept six collections of the Hadith as authentic. The hadith collection made by Bukhari (810-870 A.D.) is regarded as the most important (Doi, 1971:35). Of the 600,000 reports which he

examined, he kept less than 10,000 as reliable. His collection is organized by books and chapters according to the subject. His contemporary, Muslim (817-875 A.D.), made a collection which is also highly regarded and numbered among the six authentic collections. The remaining four collections were made by Abu Da'ud, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Maja, and al-Nasa'i.

These collectors applied two major principles for determining the authenticity of a tradition. First, it must be traced back to a companion of Muhammad through a chain of transmitters (isnad). These transmitters must be known persons of excellent character and have a good memory. Second, every report of an event that occurred in the presence of a large number of people must have been originally reported by several narrators. After using these tests, the collectors decided upon three categories of Hadith--1) Sahih (sound or reliable), 2) Hasan (good or fair, 3) Da'if (weak).

Possible Backgrounds

For the Muslim believer the background of the Qur'an is clear--it came down from God to Muhammad. Muhammad himself was careful in his claims, describing his inspiration as wahy (suggestion), a word used in the Qur'an to describe the inspiration of bees to make their hives (16:68) and the inspiration of the earth to give up its dead (99:5). He made no claim of direct communication, an experience reserved for Moses (17:101) (Bell, 1958:35). Nevertheless many of the ideas which entered Islam through the Qur'an and the Hadith were known in pre-Islamic Arabia. The community of Muhammad and subsequent generations

interacted with the thought in their environment. Thus we are obliged
to consider this background when looking at the sources of da'wah.

Let us begin with the Arabs. Historians note the names of pre-
Islamic monotheists among the Arabs known as Hunafa (sing. Hanif).
Although they did not form a religious community, they shared a sim-
ilar faith belief and practice. They believed in one God, the Creator,
and in the doctrine of the resurrection (Sell, 1913:1-2); they prac-
ticed tahannuth, probably formal recitations and prayers for the for-
giveness of sin. Tahannuth was pronounced Tahannuf in Mecca, which
means Hanifism. They opposed the paganism of the Arabs, especially
polytheism.

Notable among the Hunafa was Zaid b. Amr, of whom it is said:

> "In one of his statements he says: 'What can be
> said of a stone round which we go--a stone which neither
> hears nor sees, neither is useful, and can do harm? O!
> people, seek some religion for, by God, you have none' "
> (Atta, n.y.:30).

It is recognized that Zaid influenced young Muhammad's religious devel-
opment. Muhammad's biographer, Ibn Ishag, the earliest biographer
whose work we have, tells this story:

> " 'I was told that the apostle of Allah said, as
> he was talking about Zayd son of Amr son of Nufayl,
> "He was the first to upbraid me for idolatry and
> forbade me to worship idols. I had come from al-Ta'if
> along with Zayd son of Haritha when we passed Zayd son
> of 'Amr who was in the highland of Mecca. The Quraysh
> had made a public example of him for abandoning their
> religion, so that he went out from their midst. I sat
> down with him. I had a bag containing meat which we
> had sacrificed to our idols--... I offered it to
> Zayd b. Amr--I was but a lad at the time--and I said,
> 'Eat some of this food, my uncle.' He replied, 'Surely
> it is part of those sacrifices of theirs which they
> offer to their idols?' When I said that it was, he

said, 'Nephew of mine, if you were to ask the daughters of
"Abd al-Muttalib they would tell you that I never eat of
the sacrifices and I have no desire to do so.' Then he up-
braided me for idolatry and spoke disparagingly of those
who worship idols and sacrifice to them, and said, 'they
are worthless: they can neither harm nor profit anyone,'
or words to that effect. The apostle added, 'After that
I never knowingly stroked one of their idols nor did I
sacrifice to them until God honoured me with his apostle-
ship' " (Guillaume, 1976:26).

Another hanif Waraqah b. Nawfal, had studied the Scriptures of

the Jews and the Christians. It was he who first interpreted Muhammad's

experience as a divine call to prophethood.

Both Judaism and Christianity were represented in Arabia. Muham-

mad groups the followers of these two religions together and calls

them Ahl al-Kitab (people of the Book, i.e., Scripture) (5:68).

Muhammad had had only limited contact with Jews early in life,

but when he moved to Medina, he became directly involved with a Jewish

community. Considering the frequent brief allusions to Old Testament

stories in the sermons of Muhammad, these stories must have circulated

widely in Mecca. They resemble the Talmud (Jewish Traditions) and

other extra-Biblical materials more than the Bible. This suggests

that Muhammad and his contemporaries were much less familiar with the

Bible accounts than with the popular versions of the stories.

Similarly, the New Testament stories as Muhammad knows them are

drawn from non-Biblical sources. The influence of the apocryphal

gospels is evident. For instance, the account of the annunciation and

the birth of Jesus (cf. 3:35ff) shows the influence of the Gospel of

James (Bell, 1958:163). Several accounts in the Qur'an are interpreted

similar to those in the Gospel of Barnabas. Perhaps the most important

of these similarities is the Muslim understanding that Judas was cruci-

fied in place of Jesus (see 4:157, 158; Galwash, 1956:175, 176). It

should be noted that there was no Arabic translation of the Bible, so

even if Muhammad had been literate (a suggestion denied by Muslims),

he would not have read the Bible himself. By Muhammad's time numerous

monasteries had been established by the Coptic Church along the Sinai

route to Syria. These offered rest and shelter to travellers, probably

providing, along with food and hospitality, stories of Jesus, some

religious discussion, and expectations concerning the return of Christ

and the judgment day (Atta, n.y.:26, 27).

Apparently, the Christian influence on the Arab mind was negligi-

ble. The heretical and diverse views of the Christian communities may

have been an obstacle to Arab understanding. Particularly, there were

contrasting teachings about the nature of Christ. The Arian Christians

taught the old doctrine of Origen, that Christ was created by the

Father, and was therefore inferior to him. On the other hand, the

Orthodox Christians taught, following Athanasius (325-375), that Christ

was of the same and one substance with the Father. They stated that

Jesus was fully God and fully man. Eutychius of Constantinople dis-

agreed with both Arius and Athanasius. He held that Christ had only

one nature, and that was divine, implying that His humanity was absorbed

in His divinity.

By the 5th century, A.D., the Church had begun addressing Mary

as "the Mother of God." This doctrine was an obstacle to Muhammad.

Mariamite cults raised Mary to the position of a goddess (Galwash,

1956:175). Further, many Christians venerated the saints. Christian-
ity appeared to be polytheistic and to practice idolatry. This state-
ment from Sir William Muir, quoted by Sell, summarizes it well:

> "Instead of a simple majesty of the Gospel as a
> revelation of God reconciling mankind to Himself through
> His son, the sacred Dogma of the Trinity was forced upon
> the traveler with the misguided Eutychian and Jacobite
> partisanship, and the worship of Mary was exhibited in
> so gross a form, as to leave upon the mind of Muhammad
> the impression that she was held to be a god, if not
> the third person and the consort of the Deity" (Sell,
> 1913:15, 16; cf. Surah 5:116; 3:199).

Possibly because of Muhammad's rejection of the doctrine of the
Trinity (9:30, 31; 112:1-4) and his strained relationship with the
Jews of Medina, he emphasized that the Arab believers were a distinct
community. He did not institute the Christian Lent or Jewish Ashura
fasts, but the fast of Ramadan (2:183-185), and he changed direction
of prayer (qiblah) from Jerusalem to Mecca (cf. 2:142, 144). He knew
that Abraham had lived before Moses and Jesus, and therefore he was
neither a Jew nor a Christian (3:65-67). He saw Islam, then, as the
religion of Abraham in its purity.

There were other religions in contact with Islam. The Sabians
are known to the Qur'an (2:62) as a people who will be rewarded by
God. These have been identified with the followers of John the
Baptist in Iraq, with the star-worshippers of Harran, or with the
people of South Arabia connected to the Queen of Sheba (Ali, 1968:33).

The Qur'an further mentions the Magians (al-Majus) (22:17).
Bell identifies the Majus with Zoroastrianism, the religion of the
Persian Empire. Zoroaster is known for his concept of dualism--Light

and Good on one hand opposed by Darkness and Evil on the other. Ahura

Mazda (Wise Lord), whom Zoroaster worshipped, was Good.

> " 'Light,' said Zarathustra, 'destroys darkness...
> The old gods, the daevas, are really devils. These
> devils can work on people whose minds are without
> light. God, Ahura Mazda, brings light to their minds.
> God is like fire. ...God is bright. He makes dark
> places light'" (Wolcott, 1972:23).

It is suggested that "the Wise men from the East" (maggi) mentioned in

the Gospel (Matthew 2:1) were probably al-Majus (Ali, 1968:854).

In the Qur'an God is called Light (24:35), and unbelief is likened

to darkness (24:40). But these metaphors were also used among the Jews

and the Christians.

The influence of pagan Arabia must also be considered, if for no

other reason than that Muhammad denounced it so forcibly (9:5: 17:81).

However, pagan practices such as the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah along

with many of its rituals were retained (3:97; 22:27, 29,333). Muham-

mad, of course, emphasizes that these commemorate Abraham (cf. 2:125-

127), and he states that it is the pilgrim's devotion that reaches

heaven and not his sacrifice (22:37). He regarded the ritual performed

in the Ka'bah as directed not to it or to the Black Stone per se, but

to God. However, not every Muslim has this type of enlightenment.

For instance, many pilgrims returning to Nigeria apparently deify the

Black Stone and hold in superstitious regard the holy water which they

bring from Mecca.

Obviously, much of what Muhammad taught was not new. He resisted

the suggestion that he was an innovator but emphasized the role of

warner (36:5). The real meaning of Jahilliyah (the period of Arabian

history before Muhammad) is "barbarism" rather than "ignorance," since
the Arabs were ignorant of the one God only in the sense of their
ignoring Him, much as did the Jews of Hosea's time (Hosea 4:6).

Muslim Sectarian Influences

The objectives and methods of Islamic da'wah were shaped in history
not only by the Qur'an and Hadith, but by the ideas and practices of
the various sects, legal schools, and theologians. Thus, we also take
these influences into consideration. Alhaji Umaru Sanda, in the New
Nigerian (newspaper) issue of July 30, 1971, counted 36 schools of
Islamic Law and 333 tarigas (Islamic religious brotherhoods). I repro-
duced below a suggested list (Ahmad, n.y.:160, 161) with a few additions.

Main Sect	Branch	Country of Predominance
Sunnis	Shafi'i	Hejaz, Aseer, Syria, North Iraq, Egypt, East Africa
	Maliki	Barbary States, West Africa
	Hanbali (Wahabi)	Nejd and El-Hassa
	Hanafi	Turkey, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, Pakistan, India and Egypt
Shi'as	Asna Ashari (Matwali)	Lower Iraq
	Isma'ilis (Druze)	Lebanon and S.W. Syria
	Zaidis	Yemen
	Nosairis	North West Coast of Syria

Kharijis	Ibadhi	Oman, Zanzibar
Sufis	Qadirya	West Africa
	Senusia	Tripoli
	Shaikhiya	Algeria
	Hansaliyya	Western Sudan
	Tijaniyah	Nigeria
	Rahmaniyan	Western Sudan
	Dargawiyah	S. W. Africa
	Madaniyah	Tripoli
Mahdis	Bahais	Iran
	Ahmadis	India, Pakistan, West Africa
	Ansar	Sudan

A Sunni is a Muslim who follows the sunnah of Muhammad (the example given either by word, deed, or by tacit approval). The label distinguishes the so-called orthodox Muslims from the Shi'a. Modern Islam has many representatives of the Sunni doctrine. Among those who try to represent Sunni Islam in its purity are the Wahabis of Arabia. They follow the Hanbali school of law, Muhammad ibn Abd el-Wahhab (1700-1787 A.D.), dismayed by the religious decadence, especially in his homeland the Nejd, began a religious reformation and revival movement. The fervor of the Wahhabis may be noted in this description.

> "Entering the houses of the citizens, they spilled the wine wherever they found it, beat the musicians, and broke their instruments to pieces" (Ahmad, n.y.:265).

Wahhabism today is the religion of the Sa'udi dynasty in Arabia.
The legacy, however, is far more extensive.

The Shi'a differ from the Sunnis on the matter of who was the
rightful successor of Muhammad. They hold that the true succession
was only in 'Ali b. Abu Talib, the fourth Caliph (656-661), and his
descendants. 'Ali, they say, was Muhammad's designated successor, and
'Ali's descendants were the direct descendants of Muhammad through his
daughter, Fatima, 'Ali's wife. The Shi'a, consequently, are character-
ized by their special regard for 'Ali.

Notable among the branches of the Shi'a are the Isma'ilis, or
Seveners, who name seven Imams ending with Isma'il. The twelvers, the
Shi'a of Iran, count the line through a brother of Isma'il and include
a total of twelve. The druzes claim rather that the Imamate ended
with al-Hakim-bi'amr-Illah (died 1020). The Druzes hold some doctrines
strange to Islam, e.g., that creation came about through a series of
emanations and that after death souls are reincarnated in other bodies
(cf. Morgan, 1958:233).

Another sect, the Ibadis, trace their history to the Kharijis.
The Kharijis at first supported 'Ali, but later they turned against him
because "he consented to the arbitration of men rather than the Qur'an"
in his dispute with Mu'awiya. They then maintained that the Caliphate
should be determined by elections rather than by heredity. They are
best known for their extreme position that whoever sins is not a
Muslim. However, the Ibadis, a moderate party among them, do not agree
with this completely. They label the sinner an unbeliever but allow

that dissenters from their sect still belong to the body of Islam (cf. Morgan, 1958:231).

The Sufis developed from mysticism. At first they were regarded as heretical, but due to the influence of Ghazali (1059-1111 A.D.), who was both a theologian and a mystic, the Sufi approach to religion secured an honoured place alongside theology and law (Boer; n.y.:82).

Smith notes some of the contrasts. Sufism, he says:

"...stresses the individual rather than society, the eternal rather than the historical, God's love rather than His power, and the state of man's heart rather than behavior. It is more concerned that one's soul be pure than that one's actions be correct" (1957:44-45).

From Sufism developed a number of tarigas (mystic brotherhoods). We shall consider two of them--Qadriyyah and Tijaniyya--because of their influence in Nigeria. The Qadiriyyah was founded by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jalani (died 1166) in Baghdad in the twelfth century. Its special feature is that it gained adherents by peaceful propaganda. The Tijaniyya was founded by Shaykh Ahmad al-Tijani (1737-1815) of Morocco. While it was more democratic than the Qadiriyya, it was exclusive concerning other Muslims and sometimes appealed to the sword.

The most active propagandists today are drawn from Mahdist sects. The Mahdi is to bring the golden age. The idea is similar to that held by Christians who expect the return of Christ. There are various suggestions about the identification of the Mahdi, but some Muslims suggest he is Jesus. There are many Mahdist movements, but we have chosen two--the Bahais and the Ahmadis because they claim that their founders were a return of Jesus.

The great Advent Awakening of the early nineteenth century did not only arouse interest in the expected return of the Lord among the Christians but also among the Muslims.

Joseph Wolff (1795-1862) who preached the advent of Christ in Asia is quoted as follows:

> "'The Arabs of Yemen,' he says, 'are in posession of a book called SEERA, which gives notice of the second coming of Christ and His reign in glory; and they expect great events to take place in the year 1840'" (White, 1950:362).

In fact, at that time, the Sunnis looked for the return of the Spirit of Christ and the Shi'as expected the return of the Twelfth Imam. Both factions placed the date of the event around 1260 A.H., corresponding to 1844 A.D.

On May 23, 1844, a 25-year old Persian proclaimed himself to be the Bab (Gate), the return of Elijah and John the Baptist. His mission was to prepare the hearts of men for the coming of the Baha'u'llah (the Glory of God). The mission of the Bab ended in 1850 when the Persian government executed him, but the movement continued under the leadership of one of his 18 disciples, Mirza Husayn Ali, who assumed the title Baha'u'llah.

The following is a summary of the Baha'i claim as it appeared in one of Nigeria's leading newspapers, Sunday Times:

> "Baha'u'llah is to the Jews 'the Lord of Hosts';
> to Christendom 'Christ returned in the Glory of the
> Father'; to Shiah Islam the return of the Imam Husayn;
> to Sunni Islam the descent of the 'Spirit of God'
> (i.e. Jesus Christ)" (March 9, 1969).

The Bahais also claim that their founder is the Reincarnation of Lord Krishna to the Hindus, the fifth Buddha to the Buddhists and the

Sha-Bahram to the Zoroastrians (Ib.:10). The Bahais are found in many

nations, including Nigeria.

We have this description of the Ahmadis:

"A radical Muslim sect founded by an Indian mystic
and controversialist Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian (1835-1908).
It has three purposes--"to reform and purge Islam, to
express Islam in a way understood in the modern world,
and to answer the challenge of Christianity" (Watts
citing Fisher, 1961:70, 71).

