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THE FINALITY OF JESUS CHRIST¹

This is the issue between Christianity and Islam. Any faith which challenges the finality of Christianity and professes to give a supplementary message, another gospel, higher ethics, a more adequate social program, must produce the equivalent of Jesus Christ. To call Christianity the absolute or final religion is, as Dr. Mackintosh asserts, "to contend not merely that in Jesus Christ God is presented in a form higher and more spiritually satisfying than elsewhere, but that the relationship to the Father on which believers thus enter, is such that it cannot be transcended."²

This supreme issue between Christianity and all other religions and philosophies, both of the East and of the West, is discussed, step by step, with convincing clarity and cumulative argument by Dr. Robert E. Speer in the Stone Lectures delivered at the Princeton Theological Seminary in 1933. Here we have an able, up-to-date, scholarly, sympathetic and, at the same time, uncompromising argument for the Christian faith once for all delivered to mankind in the New Testament Scriptures. The five lectures may be considered separately and collectively as an extended answer to the whole humanistic, modernistic view of missions, of Christ and of Christianity, so prevalent in many circles; or, better, as a supreme literary effort to state, once for all, unmistakably, with an astonishing wealth of evidence from the earliest Christian apologists down the centuries

¹ "The Finality of Jesus Christ," by Robert E. Speer. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, pp. 386; \$3. (Second Edition).

² "The Originality of the Christian Message." p. 175.

to those of our own day, the great central verities of our faith. "To us," writes Dr. Speer, "Jesus Christ did not come to found a religion. He came to be the Life and Light and Lord of man."

This volume of evidences will not only have a wide reading and permanent influence in deepening and strengthening the faith of the Church, but we commend it here as the best manual of Christian Apologetics for those who are preaching the Gospel to Moslems. We believe that an abbreviated translation of the book into Arabic, Urdu and Turkish is greatly to be desired. Thoughtful Moslems are not blind to the real issue that divides us. While we both confess the unity of God and His infinite and unsearchable attributes of power, wisdom and mercy, it is the revelation of God in Jesus Christ which is the stumbling-block to Islam. Was He, and is He, the final and sufficient message from heaven, the plenipotential Mediator and Redeemer, or must we look for another?

The Laymen's Appraisal in "Re-Thinking Missions" may place Buddha, Jesus and Mohammed side by side and propose a new valuation of the "founders of religion;" true Christians and true Moslems know better. For them the question simply is the finality and sufficiency of Jesus Christ *or* the finality and sufficiency of Mohammed.

Some thirty years ago I was reading aloud to a Moslem in Bahrein a portion of the first chapter of Colossians. It spoke of one who was "the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature . . . who in all things had the preeminence," and I paused to ask who this might be. Without any hesitation my Arab friend said, "Mohammed, on him be prayers and peace."

A distinguished Moslem author and editor in Western India, acknowledging the receipt of a book which was sent him, writes: "I thank you very much. Indeed, you are doing a great service to the Prophet, Jesus Christ, in whom we Moslems believe as the righteous Prophet of Allah. I heartily congratulate you and wish you a long life in your gray-hairs. Only if you and I compromise ourselves

by agreeing on two vital points we are one. I mean to take Jesus as the righteous Prophet of Allah, not the Son of God, and to take Mohammed also as the Prophet of God after Jesus. If this is done, both of us will belong to one church. It is for you to judge and ponder."

The circular, however, which my friend enclosed and the book for which he thanked me, call us both back to grim realities. "The Prospectus of the Grand Muslim Union Mission" with headquarters in Bombay leaves no doubt of its standpoint. They "challenge the non-Muslim world for the truthfulness of Islam which is the only religion of the world." They are to "respect the feelings of the followers of sister religions and in a civil and friendly manner explain the superiority of Islam as the only true Faith." To this end "the Grand Muslim Union Mission" holds meetings, publishes literature and asks for liberal donations.

In the same circular my friend states the issue even more clearly: "It is an Islamic obligation to believe in Jesus. Muslims regard him as a great Prophet of God. But all this Islamic respect for Jesus cannot hide the fact that the picture of Christ the Bible paints does not show him as a perfect man, though it may succeed to show Him as the Son of God. One who hated the social world; one who disregarded and disliked the customs of the world: one who failed to be kind to his own mother, and one who did not succeed to bear the brunt and responsibilities of the life of celibacy, can be the son of God, but cannot be an ideal for the entire world to follow. It is difficult to become a perfect man. The world so far has produced only one man who suited this title, and whose life events are handed over to posterity in the light of historical facts, and whose example can be a guide in every walk of life—Mohammed."

The lectures of Dr. Speer are an overwhelming reply to this sort of contention. The Church's conception of Jesus Christ in the first two centuries can be laid side by side with the Moslem conception of Mohammed during the first two centuries after the Hegira and, Moslems them-

selves being the judges, their Prophet was not like ours, their martyrs were not like ours, their message was not like ours. Let Luke's Gospel stand in vivid contrast to the second chapter of the Koran; and Paul's portrait of Jesus Christ be hung next to Ibn Hisham's portrait of Mohammed! Who can deny that both were devotees of those whom they portrayed, yet how absolutely different, how utterly incomparable, are the two portraits. As Dr. Speer says: "The less extreme and more common departure from the historic and authentic view of Christ is the modern conception of Jesus as simply a great spiritual teacher, a notable ethical example, a character-pattern, in our present-day terminology, and the correlative modern emphasis on the faith of Jesus rather than faith in Jesus. Now these three ideas are all embraced in the primitive thought of Christ, but they were secondary, not primary."³ The primary conception of Jesus is found not only in the Gospels but in the Pauline epistles of an earlier date than the earliest gospel.

"What Paul thought about the absoluteness and finality of Jesus and what Jesus thought about Himself, is the only thought which primitive Christianity entertained. Christianity conceived as the faith of Jesus, or as the religion of Jesus, or as sharing or reproducing the religious experience of Jesus, is a sheer invention."⁴ And then Dr. Speer calls attention to two unique facts about Christ which have no parallel in any other character of history: "Most striking of all, however, and more significant than all else, or rather gathering up into itself the significance of all else, was the early Christian conviction with regard to the death and resurrection of Christ. No one else had ever died or could ever die such a death. This death was for the sins of the world. The life of the Shepherd was laid down for His sheep. The Son of Man gave His life a ransom for many. We are 'reconciled to God by the death of His Son.' The Synoptists and John and Paul agree. There is no other person of whom such things could be

³ "The Finality of Jesus Christ," by Dr. Robert E. Speer, p. 49.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 52.

said as the early Church said of Christ's death. And He alone rose again from the dead. If he had not done so, we should never have heard of Christianity. But whether or no that is true, it is indisputable that the first Christians believed that He had risen, and on that amazing and solitary fact they built their faith. This was their Gospel, the Gospel of all Christians from Easter morning afterwards forever."⁵

Our missionary message not only, but our missionary methods are wholly dependent on this firm faith in the finality of Jesus Christ. If we still hold this primitive, apostolic view of our Saviour, what should be our attitude toward non-Christian religions today? Dr. Speer's second, third and fifth lectures are a detailed, historical and masterly discussion of this very question. He does not, of course, deal solely or specifically with Islam, but yet there are many germane and illuminating passages: "If the non-Christian religions are 'schoolmasters' to bring men to Christ, it would seem that the more intelligent and advanced and enlightened the schoolmaster, the more inefficient it is in fulfilling its mission. Justin Martyr pointed out this fact with regard to Judaism and heathenism in his time, and we see it in Brahmanism and Islam today. And it appears to be the highest and leading class in each religion that is hardest set against the 'schoolmaster' function, the priesthood of Judaism in Jesus' time and of Hinduism and Islam today."⁶ A candid Jewish Rabbi, whom Dr. Speer quotes, points out that the Personality of Jesus is the essence of His power today and that "this should be evident to every objective student of Christian literature. . . . The significant fact is that time has not faded the vividness of His image. Poetry still sings His praise. He is still the living comrade of countless lives. No Moslem ever sings, 'Mohammed, lover of my soul,' nor does any Jew say of Moses, the Teacher, 'I need thee every hour.' The genius of Jesus is not one of doctrine nor of organization It is distinctly one of direct influence."⁷

⁵ Ibid, p. 56.

