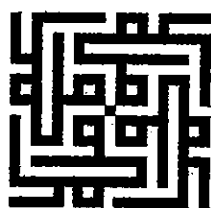


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SALAFIYAH. A reform movement founded by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muḥammad ‘Abduh at the turn of the twentieth century, the Salafiyah has religious, cultural, social, and political dimensions. It aimed at the renewal of Muslim life and had a formative impact on many Muslim thinkers and movements across the Islamic world.

The term *salafiyah* is often used interchangeably with *islāḥ* (reform) and *tajdīd* (renewal), which are fundamental concepts to Islam’s worldview. For some, however, the term connotes reaction and rigidity because of the Salafiyah’s strict adherence to the Qur’ān and *sunnah* and its exaltation of the past.

The word *salafiyah* is derived from the Arabic root *salaf*, “to precede.” The Qur’ān uses the word *salaf* to refer to the past (5.95, 8.38). In Arabic lexicons, the *salaf* are the virtuous forefathers (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*), and the *salafī* is the one who draws on the Qur’ān and the *sunnah* as the only sources for religious rulings (*Al-mu’jam al-wasīṭ*, vol. 1, p. 461).

The issue of who is considered a member of the *salaf* is a controversial one; however, most Muslim scholars agree that the *salaf* comprise the first three generations of Muslims. They span three centuries and include the companions of the Prophet, al-Ṣaḥābah, who end with Anas ibn Mālik (d. AH 91/710 CE or 93/712); their followers, al-Tābi‘īn (180/796); and the followers of their followers, Tābi‘ al-Tābi‘ī (241/855). Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (164–241/780–855) is considered the last of the generation of the *salaf*. These three generations were highly esteemed by later Muslims for their companionship with the Prophet and proximity to his time and for their pure understanding and practice of Islam and contribution to it.

The chronological definition of the *salaf* is not sufficient to explain the term fully. The *salaf* are not confined to a specific group nor to a certain era. Muslims recognize later prominent scholars and independent figures as members of the *salaf*, including Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah (d. 1350), Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792), and others. Moreover, the views of the members of the earliest Muslim generations were varied. The ideological components of the Salafiyah changed over the years in response to the challenges the Muslim community faced as its dedication to reform and revival persisted.

Origins. As Muslims began to expand beyond the Arabian Peninsula, they came into direct contact with

different cultures, religions, and philosophical trends, among them Jews, Christians, Sabaeans, and Zoroastrians. They were also confronted with new situations and intellectual challenges for which they had to devise answers that reflected the ideals of the new faith. In addition to the Qur’ān, they used rational thought to present and explain Islamic concepts and doctrines, applying this technique to such issues as the existence of God, the divine attributes, the nature of the Qur’ān, and whether God is seen in paradise.

The violent conflicts that took place among Muslims over the caliphal succession following the death of ‘Uthmān (d. 35/656) opened many controversies on such topics as the nature of faith, the status of the sinner, the nature of human acts, freedom and determination, and the imamate. Hence new intellectual currents and disciplines emerged within Islamic thought. Among the early developments was the discipline of *kalām* (theology). Its advocates addressed the aforementioned issues and resorted to subjective interpretations of the Qur’ān, using analogy and philosophy. The major representatives of this trend were the Qadariyah, Jabriyah, Ṣifatiyah, Khawārij, and Mu’tazilah. Several of these schools, particularly the first two, gained popularity and created divisions among the *ummah*. Some of their views represented a threat to the orthodox understanding of the issue of *tawḥīd* (the unity of God), the core concept of Islam. They also gave rationalist thinking and theological discussions prominence over revelation. [See *Theology and Tawḥīd*.]

Ibn Ḥanbal, Articulator of Classic Salafiyah. The diversity in opinions and fierce debate among the adherents of the theological schools gave rise to another intellectual trend that advocated a return by Muslims to pure and simple Islam and to the understanding of doctrine on the basis of the Qur’ān, the *sunnah*, and the *ḥadīth* traditions of the *salaf*. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the founder of the fourth school of Sunnī jurisprudence, was the major articulator of this trend. In his fight against the Mu’tazilah’s doctrine of the creation of the Qur’ān, he laid out the tenets that later shaped the Salafiyah.