The Ahmadis have been opposed by nearly all the established Muslim

groups and sometimes persecuted. Suleiman Quadri, for instance, cited

their alleged support of the British colonial government in India as

an example of promoting Christianity instead of challenging it (Sunday

Times, March 10, 1974:21). However, most of the opposition arises

from Ghulam Ahmad's claim to apostleship. The executive committee of

the World Muslim League, October 3-18, 1970, at Mecca, condemned the

movement.

Ghulam Ahmad's claims concerning himself are contradictory and

his teachings are inconsistent. He is said to be the Krishna for the

Hindus and the Messiah for the Christians and the Mahdi for the Muslims

(cf. "Evangelistic Help to Reach the Muslim Mind," Mission 1973, pp. 4,

7, 8). But his followers have been zealous and have spread the move-

ment in Europe, Africa and the Americas. They are active throughout

West Africa. Both their zeal and extreme claims have produced unfavor-

able reactions within and without the movement. The Ahmadi's split

over whether Ghulam Ahmad was a prophet or a reformer and over the

succession to leadership. The Lahore-based wing calls itself the

"Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam." It competes with the "Ahmadiyya Mission"

otherwise known as Qadianis.

Both groups foster missionary appeals through schools and medical
centres. They publish considerable missionary literature, including
English interpretations of the Qur'an. They frequently engage in
debate and generally depend upon an argumentive method. In general,
Sunni Muslims consider that the Ahmadi English version of the Qur'an
is a distortion, but although the Jama'atu Nasr-il-Islam (the Islamic
missionary movement in Nigeria) has rejected a number of English trans-
lations of the Qur'an, they approve the one by Yusuf Ali, and Ahmadi.

Shariah (Divine Law)

In modern times as well as in the past divine law has been a major
factor in Islami thinking. Thus a study of Islamic da'wah include
consideration of the influence of the Shari'ah.

There are four Schools of Islamic Law. These are all Sunni and
do not represent sectarian divisions. The Malikite school (Madhab),
named after Malik ben Anas of Madinah (died 795), dominates West Africa
as well as North Africa. It is the oldest of all the schools and con-
servative. The other schools are the Hanafite, the Shafi'ite and the
Hanbaite. There are numerous differences, but in principle the differ-
ence is the degree of personal opinion allowed by the founders. Jbn
Hanbal was the most conservative disallowing any personal opinion,
rather relying solely on the Qur'an and the Hadith.

The Sunni schools emphasize adhering to the tradition (taqlid).
But other Muslim sects like the Shi'a and the Ibadis give prominence
to ijtihad, the search for relevant meaning. All the sects derive

their laws from the same sources, so the differences are generally on emphasis rather than substance.

As Muslims grew more familiar with the European laws, these were adopted especially for government, commerce, and punishing crimes. The Shari'ah in its traditional form was generally applied to family law, inheritance and waqf (religious trusts). Some countries have resisted European law so that the traditional Islamic law has remained the fundamental law up to the present day. Now the trend is toward further extending Islamic law.

However, modern governments are assuming control of the law rather than leave it to religious courts. For instance, Egypt in 1931 required an official certificate of registration for marriage if the parties were to receive legal benefits. The government provided that no such certificate could be issued if the bride was less than sixteen or the bridegroom less than 18 years of age at the time of the contract. In effect this abolished marriages of minors even though the Shari'ah permits it.

In Nigeria the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, regional prime minister of Northern Nigeria (1960-66), appointed a study group to investigate national law in other Muslim countries. On the strength of their report the Northern Government replaced the whole of the Shari'a criminal law by a comprehensive criminal code in 1961. Then between 1966 and 1967, the Northern Government of Leut.-Col. (later Maj.-Gen.) Hassan Usman Katsina took control of the religious courts and gave the authority to the secular institution of the regional chief justices.

Summary

We have noted in this section that there are many contributors to Islamic da'wah. These include the Qur'an, the Hadith, the Bible, the Jews, the Christians, various sects and orders, and traditional Islamic law.

SECTION V

WHEN?

(The History of Islamic Da'wah)

In some ways the history of Islamic da'wah is the history of Islam.
The conquests often provided the context for the propagation of the
faith, and the faith propagated was shaped by the interests of the state
and its rulers.

The Rightly-Guided Caliphs (ar-Rashidun)

The leadership of the Muslim community after Muhammad passed to
four of his companions, Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman, and Ali in that order.
These four are known to Sunni Islam as the rightly guided Caliphs
(successors). Their authority included both temporal and spiritual
affairs.

The role of Abu Bakr as-Sadiq (573-634) has been described by H.
G. Wells: "There can be little doubt that if Muhammad was the mind and
imagination of primitive Islam, Abu Bakr was its conscience and its
will" (Atta, n.y.:52). His first task was to restore to Islam the
Arabian tribes which had broken away. The interests of the tribes both
in joining Muhammad and then going their own way after Muhammad's death
were doubtless not solely religious, but Muslim historians call Abu
Bakr's campaigns a war against apostasy. The first demand upon Islamic
da'wah was the unity of Arabia and this was accomplished.

Next Abu Bakr began an expansion beyond Arabia. During his

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lifetime Muslim armies captured Hira from the Persians and Damascus from the Byzantines. However, the Christian population of both cities retained their Christianity. The Muslim mission emphasized the tributary status of the Christians rather than their conversion to Islam.

Umar ibn al-Khattab (ruled 634-644) led Islam through major territorial gains. The Muslim forces conquered Palestine, and the lands of the Persian Empire. In Jerusalem, Umar laid the foundation of the Aqsa Mosque on a spot believed to be the site of Solomon's temple and the place to which Muhammad was carried for his mystical ascent to heaven (17:1; 65:12). Until today the Aqsa Mosque, after Mecca and Medina, is the third holiest mosque in the world and an important pilgrimage center.

Uthman's caliphate was characterized by nepotism and by fitnas (seditions) leading eventually to his assassination. But before his death he had contributed to Islamic da'wah the authorized version of the Qur'an.

Ali ibn Abu Talib (599-661), regarded as the first imam by Shi'i Islam and the last of the rightly guided caliphs by Sunnis, proved controversial. He was opposed by A'isha, the most important of Muhammad's surviving wives, apparently because of a long-standing grievance (Salik, 1926:460). She commanded a following but they were no match for Ali's forces. Much sterner opposition came from Mu'awiya, a relative of Uthman whom he had appointed governor of Syria.

Ali's and Mu'awiya's armies met in the Battle of Siffin in Mesopotamia. Ali's army on the point of victory, halted their advance when the Syrian soldiers pinned pages of the Qur'an on their spears. It was

agreed to arbitrate rather than fight. The arbitration was not success-
ful and the civil war continued. But now Ali lost the support of the
party of the Kharijites who turned against him for agreeing to arbitra-
tion with the worldly Mu'awiya. One of their number killed Ali. The
struggle between the Alids and the Umayyads, the family of Mu'awiya,
continued until Ali's sons were made martyrs, Mecca itself was besieged,
and the sacred Ka'bah set on fire. The Umayyads were the victors and
Damascus emerged as the chief city of Islam. The divisions, however,
never healed. Islam was left with three different models for da'wah--
fanticism of the Kharijites, the religious passion of the Alids, and
the worldly pragmatism of the Umayyads.

The Umayyads

The Umayyad rulers turned from civil war to expanding their empire.
Mu'awiyah's armies moved westward to within a short distance of the
Byzantine stronghold at Carthage. To the east they reached the Oxus
River. His successors crossed the Oxus and established a Muslim pre-
sence which continues today as the nation of Pakistan. Carthage fell
to a combined Muslim army and fleet in 698. After taking the rest of
North Africa the armies moved into Spain. The advance continued into
France where the French army under Charles Martel held firm. The thrusts
of conquest ended. Eventually the majority of the inhabitants of the
conquered lands would become Muslims.

The Abbasids

Named after Abbas, an uncle of Muhammad, the Abbasids appealed

primarily to the partisans of Ali and to the Mawali (non-Arab converts
to Islam). Under the Umayyids conversion was not much encouraged be-
cause the tributary peoples formed the tax base of the state. Thus
those who changed to Islam from the non-Arabs were treated as second-
class citizens. The Persians especially, who had been on civilization's
center stage while the Arabs were nomads in the desert, resented the
Arab rule. The insurrection spread. When the last Umayyad caliph,
Marwan II, was defeated in the battle of the Great Zab in 750, the
Abassids were on the throne and Baghdad on the west bank of the Tigris
became the imperial capital, although the first Abbasid caliph, Mansur
(754-755), had to fight for several years to ensure the security of the
dynasty. In addition to bridging the gap between the Arabs and Persians,
the Abassid dynasty sponsored the arts and sciences, and promoted theo-
logical studies and Greek learning. It might be said that under the
Abassids Islam became a world religion.

However, central control remained more in name than in fact. The
empire rapidly broke up into small independent states. The caliph re-
mained at Baghdad under the protection of a local ruling dynasty, the
Buwayhids (945-1055 A.D.). During the Abassid period the Shi'i-Sunni
controversy was joined by the heads of the different states with rival
claims to the allegiance of the Muslims. Among the independent states
formed was one in North Africa founded by Idris ibn Abdullah, a direct
descendant of Ali. The Amoravids (1056-1147), founded by Yusuf ibn
Tashfin, replaced the Idrisid dynasty. The Almoravids are of interest
to us as having been responsible for the effective entrance of Islam

into Black Africa.

The Crusades

Soon non-Arab powers began to control much of the Islamic world.
These included the Seljuk Turks, the Christian Crusaders, the Mongols,
and the Ottoman Turks. The Seljuks, named after their founder, Seljuk,
came from Turkestan in Central Asia. They captured Baghdad in 1055.
Malik Shah (1079-1092 A.D.), the greatest of their rulers, governed an
empire from Western China in the East to Jerusalem and Asia Minor in
the West.

Jerusalem from the first was important to both Muslims and Chris-
tians. The Abbasid Caliph, Harun al-Rashid, presented Charles the
Great the keys of the Holy Sepulchre about the year 800, but the Fatimid
Caliph, Hakim (996-1020) destroyed the Church of the Resurrection in
Jerusalem and also the Holy Sepulchre. Later rulers prevented Chris-
tians from making pilgrimages to the holy places. Christian Crusaders
wrested control of Jerusalem from the Seljuks in 1099. It wasn't until
1187 that Salah-al-Din, the founder of the Ayyubid Dynasty in Egypt,
regained Jerusalem for the Muslims. In 1291 the Crusaders were finally
driven out of the Holy Land. The memory of Crusades remains until
today as an important factor in Muslim-Christian relations.

While Islam was under attack by the Crusaders from the West, an
enemy also arose from another direction. The Mongols, under Genghis
Khan (1155-1227), attacked. In January, 1258, Hulagu, a grandson of
Genghis Khan, led an army that burned the city of Baghdad and killed
the Caliph with 300 of his leading men.

The Ottoman Empire

The next empire to grow out of Muslim soil was the one established by the Turkish Ottoman dynasty (1299-1922 A.D.). At the empire's height, about 1550, it included Syria, Egypt, the Hejaz, almost the whole of North Africa, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Asia Minor, and much of the Balkans in Europe. The most dramatic event in its history is doubtless the capture of Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, in 1453 by Muhammad II, known as "the Conqueror."

The greatest of the Ottoman sultans, as the Ottoman caliphs were called, was Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). He may be remembered not only for the mosques, schools, palaces, public baths, hospitals, etc., that he built, but also for his indirect contribution to the rise of Protestanism. Or as Boer puts it:

> "It is seldom realized that without the Muslim Turks at Europe's back door the Reformation might never have taken place. Here a few dates will show how God's Providence overruled the affairs of men. Suleiman reigned from 1520-1566. Emperor Charles the Fifth, ruler of Christian Europe, reigned from 1519 to 1558. The Reformation ran its course from 1517 to 1550. During all of his reign the great problem that faced Charles, a devout Catholic, was how to meet the Muslim threat. In 1529 when Luther's reforming activity was at it height, Suleiman besieged Vienna. He was not successful, but the fear of him was upon all of Europe. There can be little doubt that had Charles been able to devote his energies to suppressing the Reformation, there would have been a different story to tell than is now recorded in the pages of history" (n.y.:98).

After a siege of Vienna in 1683 failed, Ottoman power began heading downhill. By the late nineteen century the Ottoman Empire was known as "the sick man of Europe" Russia, France, and Great Britain took parts of the Ottoman territories. The first World War destroyed what was left of

the empire.

The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923 by Mustafa Kamel (Ataturk), replaced the Ottoman power in Asia Minor and part of Europe. While retaining the caliphate for a short while, Ataturk soon realized that the days of Islamic empire were ended. He abolished the caliphate in 1924. Thus ended an institution which had symbolized Islamic unity and expansion since 630 A.D.

An Assessment of the Caliphate

History has passed harsh judgment on the caliphate. We have noted how the Umayyads set the Ka'bah on fire, although the Qur'an calls it "an asylum of security for men" (5:100), where not even game should be killed (5:98, 99). The tyranny of the caliphate is summarized thus:

> "A theocracy in which the government was dictated
> by ruler's own whims and passions, who . . . were the
> most blood thirsty tyrants that history has ever
> known. . . . Pity it is that the bloodiest of them all
> like Saffah (the first Abbasside Caliph) and the (Umayyad)
> Merwanids, (744-750) (Abdul Aziz the only exception) all
> lived happy and prosperous and died peacefully, and the
> fate they deserved was met by the last of them, whose
> lack of power made them mild and harmless" (Ahmad, n.y.:
> 256).

Or . . .

> "And in Baghdad, as elsewhere, despotic power was
> fatal to its possessors. Under its blight the "successors"
> of Mohammed became capricious tyrants or degenerate harem
> puppets, whose nerveless hands were wholly incapable of
> guiding the great Moslem Empire" (Stoddard, 1932:5).

There is, however, the other side of the coin. Islamic civilization flourished and the various dynasties established schools up to university level to teach and spread their particular understanding of

Islam. These educational centers also taught, in addition to theology,
arts, sciences.

There was for example, the university at Cordova, Spain, established
by the Umayyad Abd-al-Rahman III (929-961). Concerning this university,
Professor Hitti writes:

> "Arab scholars were studying Aristotle when Charle-
> magne and his lords were reportedly learning to write their
> names. Scientists in Cordova, with their seventeen great
> libraries, one alone of which included more than 400,000
> volumes, enjoyed luxious baths at a time when washing the
> body was considered a dangerous custom at the University
> of Oxford" (1967:5).

He states further that the University of Cordova included among its
departments astronomy, mathematics and medicine, in addition to theology
and Islamic Law; and that "its enrollment must have reached into thou-
sands and its certificate opened the way to the most lucrative posts in
the realm" (Ib.:178).

Another university was founded at Fez, the Idrisid capital. This
institution contributed greatly to the spread of Islam in Black Africa.

Among the greatest universities was the Nizamiyah, supported by
the Abassid dynasty at Baghdad. It's faculty included some of the
giants of Islamic thought. Hassan writes concerning Baghdad:

> "In the early Abbasid period, Baghdad became the most
> important city of the world, the centre of trade, the head-
> quarters of science and art, and the source of wealth and
> riches. Its magnificent buildings, its beautiful parks
> became a well known feature of Muslim art" (Hassan, 1967:
> 297).

The most important Islamic educational institution in the world is
Jami'at al Azhar (University of Light) in Cairo, Egypt. It boasts a
1000-year unbroken history and unrivaled international influence in

Islam.

Al-Azhar was built first as a mosque by the order of the Fatimid General, Jawhar, in 970, and opened not only for prayers, but also as a center where people could learn the Fatimid doctrines. It was turned into a university by "Ha'qub ibn Kills, a convert from Judaism who became a premier and patron of learning belles lettres" (Ib.:330). Students, both native and foreign were provided free food and lodging. Little wonder then that "students flock from the lands extending from Central Africa to Russia and from Indonesia and the Yellow Sea to Morocco" (Ib.:331) to attend this famous institution.

The history of Al-Azhar was marked by the favor of some regimes and the disfavor of others. The Fatimid Caliph Hakim (996-1020 A.D.) added the House of Wisdom (Dar al-Hikma) and the House of Learning (Dar al-'Ilm). The Mamluk Sultans (1250-1517) made some additions, expecially, Beybars who introduced the teaching of the four orthodox schools of Islamic Law and promoted other branches of sciences such as etymology, grammar, rhetoric, logic, and astronomy. On the other hand, the Ayyubid Salah al-Din, an ardent Sunni, withdrew several of the Fatimid endowments. The university also had some rough days during the reign of the Ottoman Turks (1517-1805) and during the French expedition (1798-1801).

Possibly the greatest tribute history pays to the Islamic caliphate is the degree to which the West borrowed its civilization. Dr. M. T. Mehdi, in the The Saturday Evening Post, January/February, 1977, p. 45, claims that four percent of English words have Arabic roots. He includes as examples: coffee, sugar, cotton, mattress, zero, caliber, and

algebra. He quotes: "When the West was sufficiently mature to feel
the need of deeper knowledge, it turned its attention first of all, not
to Greek sources, but to the Arabic ones" (Id.).

Hanafi, a Muslim scholar, suggests an Islamic impetus behind
Luther's "Freedom of the Christian," Menandola's "Oration on the Dignity
of Man," and Giordano Bruno's "Heroic Flowers" (Hanafi, 1977?:65).