⁶ Ibid, p. 346.

⁷ Ibid, p. 211.

One is tempted to quote other passages from these lectures, which have a special bearing on carrying the gospel to the world of Islam. Let the last paragraph of the concluding lecture suffice: "On this Rock of Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of Man, the only Redeemer, Saviour and Lord, the Christian Church stood at the beginning. Here it has stood through all the ages. Here it must continue to stand. 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' From this foundation the Church of Christ, so long as it is true to its message and its mission, whether at home or abroad, will never remove."⁸ True to this mission and message, we will avoid all needless controversy, which only leads away from the center to the periphery, and press home the question Jesus Himself put to His disciples and to the world, What think ye of the Christ? We ask every sincere Moslem inquirer to study the Gospel story and try for himself to reach a true estimate of Jesus Christ, of whom Mohammed spoke in such high terms of honor as a Prophet and an Apostle of God; to take the historical foundations of the Christian religion and examine them as critically as he pleases, and to see for himself what Jesus claimed to be, and how His claims were understood by His disciples and by the early Church. We ask Moslems to study the Gospel in any way they like, but with only *one* object in view, "namely, that they may come face to face with Jesus Himself; that they may learn to know Him, and see how He claimed to hold a supreme position in the matter of the attitude of all men toward God, a position which none other has ever claimed."⁹

And in doing this every missionary will find the lectures of Dr. Speer most helpful and inspiring.

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. ZWEMER.

⁸ Ibid, p. 377.

⁹ W. R. W. Gardner, "Christianity and Mohammedanism Compared," p. 62.

THE OUTLOOK FOR ISLAM IN TURKEY

On October 29, 1933, Turkey celebrated the completion of her tenth year as a modern republic. And it is now more than fourteen years since that eventful March 16, 1920, when Istanbul was occupied by the Allies, marking the effective termination of the rule of the last Sultan, Vahid-ud-Din, and setting the stage for the control of Turkey by the energetic Ankara Nationalists. The reforming record which has been accomplished in so short a time by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal and his fellows would tax a reader's credulity if he encountered it in the realm of fiction. But established in the realm of fact, it is a record to be marveled at and recognized as a supreme triumph of social engineering.

It is not the purpose of this article, however, to survey or to summarize the achievements of the Turkish Republic. Already well known are such striking steps as the abolition of the fez and of the caliphate, the setting up of Western law codes, and the adoption of a new alphabet with Latin characters. In general the world realizes that the Islamic religion has been ejected from its old dominant place in government and society. But there is widespread confusion as to the present status of Islam in Turkey, what is the government's attitude toward it, and what chance Islam has to survive and thrive under the new régime. I do not propose completely to dispel this confusion and chart a perfectly clear analysis of Turkey's religious situation, present and future. In Turkey, as everywhere else in the world, storm clouds of uncertainty and indifference shroud the religious scene, interfering with clear vision. But an objective study of the acts and ideas of responsible Turks may aid in disposing of certain fallacious impressions and

in delineating in broad outline the main trends of the Turkish official attitude.

What can be discovered, in the first place, regarding the viewpoint toward Islam of those who control the nation's destiny? To this question writers have suggested a variety of answers. Some have asserted that the Ankara Government is frankly hostile to and apprehensive of everything connected with religion. The political leaders are themselves regarded as free thinkers, men who would like to obliterate as soon as possible all traces of Islam or any other religious system, and who permit retention of certain old religious forms only because they fear the violent reaction which would follow the open flaunting of the Moslem faith.

Others hold to an opposite interpretation, regarding the Kemalists as cordial friends and well wishers to Islam, men who are eager to purify it and strengthen it. Count Ostrorog, for example, discussing Turkey's reforms, insists that "the object was not . . . to destroy religious beliefs: religion was simply caused to recede from the halls of human conflicts and ascend into the stronghold of conscience, to dwell there in much greater dignity and security than when its ministers pretended to rule earthly interests as well as moral aspirations."¹

As a matter of fact, the true appraisal seems to lie somewhere between the two extremes of hostility and cordiality, with the words "experimental" or "opportunist" best describing the Government attitude.

There are numerous reasons why the Kemalists should not be utterly hostile to Islam. In the first place, religious sensibilities played an important part in the success of the Nationalists' campaign against the Greeks, the "War of Independence." Accounts of the Greek invasion tell of frequent insults and defilements cast on the Moslems and their holy places by the infidel foe. The thought of Christian enemies invading the precincts of Islam was an important factor in awakening the Turks to their famous desperate resistance. A notable event recorded by the Ghazi

¹ Count L. Ostrorog: "The Angora Reform." London, 1927. p. 96.

himself in his famous Six-Day Speech of 1927, was the scene in Hadji Bairam Mosque in Ankara on April 23, 1920. On this day, when the first parliament was meeting in Ankara, the deputies all gathered for prayer in a manner reminiscent of the crusading knights of old.

The connection between religion and patriotism is even today constantly encountered, not only in the text-books used for religious instruction in the schools, but in the daily press. I call to mind particularly an account appearing in the Istanbul paper, *Le Milliet*, describing the ceremony commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Allied occupation of Istanbul. One of the events on the program which marked this "dolorous anniversary" was the pronouncement of a prayer by the Mufti for the repose of the souls of the Turks slain attempting to offer resistance.

Turkey's leaders realize full well that in the religion of Islam they have at hand a ready tool which can be used to fire the enthusiasm and devotion of the Turkish people to patriotic enterprises. As a certain Turkish educator remarked, "Turkey's new government would indeed be foolish if it cast impatiently aside so important a factor in national unity as religious similarity, or spent valuable effort in anti-religious, repressive tactics which would only serve to deplete her resources and arouse resentful protests." He went on to comment that the radical alteration of the Islamic institutions within the borders of Turkey might be compared to a father's discipline of his own child: a spanking does not imply hatred!

As for Mustapha Kemal himself, the mainspring of the reform movement, no one would characterize him as pious in the accepted sense of the term. Yet his continued acceptance of the title "Ghazi," a word applied to Moslems who conquer in holy combat, indicates that he is by no means uncompromisingly hostile to Islam. A study of his pronouncements on religious matters shows him to be opposed only to those features of the religion which he regards as backward or as interfering with the complete dedication of the citizen to his nation. Above all else, Mustapha Kemal

seeks the establishment of an enlightened modern state. If religion can help in achieving this goal, well and good. If not, let it step aside. The Ghazi seems disposed to give Islam every opportunity to prove its worth. Until 1928 the nation's constitution provided that the religion of the state was Islam. Islam was in that year removed from the constitution because the Ghazi felt that it was not in line with the specifications of a twentieth-century state to have a state religion. There was no persecution or attempt to close mosques, no hostility to religion comparable to that of Soviet Russia.

This lack of hostility toward Islam does not, of course, imply cordial enthusiasm toward it. There are many reasons why the Kemalists should be cool if not unfriendly toward the old religion. In book after book one meets the damning declaration that Turkey's backwardness is attributable to Islam. In a régime which is avowedly dedicated to progress and social reconstruction, one could hardly expect to find keen concern for a system which traditionally stood for opposite ideals. Furthermore, when one remembers the jealousy and suspicion which marked the relations between the military and ecclesiastical elements throughout the history of Turkish government, it might almost be expected that when power fell into the hands of the military group—as it now has—they would relegate their old religious rivals to a very unimportant position.