Ibn Ḥanbal’s thought focused on several principles. The first is the primacy of the revealed text over reason. Ibn Ḥanbal saw no contradiction between reason and scripture. Unlike the *mutakallimūn* (scholastic theologians) who subjected the revealed text to reason, he dismissed *ta’wīl* (subjective or esoteric interpretation) of the texts and explained them in accordance with Ara-

bic philology, *ḥadīth*, and the understanding of the Prophet's companions and their successors. The second principle is the rejection of *kalām*. The Salafiyah considered the issues raised by the theological schools as *bid'ah* (innovation) and confirmed the orthodox view of these matters. The third is strict adherence to the Qur'ān, the *sunnah*, and the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the pious ancestors. In line with the major Sunnī schools, Ibn Ḥanbal held the Qur'ān and the teachings of the Prophet to be the authoritative sources for understanding the matters of religion, from which the principles of the *shari'ah* are derived. He set strict guidelines for the use of *ijtihād* (independent reasoning) and restricted the use of *qiyās* (analogical reasoning).

The Salafiyah approach evolved over the years to address new issues confronting the Muslim community. Taqī al-Dīn ibn Taymīyah, a follower of the Ḥanbalī school, jurist, and theologian, contributed greatly to the evolution of the Salafiyah. He combated accretions and innovations in religious practices and beliefs, particularly those introduced by the Ṣūfī orders (such as pantheism, syncretism, and saint-worship), and he criticized vehemently the different theological trends. His approach focused on confirming the creed of *tawḥīd*, proving the compatibility of reason and revelation, and refuting the ideological arguments of the theological schools, which he believed were influenced by Greek philosophy and terminology. Ibn Taymīyah regarded himself as a *mujtahid* within the Ḥanbalī school, but as a result of changes in time and conditions, he departed from it in some respects: he rejected *taqlīd* (adherence to tradition) and *ijmā'* and approved of the use of *qiyās*, and also maintained his own views on several jurisprudential issues. [See the biography of Ibn Taymīyah.]

Because of its emphasis on the restoration of Islamic doctrines to their pure form, adherence to the Qur'ān and *sunnah*, rejection of accretions, and maintaining the unity of the *ummah*, the Salafiyah has embodied the potential for reform and renewal, particularly at times of weakness and degeneration of the Muslim community. It has been a major influence on many movements that sought to reform their own communities on the basis of the original principles of Islam.

Premodern Salafiyah. In the eighteenth century several reform movements emerged to address the moral and social decay of the Muslim community. The Wahhābiyah is the most important. Its founder, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1703–1792), drew on the teachings of Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Taymīyah in his drive to

purify the Arabian Peninsula from un-Islamic practices and build an Islamic state modeled on that founded by the Prophet. The Wahhābiyah influenced other movements such as the Sānūsīyah and Maḥdiyyah, notwithstanding their Ṣūfī tendencies. [See Wahhābiyah.]

Similar movements surfaced beyond the Arab world, including the movement of Usuman Dan Fodio (1754–1817) in Nigeria, and the movements of Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564–1624), Shāh Walī Allāh (1702–1762), and Sayyid Aḥmad Barelwī (1786–1831) in the Indian subcontinent. They all advocated religious purification, moral and social reform, and unity among Muslims. However, they remained literalist in their reinterpretation of religion and tied to the past; they struggled not to build a viable model for the future but recreate the early model of the Prophet and his companions. Nonetheless, these movements left a legacy that inspired reform movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. [See the biographies of Dan Fodio, Sirhindī, Barelwī, and Walī Allāh.]

Modern Salafiyah. The modern Salafiyah was established by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839–1897) and Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905) at the turn of the twentieth century. Its prime objectives were to rid the Muslim *ummah* of a centuries-long mentality of *taqlīd* (blind imitation) and *jumūd* (stagnation), to restore Islam to its pristine form, and to reform the moral, cultural, and political conditions of Muslims. It is distinguished from the classic Salafiyah by its essentially intellectual and modernist nature and by the diversity and expanse of its objectives.