Dr. W. H. Lesovsky, a Seventh-day Adventist scholar, has taken
the position that the events of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,
namely: the conquest of Spain from the Arabs by Catholic princes
(1248-1492) and the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453)--all
contributed to restimulate an European interest in oriental studies
which helped them to acquire a better understanding of scientific pro-
blems, religion, history, and the cultural development of the human
race. He concludes:

> "So we can say that Luther and other translators were
> indebted to the preparatory work in linguistics of the
> Arabs which enabled them to produce more exact translations
> of the Bible, and the Protestant world is indebted to the
> Muslims for the Bible in their own language. SDA's were
> reminded of this fact by Dr. E. L. Sutherland who wrote
> about 1900:
>
> 'Spain, while in the hands of the Moors, contributed
> more to European civilization, than at any other time in
> her history; and it was as an educator and through the
> influence of her schools that the papacy received its blow
> from the south which made her more readily succumb to the
> revolt of Germany under Luther'" (1961:201).

This understanding of the contribution of Islamic civilization to
the formation of the modern world has been important to Nigerian Muslims.
Umaru Sanda wrote for the Nigerian daily newspaper, New Nigerian,
August 15, 1969, an article under the headline, "Islam Sees Universe as

Evidence of Divine Glory." For him as for Professor Sarton, whom he

cites, Islam has given the world its greatest philosopher, its greatest

historian.

Boer (n.y.:73) gives the following list of outstanding Muslim

contributors to civilization:

Law	Malik b. Anas	795
Tradition	Bukhari	870
	Muslim	875
History	Tabari	923
Travel	Mas'udi	956
	Avicenna (Ibn Sina)	1037
Medicine	Rhazes (ar-Razi)	930
Philosophy	Avicenna (Ibn-Sina)	1037
	Averroes (Ibn Rushd)	1198
Theology	al-Ghazali	1111
Literature	Hariri	1122

We conclude with the following observation from F. E. Compton's

Pictured Encyclopedia and Fact Index, Vol. 3, Article "The Crusades":

"The East also showed the crusaders a civilization
superior to Europe's in many ways. They saw large cities,
splendid buildings, highly developed arts and crafts,
medicine skill, and scientific knowledge.

The crusades failed to gain the Holy Land, but their
contact with the East awakened Europe to new ways of living
and to new thinking. This led to the Renaissance, the
spark of modern Europe" (1965:618).

Therefore, what I am trying to arrive at in this section of my

paper is that, although the history of Islam has its negative marks

and has often been judged harshly by Western historians, the great

contributions of Islam during the same periods should not be over-

looked. The positive effects of Islam on modern thought is undeniable,

and this is a significant aspect of Islamic da'wah.

SECTION VI

WHY?

(The Purpose of Islamic Da'wah)

In order to understand the Muslim's motivation for da'wah, it is useful to compare the Christian and Islamic concepts of man, sin, and salvation. The Bible and the Qur'an seem to agree concerning the nature of man that he was created in the "image" of God (Gen. 1:27; Surah 30:30); that he was to "have dominion" or to be God's "khalif (vicegerent)" over all the earth (Gen. 1:28; Surah 2:30; 45:12, 13); he was made of one blood (Acts 17; 26; Surah 49:13) and of a perfect character (Eccl. 7:29; Surah 91:7) with a conscience (Rom. 2:15; Surah 91:8); that he was to worship God (Isa. 43:7; Surah 39:64-66); that his loyalty was tested (Gen. 2:16-17; Surah 2:155), but he was "beguiled" (Gen. 3:13; Surah 82:6-12) leading to sin and shame (Gen. 3:9, 10; Surah 7:22), hardship (Gen. 3:16-19; Surah 90:4) and death (Rom. 6:23; Surah 3:185); that there will be resurrection (Dan. 12:2; Surah 22:5); that man will be judged (Heb. 9:27; Surah 46:6) according to his deeds (1 Cor. 3:11-15; Surah 18:49); and that if he is righteous he will inherit eternal life (Matt. 25:29; Surah 9:21, 22), while the wicked will suffer an "everlasting" punishment (Matt. 26:29; Surah 4:169).

Nevertheless, there are important differences. The Bible states that Adam's sin has affected the whole human race (Gen. 3:15-19; Rom.

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5:12; 14), hence subsequent children were to be conceived in sin (Ps. 51:5; Job 14:4). Moreover, man's sin is not only wickedness against his fellow man, but it is also rebellion against God (Gen. 39:9; Ps. 51:4). There can never be the remission of sin without the shedding of blood (Heb. 9:22). Since the blood of animals was only a type and not the actual remitter of man's sins (Heb. 9:6-13), it follows, then, that there must be an antitype provided by the same Source who gave the type--God (Num. 28:1). The antitype given was Jesus (John 3:16), the "second Adam" (1 Cor. 15:45-50; Rom. 5:14-21) who offered His spotless blood (Num. 28:11; Heb. 9:14; Rom. 6:6-18). Thus, in Christianity, Jesus alone qualifies as our Saviour (Acts 4:12). The salvation which is the purpose of Christian mission, therefore, is available through the acceptance of the Saviour.

But Islamic da'wah looks at God's plan of salvation in a different way. While Islam agrees that sin is the transgression of the law (7:33), it reflects the idea of the "original sin" only in that man was created weak (4:28). Adam's sin did not affect humanity so as to demand another Adam to save the fallen race of the first Adam. In Islam "every child is born in the fitra" (the primal Islam). His parents later on may "make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian" (Bu. 23:80, 92). Man's natural religion is this religion of primal Islam or din al-fitra.

> "This is Allah's branding of His creation, namely, that He has endowed all men, as His creatures with a sensus numinus, a fitrah with which to recognize Him as Allah (God), Transcendent Creator, Ultimate Master, and One" (Al-Faruqi in International Review of Missions, October 1976:395).

The New Testament suggests that God's Law is written on everybody's heart including the "Gentile's (Rom. 2:14, 15), but insists upon being "born again" (John 3:3-8; Titus 3:5; James 1:18; Rom. 6:17, 18; 1 Peter 1:23) as the true spiritual birth. Islam, rather, regards the birth in _fitra_ as spiritual. This gives mission a different meaning for the Muslim:

> "As such, the claims of da'wah are necessarily moderate, nay humble! For the _da'iyah_ is to do no more than the 'midwife' to stir the intellect of the _mad'u_ to rediscover what he already knows, the innate knowledge which God has implanted in him at birth" (_International Review of Missions_, Oct. 1976:395).

Faruqi also discusses the doctrine of justification:

> "Moreover, conversion to Islam is not a sacrament which once it takes place, becomes an eternal 'fait accompli.' Islam knows no justification by faith, certainly of no 'justification' in the sense of 'justi facti.' If lethargic and stagnant, _iman_ degenerates into narrow-mindedness and impoverishes its subject....

> "As rational intellection, da'wah shows that in Islam faith has to do with knowledge and conviction, whereas in Christianity it is, as Pascal found out, blind wager. The Arabic word _iman_ does not mean 'faith' as Christians use the term. Rather, it means 'conviction.' It does not involve the functioning of a sacrament" (Ib. 394).

Furthermore, on the "salvation of man," he maintains:

> "Man, as Islam defines him, is not an object of salvation, but its subject. Through his agency alone the moral part, which is the higher part of the will of God, enters, and is fulfilled in, creation. In a sense, therefore, man is God's partner, but a partner worthy of God because he is trustworthy as His _khalifa_, not because he is pitifully helpless and needs to be 'saved'" (Ib. 399-400).

Summing up his arguments, al-Faruqi contends:

"Islam does not claim for itself, therefore, the
status of a novelty, but of a fact and dispensation at
least as old as creation....

"We are not impressed by the claim of latter-day
ecumenists, advocates of interreligious dialogue, toler-
ation and co-existence who assert the ultimacy of any
religious system because it is religious. For such a
claim is the absolutization of every religious proposi-
tion which is nothing short of cultural relativism....

"Da'wah is ecumenical par excellence because it
regards any kind of intercourse between the Muslim and the
non-Muslim as a domestic relationship between kin....
The task of dialogue, or mission is thus transformed into
one of sifting the history of the religion in question.
Da'wah then becomes an ecumenical cooperative critique
of the other religions rather than its invasion by a
new truth" (Ib. 396-397).

We have learned in this section that man is born with the natural

religion of _Islam_, a surrender to the will of God who is absolutely

One. Because he is weak, he sometimes goes astray and perhaps accepts

unbelief. So the main aim of da'wah is to remind man of his wayward-

ness (36:6) so that he may submit or surrender to God (31:22).

SECTION VII

HOW?

(The Methods of Islamic Da'wah)

Islamic da'wah may be described as employing two types of method--
coercive and peaceful. Each of these types may be further divided

into two--manifest methods and latent methods. We begin with a discus-

sion of manifest coercive methods. These are methods which intention-

ally use force or compulsion to gain converts.

Manifest Coercive Methods:

The Qur'an commands the following strategy for dealing with Pagans:

"But when the forbidden months are past, then fight
and slay the Pagans wherever ye find them, and seize them,
beleaguer them and lie in wait for them in every stratagem
(of war); but if they repent, and establish regular prayers
and practice regular charity, then open the way for them:
For God is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful" (Ali, Surah 9:5).

The expression "But if they repent . . . then open the way for

them," suggests that the preaching of Islam to the Pagans came after

the threat of death. However, in the Qur'anic setting, the war against

the Pagans of Arabia may have been the main point of the command,

similar to the Hebrew war against the peoples of Canaan, but the harsh-

ness of it was modified to exempt those who were repentant. Neverthe-

less, subsequent generations of Muslim jurists called this verse the

"verse of the sword" (ayat al-saif). The jurists changed the emphasis

of jihad from "spiritual struggle" to that of "physical struggle" or

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qital (fighting). They divided the world into two regions--dar al-Islam (the abode of Islam) and dar al-harb (the abode of war). These words are not used in the Qur'an, but they were in use by the time of Bukhari, who titled one of his chapters: "When a people embrace Islam in dar al-harb" (Bu. 56:180). Bukhari recorded a Hadith that Muhammad said "Paradise (al-Janna) is under the shadow of swords" (Bu. 56:22), which has been understood to mean under the threat of sword but perhaps is as well understood to refer to the entry of martyrs.

Otherwise jihad or holy war is commanded in the Qur'an for the defense of Islam (4:75, 76). However, Muhammad used the concept of defense to carry the battle to Mecca and to unify Arabia. The command of jihad was applied to the wars of expansion into Africa, Asia, and Europe, although historians suppose that the quest for booty was a greater motivation than the hope for martyrdom. At any rate conquest, not conversions, was the object of the expansions (Source Book, 1962: 507). Later, when the Islamic countries sought freedom from the colonial rule of Europe, appeals were made for jihad, again in the context of defense and without connection to expectations of conversions.

Actually, appeals to jihad in modern times have been, if war involved, chiefly for political objectives, and have been characterized by their ineffectiveness, especially if they were pan-Islamic. Bernard Lewis cites some examples of recent use of this appeal:

> "In the manual of orientation of the Supreme Command
> of the Egyptian forces, issued in 1965, the wars in the
> Yemen and against Israel are presented in terms of jihad
> or holy war for God against the unbelievers. In reply
> to questions from the troops as to whether the classical
> Islamic obligation of jihad has lapsed or is still in

force, orientation officers are instructed to reply that
the jihad for God is still in force at the present time
and is to be interpreted in our own day in terms of a
striving for social justice and human betterment" (Com-
mentary, January 1976:47).

Lewis notes further that the operational code name for the Egyptian

crossing of the Suez Canal was Badr, the name of one of the battles

fought by Muhammad. There is no suggestion, however, that the conver-

sion of the Jews to Islam was the object of these wars. In fact, the

Egyptian interpretation of jihad was toward the political goals of

"social justice and human betterment."

Lewis goes on to observe that modern Islamic nations, like most

other peoples, fight their wars with the understanding that God is on

their side.

"There have been two recent wars in which Muslims
fought against non-Muslims--the Turkish landing in Cyprus
and the subsequent fighting, and the Syrian and Egyptian
war against Israel in October, 1973. Both in Egypt and
in Turkey, the language and the rhetoric accompanying the
offensives were strikingly religious. Popular legend of
the kind that flourished in wartime in all societies, also
assumed an overwhelmingly religious character, with stories
of intervention by the Prophet and the angels of Allah on
the side of the Muslims" (Ib.).

Bukhari and Muslim both include in their chapters on jihad, tra-

ditions to the effect that jihad is established until the Day of Judg-

ment. We have noticed, for instance, the reports of meetings of

representatives from the Muslim World (including three representatives

from Nigeria) held in Cairo, and hosted by the Azhar University's

Islamic Research Academy. In the conference, March 4, 1970, the fifth

of its kind, 23 resolutions were passed; of these, only three did not

contain jihad elements or jihad-related concepts. This theme is seen

in subsequent conferences including the last, the eighth one, October 1977, and will doubtless come up in future conferences and similar meetings elsewhere.

The sword in the hand of the believer, as described in the Qur'an, has positive value. In a jihad, the faithful mujahid (fighter) has nothing to lose—he has booty to collect (cf. 8:1) if he succeeds and Paradise to gain if he dies in action (9:20, 21). At any rate, infidelity is worse than killing (2:217).

The concept of holy war has also been known to Christianity. In 1095 at the Council of Clermont in France, Pope Urban II (1088-99) called for a military expedition to be undertaken by the Christians of Europe to recover the Holy Land from the Muslims. It is interesting to note that the Crusaders were also promised booty and exemption from punishment. Something similar to jihad was probably understood in the "Inquisition" by which heretics were punished. The Inquisition was first established in France in 1233 by Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) to root out the Albigensian heretical sect. It was then made a supreme tribunal for the whole Church in 1542 by Pope Paul III. These two examples of Christian holy war came 500 years after the beginning of the Muslim jihad.

George Simmel (1858-1918) viewed conflict as inevitable in society.

> "Conflict is an inherent natural part of ongoing socialization process, both for the individual personality and for the group. Like most natural processes it has both positive (beneficial) and negative (destructive) effects, although it is not always easy or possible to reach agreement as to which is which.... But surely no one can deny that without conflict, without a

mechanism to resist undesirable forces, life as we know it would be impossible" (Cuber, 1968:56).

Using Simmel's words, "one unites in order to fight, and one fights under the mutually recognized control of norms and rules" (Ib.:276). In short, then, Simmel wishes to emphasize the socializing and unifying factors of conflict. That is primarily the accomplishment of the Muslim jihads and of the Christian Crusades and Inquisition.

Latent Coercive Methods:

These are mission methods which appear coercive to the convert but which were not intended by the actor in that way. The following verse from the Qur'an is an example:

> "Fight those who believe not in God nor the Last
> Day, nor hold that forbidden by God and His Apostle,
> nor acknowledge the Religion of Truth, (even if they
> are) of the People of the Book, until they pay the
> Jizya with willing submission, and feel themselves
> subdued" (Ali, 9:29).

Here the condition under which one is spared is not conversion but submission to a poll tax (jizyah). The jizyah is paid by the dhimmis (non-Muslims who are protected by a treaty of surrender). The system whereby non-Muslims live and are protected in a Muslim state was called millet. Let us consider the coercive elements of the millet system.

There was a pre-Islamic system of alliance prior to the adoption of the millet system under Islam.

> "If a clan or individual was too weak to exact venge-
> ance, help would be sought from a stronger tribe, which
> would place the injured under its protection. In this
> way, a system of alliance was built up between the stronger
> tribes and their 'clients.' Among the clients (mawali)

were slaves freed by their masters and foreigners such as
the Jewish settlers at Medina. After the coming of Islam,
the system was modified to include the protection afforded
by the Caliphs to members of other faiths, such as the
Jews or Christians, who refused to embrace Islam. The
only people converted 'by the sword' were the Arab pagans"
Events, December 2, 1977:30).

At first, the Jews were included in the ummah (community) of the

believers at Medina by which Muhammad united the warring Arab tribes

and the Jews with the Meccan emigrants. The Constitution of Medina

contains the key words, ummah, dhimmis, and mawali:

"1. They are a single community (ummah) distinct
from (other) people.

"15. The security (dhimmah) of God is one, the
granting of 'neighbourly protection' (yujir) by the
least of them (the believers) is binding on them; the
believers are patrons (mawali) of one another to the
exclusion of (other) people....

"25. The Jews of Banu 'Awf are a community (ummah)
along with the believers. To the Jews their religion and
to the Muslims their religion. (This applies both to
their clients and to themselves, with the exception of
anyone who has done wrong or acted treacherously; he
brings evil only on himself and on his household"
(Watt, 1977: 221, 223).

There is no mention of any poll tax on non-Muslims in this document.

It seems the first to pay the jizyah (the root word of which means

("compensation") were the Jews of Khaibar, an oases settlement some 90

miles north of Medina, after they had been subdued by the Muslims in

the expedition ordered by Muhammad in 628. Later Muslim rulers made a

regular practice of demanding a jizyah and by the time of the Abassid

Caliph, Haroun al-Rashid, complex regulations concerning its payment

had been elaborated. The principle was that the jizyah was compensa-

tion for protection and in lieu of performing military service. There

have been reports of refunds where Muslims were unable to protect their

dhimmis (see Ahmad, n.y.:106-107). The Turks exempted their dhimmis

(e.g., the inhabitants of Megara, a community of Albanian Christians)

from the jizyah on condition that they were going to furnish the Muslim

Empire with a body of armed men to guard the nearby passes (Ib., 108).