There is no doubt that the Ankara Government distinctly holds the upper hand over the religious organizations, and it has shown its intention that Islam shall conform to the Nationalist program. It has not hesitated to extirpate groups like the dervish orders, which were regarded as benighting and reactionary influences. It has taken education completely away from religious control, eliminating mosque schools, and even supervising itself the few facilities which remain for providing theological education. By assuming control of the *Evkaf*, the wealthy pious foundations, and by setting up a Committee on Religious Affairs under the supervision of the Prime Minister, it

exerts an effective control over Moslem properties and over the *hodjas* and other functionaries who receive income from the pious endowments.²

When the Ankara Government assumed such thoroughgoing control of religious affairs, one might have looked for the appearance of a clear-cut Islamic policy. There might have developed an uncompromising war on religion, such as occurred in Russia. Or vigorous reforms might have been instituted and strong leadership set up to reshape the cultus and make it a live and inspiring force in the nation's life. But neither of these policies was pursued. Once the Kemalists had closed up the dervish *tekkés* and the old-fashioned theological schools, serving notice that they would tolerate no breeding-places of reaction and superstition, they seemed to follow no definite plan of encouragement or discouragement. Apparently convinced that they were dealing with delicate matters, they seemed to prefer a policy of watchful waiting for the future to shape itself. Such schemes as were sponsored by the Presidency of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Public Instruction were introduced almost apologetically and with little apparent certainty regarding their objectives. Men were doubtful as to the essential values of religion, and in the meantime they preferred to deal with matters of more pressing concern in the realms of politics, economics and social reform.

The most severe handicap for any program of Islamic renaissance in Turkey is the lack of trained and devoted leaders. The graduates of the old Moslem *medressehs* were mediocrally minded. Many of them are no longer in the country, and a large share of those remaining are either pursuing other lines of work, or are mere automatons with no originality, blindly obeying whatever instructions are issued to them. Perhaps the most puzzling problem confronting the young nation is the development of an intelligent religious leadership. From other Moslem countries

² The text of these regulations, passed March 3, 1924, at the same time as the abolition of the Caliphate, may be found in A. J. Toynbee: "Survey of International Affairs, 1925, Part I: The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement," New York, Oxford Press, 1927. pp. 572 ff.

Turkey is not likely to seek help, for she regards the Islamic world as backward, and the Ghazi has frequently expressed his determination to cut his nation loose from a system and civilization which arose in alien Arabia and which fits better into a desert than into an industrial background. From Christian and other non-Moslem peoples she will be deterred from accepting aid, because of an inbred hauteur, a traditional superiority complex. Within her own borders the leadership must be raised up if Turkish Islam is to live, but as yet one can see no signs that such a leadership is being developed. There is, to be sure, a Faculty of Theology at the University of Istanbul, but the student enrollment, according to the official *Annuaire Statistique*, was but twenty-two in the year 1930-31, as compared to two hundred and eighty-five in 1924-25. There have also been established schools for *Imams* and *Khatibs*, institutions of lycée grade, whose purpose is the training of men to serve the villages both as religious leaders and primary school teachers. But where there were twenty-three such schools in 1924-25 with an enrollment of 1,442, the number had dwindled to two in 1929-30 with only 141 students; and for 1930-31, the latest given in the *Annuaire Statistique* for 1931-32, the figures read: no schools and fifty-seven pupils. These schools presented an interesting possibility, and when I talked with the head of the school in Istanbul in 1929, he impressed me as a person of enthusiasm and social vision. But he was not a specialist in religion; he did not wear the turban and robe of the Turkish imam; he was simply a school administrator assigned to the job by the Ministry of Public Instruction.

More will be necessary in Turkey than the establishment of schools if Islam is to be kept alive beyond this generation. In addition to the twin woes of chaotic theology and diminishing numbers which this age of science has let loose to plague all organized religions, Turkey must deal with difficulties peculiarly her own. She must find some way of restoring dignity and a sense of worthiness to the religious calling. No longer do holy men preside in the courts of

law or serve as the nation's educators. And as long as the Government maintains its paternalistic control of religious affairs, thereby classifying religion in the popular mind as something suspected and impotent, worthy young men will not be attracted to careers of religious leadership in preference to careers as doctors, lawyers, or educators. If Turkey can find an honorable place for the religious leader in her renovated social system, she will have done far more to ensure the existence of a vital Islam than she will through a mere translation of religious phrases from Arabic into Turkish.

The task of reforming and revitalizing Islam for the new Turkey is plainly not a simple one, as is apparent from the lukewarm attitude of those in power, and the scarcity of trained leaders. Yet there are unmistakable signs that Moslem thought is stirring and that theology is being reinterpreted in terms of the new age. Certainly one could not expect the theology of a religion to be uninfluenced when its social foundations have been so severely shaken as they have been in Turkey. But sparks are still glowing amid the charred remains of Turkey's religious system, and the next twenty years will tell the tale whether they are to be rekindled to give warmth and illumination, or whether they are to be choked in the ashes of indifference.

It is chiefly in the writings prepared for use in the schools and mosques that one finds signs of theological life. It must be remembered that the national primary school curriculum provides for one to two lesson periods per week of religious instruction from the second to fifth year, and makes optional provisions for such instruction in higher stages. For such lessons text-books have to be provided and officially approved by the Ministry of Public Instruction. Books of sermons are also provided to preachers in the mosques, to be used during such occasions as the holy month of *Ramazan*. In these text-books and sermons, written by modern minds and printed in the new Latin characters, one may find those sparks of live religion, teachings which seek to harmonize the teachings of Moham-

med with modern conditions, to discover still vital points in the old teachings, and to contradict those who have averred that Islam could not cast off its outmoded ideas and produce a message for to-day. Some of the ideas may at first appear incongruous and un-Islamic, but reinterpretations always seem strange, and who can deny to Moslems the prerogative so frequently employed in literate religions, that of rationalization?

An exhaustive survey of these revamped religious teachings is obviously impossible in the confines of a short article. But a few random samples may illustrate the general trend of thought.

The flavor of the new Moslem message for Turkey may be tasted in the writings of Yusuf Zia, whose two volumes entitled *Islam Dini* (The Religion of Islam) have been approved for use in the middle and normal schools of Turkey. He writes:

"The Turks are a nation that likes independence, freedom, and sovereignty. Yet they never interfere with the doctrines and conceptions of others, or the freedom of others. At the same time they meant no one to interfere with their conceptions. They are not fanatics. Their hearts are full of courage, faith and obedience. Kind deeds, honesty and justice are their inborn qualities. A Turk is patient, devoted and energetic. And as Islam required these qualities, Turks became Moslems and have adapted themselves to Islam more than any other nation."

Having thus shown the compatibility between the Turkish character and the religion of Islam, Yusuf Zia writes again concerning the meaning of Islam for Turkey to-day:

"Islam means to show submission, but not in the sense of hurting one's self-respect.

"Islam means to forgive, but not so as to make itself an instrument of evil.

"Islam means to be kind, but not in the form of forgetting one's rights and overstepping one's authority.

"Islam combines in itself morality, faith, and worship. So it has a wider meaning than the word *faith* alone. And that is why our religion is called the religion of Islam and the belief of Moslems."

Like the other writers, Yusuf Zia is careful to warn against the dangers of fatalism arising from an exag-

gerated reliance on God's supernatural assistance. After explaining the unity, omnipotence, and timelessness of God, the writer deals with the creation of man and the proper relationship which should exist between man and God:

"Allah has created us in the highest form, and granted us a great many gifts, and helped us without limit. For this reason Moslems love God and fear Him. The love of God is the beginning of all worship.