Against a legacy of stagnation, moral and social decay, political despotism, and foreign domination, the Salafiyah of Afghānī and 'Abduh sought to revitalize Islam, to bridge the gap between historical Islam and modernity, and to restore Muslim solidarity and vigor. The writings of Afghānī and 'Abduh—and of other reformist intellectuals such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1854–1902), Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865–1935), and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs (1889–1940)—focused on certain issues that constituted the ideological foundations of the modern Salafiyah. Among these were the causes of Muslim weakness, the reinterpretation of Islam, and comprehensive and institutional reform. [See the biographies of Kawākibī, Rashīd Riḍā, and Ibn Bādīs.]

The overwhelming supremacy of the West posed a dilemma for Muslim intellectuals, who probed the causes of Muslim weakness in an attempt to remedy them.

This issue has dominated the intellectual discourse of the reformist thinkers. It permeated the articles in *Al-'urwah al-wuthqā* (published by Afghānī and 'Abduh in 1884 while in exile in Paris), Riḍā's periodical *Al-manār* (1889–1935), the writings of al-Kawākibī (particularly *Umm al-qurā*), and those of Ibn Bādīs.

They identified the roots of the evil not in the teachings of Islam but rather in the infiltration of alien concepts and practices, the disintegration of the Muslim community, and the practice of political despotism. Distortion of basic Islamic beliefs spread attitudes of predestination, passivity, and submission among Muslims, leading to stagnation and blind imitation by the traditionalist *'ulama'*. They also precluded the advancement of Muslims and prevented them from pursuing power and independence. Thus they restricted the exercise of *ijtihād*, the force that preserves the vitality of Islam and links it to real life.

In the face of the threat of cultural submission to Western colonialism, the Salafiyah worked to assert the validity of Islam in modern times and to prove its compatibility with reason and science. They viewed it as a holistic message covering all aspects of life and as the driving force for advancement. For them, Islam provides Muslims with the foundations of progress. It honors humans and asserts their sovereignty on earth, blesses Muslims with the creed of *tawḥīd*, and sanctions the pursuit of knowledge and progress (Afghānī, 1973, pp. 136–139). Thus the reformist thinkers were trying to restore the pride of Muslims in their religion, to pave the way for reinterpreting Islam in a manner compatible with modernity, and to legitimize the acquisition of some Western scientific and technological achievements.

The reinterpretation of Islam constituted the second major principle of the modern Salafiyah. Like the classical thinkers, the modern Salafis emphasized the importance of *tawḥīd* ('Abduh, 1897), purifying the Muslims' beliefs and practices from accretions, and restoring the unadulterated form of Islam. 'Abduh summarized the objectives of the Salafiyah as follows: "To liberate thought from the shackles of *taqlīd*, and understand religion as it was understood by the elders of the community before dissension appeared; to return, in the acquisition of religious knowledge, to its first sources, and to weigh them in the scales of human reason" (cited in Hourani, 1962, pp. 140–141).

The modern reformers shared with classic Salafiyah the belief that the Qur'ān was the uncreated word of God, and they rejected any esoteric interpretation of its

verses. Although they sought a return to the authoritative sources of Islam—Qur'ān, *sunnah*, and a few authentic *ḥadīth*—the modern Salafiyah went a step further in their attempt to devise a synthesis between text and reason. They considered revelation and reason to be in full consonance; whenever there seemed to be a contradiction between the two, they employed reasoning to reinterpret the text. In particular, 'Abduh's and Aḥmad Khān's reinterpretations of some Qur'ānic verses sometimes went beyond the orthodox interpretations. For 'Abduh, "reason is the source of unshakable truth about the belief in God, His knowledge, and omnipotence and the belief in His message" (*Islam and Christianity with Science and Modernity*, Cairo, 1954, p. 113). The Islamic reformists were well versed in theology and philosophy and utilized them in their discourse.