The so-called "Ordinance of Umar" is usually cited to show the

disadvantaged status of the dhimmis.

> "When you marched against us, we asked you protection
> for ourselves, our posterity, our possessions and our
> co-religionists; and we made this stipulation with you,
> that we will not erect in our city or the suburbs any new
> monastery, church, cell or hermitage; that we will not
> repair of such buildings that may fall into ruins, or
> renew those that may be situated in the Muslim quarters of
> the town; ...that we will not teach our children the Qur'an;
> that we will not make a show of the Christian religion nor
> invite anyone to embrace it; that we will prevent any of
> our kinsmen from embracing Islam, if so desire. That we
> will honour the Muslims and rise up in our assemblies when
> they wish to take their seats; that we will not imitate
> them in our dress, either in the cap, turban, sandals or
> parting of the hair; that we will not make use of their
> expressions of speech, nor adopt their surnames; ...that
> we will wear girdles round our waists, that we will not
> display the cross on our churches or display our crosses
> or our sacred books in the streets of the Muslims, or in
> their market-places; that we will not recite our services
> in a loud voice when a Muslim is present, that we will not
> chant loudly or carry lighted candles in the streets of
> the Muslims or their market-places. ...All these we pro-
> mise to observe, on behalf of ourselves and our co-
> religionists, and receive protection from you in exchange,
> and if we violate any of the conditions of this agreement,
> then we forfeit your protection and you are at liberty to
> treat us as enemies and rebels" (Ahmad, n.y.:102-104).

It is said that Umar visited the Church of Resurrection in Jeru-

salem in company of the patriarch. When the hour of the Muslim prayer

caught up with him in the church, the patriarch bade the caliph to

pray there, but Umar refused saying that if he were to do so his

followers might afterwards claim it as a place of Muslim worship. Further, Umar is reported to have said to his successor designate (Uthman):

> "I commend to his care the Dhimmis, who enjoy the
> protection of God and of the Prophet; let him see to it
> that the covenant with them is kept, and that no greater
> burdens than they can bear are laid upon them" (Ib. 102).

Whatever the true origin of the "Ordinance of Umar" (first mentioned by Ibn Hazm in the mid-fifth century A.D.) it was clearly the policy of some of the Umayyad and Abassid caliphs. Umar II (717-720) ordered the destruction of all recently constructed churches, decreed that Jews and Christians should wear distinctive dress, and excluded them from public offices. Similar measures were taken during the reigns of Mansur, Haroun al-Rashid, and Al-Mutawakkil--the last one being the most tyrannical.

> "The Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 850 and 854 decreed that
> Christians and Jews should affix wooden images of devils
> to their houses, level their graves even with the ground,
> wear outer garments of honey color, i.e., yellow, put
> honey-colored patches on the clothes of their slaves, one
> sewn on the back and the other on the front and ride only
> on mules and asses with wooden saddles marked by two
> pomegranate-like balls on the cantle. It was on account
> of this distinctive dress that the dhimmi aquired the
> epithet 'spotted'" (Hitti, 1967:137).

It was during the rule of al-Mutawakkil that the Muslim jurists ruled that the testimony of a Christian or a Jew could not be accepted against a Muslim (Hitti, 1967:137).

Similarly, in Egypt, the Fatimid Caliph, al-Aamir (1101-1130) oppressed the dhimmis. The Bahri Mamluke Sultan, Malik al-Salih (1240-1249) who took Jerusalem from the army of the Sixth Crusade, issued clothing regulations: for Christians--dark-blue clothes, black turban

and, round the neck, a wooden cross weighing five and a half pounds; and for the Jews--yellow clothing, black turban and a heavy ball hanging round the neck (Strelocke, 1976:7).

In modern times, non-Muslims have come under attack, especially in times of crisis. An anti-Balfour Declaration demonstration in Cairo, November 2, 1945, developed into a riot in which several churches, Catholic, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox, were damaged. On January 4-5, 1952, demonstrators in Suez against the British occupation of the Suez Canal zone looted and set a Coptic Church on fire. More recently, in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, when news got through of the Israeli cross-ing to the west bank of the Suez Canal, a rumor immediately appeared, ascribing this penetration to the treachery of a Coptic officer. The Egyptian government took immediate steps to deny the rumor and promoted a Coptic general to an army command at that moment (Lewis, Commentary, January 1976:48).

There were also Muslim rulers who showed far different attitudes to dhimmis.

"Muawiyah (661-680) employed Christians very largely in his service and other members of the reigning house followed his example. Christians very frequently held high posts in the Court, e.g., Christian Arab Al Akhtal, was court poet, and the father of St. John of Damascus, counsel to the Caliph Abdul Malik (685-705). In the ser-vice of the Caliph Al Matassim (833-842), there were two brothers, Christians, who stood very high in confidence of the Commander of the faithful; the one named Salmuyah, seems to have occupied somewhat the position of modern Secretary of State, and no royal documents were valid until countersigned by him, while his brother Ibrahim, was entrusted with the case of privy seal, and was over the Bayt-al-Mal or Public Treasury, an office that, from the nature of funds and their disposal, might have been expected to have been put in the hands of a Muslim" (Ahmad, n.y.:109).

Even Haroun al-Rashid employed Gabriel, a Nestorian Christian, as his personal physician. The Caliph's second physician was also a Christian (cf. Ib.:111). Christians were appointed for their honesty and efficiency. The Caliph Al-Mutadid (892-902) approved the appointment of Umar b. Yusufu, a Christian, as governor of Anbar, on the grounds that if a Christian were found to be competent, a post might well be given to him, as there were better reasons for trusting a Christian than a Jew, or a Muslim, or a Zoroastrian (Ib. 110). However, Jews also held high positions. The Fatimid Caliph, Aziz (975-996), for example, appointed Menasseh as governor of Syria (Hassan, 1976:217). Moreover, Muslim rulers, like the Umayyad Caliph Abdul-Malik (685-705), allowed new churches and monasteries to be built, especially in Egypt (Ahmad, n.y.:113).

Today, Christians hold many important posts in the Egyptian government. President Anwar Sadat appointed as his acting foreign minister Dr. Butros Ghali, whose wife is an Egyptian Jew and he himself is a Coptic Christian. His great-grandfather and namesake, Boutros Pasha Ghali was prime minister of Egypt in 1908. He had been preceeded at times by Armenian and Jewish prime ministers (Events, December 2, 1977: 6).

Basically, however, our point is that, even though the millet system did not make conversion compulsory, it subjected non-Muslims to conditions which reminded them that they should always "feel themselves subdued" (9:29). This feeling compelled some Christians and Jews to embrace Islam. At least one Muslim writer has recognized this process:

"In proportion, as the lot of the conquered peoples
became harder to bear, the more irresistible was the temp-
tation to free themselves from their miseries, by the words,
'There is no god but God: Muhammad is the Apostle of God.'
When the state was in need of money--as was increasingly the
case--the subject races were more and more burdened with
taxes, so the conditions of the non-Muslim was constantly
growing more unendurable, and conversions to Islam increa-
sed in the same proportion" (Ahmad, n.y.:128).

Manifest Peaceful Methods:

It is of course the peaceful methods which best fit one's idea of
missionary activity. It assumes that the convert is making a choice of
Islam. Such methods are recommended by the following verses from the
Qur'an:

"Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom and
beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are
best and most gracious: For thy Lord knoweth best, Who
have strayed from His Path, and who receive guidance"
(Ali, 16:125).

"Let there be no compulsion in religion: Truth
stands out clear from Error: whoever rejects Evil and
believes in God hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-
hold, that never breaks. And God heareth and knoweth
all things" (Ib. 2:256).

Other verses (5:108; 3:176-177; 47:32) emphasize that if the ma'du
(the called) is not persuaded by the da'iyah (the caller) then the ma'du
should be left alone because he gains (life) by believing and faces
peril by rejecting the message of the da'iyah (39:41).

Muhammad left the example of inviting the Meccans to give up poly-
theism by preaching to them. Later, the Caliph Umar "appointed teachers
in every country to instruct the people in the teachings of the Qur'an
and the observances of their new faith" (Ahmad, n.y.:95). Schools were

established in the mosques, some of which later became universities of learning work in the government and private sectors, but many other graduates become missionaries spreading Islam to non-Muslim countries fostering revival in Muslim states. These missionaries have had an important role in the expansion of Islam, but less direct missionary work has probably been more effective.

Latent Peaceful Methods

It is doubtful that many of the agents of Islam saw themselves as missionaries, but their work led to conversions and contributed to the growth of Islam in new areas. Many traveled, for instance, primarily in the interest of trade.

Trade was the occupation of the Meccans and the Medinans with whom Muhammad associated throughout his life. This is reflected in his Friday worship injunction:

> "O ye who believe! When the call is heard for the prayer of the day of congregation (Friday), ...leave your trading. ...And when the prayer is ended, then disperse in the land and seek of Allah's bounty" (Pickthall, 62:9, 10).

Even today, most of the Muslims in Nigeria are full-time traders or farmers engaged in some petty trade. Traders were the earliest carriers of Islam to Black Africa (Africa south of the Sahara Desert). They moved freely among the local people exchanging goods and ideas. The contact was regular and unbroken. Trade centers grew in urban areas and these centers in their turn became Muslim centers. The slave trade was an exception to this rule (Ahmad, n.y.:219). It was not until the European colonial powers suppressed the slave trade in the early part

of the 19th century that Islam moved from the coasts of East Africa to the interior.

The Muslim traders had some advantages in Islam which made their religion attractive to others. For instance, the pilgrimage (hajj) developed into an attractive feature of Islam for the Africans. Nigeria sent 104,000 pilgrims to Mecca in 1977. The pilgrims bring back stories of how they meet with people of different races and countries who unite with them in the worship of God--a proof that all Muslims of the world are a single ummah (community) no matter their country of origin, their political inclination, their race or color. The pilgrimage also provides contact with the outside world and opens up new channels of trade. Hence, the common belief is that all pilgrims who return are not only blessed spiritually but also with material wealth.

Probably the hajj is most influential through the social status it confers on the pilgrim, The title, al-hajj, as Nigerians who have been to Mecca are called, commands respect everywhere in the country. A hajji does not have to wait in line for service. Professionals, such as medical doctors, prefer Alhaji (Nigerian spelling) to Doctor, e.g. Alhaji (Dr.) Ahmadu. "Alhajis" are called to settle disputes. The title can easily earn one an important post, such as governor, commissioner, permanent secretary, or chairman of a corporation. Thus, there is good reason for Nigerians to turn Muslim and perform the pilgrimage.

When Islam came in contact with the Africans, it emphasized many points of contact with the native culture--a legacy of Muhammad's dealing with the factions of Medinah. Hence, it has been a strong cultural

influence, and once it has been adopted by an African community, it regularly has become dominant. Some major elements of Muslim culture which predominate in Nigeria are: 1) the adoption of a common calendar--the lunar calendar--for Islamic rites and observances, such as the beginning and end of Ramadan fasts; 2) the observances of the same categories of things which are permitted (halal) and the things which are not permitted (haram), such as drinking intoxicants and the method of slaughter of animals for food; 3) the incorporation of Islamic elements into certain ceremonies, such as marriage, naming and death ceremonies; and 4) Islamic magic and divination, such as the adoption of elements like ritual prayer for rain in time of drought.

One example of how Islam identifies with African mentality is the concept that leaders are both political and religious. Muhammad was both the head of state and the priest-prophet. The caliphs were both political and religious leaders. The concept dates to antiquity. Babylonian and Egyptian kings were also spiritual leaders. The Bible gives the example of the king of Salem, Melchizedek, who was at the same time "the priest of the most high God" (Gen. 14:18). The Roman emperors were religious figures, even after adopting Christianity. For instance, Constantine the Great (288-337), who issued his Sunday-rest law in 321 and called the first ecumenical council of Nicea (325), called himself "bishop of bishops" (Moyer, 1974:100), a title later held by the Popes at Rome (Ferguson, 1964:193). There are many examples from Africa. For instance, the Oni of Ife has been ruler and spiritual leader of the Nigerian Yoruba tribe; the Sefawa people of Borno

(Northeastern Nigeria) worshipped the "mune" or sacrum of the royal authority.

Another example of Islamic identity with African concepts is the concept of time. Islam in Africa has emphasized the spiritual and material benefits its adherents can enjoy now and here on earth more than those of the hereafter in Paradise (Smith, 1957:47). In contrast, Christianity teaches one to rejoice when men persecute him because his reward is in heaven (Matt. 5:11, 12). Islam approves wars of liberation (4:75, 76), the material reward of which is the portion of the war booty (8:41) and the spiritual reward of which is attainment of Paradise (9:20, 21). This represents a special type of eschatology defined by Professor Hassan Hanafi:

> "Eschatology from that type (liberation) does not only express a hope in a better future, but it actualizes that future in the present" (1977?:329).

The African concept of time lacks futuricity. A leading African theologian, Dr. J. S. Mbiti, discusses the time concept as follows:

> "The most significant factor is that Time is considered as a two-dimensional phenomenon; with a long 'past'; and a dynamic 'present.' The 'future' as we know it in the linear conception of Time is virtually non-existent" (1971: 185).

Mbiti further suggests that the farthest into the future the African articulates is from two to six months.

> "Therefore if the event is remote, say beyond two years from now, then it cannot be conceived, it cannot be spoken of, and the languages themselves have no verb tenses to cover that distant 'future' dimension of time" (Mbiti, 1969:18).

In fact, the African does, of course, conceive of future events, but he

ties his concept of the future with the past and the present. Even if
the African prepares for the "future," his goal is to have a happy
reunion with his ancestors in the spirit world when he dies.

Islam better suits the African view of the future than does
Christianity. Islam identifies with wars of liberation from the "im-
perialistic" domination of the past and present for a future now and
here. Christianity preaches love your enemies, for your reward is "in
heaven."

In a private interview with Dr. Abdul Aziz Azad of the office of
the Islamic Missionary Administration of the Azhar University December
1977, I asked why Islam gains followers in Africa so fast. His answer
was quick, "Islam is easy." Note the simplicity of Islam. Islam has no
priesthood; the clerics are not members of a priestly caste but they
serve simultaneously as teacher, guide, trader, artisan, medicine man,
and counsellor. Islam has no mystical sacraments, no elaborate doctrine.
Its duties are definite and practical, its standards are attainable by
the average person, and no one is excommunicated.

Some Additional Factors

There are political, religious, and social factors which contribute
to Islamic mission, although they may be external to Islam and are not
specifically the methods of da'wah. The convert may or may not feel
coerced by the factors but they serve as pressures that lead Africans
to Islam.

Islam is understood to be a successful political force. In con-
trast to its early political rivals--the Byzantine and Persian Empires--

Islam was the broadest, freshest, and cleanest political idea that had
yet emerged in the world. Then for the first four centuries (630-1000)
of its existence, the realm of Islam was the most civilized and pro-
gressive portion of the world, studded with splendid cities, gracious
mosques, and great universities where the wisdom of the ancient world
was preserved and appreciated. In recent history Islam was a force in
favor of national liberation from so-called Christian imperialists.

Islam is also seen as superior to Christianity in doctrine, ethics,
and the verdict of history. One historian describes the rise of Islam
as the "resistless breath of the sirocco, the desert wind, swept out of
Arabia and encountered a spiritual vacuum" (Stoddard, 1932:2). The
spiritual vacuum was Christianity, beset by doctrinal controversy and
sectarian persecutions. Canon Taylor says:

> "They tried to combat the licentiousness of the age
> by setting forth the celestial merit of celibacy and
> angelic excellence of virginity, seclusion from the world
> was the road to holiness, dirt was the characteristic of
> monkish sanctity--the people were practically polytheists,
> worshipping a crowd of martyrs, saints and angels; the
> upper class were effeminate and corrupt, the middle class
> oppressed by taxation, the slave without any hope for the
> present or for the future" (Ahmad, n.y.:118, 119).

The persecution and oppression of Christian by Christian denounc-
ing one another as heretics reached the place that Muslim overlords
were welcomed.

> "When the Muslim army reached the valley of the
> Jordan and Abu Obaidah pitched his camp at Fihl, the
> Christian inhabitants of the country wrote to the
> Arabs, saying: 'O Muslims, we prefer you to the Byzantines,
> though they are of our faith, because you keep better
> faith with us and are more merciful to us and refrain
> from doing us injustice and you rule over us better than
> they, for they have robbed us of our goods and our homes'"

(Ib. 99).

Michael the elder, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, wrote in the latter half of the twelfth century:

> "This is why the God of vengeance, who alone is all
> powerful, and changes the empire of mortals as He will,
> giving it to whomsoever He will, and uplifting the humble--
> beholding the wickedness of the Romans who, throughout their
> dominions, cruelly plundered our churches and our monaster-
> ies and condemned us without pity--brought from the region
> of the south the sons of Ishmael, to deliver us through
> them from the hands of the Romans" (Ib. 98).