"The man who has love of God in his heart will also be a man of good morals and kind to everybody. Those who fear God will never trespass on the rights of others, will keep themselves from sin, and never live dishonestly and apart from justice.

"This is the way which leads humanity to perfectibility. To believe in the unity of God is an important principle of Islam, and it differentiates Islam from other religions. Jews believe that every country and each nation has its own God. Christians believe that God has a son, and say God is one, but composed of three. But Islam has raised itself above these conceptions and has reached the principles of unity."

In a book for use in the primary schools, Professor Abdalbaki stresses the need for the proper understanding of "Trust in God," pointing out the obligation on man's part to use his intelligence. He cites the famous incident of the strayed camel, when the Prophet told the foolish man who had not tied his camel but had trusted in God, "you should have tied the camel and then trusted." Constant stress is laid by all writers on the evils of laziness resulting from too much reliance on "*kismet*," and many of Turkey's woes are blamed on the failure of men to exert themselves, their backwardness in mastering new techniques, and their misuse of the great gifts and natural resources which God gave for their use.

Islam is depicted throughout as a practical religion and its emphases appear as distinctly this-worldly. Much space is devoted to morality and ethical behavior, and it is made plain that God approves of progress and good craftsmanship. Other-worldly matters are touched upon sparingly by the school-book writers, the allusions being mostly of a routine character. In the sermons for the mosques, however, the messages are directed to listeners who have been

brought up with many exaggerated ideas regarding the supernatural, ideas which the preacher must eradicate or else redirect to a practical end. Thus one finds it asserted that heaven is a place to which men go who unhesitatingly perform their military service. Elsewhere Moslems are enjoined against using magical texts from the Koran to cure disease, and are told that they must enlist the aid of the God-sent bacteria in immunizing serums to combat disease microbes, which are more dangerous than fierce dogs. The fact is never lost sight of that obedience to the laws of Turkey's Grand National Assembly is eminently pleasing to God.

Justification for the reinterpretation of Islamic teachings is found in a passage written by Professor Abdalbaki in one of his primary school textbooks:

"After the death of the Prophet, a new set of needs arose, times advanced, and ideas changed. For that reason, wise men searched in the Holy Koran, in the words of the Prophet, and in the actions of the Apostles (that is, those who were Moslems at the time of the Prophet); they accepted the main ideas of Islam without tampering with those conceptions concerning the existence of God and His Unity, or the righteousness of the Prophet, and they derived their ideas about purification, *namaz*, and other orders of God from the Koran, the words of Mohammed, and the behavior of the Apostles; and having accepted these in a fashion acceptable to their intelligence and knowledge, they adopted a course of action of their own. From this you may understand that Islam is a religion suited to any century. According to the changing of ideas and according to the needs of the century it can be accepted in a manner suitable to the mind. Of course the freedom of thought which is in Islam does not exist in any other religion, and it is because of this that it has spread so widely."³

The religious outcome for Turkey is still too uncertain a quantity to venture definite predictions. The result of social transition is always difficult to forecast, even when careful plans are being followed. But where an institution is subjected to severe stress, where its control is largely of a negative character, and where its leadership is hesitant in the face of discouraging conditions, one would be bold

³ For the translation of Prof. Abdalbaki's work I am indebted to the American Bible House, Istanbul. The other translations have been provided by various Turkish friends.

indeed to predict a brilliantly successful future. If twenty years from now the religious life of Turkey is definitely Moslem, and the nation boasts of a virile religious organization which is recognizably Islamic, the world will have proof that the message of Mohammed is not defunct, that it has the essentials of permanence enabling it to live under vastly changed conditions. It is a time of severe testing for Islam, more severe than an age of active persecution, for opposition might at least furnish a "cause" and fan the embers of the quiescent religion into flame. If Turkey is genuinely loyal to the religion of the Prophet, she must take care that she does not allow it to die of neglect and inept management.

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SLAVERY IN ARABIA

Slavery still exists. The shame of the traffic in human lives still disgraces the world. We Americans have been so accustomed to think of slavery as a thing of the dark and unenlightened past, as a curse against which a determined battle was fought and won entirely, completely, once and for all, in the middle of the last century, that we were a bit surprised to notice in the *New York Times* last November that the British Government had sent a stern "warning" to Emperor Haile Selassie because slave raiders from Abyssinia had massacred one hundred and fifty Kenya tribesmen, carried off their women and children and burned their villages. It was estimated that one thousand peaceable members of those tribes had been killed by Abyssinian marauders since the beginning of the year.¹

"Slavery, slave raids, slave markets and the slave trade still continue in Abyssinia, the Hedjaz, Morocco, Tripoli, the Libyan desert, Rio de Oro, Arabia, Egypt, the Soudan, Eritrea, French, British and Italian Somaliland, Tibet, Afghanistan, Liberia, and in most independent Mohammedan states and several other territories."²

In Abyssinia the slave population is estimated as one-fifth of the whole, according to an authoritative report of a European government. That would mean that there are two million slaves in that country. Arabia, a country of about a million square miles and seven million inhabitants, would have seven hundred thousand slaves if but one-tenth of the people were slaves. The number is probably far higher.³ Commander Hugh Woodward (Royal Navy, Retired) admits that the slave-trading which goes on in and around Arabia is perfectly well known to the naval

¹ *New York Times*,--November 16, 1932.

² *Survey*, August 1, 1926, p. 485: "Slavery in 1926," by A. L. Warnshuis.

³ *The Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1932: "Slavery: World Abolition," John Harris.

officers who have served in those regions, and he believes that as many as five thousand men, women and children have been carried into Arabia for sale, annually, during the last five years.⁴

But of necessity, in a country where there is no official census and where the major part of the population is shifting, wandering, nomad tribes, figures cannot be accurate. However, the fact will not be gainsaid that today slavery exists on a large scale in Arabia; slaves are an intimate part of every household with any financial standing; slaves are bought and sold. Slavery is accepted as an institution, and it is vitally interwoven with the political, religious and social life of the country.

It is slavery in the Persian Gulf in which we are most interested in our present study. However, it is impossible to consider the situation in the Gulf without studying also the situation in the rest of Arabia, where it is much the same, and in contiguous countries, especially Abyssinia, from which the bulk of the slaves come. The law of supply and demand works here as in other phases and departments of life. As long as the demand for slaves from Arabia is so insistent, so long will the slave traders be emboldened to risk much to supply them for high prices. As long as there is a supply, so long will the Arabs find them indispensable.

"The simple wish to use the bodily powers of another person as a means of ministering to one's own ease or pleasure is doubtless the foundation of slavery, and is as old as human nature."⁵

Aristotle maintained that slavery is based on nature, and that certain races are meant to be subject.

"The greatest of all divisions, that between freeman and slave, appears as soon as a barbaric warrior spares the life of his enemy when he has him down, and brings him home to drudge for him and till the soil."⁶

Such seems to be the origin of slavery in Arabia.

"This practice originated as a result of warfare and conquest. Under Islamic law, unbelievers who commit an act of aggression against the Muslims are offered upon the outbreak of the resulting

⁴ "Slavery," by Lady Kathleen Simon, p. 59.

⁵ "Ancient Law," Maine, p. 104.