In their commentaries on the Qur'ān, the reformists tried to link the scriptures to modern-day conditions. This approach helped in reviving the Qur'ānic message, restoring its relevance, and making it understandable to ordinary Muslims. It offered an alternative to the literalism of traditionalist interpretations. The reformists' commentaries also suggested avenues for the renewal of Islamic disciplines and new approaches to jurisprudence, ethics, and law (Merad, 1960–, p. 147; Jurshū, 1991, pp. 212–213).

By emphasizing return to the fundamental sources of Islam, the Salafiyah thinkers aimed at unleashing the potential for exercising *ijtihād*. Their confidence in the ability of the Muslim mind to deal directly with revelation would eventually liberate Muslims from slavish obedience to traditionalist authorities. This, it was hoped, would give rise to a new jurisprudence and a positive rationalism that would eliminate the divisions among the different legal schools and draw on *ijtihād* without compromising the fundamentals of Islam.

To achieve this ambitious objective, the Salafiyah, following the line of Ibn Taymīyah, emphasized the distinction between the immutable and the mutable in religion. The former deals with matters of creed and rituals (*'ibādat*), which have been prescribed in the Qur'ān and the authentic *sunnah*; any additions to them were condemned as unacceptable innovation. The Salafis therefore launched fierce campaigns against the Ṣūfī orders, accusing them of introducing *bid'ah*, practicing alien rituals, and spreading submissive and superstitious attitudes.

The mutable part of religion (*mu'āmalat*) includes hu-

man transactions and laws governing social relationships. These were considered the domain of *ijtihād* that ought to be exercised in line with the requirements of modernity and scientific advancement. Al-Kawākibī interpreted the Qur'ānic statement, "Nothing have we omitted from the book" (6.38) as pertaining only to religious matters, not to worldly affairs. 'Abduh issued several *fatwās* (legal opinions)—permitting Muslims to wear Western attire, eat meat slaughtered by Christians and Jews, and earn interest—that were considered departures from the traditionalist stand.

A third foundation of the modern Salafiyah is the comprehensive yet gradual nature of the reforms they proposed. Like most other Arab and Muslim countries, the Egyptian society in which the Salafiyah arose was already undergoing fundamental changes. Foreign laws had replaced supplemented indigenous laws; the educational system had bifurcated into Western and traditional; and the intellectual elite was split between advocates of the wholesale adoption of Western values and institutions and adherents to long-held traditions and practices.

The Salafiyah hoped to bridge the gaps within their respective societies by introducing sweeping reforms at the individual and institutional levels. Education was the cornerstone of their reform plan. The Salafiyah were convinced that no reform would be effective unless the moral and social values of Muslims were revived by education. They aspired to educate a new type of elite, combining Islamic and modern education, to close the gap between the conservatives and the westernized. They worked on restructuring the educational system and modernizing the curricula in traditional educational institutions, as well as establishing new schools that offered both Islamic and modern subjects.

Pertinent to the improvement of education was the reform of the Arabic language. As a result of an overall state of stagnation and imitation, the Arabic language had suffered for centuries from rigidity and artificial style. The reform of the language was intended to revive it and to liberate it from classical forms so that it could be easily understood and absorb modern terminology. The Salafiyah in the Arab world hoped thus to preserve their national identity and contain the spread of foreign languages.

The reform of law was another important aspect in the reformists' efforts to revitalize Islam. The Salafiyah reformers maintained that law should reflect the "spirit" of the nation, its dominant values and belief system. Im-

ported or foreign law could never strike deep roots because it would always lack consensual acceptance and therefore legitimacy. Islamic *shari'ah* should continue to regulate the legal and social affairs of Muslims. However, the reformers rejected the literal interpretation of law and advocated its reinterpretation on the basis of reason, *maqāsid* (objectives), and *maṣlahah* (common good), particularly in areas where there was no Qur'ānic stipulation. On the institutional level, they directed efforts toward establishing specialized schools for *shari'ah* judges, or reforming the existing ones, and to reforming the *shari'ah* courts.