The Crusades, the Inquisition, colonialism, racism, greedy emissar-
ies of Christian nations--all helped to present Islam as superior to
Christianity in its spiritual values.

Another factor in favor of Islam is the social role of polygamy.
The Qur'an permits as many as four wives (4:3). In other verses (4:24;
23:5, 6; 70:29, 30) a mut'ah (temporary marriage) and/or concubinage is/
are allowed. This principle certainly fits the African society better
than the Christian principle of "one man, one wife." What happens then
is, if a Nigerian Christian marries a second wife, he is disfellowshipped
by his church. So he embraces Islam. A recent example has come to my
attention in Jengre. A Christian trained as a minister at a Bible
school in Northern Nigeria got involved with a woman, was disciplined
by his church, married the "other women," embraced Islam, was sent to
Mecca for the Muslim pilgrimage, and trained in a Muslim religious
institution. Now he is a respected al-Hajji and a powerful Muslim
preacher.

Chapter 2

TERRITORIES OF SPECIAL STUDY

SECTION I

EGYPT

The word "Egypt" is derived from the Greek Aiguptos which is a
probable derivation of the Egyptian name of ancient Memphis, Hikuptah,
meaning "house of the (god) Ptah." Modern Egyptians use the Arabic
name, Misr, which goes back to the ancient Cannanites (SDA Bible Dic-
tionary, 1960:288).

Since most of the land area is desert, the population of 40 million
is distributed primarily along the Nile River. It has three natural
divisions--"Lower Egypt" (from the Mediterranean to Cairo), "Upper
Egypt" (from Cairo to Aswan), and "Nubia" (from Aswan to the frontier
of Sudan). This Nile oasis, stretching the length of Egypt south to
north is more than 600 miles in length and is never more than 12 miles
in width.

HISTORY

There are two main sources for the history of ancient Egypt: 1)
literary materials, such as the "Book of the Dead," the "Amarna Letters,"
the "Rosetta Stone" and the "royal lists," and 2) treasures, such as
the ones found in the tomb of Tutankhamon (1333-1325 B.C.) These trea-
sures, which I was privileged to see at the Cairo Museum last year,

help Egyptologists understand some aspects of social life, especially at the royal court.

"The Book of the Dead" was concerned with the spiritual problems of the judgment and afterlife and thus provides an understanding of religious thought in ancient Egypt (see Budge, 1967). The Amarna Letters are the royal archives of Amenhotep III (1412-1375 B.C.) and Ikhnaton (1361-1370 B.C.) found at Amarna, their capital city.

> "It contained more than 350 letters written on clay tablets in Babylonian cuneiform script comprising the correspondence between the Egyptian court and the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni, Arzawa, Cyprus, and the Hittites, and of many vassal princes of Syria and Palestine" (SDA "Bible Dictionary," 1960:33-34).

The inscription on the Rosetta Stone is a decree drawn up between 196 and 197 B.C. in honor of Ptolemy V in Greek and both the hieroglyphic and demotic of the Egyptians. Its discovery permitted the decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphics. The Royal lists kept by the Egyptian priests arranged the rulers of Egypt from King Menes to Alexander the Great in 31 dynasties.

The Ancient Dynasties (3000-500 B.C.)

The Egyptian dynasties began with the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt by King Menes. The Step Pyramid pertains to King Zoser, who began ruling in 2780 B.C. This was followed by the three great Pyramids of Gizah, eight miles south of Cairo, built by Cheops (Khufu), Chephren (Khafre) and Mycerinus (Menkaure), during the 4th dynasty (Strelocke, 1976:21, 22).

During the 13th dynasty, the kingdom declined. Consequently, the

nomadic Hyksos or "Shepherd Kings," coming from Asia Minor, invaded Egypt and ruled the country for a century and a half. They brought with them the horse and the war-chariot, both previously unknown in Egypt. A Theban prince, Ahmose, defeated the Hyksos and drove them out of Egypt in about 1550 B.C.

The 18th to 20th dynasties are known as the empire period because of the extensive territorial acquisitions. This period is noted for its Ramesside kings of whom King Ramesses (Ramses) II is the best known. During my visits to Egypt, I came across his name on the many temples which he built during his long reign of 67 years (1299-1232 B.C.). Today Ramses Street is one of the longest in Cairo, and Ramses Square is one of the most important squares. At the middle of the square stands a 70-ton stone statue of Ramses II moved to this site in 1957 from the Palm Tree Grove at Memphis. It is 33 feet high (including the crown), and on the bracelet, shoulders, breast, and girdle royal names are inscribed.

The 21st dynasty saw two rival kings ruling--one in Thebes and one in Tanis, hence Palestine in the North and Nubia in the south--both became independent of Egypt. Then kings of Libyan descent took over and united the country and formed a 22nd dynasty. One of them, Shoshenk I (the "Shishak, King of Egypt" of the Bible: 1 Kings 14:25, 26) took Jerusalem and despoiled the Temple. Native Egyptians regained power as the 24th dynasty, but they were soon replaced by the 25th dynasty of the Ethiopian Pharaohs from Nubia, who ruled for almost nine decades. The Ethiopians were defeated by Esarhaddon of Assyria, who made Egypt a

province of Assyria in 670 B.C.

Egypt Under the Persians, Greeks, Romans and Muslims (525 B.C.-1798 A.D.)

Cambyses made Egypt a Persian province in 525 B.C. The Persians, under Darius, completed the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which Pharaoh Necho had started.

In 332 Alexander the Great conquered Egypt and founded the city of Alexandria. This city developed into a center of world trade and of Greek art and culture (I was a witness to this fact at the Museum of Alexandria). About twenty years after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy made himself king of Egypt, and his descendants reigned over Egypt for 300 years.

The emperor Augustus (Octavian) wrested Egypt from Antony and Cleopatra after the sea-battle of Actium on the west coast of Greece in 31 B.C. In 69 A.D. Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor in Alexandria, and Christianity is said to have spread rapidly throughout Egypt at this time. Then, when the Roman Empire was divided into two in 395, Egypt fell to the Eastern (Byzantine) Emperor.

The Arab General Amr ibn al-As entered the country in 640. Muslims have ruled Egypt since then until the present. We have already treated above the founding of Al-Azhar university by the Muslims, and we will discuss later the relations between Egypt and Black Africa which developed under the Muslims.

Modern Egypt (1798-   )

The history of modern Egypt is usually begun with the invasion of

Egypt by Napoleon in 1798. The French occupation was short (less than three years) but influential.

The French withdrawal from Egypt was followed by a period of disorder which gave Muhammad Ali, an Albanian mercenary in the Turkish army, a chance to seize power in 1805. Muhammad Ali began a process of industrialization of Egypt and the reorganization of its army--a process which gained for it a technical lead over the Arab countries of the old Ottoman Empire.

British interests in Egypt grew with the purchase of the controlling shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1875. The next step, British political control was taken in 1882 when nationalists revolted against foreign interference in Egyptian affairs, and Britain dispatched warships to Alexandria to protect her citizens. This action led to a complete occupation of Egypt in the same year. In 1914, Egypt was declared a British Protectorate. The protectorate ended in 1922 with Ahmed Fuad I named as King of Egypt, but British influence continued to dominate.

The monarchy was overthrown by a coup of "Free Officers" in 1952 led by Colonel Gamal Abdul-Nasser. General Muhammad Naguib was declared president of the new Egyptian Republic. Naguib was ousted after a quarrel with Abdul-Nasser, who was the real power in the government. Nasser was then the undisputed leader until his death in 1970.

Abdul-Nasser is remembered for the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the formation of the United Arab Republic, and the 1967 "Six-Day War." The canal was nationalized July 26, 1956, after British

troops were withdrawn and the United States withdrew its offers to help

finance the Aswan High Dam. Then on February 1, 1958, President

Abdul-Nasser of Egypt and Shukri al-Kuwatlyl of Syria merged their two

countries into the "United Arab Republic" (UAR). However, the merger

collapsed when Syria withdrew in 1961.

The Six-Day War between Egypt and Israel was precipitated by a

presumed Israeli threat to Syria followed by Egyptian diversionary

movements on its border with Israel, the withdrawal of the United Na-

tions peace-keeping force, and the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba,

Israel's only access to the Red Sea. Israel was victorious after a

six-day blitz that brought its forces to the east bank of the Suez Canal.

Abdul-Nasser was succeeded by Anwar Sadat. Highlights of the

Sadat government have been the successful attack on the Israeli Bar-lev

line at the Suez Canal, the expulsion of the Russian military personnel,

and the peace agreement with Israel. Egypt and Syria launched a full-

scale war on the Israelis, Yom Kippur, October 6, 1973. The Egyptians

penetrated the defenses on the east bank of the canal. The U.S. Secre-

tary of State Henry Kissinger negotiated an armistice. This is cele-

brated by the Egyptians as a major victory. In the aftermath of the

war, Sadat expelled the Soviet advisors, noting that the U.S.S.R. had

failed to provide support in equipment and munitions during the war

while the U.S. resupplied Israel. He also reopened the Suez Canal.

Actually, the attack on the Israeli line was but a battle in the

long war between Arabs and Zionists over Palestine. The Zionists,

through the Balfour declaration (1917), immigration and terrorism

during the British Mandate of Palestine, the U.N. partition of Palestine
(1947), and their rapid military occupation following the withdrawal of
British forces in May, 1948, established a state controlling about 75%
of the Palestinian territory. Palestinian opposition supported by Egypt
and other Arab states proved ineffectual, and 700,000 Arabs fled their
occupied homeland. They continued guerilla warfare against Israel,
which escalated into major wars between Israel and the Arab states in
1956, 1967, and 1973. In each of these wars Egypt carried the brunt
of the battle, suffering heavy economic and military losses. An edi-
torial, "Good Beginning, Good End," appeared in "The Egyptian Gazette,"
recounting the enormous loses Egypt had incurred in the 30-year Arab-
Israeli conflict:

> "Despite the fact that previous wars have cost them
> forty billion pounds, a hundred thousand dead, and a
> hundred and sixty thousand wounded. This means that
> Arab-Israeli wars have cost the Egyptians much more than
> they have cost any other Arab country, the confrontation
> states, the oil-rich sheikdoms, and the North African
> countries included" (December 15, 1977:2).

Sadat took the initiative toward a solution by traveling to Jeru-
salem, November 19, 1977. He addressed the Knesset (Israeli Parlia-
ment), where he re-asserted the Arab position--the return of all Arab
lands occupied by Israel and Israel's recognition of the "legitimate
rights" of the Palestinians, including the right to establish an inde-
pendent Palestinian state. Then, in the strongest acknowledgment ever
made by an Arab leader of Israel's right to exist, Sadat added, "You
want to live with us in this part of the world. We welcome you sin-
cerely. ...We will accept all the international guarantees you might

require" (Time, Nov. 28, 1977:12). Reactions to the trip were mixed:

> "'In one stroke,' said an Arab diplomat, 'Sadat has
> in effect recognized Israel as a state and...Jerusalem
> as its capital, something not even the Americans would
> do'" (Newsweek, Nov. 28, 1977:7).

> "Watching the address on T.V. in Cairo, one Egyptian
> official exclaimed: 'It is just like watching the first
> man land on the moon. It is fantastic!'" (Ib. 14)

This initiative ultimately led to the Camp David peace agreement and a

Nobel peace prize for Sadat.

ECONOMY AND POPULATION

Egypt today is a poor country. A Time Magazine report summarizes

the situation:

> "His (Sadat's) country was an economic cripple, with
> debts of $13 billion. It is now dependent on subsidies
> amounting to $5.4 billion from the U.S., Saudi Arabia,
> and the other Arab oil states, merely to keep going" (Nov.
> 28, 1977:21).

However, Egypt is not without assets. The Suez Canal produces an in-

come of some $500 million a year; Egypt became a net petroleum exporter

in 1976 with earnings of $311 million; Egypt has open doors to tourism

and foreign investments.

Cairo, which had a population of 2 million in 1952--the year of

the revolution--now has about 10 million. So crowded is the city of

Cairo that hundreds of thousands of squatters have moved into tombs in

the sprawling "City of the Dead," on the outskirts of Cairo. One ce-

metery is so crowded with living tenants that the government has had to

build four schools and a post office to serve it.

Egypt has been for centuries a major center of education. Other

Middle Eastern countries send students to Egyptian institutions of learning such as the University of Alexandria (famous for its School of Medicine), the University of Asyut, the Azhar University, and Cairo University, one of the largest universities in the world, with an enrollment of some 95,000 students in 1977. Egyptian universities turn out many more graduates than the economy can absorb, so more than one million of them work abroad, often in key positions; they sent home in one year $500 million ("Time," Jan. 2. 1978:14). However, in spite the free compulsory education, only 25% of the population can read or write (Ib.:17).

Egypt is a melting pot of Ethiopians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Turks, French and English. The Nilotic Copts are considered to be the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, but Egypt has long been Arabized. In the 17th century, Arabic replaced the Coptic language as the language of everyday life. Islam, brought to Egypt by the Arabs, is now the religion of about 91% of the population.

There are also Christian and Jewish populations in Egypt. The Apostle Mark is said to have visited Alexandria (Hassan, 1967:214) and introduced Christianity. When Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) was declared emperor in Alexandria, the new religion began to spread through Egypt (Strelocke, 1976:7). It further spread, ironically, during the persecutions of Severan (202 A.D.), Decian (249-251 A.D.) and Diocletian (302-305 A.D.), during whose reigns Christianity was still considered to be illegal. So unforgetful are these persecutions that the Coptic

Church to this day dates by "the era of the martyrs," instead of "Anno Domini" (Webster, 1973:7). The Egyptian church contributed monasticism to Christianity. Paul of Thebes and the "Desert Father" Antony are famed early ascetics (Ib.:8, 9). In the early 4th century, the Bible was translated into Coptic.

The Christian population in Egypt is composed almost exclusively of Copts, the vast majority of whom are members of the Coptic Orthodox Church. Roman Catholics established French schools during the expedition of Napoleon, hoping to convert the whole Muslim population (Hassan, 1967:220). Today some Copts are members of the Catholic church. Protestant missionaries, chiefly British and American, established a major Protestant center about 230 miles south of Cairo at Asyut, the most important town in Upper Egypt.

SECTION II

NIGERIA

Nigeria, formed from two words--Niger (black) and area--means the

"Black Area," or regarding Niger as a river name, the "Area of the

Black River." The people who live along the river and its tributaries

have always been dark-skinned. The Niger River enters Nigeria at the

country's north-western border and empties itself in the Gulf of Guinea

at the middle of Nigeria's southern border. Together with its tributary,

the Benue, the Niger divides Nigeria in three natural divisions--the

north, the west and the east.

In the south of the country where rain falls almost every month of

the year there is thick tropical forest. The middle belt of the country

has rainfall only six months, supporting lush grassland but fewer trees.

The northern area, where rain falls only three months of the year, is

partly grassland and partly semi-desert.

HISTORY

The history of Nigeria is known from external sources (references

in other literatures) and internal sources, both written and oral (Trim-

ingham, 1974:1). The oldest external references to Nigeria are in the

chronicles of Ibn Batuta.

Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), a Tunisian jurist and Arab historian,

obtained information concerning the Niger area from "a _faqih_ (lawyer)

of the people of Ghana" whom he met in Cairo and from people who had

visited there (Ib:2). Ibn Batuta produced works on geography based upon 25 years of traveling, including his visit to Timbuktu where he lived in the merchant quarter among the Arabs.

European adventurers and explorers provided a gradually increasing volume of travelers' accounts, including those of Mungo Park, who "discovered" the Niger River in 1796; the Lander Brothers, who completely explored the Niger in 1830; and Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton, the recognized "discoverers" of Lake Chad (1823).

The utilization of oral tradition is a "subtle art" but it lends information, for example, concerning Sun Dyata, founder of the Mali empire (Ib:3). There are no early written records for the area known so far. But after the arrival of the Arabs, native scribes began to keep national records. One such record is the "Kano Chronicle," apparently composed by a speaker of Hausa and Arabic from traditions related to him plus an account of the Fulani rulers to Muhammad Belo.

General Pre-History (____ -1000 A.D.)

A human skeleton discovered in the forest area of western Nigeria attests to the antiquity of man in the area. It has been carbon-dated to between nine thousand and eleven thousand years ago (July, 1970:22). There is also a claim by C. Xrydz-Eyutchae that "the ancestors of the Igbos (Ibos) were already in parts of the present Igboland at least by the third millenium" (Weekly Star, January 11, 1976:10). The oldest civilization yet discovered in Africa south of the Sahara is the Nok civilization. Terracotta (burnt clay) sculptures, dated 500 B.C. to 200 A.D. and respresentative of the Nok culture, have been found in a

wide area above the confluence of the rivers Niger and Benue. The Nok

people also possessed an iron technology. Their arts are on display in

most Nigerian museums.

The Nok sculpture, historians generally agree, is the ancestor of

sculptures such as those of Ife in Western Nigeria; the Igbo Ukwu and

the Benin in Midwestern Nigeria; and even those of the Ashanti tribe of

Ghana. The Ife sculpture, known from 700-1500 A.D., is regarded as the

most naturalistic in Africa, perhaps in the world--parallelled only by

Etruscan works.