⁶ "Anthropology," Tyler, p. 434, ff; Hastings, "D.B." Vol. 4, p. 461.

hostilities the alternatives of embracing Islam, of paying tribute and retaining their own religion and property, or of fighting to the death. Under the second of these conditions, the destitute enemies of the Islamic State were often enslaved in default of paying their tribute. The legality of this is doubtful. Under the third condition they were often captured and enslaved instead of being massacred."⁷

From the possession of slaves as the lawful spoils of war it is an easy step to the purchase of slaves, and then on to slave raiding and slave trading, though these are not legal in Islam. But be that as it may, Mohammed found himself in a world where slavery was already established. He found it an existing institution, both amongst the Jews and the idolaters of Arabia. He recognized it and legislated for it.

Just what attitude the Prophet took to the existing slavery is a matter of dispute. There are those who claim that Mohammed looked upon the institution as one of only temporary character, especially Moslem apologists such as Syed Ameer Ali. He writes:

"The Islamic teachings dealt a blow at the institution of slavery which, had it not been for the deep root it had taken among the surrounding nations, and the natural obliquity of the human mind, would have been completely extinguished as soon as the generation which then practiced it had passed away."⁸

On the other hand, here is another view:

"Just as Greece and Rome deemed slavery sufficiently sanctioned by Law of Nature, so the Musulmans, taking their cue from the Prophet, have rarely discerned in it an immoral or irreligious element. . . . History tells of no general movement against this institution in any Mohammedan country."⁹

"Slavery is in complete harmony with the Spirit of Islam whilst it is abhorrent to that of Christianity. That Mohammed ameliorated the condition of the slave as it existed under the heathen laws of Arabia we cannot doubt, but it is equally certain that the Arabian legislator intended it to be a perpetual institution."¹⁰

Note a few of the traditions relating to the action of the Prophet in regard to slavery. Imam ibn Husain tells of a man who at his death freed six slaves, his only property. The Prophet called the slaves together, cast lots, freed two

⁷ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Eldon Rutter, pp. 90-94.

⁸ "The Spirit of Islam," Ameer Ali, p. 262.

⁹ "The Influence of Islam," by Rev. E. J. Bolus, p. 121.

¹⁰ "Notes on Mohammedanism," Hughes, p. 135.

of them and returned the other four to slavery, speaking severely of the act of freeing them all. And Jabir mentions the fact that in the days of the Prophet they used to sell a mother with children, but when Omar became Khalifa he forbade the practice.¹¹

"But, and this is an all-important point—the Prophet wrought his manly utmost to mitigate the ill-effects of slavery; it flourished exceedingly, as every schoolboy knows, long before his time, and in other countries besides his own; but, thanks to Mohammed's laws, the lot of the slaves of Islam was, and is still, immensely happier than was ever that of the slaves of pagan Rome or of Christian North America."¹²

"Whether the Prophet of Islam could have abolished slavery altogether among his followers is very doubtful; and his prescriptions regarding the just and humane treatment of this unfortunate class, taken all in all, are praiseworthy. On the other hand there is nothing whatever in Islam that tends to the abolition of this curse."¹³

As Sir William Muir has well said: "Rather, while lightening, he riveted the fetter There is no obligation on a Moslem to release his slaves."¹⁴

Whence do the slaves come? Where are they recruited? In the eleventh century, slaves, concubines and eunuchs destined for the harems in Arabia were imported into the Maghrib and Egypt by way of Spain from Scandinavia, and from the Slavonic peoples "whose name still bears witness to the rôle they played in the civilized world and especially the Islamic countries." In the thirteenth century Arabia received slaves from Europe by way of Constantinople¹⁵ whence also in more modern times we find slaves coming from the Caucasus. However, these cost four or five times as much as the black slaves, so naturally their number is small. The boys became house servants and the women concubines.¹⁶ Very clearly the lighter strain comes out even in the good Arab families today, in the children with fair hair and blue eyes.

C. Snouck Hurgronje, who himself lived in Mecca as a Moslem, wrote:

¹¹ "Mishkat," Bk. xiii, Chap. xx, Pt. 1.

¹² "With the Pilgrims to Mecca," Sparroy. Appendix by Wilfrid. p. 303.

¹³ "The Social Laws of the Koran," Roberts, p. 53.

¹⁴ "The Koran: Its Composition and Teaching," Sir Wm. Muir, p. 58.

¹⁵ "The Legacy of Islam," Arnold and Guillaume, p. 101.

¹⁶ "Mecca," C. S. Hurgronje, p. 10.

"It may seem incredible to many, and yet it is true, that the Mekka slave market gets occasionally small consignments of slaves from the British and Dutch East Indies. The slaves who are Dutch subjects would doubtless be mostly from the heathen districts of Celebes or Borneo or from the island of Nias Of young slaveboys from Hindustan I saw many, and also I saw four freshly imported British Indian slave-women."¹⁷

"I noticed that Chinese female slaves were not seldom imported into the Holy City from Singapore."¹⁸

That this practice is continued today is evident from the investigations of the Slavery Commission.

"The Temporary Slavery Commission is informed on authority which it regards as entirely trustworthy that many of the slaves of foreign origin in the Hedjaz are either young girls from the Far East who come as pilgrims, or are smuggled for sale, or are persons coming from various countries accompanying their parents or masters in the pilgrimage to Mecca."¹⁹

An attempt is being made to check this evil by an insistence on more stringent passport regulations and the suggestion that young people and children be prohibited from coming on the pilgrimage. But the pilgrimage is a religious duty of Islam. Does it seem likely that either of these recommendations will take effect?

From several sources there comes the suggestion that parents sell their own children into slavery, parents in the Yemen, in Mecca and parents coming on the pilgrimage.²⁰ It is generally known that that practice is common in China. We are surprised to learn that it is true, even though on a very small scale, in Arabia.

Also, it is little known that in Arabia, in Mecca and in Yemen, as well as in Abyssinia, corps of slave women and slave men are maintained, and are bred like cattle in order that their children may swell the slave market.²¹ Each woman when she produces a child receives a special reward. Her pregnancy cannot be considered an excuse for stopping work "until the actual day of her delivery and she resumes it almost immediately afterwards." These facts were cor-

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁸ Hurgronje: "Ein Arabischer Beleg zum heutigen Sklavenhandel in Singapore in de Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesel. xlv, pp. 395-402.

¹⁹ Report of Temporary Slavery Commission, July 13 to 25, 1925, Chap. iii, Art. 44.

²⁰ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 113; Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, p. 424.

²¹ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 93; Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, p. 424.

roborated by the investigations and careful inquiry of *Le Matin* in 1929, and also by the report of M. Mareil Griaule to the International Labour Organization of Geneva.²² It was this practice of the stock rearing of slaves that helped convince the Maharajah of Nepal that his country could make no progress so long as the system was countenanced. He explained to the slave owners that if the amount of money invested in a woman slave for the breeding of children were invested in industry, the return would be larger.

But by far the largest number of slaves in Arabia and along the Persian Gulf today are of African origin—black men from Nubia and the Sudan, who being strongest are used for the heaviest work, and Abyssinians in all hues from yellow to dark brown, who become concubines and household servants. However, according to the League of Nations report, slavery in the northern provinces of the Sudan is moribund, and in the extreme south no slave-owning communities exist. Although in some of the central provinces, “notably Kordufan and Kassala, the progress of manumission has not been so rapid as might have been desired,”²³ yet Arabia can no longer look to the Sudan as her source of slaves. This is also due to the fact that in the Sudan today there is taking place an economic development in the form of a cotton-growing industry, which is bound to affect the slave-owners and the slaves.

In Abyssinia, on the other hand, we still find slavery flourishing. The Slavery Commission Report bears witness to that fact, as do also British government documents, travelers and Naval officers in the Red Sea.²⁴

And again we turn to the Slavery Commission report:

“There is reliable evidence of recent date that many thousands of slaves (an estimate that appears to be trustworthy says ten thousand) are brought by Abyssinian traders to the northwestern district, where slaves are purchasable at any time in the markets.”²⁵

Lady Kathleen Simon, in her book on Slavery, describes

²² “The Holy Cities of Arabia,” Vol. II, Rutter, p. 113; *The Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1932: “Slavery: World Abolition.”