The Salafiyah viewed political reform as an essential requirement for the revitalization of the Islamic community. They denounced despotism and held autocratic rulers responsible for the spread of acquiescent political attitudes and the disintegration of the Muslim nation. Salafī intellectuals advocated a gradualist plan for political reform. They were convinced that political reform could not be achieved unless the people were educated about their rights and responsibilities.

Many reformist intellectuals attempted to reformulate Islamic concepts in the light of modern political ideals and practices. They reinterpreted such concepts as *shūrā* (counsel) and *ijmā'* (consensus) and equated them with democracy and a parliamentary system. In practice, they called for gradually increasing representation in administrative and political institutions.

European colonialism and the threat of cultural subjugation gave the modern Salafiyah a strong nationalist tone. The reformers, perhaps with the exceptions of 'Abduh after his return to Egypt from exile in 1888 and of Ahmad Khān, maintained an anticolonialist stance. They tried to promote a common awareness of Islamic nationalism and to preserve the solidarity of the *ummah*, advocating Pan-Islamism and the restoration of a form of political nucleus. Nonetheless, most of them had to compromise their idealist position to meet the realities of their time, accepting the imposed national divisions of the Muslim world.

Spread of Salafiyah. The teachings of the Salafiyah spread across the Arab and larger Muslim world, and wherever it took root, the Salafiyah acquired different expressions and emphasis. In Algeria, Ibn Bādīs focused his reform efforts on education as the means for countering the assimilationist policy of the French and preserving national identity, and on combating the Ṣūfī orders. He produced a commentary on the Qur'ān, and with other reformist religious scholars he established the

Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', which played a prominent role in the struggle for independence.

Morocco had been exposed to the teachings of the Wahhābiyah since the eighteenth century. A neo-Salafiyah movement with a modernist orientation emerged in the nineteenth century under such reformist scholars as Abū Shu'ayb al-Dukkālī (1878–1937) and Muḥammad ibn al-'Arabī al-'Alawī (1880–1964). Their ideas had a profound formative impact on many leaders of the Moroccan nationalist movements, notably 'Allāl al-Fāsi, the leader of the Istiqlāl Party and a student of al-'Alawī. Al-Fāsi took the Salafiyah to new levels by linking Islamic reformism to the nationalist movement for independence and political liberalism. [See Istiqlāl; and the biography of Fāsi.]

The Salafiyah was introduced in Tunisia in the early years of the twentieth century; 'Abduh visited in 1885 and again in 1903, and *Al-manār* was read there. The Salafī ideals were adopted by several Zaytūnī 'ulamā', including Bashīr Ṣafar (d. 1937), a teacher of Ibn Bādīs; Muḥammad al-Tāhir ibn 'Āshūr (b. 1879), who produced a commentary on the Qur'ān; and his son Muḥammad al-Fāḍil ibn 'Āshūr (1909–1970). 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tha'ālībī (1879–1944), the founder of the Destour Party, was an advocate of the Salafiyah and Islamic reform.

Islamic modernists also emerged in Syria. Some were influenced by the Ḥanbalī orientation, such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (1866/67–1914); others were disciples of Afghānī and 'Abduh, such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī (1867–1956) and Shakīb Arslān (1869–1946).

In India, Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1817–1898) founded a movement of Islamic modernism that had a profound impact on reform among Indian Muslims. Though a contemporary of Afghānī and 'Abduh, Aḥmad Khān was distinguished by his acceptance of British rule, by his reinterpretation of the Qur'ān with a far more rationalist and naturalist approach than most Salafī intellectuals, and by his promotion of Western education through the educational institutions and journals he established. Another prominent Muslim modernist in India was Muḥammad Iqbal (1875–1938); Combining Islamic and Western education, he attempted to reconstruct an Islamic intellectual model that would revive the Muslim community and address modern needs. [See the biographies of Aḥmad Khān and Iqbal.]

The Salafiyah principles also spread to Indonesia. In 1912, the reformist Muhammadiyah movement was established there as an educational and cultural organization that attracted a wide following.