The African Empires and Kingdoms 1000-1900

The great belt of land stretching across Africa south of the

Sahara and north of the equatorial forests was called Bilad-as-Sudan,

Country of the Blacks, by the Arab travelers and geographers. This

land has given birth to three great African empires: Ghana (100-1240),

Mali (1240-1473), and Songhai (1473-1595).

The ancient Black empires possessed regular armed forces and an

efficient bureaucracy, though "without paper, ink, desks, or telephones"

(Fage, 1970:45). Their main articles of trade were salt and gold mined

at Taghaza and Wangara respectively. Salt was so common it was used

for building blocks (July, 1970:53). Mali and its gold was literally

put on the map--the first of West Africa ever drawn in Europe, 1375 A.D.

(Fage, 1970:90)--by the fame of a Mali leader, Mansa Musa (1312-1337),

who made a caravan pilgrimage to Mecca.

> The progress of Musa's caravan has been recorded and
> savored by historians--the five hundred slaves bearing
> golden staffs, the hundred camels each loaded with three

hundred pounds of gold, the spending spree in the bazaars
of Cairo, and the scattering of bounty with such a lavish
hand as to force a serious depreciation of gold on the
Cairo exchange (July, 1970:64).

West Africa's wealth was a mixed blessing for its fame stirred

greed in far away places. In 1591 an Andulusian general led a Moroccan

army with a large proportion of European mercenaries in a four-year

military operation which subdued the Songhai, in 1595, ending the last

great Black Empire.

There have been five tribal states which provide the background of

what is now Nigeria. These are Kanem-Bornu (800-1800), Jukun (1250?-

1680), Ibo (900?-1800), Yoruba (600?-1800s), and the Hausa States (1100s-

1800s).

The Kanem-Borno empire was founded in the 8th century A.D. by a

nomadic people known as the Beni Sef, or the Sefawa, led by Dougou.

They came from the Sahara desert and settled near Lake Chad in North-

eastern Nigeria. By 1350 the Sefawa kingdom could demand tribute from

Kano. The Sefawa worshipped the "mune" or sacrum of royal authority,

whose nature, they claimed, was known only to God. Ibn Fartawa reported

that it was "something covered and hidden upon which victory in war

depended . . . and no one must open it" (Trimingham, 1974:118). Home,

a king of Kanem-Bornu 1085-1097, was their first king to become a Muslim.

The Jukun kingdom, also known as Kwararafa, occupys the Gongola-

Benue basin with headquarters at Ibi or Pi on the right bank of the

Benue. The Jukuns may have migrated from Kordofan through Fitri and

the Chad basin to the Gongola-Benue where they were established by

1250 A.D. (The Sunday Standard, March 26, 1978). They invaded Kano and

Katsina to the west in 1653 and Borno to the north in 1680, forcing

them to pay tribute. The Kwararafa can be found today around and in

the cities of Wukari and Takum. Islam never made a deep impression on

the Jukun even though the Aku's foreign minister used to be a Muslim.

Today most of the Jukun are either Christians (the Aku takes the oath

of office on the Bible) or followers of their traditional religion.

The Ibos never formed a kingdom but remained organized as village

communities under elders. Though they regard themselves as a single

people, they may have a mixed origin. We have already noted the claim

that there may have been settlers in the present Iboland as far back as

the third millenium B.C. Another branch of the tribe, Onitsha, trace

Egypt about 900 A.D. and finally settled in the region where Benin City

is today the headquarters ("Weekly Star," Jan. 11, 1976:10). It seems

likely that the ninth century Igbo Ukwu bronze culture gave rise to the

present Ibo people. Some of them might have crossed the River Benue

south to the Igbo Ukwu site near today's town of Awka. Islam never

made any impression on the Ibos until after the Nigerian Civil War

(1967-70).

The Yoruba established a kingdom which extended from the mouth of

the Niger in the east to Dahomey (now Benin) in the west. The kingdom,

considered to be the largest of the ancient forest states of West

Africa, was called Oyo. Their king, the alafin, was elected by a coun-

cil of state which was itself subject to review by the Ogboni, a

society of religious and political leaders (July, 1970:109). Yoruba legends

trace their origin variously to Arabia, Upper Egypt, and Canaan. They

consider all the tribes of the Sudan to have been descended from these

ancestors (Hassan, 1967:516). The traditional father of the Yoruba is

Oduduwa whose grandson, Oranmiyan, founded the Oyo kingdom. Oranmiyan

is also credited with founding a dynasty of rulers in Benin. "He

fathered a son through the daughter of a Bini chief, and this son,

Eweka, became the founder of the future Benin empire" (Ib.:111). Benin

was one of the first West African states to come in contact with the

Europeans, when Portuguese traders in 1485 established a trade with

Benin in pepper and slaves. Yoruba and Edo (Benins) contact with Islam

was much earlier, perhaps in the 13th century. A Hausa missionary is

reported to have brought Islam to Lief (Ile-Ife) still earlier. Al-

though he won no converts his Qur'an came to be regarded as a fetish

(Ahmad, n.y.:196). The Yorubas know hundreds of dieties, mostly local,

including spirits of the ocean, the rocks, rivers, high trees and

thunder. Today, even though Christianity and Islam are strongly es-

tablished in both Yorubaland and Biniland, the traditional worship

continues in tribal religion or in addition to God or Allah.

The Hausa people are a linguistic entity rather than an ethnic

unity (Hassan, 1967:513). About the first century B.C., Berbers from

North Africa migrated south-ward into the areas now covered by the

Niger Republic and most of northern Nigeria. They intermarried with

the indigenous peoples creating by the 12th century the Seven Hausas

(Hausa Bakwai): Daura, Kano, Zaria, Gobir, Katsina, Rano, and Biram.

The "Banza Bakwai" (Worthless Seven) in the south--Zamfara, Kebbi, Nupe,

Gwari, Yauri, Yoruba and Ilorin--with the Sefawa and the Jukun were not

Hausa, but groupings that came under Hausa influence. The Hausa language, a Berber tongue modified by Arabic, became the lingua franca of commerce throughout the northern part of West Africa. Scholars believe that Islam was brought to Hausaland between 1350 and 1400 by missionaries from Mali. There are indications, however, that Islam had already reached Hausaland earlier through contacts with Kanem-Borno. Today most of the Hausa are Muslims, except the Maguzawa.

The Fulani, peoples who have lived with the Hausa (politically, socially and religiously) for centuries, are sometimes mistakenly included with the Hausa. However, they have their own language, Fulfulde, and they are the only people of white (red) stock in Black Africa. Migrating eastward from Futa Toro in Senegal where they first settled in the eleventh century, they intermarried with the local black population, producing various groups. One of these groups, the Tokolor, were the first West Africans to accept Islam. They spread their faith as far east as Chad. In Nigeria, the Fulani first settled in Gobir, a Hausa State. The Fulani are divided into two main groups: the "Fulanin Gida" (Town Fulani) who are Muslims and who live with the Hausa and the "Bororoje" (Cattle Fulani) who still speak Fulfulde and some of whom still remain pagan.

Before the 19th century in the Hausa states and in Kanem-Borno Islam was the religion of immigrant tribes, some of the leading townsfolk, and the kings, but had made very little impression on the masses. The kings were only nominal Muslims since they still continued the traditional religious practices. These were the prevailing conditions

when Othman dan Fadio, a town Fulani, was born in Gobir about 1750. He joined the Qadiriyyah tariqa (religious order), and began to preach against the paganism that characterized so much of the Islam professed in Gobir and the other Hausa states. When the authorities sought his life, Uthman organized an army of Fulani herdsmen to defend himself. He proclaimed a jihad (holy war) and defeated the Gobir king, Yumfa. Soon many of the Hausa followed him. He gave flags to fourteen of his best Fulani warriors to take the jihad to the seven states of the Hausa Bakwai plus the seven non-Hausa Banza Bakwai. These flag-bearers became princes (amir) over the conquered areas under the control of Uthman from his capital at Sokoto. By the time dan Fodio died in 1817 he had given the Hausa states one government, one religion, one law (the Shari'ah), and one culture.

Uthman dan Fodio did not always succeed. For instance, the Borno people, priding themselves to be the first to receive Islam and already indoctrinated by their own religious leader (Shayk Muhammad al-Amin, generally known as al-Kanemi), refused to accept dan Fodio's brand of Islam. Today the jurists of Borno retain the Hanafi law while elsewhere in Nigeria the Maliki school is followed. Further, although dan Fodio subdued the Nupe and a large part of the Yoruba region farther south, the southern drive was hindered because the Fulani cavalry could not operate in the thick forest. The Yoruba formed themselves into defensive confederations based on military cantonments like Ibadan and checked the Muslim advance.

The Colonial Era 1900-1960

The first visit of the British to Nigeria was in 1553 to Benin in

search of trade. The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 was followed

by the advent of Christian missionaries and of traders in more legiti-

mate goods. British influence grew rapidly:

> The British annexed the Island of Lagos in 1861 and
> British missionary and commerical activities extended in-
> land from Lagos and along the Niger. . . . The British
> trading companies were amalgamated into the United Africa
> Company which by 1885 extended its activities to Sokoto in
> the North. This company was given a Royal Charter (in
> 1886 under the title of "Royal Niger Company" and the
> leadership of Sir George Goldie) by the British Government
> to administer law and justice in the area in which it
> operated; a Protectorate was created which gradually
> included the whole of Yorubaland with the exception of
> the part ruled by the Fulani Amir of Ilorin. After an
> expedition in 1897, Benin was added to it. In 1898 the
> British came to an agreement with the French about the
> western and northern frontiers, and in 1899, revoking the
> Charter given to the company, the British Government
> directly assumed administrative power (World Muslim
> Gazetter, 1975:589).

The British government proclaimed the Protectorate of Northern

Nigeria on January 1, 1900. A local administration based on Islam had

been imposed during the Fulani hegemony. This the British continued

as a policy of indirect rule. Finally, after combining Lagos with the

Protectorate of the south in 1906, the North and the South were joined

in 1914 as the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. After World War I,

the British took control of the German western sections of the Cameroon

under a League of Nations mandate and from 1924 these were administered

as parts of Nigeria. Thus Britain ruled Nigeria for sixty years. .

Independent Nigeria (1960-   )

Agitations which surfaced during the last years of the Second
World War led to the formation of parties--the National Council of
Nigeria and the Cameroons (N.C.N.C.) in 1944, led by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe
in the East; Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) in 1951, led by Alhaji
Ahmadu Bello in the North; and the Action Group (A.G.) in 1951, led by
Chief Obafemi Awolowo in the West. Elections in 1959 left the parties
in majority only in their respective regions, so the N.P.C. and N.C.N.C.
formed a coalition government with Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (vice-
president of the N.P.C.) as prime minister and Dr. Azikiwe as president
of the senate. He became governor-general on October 1, 1960, when
Nigeria became independent, and ceremonial president on October 1, 1963,
when Nigeria became a Republic.

Political unrest which developed from the 1963 census was followed
by an election boycott in the East. In 1965 a regional election in
the West led to riots, arson, and hundreds dead. This unrest along
with wide-spread corruption led to a military coup, January 15, 1966,
by a group of young officers most of whom were Ibos of East Nigerian
origin. The coup took the lives of Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Premier of
Northern Region and leader of the N.P.C., Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa,
the Prime Minister and deputy leader of the N.P.C., Chief S. Akintola.
Premier of the Western Region, and a number of Northern and Western
army officers. Major-General Aguiyi Ironsi (an Ibo) was declared the
Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces and Head of State of Nigeria.
He suspended the federal constitution and introduced a "Unitary

Government" with military governors assigned to groups of provinces.

Suspicions concerning the intent behind the abolition of the federal system and a desire to revenge the killings of northern and western leaders during the coup led to widespread killings of the Ibos in Northern Nigeria in 1966. Then northern soldiers, on July 29, staged a coup resulting in the death of General Ironsi and a great number of officers and soldiers of Ibo origin. The Ibos from all over Nigeria fled to their home region in the East.

A Christian army officer, Yakubu Gowon, who was a member of a minor tribe, the Anga, assumed control of the government. He restored the federal system, but he could not gain the confidence of the Ibos. When in May, 1967, he organized the country into twelve states, Odumegwu Ojukwu, the military governor of the East, proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Biafra. The Civil War lasted for thirty months, and cost Nigeria an estimated one million human lives and 840 million dollars.

Following Biafra's surrender, General Gowon ordered a general amnesty and set up grand reconciliation and reconstruction programs. Gowon's administration is also remembered for the construction of many highways, the change of currency from sterling to naira and kobo and the adoption of a plan to offer primary education free to all Niger-ians. But his 1973 census was questioned. In the debate that followed, General Gowon announced the withdrawal of his promise to hand over power to civilians in 1976. A bloodless coup, July 29, 1975, while Gowon was attending an Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) meeting

at Kampala, Uganda, put Muritala Muhammad in his place.

General Muhammad ordered probes into the finances of Gowon's ministers and governors. All but two of the twelve governors were found guilty of the misuse of public funds totalling about $15 million. Muhammad also promised to return the country to civil rule in 1979, and he appointed a 50-member committee to draft a constitution. He further reorganized the country into 19 states and suggested moving the capital from Lagos to a more central site. However, General Muhammad's regime was short-lived. He was machine-gunned in a street in Lagos in an attempted coup.

The Supreme Military Council chose Leut.-Gen. Olusegun Obasenjo as the new head of state. Pledging to continue with the policies of the last General Muhammad, General Obasanjo installed local governments through local elections and saw the Draft Constitution accepted by an elected Contituent Assembly. He set October 1, 1979, as the date for turning over the military administration to a civilian administration.

ECONOMY AND POPULATION

Nigeria has the largest population of any African nation. The census is controversial because of the growth and distribution of population in the various states, and thus it may not be accurate. The 1973 census, which was invalidated for political reasons, reported a total of nearly 80 million. Nigerians include 250 tribal groups. The main languages are Hausa, Yoruba, and Ibo. Other popular languages include Fulfulde, Kanuri, Edo and Efik.

Well over three-quarters of the population engage in agricultural and similar pursuits (pastoral, forestry, and fishing), not including those who trade in agricultural products. These products include yam, cassava, palm oil and colanuts grown mostly in the south; and rice, cotton, groundnuts (peanuts), maize (corn), beans, sugar-cane and guinea corn grown mainly in the north. The millions of cattle, sheep and goats reared in the country are used for local food consumption and export. Sokoto skins are world-famous as "Morocco Leather, which until recently was exported overland from Nigeria for shipment from Morrocan ports.

Nigeria has considerable mineral wealth. In 1975, Nigerian exports ranked sixth in the International Tin Council (I.T.C.), and in 1976 it was among the leading oil exporters. Oil accounts for more than 90 percent of Nigerian exports, 40 percent of which goes to the United States of America.

Christianity in Nigeria is a legacy of the abolition of the slave trade by Great Britain at the instigation of Christian societies. One such society, the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilization of Africa, sent an expedition of three ships in 1841 to the Niger. Among the members of expedition were the Reverend J. F. Schon, a German missionary of the C.M.S. (Church Missionary Society) and a young African catechist, Samuel Ajayi Crowther. The expedition intended to combine commerce, farming and preaching (Crampton, 1975: 17), but the European members of the expedition died of malaria, leaving only Ajayi Crowther, to carry on. He was a freed slave, traced his

descent to the Yoruba, and had trained as a minister at Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Ajayi, who had been ordained in 1843, was posted to Akeokuta in 1845, but he yearned to take the Gospel to the north. Hence, he joined new expeditions along the Niger and Benue (1854 and 1857). These expeditions were more successful partly because there were more Africans involved and the few Europeans dosed themselves with quinine. Reverend Crowther was consecrated Bishop of Western Equatorial Africa in 1864.

Later Roman Catholics and Protestants such as the Baptists, Methodists, the Sudan Interior Mission (now Evangelical Churches of West Africa--E.C.W.A.) and the Seventh-day Adventists established missions which won converts from among the "pagan" Nigerians but only a few from the Muslims.

Missionaries founded many schools--primary, secondary and college-- which can still be seen everywhere in the country. However, these institutions were nationalized early in the 1970's. Today primary education is free, but fees are required in secondary schools and universities. In spite of the hundreds of schools, Nigeria as a whole is only between 25 and 30 percent literate.

SECTION III

THE CONNECTIONS

Nigeria's connection with Egypt is said to date back to the
eleventh century A.D. during the reign of Home over the Kanem-Borno
empire. Trimingham reports that "by 1250 there were sufficient Kanemi
students in Cairo to justify the founding of a _riwaq_ (or living
quarters)" (1974:107, 108). I hope to locate the site of this _riwaq_
at Al-Azhar University and to trace the history of the Egyptian-Kanemi
connection. However, I was unable to confirm Tramingham's report.
This is not to deny its authenticity; the Azhar officials I interviewed
agree that the links between Egypt and parts of Nigeria have been long
and constant.

One of the most important of these links is doubtless the pilgrim
route. Nigerian pilgrims have maintained a tradition of stopping in
Cairo en route to or from Mecca in order to visit interesting places
like the Citadel and, of course, al-Azhar.