²³ Report of Temporary Slavery Commission. Sudan No. I (1927).

²⁴ Despatch from the Gov. Gen'l. of the Sudan to the Secy. to the League, Apr. 12, 1927.

²⁵ *Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 18, 19, 20, 1922. Reproduced in *Living Age*, Mar. 4, 1932.

²⁶ Report of Temporary Slavery Commission, July 13 to 25, 1925, p. 104.

very vividly the horrors of slave-raiding. She quotes Commander Woodward (Royal Navy, Retired), at one time commanding H.M. Sloop *Clematis*, speaking of the slave trader "who has his spies and agents all over the Hinterland of the Sudan, of Arabia, and the desolate regions at the back of Italian Eritrea and French Somaliland."

"His armed column swoops one night on a village, and the entire saleable population, men, women and children, is carried off in chains. For days they are marched towards the coast, through Abyssinia and French Somaliland, right into the streets of Tajoura and Obok, and there shipped in dhows and carried across the straits of Perim to Southern Arabia."²⁶

Other methods there are of recruiting slaves. Sporadic kidnapping is very prevalent. With difficulty the government officials are able to detect caravans of slaves; it is a very simple matter for slavers to carry on their nefarious business of kidnapping one or two young girls as they go out for fuel or water.²⁷ Captain Colcomb says the black men "were at the mercy of the Arab or negro sportsman, and sold themselves, were shot down, netted, decoyed, speared, bought or kidnapped, without the intervention of any game laws or regulations for the preservation of the breed."²⁸

Side by side with this we see the picture painted by Dr. Dyce Sharp and Major Darley, two former British officials.

"Gangs of slaves, marching in misery, the men chained together in rows, and the women and children dragging themselves along beside the main body, can be seen by any traveler in Southern Abyssinia today. Some of these slaves are captured in Abyssinia territory, others in British East Africa, others in the Anglo-Egyptian Soudan."²⁹

But we are happy in the fact that these caravans are now much reduced in size, because of the efforts of England, and because of the pressure brought to bear upon the Emperor of Abyssinia by the League of Nations. That country was admitted into the League in 1923 on condition that slavery be abolished.

But even in recent years Europeans have seen caravans of as many as fifty frightfully emaciated boys. And there

²⁶ "Slavery," by Lady Kathleen Simon, p. 59.

²⁷ *The Contemporary Review*, Sept. 1932; "Slavery: World Abolition."

²⁸ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson. Quoted from Capt. R. N. Colcomb.

²⁹ *Westminster Gazette*, Jan. 1922.

are instances of their hearing caravans pass in the night, hearing shots, and the next morning finding what the hyenas had left of the bodies of women who had been shot, presumably because they tried to attract the attention of passers-by.³⁰

Ida Treat has made a special study of slavery in Abyssinia and Arabia, and from her article in a recent number of *Travel* we find that she considers that in Abyssinia slavery has received its death blow, because of the increasing efforts and influence of the Negus.³¹

It used to be that the time of the traffic was the period of the southwest monsoon, from May to September, and there was as a rule only one "journey each way annually,"³² but now slaves are carried at every opportunity, usually in small dhows, mere boats, the largest not over three hundred and fifty tons.

As for the treatment of slaves en route, Captain Colcomb gives us the following picture:

"Except that they are more crowded, I have not perceived that the condition of the slave in transit across the Arabian Sea is very different from that of his master. . . . But on the other hand the crowding in so small a space is a crying evil. . . . We must not suppose crowding, by itself, affects the negro as it does a European But, if disease, want and crowding come together, then, God help the wretched items in that crowd."³³

In the old days, Zanzibar, Juba and Brava were some of the chief ports of export of slaves from Africa,³⁴ while Muscat and Sur in Arabia were the principal ports to which they came and then were passed up to cities on the Western littoral of Arabia, up to Mesopotamia, Turkey, Persia and India. But that was when vigilance was not maintained so well as it is today. Now the traders take the shortest crossing across the Red Sea, making the trip in only a few hours, landing at Hodeida, though that cannot be considered a central depot for the disposition of slaves. Hodeida is the chief coast town of the Yemen,

³⁰ *The Contemporary Review*, June, 1932: "Slavery in Abyssinia," Lord Noel Buxton.

³¹ *Travel*, June, 1931, p. 32: "With the Slave Traders of Abyssinia," Ida Treat.

³² "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 215.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 226.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 215; "Arabia, the Cradle of Islam," Zwemer, p. 85.

whence a great many slaves come to be escorted northward to Mecca.³⁵

Mecca, the holy city of Islam, the city towards which millions of Moslems face five times a day in prayer, the city to which thousands make pilgrimage, has become the center of the slave-trade of the world. "Why," said Doughty, "have they [Christian governments] no Residents for the police of nations in Mecca? Why have they not occupied the direful city in the name of the health of nations, in the name of the common religion of humanity, and because the head of the slave trade is there?"³⁶

Of that slave market we have several vivid descriptions. It is but a stone's throw from the "house of God." It is a very narrow street with benches of stone along the sides of the tall buildings which keep out the light.³⁷

"A Modern Pilgrim to Mecca" found that the price of female slaves varied from £20 to £100. He writes:

"The behaviour of the girls when undergoing the ordeal of inspection is what might be expected. The younger ones blush and giggle, and pretend to hide their faces. When the customers being shown around are also young and inclined to be facetious, they are quite capable of joining in the fun. The old and ugly, who have long despaired of finding a purchaser, sit forlorn and miserable, gazing dully in front of them. . . . The one idea of every slave in the market is to find a buyer as soon as possible."³⁸

Says C. Snouck Hurgronje:

"He who enters this hall with European conceptions and perhaps with recollections of Uncle Tom's Cabin in his head will at once get an unpleasant impression and will leave inwardly disgusted. The first impression is, however, false. . . . What impresses us most unpleasantly is the examining and feeling of the human merchandise as if in a cattle market, especially when it is a young woman. From closer inquiry, however, it results that no female slave (not to speak of males) feels more dislike of such overhauling than a European lady of a medical examination."³⁹

And yet, Eldon Rutter adds, "I was looking with the uneasy feeling of one who commits an outrage against

³⁵ *Travel*, June, 1931, p. 32.

³⁶ "Travels in Arabian Deserts," II, Doughty, p. 53.

³⁷ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. I, p. 33, Rutter.

³⁸ "A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca," Wavell, p. 143.

³⁹ "Mekka," Hurgronje, p. 14.

some natural law, at this strange company of silent sitters." ⁴⁰

Here in the Holy City of Islam they are sold, these hundreds of human beings—sold as slaves to become the property of the purchaser. From here they are carried to all parts of Arabia and to other parts of the Moslem world. What is more natural for a pilgrim than to take home with him one or two slaves from Mecca as a memento of the pilgrimage? ⁴¹ They may be given away as gifts or be resold any number of times, usually not in slave markets such as are found in Mecca, but from house to house by means of go-betweens. That slaves are bought and sold in the coast towns of Arabia is an open secret.

The new master of the slave finds it a convenient thing to change the name of his recently acquired property. Women are often given the names of flowers, while men are called by the names of precious stones. It seems incongruous that the name of the big burly black man who serves you your coffee in an Arab *mejlis* should be Ruby or Sapphire or Turquoise.