Following the death of Afghānī and 'Abduh, with a dearth of comparable thinkers, the course of the reformist Salafiyah began to change. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā represented a link between the reformist Salafiyah of Afghānī and 'Abduh and the activist Muslim Brothers in Egypt. He continued to propagate the ideas of his mentors as well as his own in his periodical *Al-manār*, which had considerable influence on many Muslim intellectuals (known as the Manarists) throughout the Islamic world. Under increasing threats of political disintegration and cultural submission, Rashīd Riḍā drew the movement into more conservative and orthodox paths. The liberal and secular disciples of the reformist thinkers benefited from the rationalist approach of the Salafiyah in advancing secular nationalism and liberalism, as in the cases of Sa'd Zaghlūl in Egypt and Mohammad Ali Jinnah in India.

Influence on Modern Islamic Movements. The teachings of the Salafiyah continued to inspire later generations of Muslim activists. In the 1930s new Islamic movements emerged sharing many of the ideas of the Salafiyah. The most influential of these were Ḥasan al-Bannā's (1906–1949) Muslim Brothers in Egypt and Abū al-Ā'la Mawdūdī's (1903–1979) Jamā'at-i Islāmī in the Indian subcontinent.

These movements too upheld the centrality of Islam to future progress and were convinced of its adaptability to modern life. However, they responded to different circumstances: continued Western occupation, anticolonial struggle, and the domination of secular political and social concepts. They therefore combined activism (*ḥarakīyah*) with their message of Islamic reform. They were more skeptical and critical of the West, and, while accepting modernity, they believed in the self-sufficiency of Islam as the basis for society and state (Esposito, 1991, pp. 152–160). They did not attempt to build on the intellectual venture the modern Salafiyah had undertaken in legal, political, educational reform, or to devise a systematic intellectual framework for reform. Instead, through their organizational structures and populist appeal, these movements focused on reforming the morality and beliefs of the Muslim individual as a precondition for the reform of the society as a whole. The Muslim Brothers and the Jamā'at became an example for many subsequent movements; however, their ideological orientation, activism, and sometimes militant tendency distinguish them from the modern Salafiyah. [See Muslim Brotherhood; Jamā'at-i Islāmī.]

Currently there are some groups and societies in the

Muslim world known as al-Jamā'ah al-Salafiyyah or al-Salafiyyun. They have more in common with the classic Salafiyyah than with the modernist thought of Afghānī and 'Abduh. Like the classic Salafiyyah, they focus on matters of creed and morality, such as strict monotheism, divine attributes, purifying Islam from accretions, anti-Sufism, and developing the moral integrity of the individual ('Abd al-Khaliq, 1975; Ibn Bakr, 1990). These societies, however, remain very limited in following and in the extent of the reforms they propose.

Conclusion. The Salafiyyah has taken different forms and expressions owing to changing conditions; however, throughout its different phases it has remained in essence a movement for reform and renewal. The classic or Ḥanbalī Salafiyyah, to which several premodern reform movements belong, focused on issues of creed, the purity of Islam, and the restoration of a past Islamic model, and so it remained doctrinal and limited in its scope of reform.

While emphasizing the need to return to original Islam, the modern Salafiyyah expanded the dimensions of reform to counter the threat of European colonialism and to accommodate the needs of modernity. While often criticized for being apologetic and conciliatory, they were nonetheless able to demonstrate to their coreligionists the adaptability of Islam and its relevance in modern times. Their intellectual efforts provided grounds for accepting and legitimizing change.

Despite its significant contribution to the revival of Islamic thought and noticeable impact on generations of Muslim intellectuals and activists, the modern Salafiyyah stopped short of devising a solid framework for reform on which later followers could build systematically. Therefore, the continuation of the Salafiyyah reformist message has depended on the individual efforts of Muslim intellectuals.

[See Modernism; Revival and Renewal; and the biographies of 'Abduh and Afghānī.]