An active relationship has grown up between Egypt and Nigeria in
the World Islamic Congress. This organization was established in Cairo,
August 15, 1954, to revive and expand Islam by building mosques,
schools, and other centers and by providing financial aid and intellec-
tual help in both Muslim and non-Muslim countries, according to an
interview with Madam Nadia Rafaat, the Director-General of the Azhar
University libraries. Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, while premier of the
Northern Region of Nigeria, also served as the Vice-President of the

World Islamic Congress.

Nigeria benefits from assistance from the World Islamic Congress. In an interview at the Congress headquarters office with Dr. Abdal Aziz Azad, of the section of the Islamic Missionary Administration, I learned that eighteen lecturers were sent by the Congress in 1977 from Azhar to various universities and other schools of higher learning in Nigeria in order to teach Islamics and related subjects. He also said that the Congress gave 34 scholarships to Nigerian students at al-Azhar in 1977. He expected to see the number of teachers sent to Nigeria increase to 22 and the number of scholarships to double within a year.

Other examples of Egyptian interest in Nigeria include the use of Egyptian pilots to fly the first Soviet-made planes sent to the Nigerian air force and the employment of many Egyptian doctors, technicians, and teachers throughout Nigeria.

Although the connections are less direct, Egypt has always been interested in the spread of Islam to Africa. In fact, the first expansion of Islam into Africa as a whole was its conquest of Egypt in 640 A.D. by Amr al-As. By 700 the whole of North Africa was in Muslim hands. However, it was not until after the year 1000 that the house of the Almoravids arose in the Sahara. In response to Christian armies which had beset the Muslims in Spain, the Almoravids moved northward to reconquer Spain. They also moved southward under Abu Bakr to take Islam to the Senegal and Niger regions. So far as we know, this was the first effective entrance of Islam into West Africa.

In order to describe the introduction of Islam into West Africa

and, for that matter, into Nigeria, I have borrowed the organization

of Dr. A. W. Bijlefeld, Head of the Department of Islamics, Hartford

Theological Seminary, U.S.A., who divides the history of Islamic pene-

tration into six periods (Boer, n.y.:108).

1. Islam of the Traders (9th and 10th Centuries):

   After the Arabs conquered North Africa, they showed little interest

in adding the Sahara and the Sudan to their territory. But they were

interested in trade. Gold was one of the main attractions which drew

the Mediterranean traders to the region of Sahil (between the Senegal

and the Niger rivers). There were three major routes:

> "(a) From Morocco through Mauritania into the Senegal
>   basin and also through Taghaza and Taodeni into
>   the Niger bend.
>
> "(b) From the area between Tunis and Tripoli through
>   Ghadames and Air into Katsina and Kano; and also
>   through Fezzan into the Chad area.
>
> "(c) From Egypt and Cyrenaica through Fezzan into Kanem
>   and Chad; and also from Egypt through Darfur and
>   Waday into Kanem-Bornu area" (Ib.:106).

The North African traders who used these routes had free movements

among the local peoples of West Africa. In their interactions with

the Black Africans they exchanged ideas along with goods. The contact

was regular and unbroken. Trade centers in urban areas grew and these

centers in turn became Muslim centers. Some examples include: Timbuktu

in Mali, Kankan in Guinea, Bandaku in Ivory Coast, Salga and Kumasi in

Ghana, and Kano, Katsina and Borno all in Northern Nigeria.

   Many of the traders were Berbers who had themselves adopted Islam

since the latter part of the 9th century. During the eleventh century

'Abdallah b. Yasin formed his followers into a missionary group, operating from a fortified retreat (ribat) on an island probably at the mouth of the Senegal River. He recruited preachers from among the Berber tribefolk. They were known as al-murabitun (Singular: al-murabit-- after ribat), which has been anglicized as Almoravids. Abdallah organized a military jihad in 1042 under Yahya b. 'Umar. His army defeated the African tribes and added their territory to the fold of Islam. This brought the Black African tribes of West Africa into an effective contact with Islam. The Almoravids followed the Maliki school of law which they left as a legacy for West African Muslims.

2. Islam of the Rulers (10th to 17th Centuries):

During the period of the great empires of West Africa--Ghana, Mali and Songhai--1000 A.D., when Ghana achieved power, to 1595, when Pasha Djouder completed the defeat of Songhai, Islam was the religion only of the Arab and Berber settlers, the Muslim clerics, and the kings. It made little impression on the common people.

3. Islam of the Scholars (12th and 13th Centuries):

However these empires, especially Mali and Songhai, welcomed Islamic schools. Learning was in Arabic, the only written language in the area, and the graduates from these schools became important officials. Timbuktu, capital city of both Mali and Songhai, was the greatest center of learning. Teachers from North Africa and the Middle East were imported to teach there, especially by the Songhai Emperor Muhammad Ture after his pilgrimage to Mecca (1497-8) where

Sharif al'Abbas is said to have crowned him Khalifatu Bilad-as Sudan

(Caliph of the land of the Blacks). Teachers spread from these centers

throughout West Africa. Many Islamic communities in Northern Nigeria

trace their conversion to Muslim missionaries from Mali, who settled

in Kano and Katsina at the end of the fourteenth century. The Yoruba

in Southern Nigeria refer to Islam as esin imale (the religion of Mali),

suggesting that Islam reached them through Mali clerics (Abdul, 1975:

111).

4 a.   Islam of the Preachers and the Saints (18th and 19th Centuries):

Sufi Islam, the religious fraternities and the cult of the saints,

developed especially among the Kunta and Fulani tribes. The Kunta

Arabs originally came from the area of Tuat (or Tawat) in Southern

Algeria in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Sufis were zealous mission-

aries. Most of the Kunta followed the Qadiriyyah order (tariqah) of

Sufism while most of the Fulani belonged to the Tijaniyyah order.

However, both tariqahs were introduced into Nigeria by Fulanis of the

Tokolor branch--Uthman dan Fodio (1750-1817) and Al-Hajj Umar Sa'id Tal

(1794-1864) respectively.

The Qadiriyyah view dominated Islam in northern Nigeria during

the reforms of Uthman from 1804, but it has since declined. During

the last thirty years most of the clergy, even in Sokoto, have become

Tijani. Umar Sa'id Tal, after a pilgrimage to Mecca (1826), claimed

he had been initiated into the Tijaniyyah order and appointed khalif

of the Muslim Community in West Africa (much like Muhammad Ture about

four centuries earlier). He returned by way of Borno, which was under

al-Kanemi, and Sokoto, which was under Muhammad Bello (dan Fodio's son). The Tijaniyyah is now the leading tariqah in Nigeria (claiming about 65 percent of its Muslim population) and in West Africa.

4 b. Islam of the Theocratic States (18th and 19th Centuries):

We have noted the Fulani Empire of Uthman dan Fodio in Northern Nigeria which lasted from 1804 to 1900. In a sense this empire was a theocratic state in that it was founded with the objective of reforming and extending Islam. There were ten such jihads in West Africa in 19th century. Four of these were in Nigeria: two in the Hausa city-states--that of Uthman dan Fodio (1804-1817) and that of his son Muhammad Bello (1817-1837)--and two in Kanem-Borno--that of Shehu al-Kanemi (died 1835) and that of Shehu Umar (1835-1880). The others are the Mandinka jihad by Samori (b.c. 1835-d. 1900); two Tokolor jihads by al-Hajj Umar (b. 1794-d. 1864) and Ahmadu (b. 1835-d.1898); and those of Macina by Seku Ahmadu Bari (b. 1775-d. 1844), Seku Ahmadu II (d. 1852) and Seku Ahmadu III (d. 1862). Consequently today Mali, Guinea, Senegal, and the Gambia are essentially Muslim countries.

5. Islam of the Colonial Period (First Half of 20th Century):

When the British came to northern Nigeria, they not only confirmed the Muslim chiefs over the states their predecessors had conquered but they also placed Muslim rulers over unorganized "pagan" peoples, thus making Islam appear as a state religion. By ending inter-tribal wars, the colonial government prevented further military jihads, but the new conditions continued to favor Islam. There were now free markets,

free movements, and rapid developments of communication. All these

contributed to the diffusion of Islam. Traders could now penetrate

into regions which had been formerly closed to them. Further, young

men who were attracted to work in towns or groundnut (peanut) cultiva-

tions came under the influence of Islam.

The commerical routes now extended to coast towns facilitating

Islamic penetration of the costal areas. Today Lagos, with its two or

three million inhabitants, is almost fifty percent Muslim. Government

officials showed special consideration for Muslims as people of a

higher civilization and often despised the "uncultured pagans." Hence,

they set up Shari'ah or Alkali (Islamic Law) Courts. Furthermore, they

employed Muslims in subordinate administrative positions which brought

them into close contact with the "pagan" peoples. Characteristics

such as Islam's egalitarian brotherhood became familiar, and the agents

of Islam gained facilities for the exercise of propaganda and various

forms of pressure (cf. Trimingham, 1974:226).

6. Islam of the Independent States (Second Half of 20th Century):

After Nigeria became independent, the Muslims adopted a form of

public evangelism. In fact, in Christian areas they use the Bible to

prove some doctrines of Islam such as: the absolute oneness of God,

the promise of Jesus to send Muhammad (i.e. the comforter), and the

futility of believing in salvation outside of God's forgiveness. An

evangelistic society, Jama'atu Nasr-il Islam, has centers in almost

all principal cities and towns, including the large villages. In an

interview with Alhaji Abdul Azziz, the chairman of the organization's

branch in Plateau State, I learned that the society considers public

preaching to be the most effective method of da'wah in Nigeria. This

method is also used by the Ahmadiyyah missionaries from Pakistan who

have been preaching in the coastal cities since 1921.

Islam is now well-established in Nigeria. In 1977, 104,000 Niger-

ians made the pilgrimage to Mecca. State governors often change, but

at any one time as many as two-thirds of them may be Muslim. Shari'ah

courts still function in parts of North Nigeria, but an attempt to

establish a Federal Shari'ah Court was blocked by Christian opposition.

One of the sensitive matters regarding the 1973 census is the

proportion of Muslims and Christians in the nation, thus it is diffi-

cult to get accurate figures for the distribution of population by

religion. Some Muslims claim that 75 to 80 percent of the total Niger-

ian population are Muslims, while Christians estimate that even in the

North (where Muslims claim 90 percent) they are not 75 percent. The

1963 statistics suggest that about half of the whole population is

Muslim and in the North they number between 60 and 70 percent of the

population. These are the census figures for North Nigeria:

	1952	1963
Total	17.8 million	29.8 million
Muslims	11.7 m. (65.7%)	21.4 m. (71.8%)
Christians	.6 m. (3.4%)	2.9 m. (9.7%)
Others	5.5 m. (30.9%)	5.5 m. (18.5%)

Both the Muslims and the Christians gained during the eleven-year

period, but the gain was much greater for the Christians who almost

quintupled their number.

In this section we have traced the penetration of Islam into Nigeria and West Africa and we have noted the direct and indirect connections between Egypt and Nigeria. Next we shall examine one of the aspects of Islam which has made it popular.

SECTION IV

NATIONALISM

(The Most Effective Element of Islamic Da'wah)

This paper has shown more than one method used for the expansion

of Islam. Before the colonial rule in Nigeria, Islam added territory

by military jihad, but this had little success in the South. But

afterward, a persuasive method (e.g., the preaching of the Ahmadis)

proved more effective. Whatever the method, however, it appears that a

single characteristic pervades the successful da'wah--the nationalistic

appeal of Islam.

Stoddard defines "nationalism" thus:

"Nationalism is a belief, held by a fairly large
number of individuals, that they constitute a 'Nation-
ality': 'Nation,' as visualized in the minds of its
believers, is a people or community associated together
and organized under one government, and dwelling together
in a distinct territory" (Stoddard, 1932:132-133).

By Islamic nationalism, however, we do not mean territoriality--

the whole of the Islamic world is one ummah (community or nation)--but

sense of community. No matter where Muslims live, no matter to what

nation they belong, their religious tie--or what Emile Durkheim (1858-

1917) might call "collective conscience"--has precedence over national

sentiments or earthly bonds. This concept goes back to Muhammad, the

Apostle of Islam. In his "Constitution" of Medinah he stated that all

Muslim believers "are one community to the exclusion of all men" (Abdul,

1975:26). Then ten years later, in his farewell address to some

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100,000 pilgrims in Mecca, he elaborated, "Know that all Muslims are brothers unto one another; you are one brotherhood" (Id.). The sense of brotherhood permeates all the methods of Islamic da'wah and coincides with a theology of "liberation."

The West Africans have been as much absorbed into the Islamic culture as converted to it. In Nigeria in particular, the Muslim da'iyah (missionary) lived among the local people as an equal and not as a superior in race and/or culture.

The history of Christian-Black relations contrasts to this Muslim projection of community and brotherhood. The first contact Nigeria had with Christian Europe was with Portuguese traders (1483) whose interest included slaves. Similarly, the first contact with Great Britain (1553) involved the slave trade. Shortly the slave trade replaced the gold and salt trade. A concomitant of slavery was the idea firmly established in Europe that the Black man was inferior. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) held that "to be black is an argument," and categorized the world's races in order of ascendancy with the Europeans on the top of the ladder. This view seemed to persist even after the Christian conscience pressured the European governments to abolish slavery and the slave trade.

European explorers and missionaries rushed to Africa, after the abolition, to "open" and "enlighten" the so-called "Dark Continent." For instance, the legendary English explorer and missionary, David Livingstone, is quoted to have said, "I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity" (Neill, 1971:315).

When he "discovered" the Shire Highlands in 1860, he wrote (as Mr. Ali

Muhsin Barwani, former Prime Minister of Zanzibar cites his letter):

> "I am becoming every day more sure that English
> civilization is necessary to our real success. In
> this new area of Highlands the greatest good could
> be done by developing trade in cotton and checking
> trade in slaves" (International Review of Missions,
> Oct. 1976:440).

Apparently the same view of the Black peoples as a race underlay

the humanitarianism of abolition and of "civilization." At any rate,

civilization of the African became the watchword and colonialism the

method. Thereafter, Anglican missionaries put constant pressure on

Westminster (seat of the British government) to incorporate new terri-

tories into the British Empire; and "Pour Dieu! Pour la France!"

guided the French Catholic missionaries in the scramble for Africa. In

the race to Europeanized Africa fourteen European nations (No African

among them) met in Berlin, on November 15, 1884, and partitioned Africa

among themselves. European companies were amalgamated, given govern-

mental authority to rule their areas of operations, and finally taken

over by the government concerned.

For about two centuries most of Africa was directly ruled by

Christendom--making life in many parts of the continent a horror and

nightmare. Africans were encouraged, if not coerced, to abandon their

history and culture and to adopt the European way of life. Missionar-

ies preached "Europeanism" rather than Christianity. This system was

called "assimilation" and was the official colonial policy in the

French territories. Assimilation was successful to the degree that

Blaise Diagne, one of the pioneers of "Negritude" (Black identity and

cultural independence) and the first Black African to be elected to represent Senegal in the French Chamber of Deputies, declared that the Gauls were the "ancestors" of the Africans. British colonies led to the same result, although more by influence than doctrine.

I recall seeing my father carry a white missionary on his back across a stream. He was proud of it; his friends were jealous but respected him. So when American missionaries came to Nigeria and refused our offer to carry their belongings for them, we felt at first that they did not appreciate our courtesy. Moreover, once an African minister refused my entry to the pulpit solely because I wore a complete Nigerian national suit rather than a Western suit, which at that should have been a black one. Europeanism also affected African terms of honor. For instance, an officer in the Hausa language of Nigeria is called "Bature" (European).

Separate development, which the South African republic would like to call plural democracy, is internationally known as apartheid. This policy is aptly defined in a Time Magazine article entitled "The Defiant White Tribe."

> In theory, apartheid means that South Africa's 4.3 million whites, 18.6 million blacks, 2.5 mixed-blood 'coloreds' and 750,000 Asians will proceed along separate lines of development under the government's benign guidance. In practice, apartheid has meant the disfranchisement of a huge majority, which is subjected to one of the most repressive and discriminatory systems of racial laws in the world (Time, November 21, 1977: 11).

Apartheid dates back to 1909 when the British withdrew the rights of non-whites to sit in parliament (Ib.:12). Unfortunately, apartheid is

linked to Christianity.

> The Most powerful organization in South Africa
> is the Afrikaner Broederbond. An Elite, secret society
> whose members include not only Prime Minister John
> Vorster but Afrikaners from every walk of life, the
> Broederbond (literally, association of brothers) is a
> kind of nerve center that keeps Afrikaner nationalism
> alive through the National Pary, South Africa's Dutch
> Reformed churches (led by J. D. Vorster, the Prime
> Minister's brother), and innumerable cultural and
> educational institutions" (Ib.:19).

In this setting it is not surprising if an African equates missions

and missionary to imperialism, colonialism, racism, and mercenary.