But it is not only in the *mejlises* of Arabia that we find the slaves. They are used for all kinds of work. Rutter found them used in Mecca, as they are all over Arabia, as "domestic servants, doorkeepers, water-carriers, grooms, personal attendants. In the oases . . . they work at agriculture, and the slaves of the Bedouins act as shepherds and camel masters." ⁴² The more mentally gifted become shop-servants and confidential employees and even judges. ⁴³ Their owners take pride in having them learn to chant the Koran and to read. Personal attendants are well dressed, and often carry handsome jewelled weapons when escorting their masters. In the Hadramaut they are found employed working on the land, and whole families busy in the date groves. ⁴⁴ In the Persian Gulf they form a large percentage of the pearl divers. ⁴⁵

⁴⁰ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. I, Rutter, p. 133.

⁴¹ "With the Pilgrims to Mecca," Sparroy, Appendix by Wilfrid.

⁴² "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, p. 91.

⁴³ "Arabia Felix," Bertram Thomas, p. 31, ff.

⁴⁴ "Hadramaut," Van der Meulen and Von Wissman, p. 69.

⁴⁵ "The Arab at Home," Harrison, p. 88.

But we must not forget to mention again the slaves who have been castrated before they are torn from their native land, in order to satisfy the desire of the Arabs for eunuchs to "keep order in the mosques in the holy town," Mecca, and to "attend the women of people of very high position."⁴⁶

The female slaves are used especially as handmaidens, household servants and nurses for small children. Many real complications arise, however, out of the fact that they belong to their masters. They are his property and "There is no limit to the number of slave girls with whom he may cohabit, and it is the consecration of this illimitable indulgence which so popularizes slavery amongst Mohammedan nations."⁴⁷ Only if the woman is an unbeliever or married to another man is the master prohibited this indulgence. The condition of most of these negro concubines is happy. Many a real Arab wife, proud, haughty, aristocratic, laden with jewels, is jealous of the merry, bright-eyed black woman who has captured her husband's fancy. "If the Meccan expresses himself openly, he will confess that his heart can belong to hardly any Mekkan woman, but can well belong to a slave woman."⁴⁸ The children of the concubine are free like the father, and at his death share equally in the inheritance with the pure-blooded children, while their mother herself becomes free.

Should a freeman, however, purchase the right to cohabit with another's slave, the children become the property of the mother's owner, as is the case when the male slave of one owner is married to the female slave of another.

The Koran is very definite in its attitude toward the treatment of slaves, which is one of the reasons that slaves are as a rule happy and well-treated in Moslem countries.

"Honor God and show kindness unto . . . those whom your right hands possess,"⁴⁹ Mohammed the Prophet said:

"Feed your slaves with food of that which ye eat, and clothe

⁴⁶ "Mekka," Hurgonje, p. 20.

⁴⁷ "Notes on Mohammedanism," Hughes, p. 194.

⁴⁸ "Mekka," Hurgonje, pp. 106-7.

⁴⁹ Koran, IV: 40.

them with such clothing as ye wear; and command them not to do that which they are unable." ⁵⁰

"And your slaves—see that ye feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves; and if they commit a fault which ye are inclined not to forgive, sell them; for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be tormented." ⁵¹

The Prophet ruled that the punishment for certain sins should be the manumission of slaves, "than which there is not an act more acceptable to God." ⁵²

"He who sets a Musulman free shall be freed from the fires of Hell." ⁵³ Slaves are allowed to purchase their freedom, themselves. And Othman, the third Khalifa, "purchased with his private money and then released no fewer than 2400 slaves during his lifetime." ⁵⁴ And Omar manumitted a thousand slaves before his death. ⁵⁵

In every district and town of Arabia there is a community of freed slaves. Some have been freed because they could no longer do any work, and have to gain their meagre livelihood by begging. Others have been freed at the death of their masters, or as a meritorious act ⁵⁶ while others have bought their freedom. ⁵⁷ "They are assimilated into the general population on a basis of perfect equality," ⁵⁸ and often gained positions of trust and respect. If a slave has lived many years in Arabia it is natural that he should stay there when freed, but in case slaves are captured on their way to Arabia or are runaways or are freed by the government, it has been found wiser to return them to the countries from which they came, or to Zanzibar, where they are employed on the plantations of the Sultan. ⁵⁹

"Islam recognizes no distinction of race or coloring, black or white, citizens or soldiers, rulers or subjects. They are perfectly equal not in theory only but in practice. . . . They mix without reserve and without contempt." ⁶⁰

There is no odium attached to being a slave. ⁶¹ Slaves

⁵⁰ Encyclopedia of Islam, Art. 'Abd.

⁵¹ "Life of Mohamet," Vol. I, London, by Muir, p. 486.

⁵² "Life of Mohamet."

⁵³ Koran, 24:33.

⁵⁴ "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 90.

⁵⁵ "The Early Development of Mohammedanism," Margoliouth, p. 137.

⁵⁶ Koran, 24:33.

⁵⁷ "The Social Laws of the Koran," Roberts, p. 39; Ency. of Islam; "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Vol. II, Rutter, p. 93.

⁵⁸ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 214.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 240.

⁶⁰ "The Spirit of Islam," Ameer Ali, p. 267.

⁶¹ "A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca," Wavell, p. 68.

and masters alike meet in the *mejlis* of the rich or poor, sit together, eat together, drink from the same bowl, and all offer their opinions in the conversation.

On the other hand, however, the slave has no legal rights. He cannot hold property, for he himself is a property. He can be killed, almost with impunity, and no punishment will be forthcoming.⁶²

In spite of this, however, the lot of the slave in Arabia is on the whole a happy one. It is the ideal of many a slave woman to serve her master well, for then she will be cared for in her old age, or to bear her master a child, for then she will be free.

In most of the cities of Arabia the negro community is almost self-contained. They have their own sheikh and their own judge. And they have their own taboos. For instance, in Arabia Felix they are not allowed to touch dead animals other than those properly slaughtered for food. It is the master of the house and not the slave who will remove from the courtyard the dead rat or cat. The slaves are allowed to have their own festivals, with their orchestras of *tumburah* and drums. In Arabia as elsewhere the negro's superiority of voice shows itself. They even indulge in chantings for the exorcism of evil spirits. Though most of them have nominally accepted Islam, they cannot break away from their old superstitions. Indeed, so intimately do the slaves live with the Arabs that these superstitions have colored the lives and minds of the sons of Ishmael.⁶³

"Neither in the market nor in the house are tears shed by slaves over their unfree state," says Hurgronje. In fact, slaves enjoy some real advantages over the Arabs themselves. The slave men are not required to carry on blood feuds, as are members of the Arab tribes. They have no anxieties as to the financial welfare of their families. The women are not secluded and compelled to live behind the *purdah* as are the pure Arab women. The higher the class to which the Arab woman belongs, the more strict are the laws which keep her from the gaze of common folk. In the

⁶² "Travels in Arabia Deserta," II, Doughty, p. 130; "Arabia Felix," Bertram Thomas, p. 31.

⁶³ "Arabia Felix," Bertram Thomas, p. 31; "Mekka," Hurgronje, p. 11.

case of a moral lapse, of adultery and sometimes even suspected adultery, an Arab woman pays for her mistake with her life, while the slave woman bears a far lighter punishment.

An interesting example of the freedom of the Bedouin slave-women came to light within the last few years. A slave woman in the town of Kuwait killed her husband, threw his body down a well, escaped to the desert and joined herself to a certain Faisal-ed-Daweesh, who, with his men, rebelled against King Ibn Saoud of the Nejd. In the fighting that ensued she jumped on her master's camel with him and took part in the battles. When the British captured him and took him to Busrah, she refused to leave him, accompanying him in the airplane.