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ŞALĀT. The Qur'ānic meaning of *ṣalāt* can be distilled from a number of verses that describe the characteristic features of worship and its ethical and social aims. In its Meccan phase, the Qur'ān associates *ṣalāt* with recitation, *tasbīḥ* (divine praise), *zakāt* (almsgiving), and *ṣabr* (patience). The Qur'ān commands the believers to, "Establish regular prayers at the sun's decline till the darkness of the night, [and to establish] the morning prayer and reading: for prayer and reading in the morning carry their testimony" (surah 17.78). Worshiping God can be adequately fulfilled only if the believer is guided by patience and perseverance. This was perhaps a historical necessity for the besieged Muslim community in Mecca in the first twelve years of Islam, "Nay, seek [Allāh's] help with patient perseverance and prayer: It is indeed hard, except to those who bring a lowly spirit" (surah 2.45).

In its shift from a doctrinal emphasis to a more behavioral one, especially with the Prophet's political triumph in Medina, the Qur'ān attaches additional meanings to *ṣalāt*. The Qur'ān seems to indicate that prayer in itself can be a valid mode of spirituality only if it is accompanied by a host of positive behavioral characteristics, such as commanding good, forbidding evil, and paying *zakāt*, "[They are] those who, if We establish them in the land, establish regular prayer and give regular charity, enjoin the right and forbid the wrong" (surah 22.41). Also, "Recite what is sent of the Book by inspiration to thee, and establish regular prayer: for prayer restrains from shameful and unjust deeds: and remembrance of Allāh is the greatest [thing in life] without doubt. And Allāh knows the [deeds] that ye do" (surah 29.45). In numerous Qur'ānic verses, *ṣalāt* is synonymous with *zakāt* (see Qur'ān 2.83; 2.110; 2.177; 9.18; 11.114; 17.78; and 58.13) Also, *ṣalāt*, as a concept as well as a practice, must reflect a deeply engrained atti-

tude in man that manifests itself in acts of humility and patience. The Qur'ān tells us that the believers can succeed in this life and the hereafter only if they humble themselves in their prayers (surah 23.1, 2).

In general, the Qur'ānic meaning of patience (surahs 2.153; 13.22; and 22.35) reminds the believer of the necessity of constant perseverance and struggle against the evils of the self and life's hardships. To elevate the self to the level of obedience to the divine majesty, believers must observe *ṣalāt* on time, since it is a *kitāb marwūṭ*—it is enjoined on believers at stated times (surah 4.103). It is clear from the above that the intention of the Qur'ān is not to merely prescribe prayer as a ritual or an institution, but as an immense personal and communal commitment to order, punctuality, change, and coherence. *Şalāt*, in a sense, is the meeting point between the sacred and the secular in Muslim life. It is a reflection of a divine desire to change the world in the direction prescribed by God in the Qur'ān:

Since one of the main goals of Islam is to establish an egalitarian and just moral and social order, the purpose of *ṣalāt* should be to enhance this outward political and social tendency. And in this regard, Imam Shāfi'ī defines worship as consisting of *qawḥ* (word), *'amal* (deed), and *imsāk* (abstention from the forbidden deeds) (Majid Khadduri, trans., *Islamic Jurisprudence: Shafi'i's Risala*, Baltimore, 1961, p. 121). Humility, perseverance, devotion, remembrance of God and the Day of Judgment, are attributes of the believers who perform *ṣalāt*.

Origin of the Practice. One of the earliest and most elaborate sources on *ṣalāt* in Islam is the often-quoted *Şahīḥ* of the famous traditionist Imam Bukhārī (810-870). In the section, "The Book of Şalāt," Bukhārī recounts how prayer was made obligatory on Muslims. He relates that prayer was prescribed on the night of the Isrā' Ascension (surah 17) when Muḥammad was taken up by the angel Gabriel to the highest heaven. There Muḥammad met with Moses, Jesus, Abraham, Adam, and other celebrated personalities whom Muslims consider prophets. Muḥammad, Bukhārī tells us, was led to a mysterious spot in heaven where he heard the creaking of the pens, and there God enjoined fifty prayers on Muslims. When Muḥammad returned to earth, he passed by Moses, who asked him about the number of prayers imposed on the Muslim community. When Moses heard it was fifty a day, he asked Muḥammad to go back and ask God for reduction, "for your followers will not be able to bear with it." Muḥammad did as he was told, and God reduced the number by half, and