Gottfried Oosterwal, an Adventist scholar, says that the word "mission-

ary" first appeared in the church vocabulary around the time of the

great explorers and the birth of European imperialism; thus the term

came to be used for any person in the service of his religious order

who went overseas to expand the church; hence, "the identification of

mission and the missionary with Western imperialism and paternalism,

with white supremacy and oppression in the countries of Africa and

Asia" (1972:84-85). The damage has been done--a theology of color has

emerged--white color, black color.

Churches have sprung up in Africa and the U.S. along color lines.

Having to find his own Christ, the black man pictured his Jesus as

black. Mangena M. Mokone, a Wesleyan minister, established what he

called the Ethiopian Church in 1892, probably because of the attrac-

tion of a Christianity which was not derived from any European source

(Neill, 1971:499).

> The slogan of Ethiopianism was and still is, "Africa
> for the Africans." This theology stands for (1) radical
> recapture of the lost land; (2) radical withdrawal of

whitianity from all African institutions (including
white god, white Jesus); (3) joint action of local
African anti-colonial movements of liberation (i.e.,
Mau Mau); (4) unconditional recognition and radical
affirmation of Blackness through Black Sainthood
(i.e., Kimpa Vista in the Congo, around 1450); Black
Messiahhood (i.e., Alice Lenclina); (5) pursuit of a
true Biblical religion which will save man from
material and spiritual bondages: Generally the idea
was and still is that the Black Messiah is at the gate
of heaven; and that he is the holder of the keys.
Only Black can enter. But under special circum-
stances, a few "human" whites may also enter depend-
ing on the number of seats left in the kingdom of God
or the New Jerusalem. (Dibinga Wa Said in Kato, 1975:
49-50).

Nigerian Christians are flocking to what they call the Spiritual

Churches led by countless prophets and prophetesses who cast out evil

spirits, settle marriage problems, make it possible for barren women to

bear children, and tell the future, usually by traditional incantations.

A Nigerian black Christ is Emmanuel Odumosu, otherwise known as "The

Jesus of Onyimbo." He claims to be the Christ they expected, already

here. There are now some 6,000 indigenous independent churches. The

areas in which racism, slavery, and colonialism were strongest have

the greater number of indigenous churches. For instance, 3,200 such

churches are reported in Southern Africa, "the greatest proliferation

being among the Zulu" (Barrett, 1970:66).

The Nation of Islam, or the Black Muslim Movement, founded by

Elijah Muhammad (formerly Wallace D. Fard) is also a black reaction to

Christian racism. Elijah Muhammad writes:

"The original man, Allah has declared, is none
other than the black man. The black man is the first
and last, maker and owner of the universe. From him
came all brown, yellow, red and white people. By
using a special method of birth control law the black

man was able to produce the white race" (Muhammad, 1965:
53).

Asked why he chose Islam as his religion rather than Christianity,
Elijah Muhammad explained: "All the believers of Islam are the broth-
ers of the others, unlike Christianity, where the White Christians are
too proud to make the black people their equal" (Ib.:71). An irony
indeed! Islam known to Christians as "the religion of the sword" has
earned the epithet of "brotherly love" in many oppressed societies of
the world.

The Christian dichotomy between church and state was strange to
Africa, whereas the Islamic view in which church and state are one
corresponded to the tradition in Africa where the indigenous religions
and states operated together. Today Christianity more often is res-
ponding to local realities, probably because more Third World theolo-
gians sit on the policy-making organizations and because more European
or American policy-makers in the churches have sociological and an-
thropological training. Some 200 Protestants and Roman Catholics
assembled at Detriot's Sacred Heart Seminary in August, 1975, to dis-
cuss "The Theology of Liberation." They presented Christ as the Liber-
ator of Mankind, and urged the church to "become a function of libera-
tion." Moreover, the World Council of Churches recently granted
$85,000 to guerrillas of the "Patriotic Front" fighting in Zimbabwe or
Rhodesia.

Islam openly supports liberation. This "nationalism" has antec-
dents in the Wahhabi movement of the eighteenth century and in the
activities of the "Young Turks" during the last years of the Ottoman

empire. The Muslim Brotherhood, started in the last 1920's in Egypt

by Hassan al-Banna, engaged in large-scale educational, social,

charitable, and religious work including even economic enterprises.

After the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in 1936, the Brotherhood entered

politics, joined the battle for Palestine in 1948, and was linked to

the Free Officers in the Egyptian revolution of 1952.

The Muslim Brotherhood inherited the nationalistic views of the

Persian-born Jamal-ud-Din el-Afghani (d. 1896). He called for relig-

ious revival and the adoption of Western technology and urged the

Moslem World to "unite in a great defensive alliance, to preserve it-

self from destruction" (Stoddard, 1932:53, 54).

Islamic Nationalism has influenced revolutions in non-Muslim

countries. For instance, the Muslim Tartars influenced by the Pan-

Turanian propagandist, Ahmed Bay Agayeff, participated in the Russian

Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Muslim efforts during the Chinese

revolution (1911-1916) prompted Dr. Sun-Yet-Sen, the republican leader,

to announce gratefully: "The Chinese will never forget the assistance

which their Moslem fellow-countrymen have given in the interest of

order and liberty" (Ib.:60, 61). I suggest, further, that the great

French Revolution in 1789 was in some ways a legacy from the 300-year

Muslim rule of Spain.

As we have noted, Islam took no firm root among the Berbers and

the Black Africans until it assumed nationalistic forms such as the

Almoravid movement and the reform movement of Uthman dan Fodio. Islam

so adapted to local conditions that some early European missionaries

to Nigeria considered Islam to be more suitable for the "natives" than Christianity (Crampton, 1975:50).

The influence of Egypt in supporting African liberation movements has been important. One notes, for instance, the influence of theologians like al-Afghani and politicians like Abdul-Nasser. Egypt Radio frequently encouraged the Africans, as reported by R. S. Watts, in an article, "The Renaissance of Islam":

> Radio broadcasts from Cairo beamed to countries south of the Sahara are calling upon all Africans to accept the Islamic faith and throw off 'White domination,' and resist the work of Christian missionaries who are 'exploiters of Western supremacy' (Adventist Work Among Islamic People, 1961:70).

This is not to say that Christians or their missions have been unsympathetic to the nationalist cause in the developing countries or have been unconcerned about the suffering masses. Missions are remembered for their schools, hospitals, orphanages and other good works. It was perhaps inevitable that they would be identified with colonialism. But this is to say that much of the Islamic success in da'wah is due to the fact that they identified with the interests of the Africans far more than the Christians and that they were more commited to the ideal of brotherhood among believers.

Chapter 3

WHITHER

(Islamic Da'wah Today)

Today, da'wah is associated with reform and revival. Some would
discount the possibility. For instance, Lord Cromer (the British
colonial administrator in Cairo from 1883 to 1907) thought that Islam
could not be reformed, "that is to say, reformed Islam is Islam no
longer; it is something else" (Stoddard, 1932:27). It is true that
the Qur'an says that Islam had been perfected (5:30). However, the
Hadith states that nothing remains of prophethood but bushra or
mubashsharat (preaching) (Bu. 91:5, cf. Surah 63, 64) and further that
preaching is a gift for mujaddids (reformers). According to a hadith,
recorded by Abu Daud, "God will raise up for this community, at the
commencement of every century, one who will reform their religion"
(AD 36:1).

Islamic Revival

In Saudia Arabia, where Wahhabism promoted the "back to the Qur'an"
movement two centuries ago, the Committees for the Commendation of
Virtue and the Condemnation of Vice now patrol the streets. At prayer
time these committees order shops to close. They campaign against
young men who let their hair grow long.

In Syria, when a young officer named Ibrahim Khales wrote an
article in the Syrian official army magazine (Jaysh al-Sha'b, April

25, 1967), suggesting that the "new Arab Socialist man" did not believe in God but in himself and that beyond death there was no heaven nor hell, the government arrested the officer and the members of the editorial board. Then, on May 6, 1967, the semi-official newspaper, Al-Thawra proclaimed the respect of the Syrian regime for God and religion. Later a court sentenced the writer and the editors to life imprisonment.

In Pakistan, the orthodox religious parties supported the overthrow of the government of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto because he refused to enforce Islamic religious law.

In Libya, President Muammar Kaddafi has turned Islam into a messianic state religion which he is trying to export to other Muslim countries.

In Iran, student demonstrators keep up pressures for the Islamization of government under the Ayatallah Khomeni. They want men and women to be segregated in public places.

In Egypt, the autumn of 1977, a professor at the University of Cairo was suspended for teaching "heresy" and his students failed for hearing his lecture. "Morality is crumbling," complains a student at the university, "We must return to Muhammad's teachings if we are to survive" (Time, Dec. 5, 1977:59).

In Nigeria, when the proposal to establish a Shari'ah court of appeal was rejected, Muslim members boycotted the constituent assembly. Street demonstrations by students and other pro-Shari'ah elements in major cities of the North displayed banners with the slogans: "No

Sharia, No Peace," "No Shari'a, No Constitution," and "No Shari'a, No

Muslims, No Nigeria."

Islamic revival includes political activity and objectives. The

1976 meeting of the International Islamic Symposium held in Mecca

produced recommendations such as the following:

> (9) Muslim governments must be urged to recognize
> all genuine and legitimate liberation movements which
> Muslim minorities may organize for self-defense and pre-
> servation.

> (10) The struggles of these movements must be
> effectively and liberally supported in every feasible
> way by Muslim governments.

> (11) Due study was made of the seriously deterio-
> rating situation of the Muslim minorities in Burma where
> members of this unfortunate community are not even free
> to procure copies of the Holy Qur'an, also in the Phil-
> ippines where Muslims are faced with lethal violence from
> both Christians and Communists ("New Nigerian," March
> 19, 1976:16).

Burma and the Philippines may seem far from Mecca but Islamic revival

is concerned politically with Muslims everywhere. Dr. Abdul Wadood

Shalaby, the editor of the Al-Azhar Magazine in Cairo, complained to

me, for instance, that a Christian heads the government of Nigeria,

since he considered the Muslims to be the majority there.

Muslims also see an economic and technological revival as part of

the Islamic revival. The International Islamic Festival of Arts and

Science in London, 1976, featured 2,000 exhibitions from 30 different

countries. Among the most impressive was the science exhibition

organized by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, then Chancellor of Arya Mehr Univer-

sity of Technology in Teheran. Professor Nasr described Islam as "a

cultural entity in which learning in all its branches is the willing

servant of religion with which it is closely integrated" (Ib. June 7, 1976:8). In fact Arab scientists today are engaged in every field of investigation, including Dr. Farouk Elbaz of Egypt, now a U.S. citizen, who was the space geologist for Apollo 17 (Dr. Mehdi in the Saturday Evening Post, Jan/Feb., 1977:47).

The success of Egypt in the 1973 war with Israel and the consequent rupture of diplomatic relations between Israel and many African states followed by the restriction of oil exports to the West demonstrated to the Muslim world something of its potential strength. In such an environment it was possible to write:

> Strategists maintained after the October War that with their tremendous oil wealth, the Arabs have become the sixth world power economically and politically. The other five are: the U.S., the Soviet Union, Western Europe, China and Japan (The Middle East Observer, November 23, 1977:5).

Some of the most dramatic accomplishments in the Islamic revival are legal reforms aimed at restoring the Shari'ah law. Time Magazine reported the following:

> At a conference in Cairo just before the hadj, Islam's ulema (leading religious scholars) urged that all Muslim states scrap their Western-style legal codes and return to the Shari'a, the Koran-based religious laws that forbid, among other things, drinking, gambling, public expression of affection between sexes and charging of interest by banks (Time, Dec. 5, 1977:58).

Dr. Abdel-Halim Mahmoud, the grand imam of Al-Azhar University, while visiting the U.S., was asked whether American Muslims might try to supplant the U.S. Constitution with the Shari'ah. Dr. Mahmoud replied with a smile:

> "If America one day adopted Islamic Law in an en-
> lightened way, America would be adopting the law of
> God--and He is not subject to making a mistake" (Ib.:
> 59).

Successes toward the adoption of Shari'ah law have been notable

in recent political events in Iran and Pakistan. Saudi Arabia and

Libya use the Shari'ah as their Constitution. Egypt and the Sudan

have appointed special committees to draft new legal codes. Time

Magazine reported:

> Both committees have proposed the death penalty for
> adulterers, Communists or any Muslim who renounces his
> faith. The ulema want more, but leaders of Egypt's 6
> million Coptic Christians, noting that the Sharia for-
> bids legal testimony from non-Muslims, have reportedly
> won President Anwar Sadat's private assurance that
> Sharia-based laws will not pass Parliament (Ib.:59).

As for Nigeria, Alhaji Aminu Kano has announced that he and his

comrades have not given up their stand on the Shari'ah issue.

Today, the Islamic community, although experiencing revivals in

all aspects of life, is still recovering from the traumatic era when

Muslim peoples were subject to alien "infidel" rule. The goal now is

not merely restoring the glory of pristine Islam, but also developing

politics, economics, and technology equal or even better, if possible,

than the modern West.

Suggested Principles for Christian Interaction

The experiences I have had during the time I spent in my research

are similar to a Christian who seeks converts among Muslims. I found

out that a researcher or preacher among Muslims must follow four

principles: equality, common grounds, divergence, and individual

interaction.

If a Christian wants to get positive responses from a Muslim

friend he must deal with him as an equal rather than appearing to

possess all the facts of the truth. This was the attitude I took while

doing research in Egypt. By the time my Muslim informants found out

that I was a Christian, their reservations had broken down.

Christian missions have generally felt that they were identifying

with the needs of the people by establishing schools and medical

institutions. Under the new conditions this may need reconsidering.

E. Robert Reynolds, formerly a teacher in Pakistan, while he thinks

that the institutions still have a place, cautions:

> But in an age when national professionsals feel
> that foreigners unfairly compete with them it is necessary
> also to emphasize other methods of medical missionary
> evangelism (The Ministry, Sept. 1972:48).

Reynolds objects to certain mission strategies:

> Non-Christians say that to talk to a sick or dying
> man about salvation is to take unfair advantage of a
> situation. This is true also of preaching to a group of
> patients who have come not to hear a sermon but to see
> a doctor, or lecturing to a crowd of hungry beggars,
> who will listen only to get food. To use a classroom
> or an orphanage to teach Christianity to non-Christian
> children when non-Christian parents or responsible adults
> object is viewed as unchristian (Ib.:49).

When the government of Nigeria nationalized missionary schools

and hospitals, churches such as the Seventh-day Adventists turned to

public health and mobil-clinics. Government policy-makers, influenced

by the Muslim community, are watching the new activities. Some of the

nineteen states of Nigeria require permission from the government-

appointed Christian-Muslim committee before public meetings may be

held. Christian literature aimed at Muslims has been banned "in the interest of peace and unity of the nation."

There is talk now of Christian-Muslim dialog. One such dialog was held in Chambesy, Switzerland, June 26 through 30, 1976. The Chambesy conference was jointly convened by Dr. David Kerr (Director of the Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations, and Lecturer in Islam at the Selly Oaks Colleges, Birmingham) and Professor Khurshid Ahmad (Director General of the Islamic Foundation, Leicester, England) with six other renowned Islamic and Christian scholars as participants. The report of their five-day consultation on Christian Mission and Islamic Da'wah was published by the International Review of Mission, October, 1976. Dr. Kerr noted that the dialog provided a "recognition that we are living in a situation not simply of plurality of religions, but of plurality of missions" (International Review, October, 1976:372).

In dialog with some members of the Jama'atu Nasr-il-Islam, the missionary wing of the Supreme Islamic Council of Nigeria, I noticed that each time we met, there was eager willingness on the part of both sides to meet again. Long-held misunderstanding and suspicion of each other eased. This contrasts to earlier Christian-Muslim encounters that ended up in stone-throwing and little possibility for further contact.

By the principle of divergence I mean the recognition that the existence of common-ground between Christianity and Islam does not remove the differences in beliefs. The differences may be described

as "quicksand on the battleground." It seems good that the parties should aim at narrowing their differences but at the same time respect them.

I suggest more individual interaction because of my observation that big conferences are not as effective as one-to-one dialog. In Christ's ministry, one may contrast the results of the public dialog with the religious leaders of the Jews (John 12:28-42; cf. 19:38) with the results of his talk with the Samaritan woman (John 4:5-42). Therefore, I have advised both Christians and Muslims, each time we have met for inter-faith dialog, to continue the process at an individual level.

Summary

In this paper we have discussed the burden of Muhammad to establish the worship of God among the Arabians and the later extension of Islam to other races of the world. We have examined the pillars of Muslim faith and duty and Islam's call (da'wah) to man to return to the din al-fitrah (natural religion), that is, to the natural surrender of man to his God. Moreover, we found that the methods of Islamic da'wah are similar to those of Christian mission. Although Islam expanded through military defense and conquest, it demonstrated tolerance and the spirit of brotherhood. Hence, it became more readily acceptable in Egypt and Nigeria—the geographical areas of our special study—than its rival, Christianity. Finally, we have noted the emphasis upon revival in modern Islamic da'wah.

Realizing that both Islam and Christianity are universal and

missionary, I have suggested that Christian researchers and preachers among Muslims should not pose as superiors but as equals, bearing in mind that neither Christian mission nor Islamic da'wah has proved a single method to be the most effective in all places, at all times, and under all conditions.

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