In all fairness, the lot of the slave in Arabia must be compared with the lot of the average freeman in that country, and not with the lot of the average American or European. The slave fares almost as well as his master, and generally the conditions under which they live in bondage are better than those prevalent in their native country.⁶⁴ They may speak of that country and extol its beauty and fruitfulness and verdure⁶⁵ but as a rule they bear no resentment that they have been made slaves. In fact, sometimes, as Doughty puts it, they feel that "God has visited them in their mishap; they can say 'It was his grace' since they be thereby entered into the saving religion for such they do give God thanks that their bodies were sometime sold into slavery."⁶⁶

And yet one wonders what can be the effect of such an institution as slavery on the character of the slaves themselves. While it is true that many slaves will serve their masters as they would their fathers, and that many will be surprisingly faithful in their work, it is also true that by far a greater number seek by whatever means they can to avoid doing any unnecessary or even necessary labor. They receive no wages, and will be fed and clothed whether or not they exert themselves. So it is no wonder that they are

⁶⁴ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 214; "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Rutter, I: 91.

⁶⁵ "Travels in Arabia Deserta," Doughty, p. 553.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 555.

indifferent and lazy, and often impudent. They are deprived of their freedom and their right to determine their own actions, consequently their self-respect vanishes⁶⁷ and their personalities become negative. It is but natural then that they should lose their moral sense and their self-control and become irresponsible.

"There is no manner of doubt that a man, born and bred in slavery, knowing next to nothing of the refining influence of education, is more apt to represent rather the worse than the better side of human character."⁶⁸

The record of the diplomatic efforts of the British to suppress the slave trade is one indicating definite and persistent purpose. From the Treaty of Ras el Khaima with Jawasmi chiefs in 1820, indicating that "friendly Arabs" would not carry off slaves, through the series of treaties with Sultan Sa'id of Muscat from 1822 to 1856, prohibiting the sale of slaves to Christian nations by the Sultan's subject, authorizing the detention and search and confiscation of vessels carrying slaves to prohibited places, and prohibiting the exportation of slaves from the Sultan's African dominions and their importation into his Asiatic possessions, it is the story of steady, though slow, gain. At the death of Sultan Sa'id, Muscat and Zanzibar became separate Sultanates. Fresh treaties were made to the effect that all persons thereafter entering the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat would be free. The Sultan of Zanzibar "signed a treaty agreeing to the complete abolition of the slave trade within his dominions." The treaty with the Sheikh of Bahrein in 1861, and those with Trucial Oman in 1856 and 1873, were of a similar nature.

There came into force on April 2, 1892, the General Act of the Brussels Conference signed by Great Britain, France and Turkey, the three powers chiefly concerned in Persian Gulf waters, which provided that "a slave taking refuge on board a man-of-war of the signatory powers must be immediately and definitely liberated" (Art. 27), and that "warships of the signatory powers were authorized to stop and if necessary to arrest on the high seas, vessels

⁶⁷ "With the Pilgrims to Mecca," Sparroy. Appendix by Wilfrid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

of less than 500 tons suspected of being engaged in the slave trade." In 1905 the Hague Tribunal compelled the French representative in Oman to more closely supervise the use of the French flag by native ships. This meant a real check to the traffic.

But to a delegate from New Zealand, Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, chiefly belongs the honor of beginning in 1922 what has been called a "landmark in the history of slavery," for it was he who proposed to the League of Nations the resolution which met with unanimous acceptance, an attack on "slavery in all its forms." The next year the Temporary Slavery Commission was set up to investigate, to gather information and to make recommendations.⁶⁹ The reports which have been published contain a fund of information as to the existence of slavery, the sources of slaves and like material, and also of recommendations of means and ways to abolish the evil. They have led to treaties with various countries. The two in which we are especially interested are those with King Ibn Saoud and with Abyssinia.

"His Majesty, the King of Hejaz and of Nejd and its dependencies undertakes to cooperate by all the means at his disposal with His British Majesty in the suppression of the slave Trade."

Signed at Jiddah, May 10, 1927.⁷⁰

In the "suppression of the slave trade." Is that all? What about slave-holding, the institution of domestic slavery as it exists in all Arabia today?

Indeed, the success of England's enterprise against the slave traffic has fallen far short of what she hoped. But the blame is not hers. It is a difficult thing to rouse the conscience of peoples against an evil which has existed so long that it is no longer considered an evil. But that definite progress has been made cannot be doubted. The trade still goes on, but of necessity under cover, and far fewer slaves are imported into Arabia than formerly.

And there is another hopeful sign. The Moslem World Congress held at Mecca in the summer of 1926 adopted a resolution denouncing slavery. That is new opposition to the trade from the Moslems. And when the inhabitants of

⁶⁹ *The Contemporary Review*, Dec. 1925, p. 743: "Freeing the Slaves," by Harris.

⁷⁰ "Report of Slavery Commission," Treaty Series 16, Art. 7.

the slave-owning countries themselves see the evil of it, then will the trade be blotted out.

Those who suppose that Britain's self-imposed task of ridding the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea of slavery was an easy one, and that the problem the League of Nations has on her hands in dealing with slavery is simple, would do well to study the situation.

During the last decade of the 19th century, Arabs who were engaged in the slave trade, registered themselves as French protégés and flew the French flag in order to escape search by the British,⁷¹ who were obliged to see them carry on the nefarious trade because they were so protected. It was not until August, 1905, that the Hague Tribunal brought the right of use of the French flag under more direct control.⁷²

Even now, with all the big powers signatory to the League cooperating to fight slavery, the French, Italian and British navies working together in the Red Sea, the U. S. A. officially backing the enterprise since 1929,⁷³ the task is far from easy.

The communications of the slavers are very well organized.⁷⁴ The Red Sea from Suez to the Straits of Bab el Mandeb, is well over a thousand miles long and not more than two hundred and fifty miles wide. "In parts the navigable channel is whittled down to twenty miles. On either side immense reefs shield the coasts, often with good navigable water inside, a blessing to small craft on evil purpose bent."⁷⁵ The slaves can be embarked during the night on the African coast and by morning be in Arabia,⁷⁶ the coastline of which is mainly desert and divided up into various dependencies, some with independent rulers who do not cooperate.⁷⁷ The evil is deep-seated, wide-spread and long-established. It has the sanction of the Koran and the Prophet.⁷⁸ It is bound up with the social, political, economic

⁷¹ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 239.

⁷² Ibid, p. 243.

⁷³ *The Literary Digest*, April 27, 1929.

⁷⁴ "Treasure of Ophir," Craufurd, p. 52.

⁷⁵ *The Living Age*, July 19, 1924: "Ancient Evils Die Slowly."

⁷⁶ *The Living Age*, July 19, 1924: "Ancient Evils Die Slowly;" "The Holy Cities of Arabia," Rutter, Vol. II, p. 113.

⁷⁷ Negro Year Book, 1931-1932, p. 425.

⁷⁸ "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 224; "Islam: A Challenge to Faith," Zwemer, p. 126.

and religious laws of the country. "Religion indorses it, the social order depends upon it, and the welfare of the slaves themselves demands it."⁷⁹ It is a system which appeals to the morality of the Arabs. The abolition of slavery would mean an upsetting of the entire system of Islam.

How then is it possible to uproot such a gigantic evil? Many suggestions have been made and acted upon. For nearly a century now the British have been patrolling the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Now the other powers are assisting her. To be sure, the traffic in slaves has been checked, but still somehow hundreds of slaves are being brought into Arabia. "Break up the slave depots," some have said. It is not necessary to bring the slaves into the big coast towns,—they are often landed at the smaller towns or just on the edge of the desert. When the traffic is driven from the open *sug* or market place, it still takes refuge in private homes and offices. "Limit the importation of arms"⁸⁰ into these countries, "for then they are less powerful in making raids." Still there is the decoy, the kidnapping. Still there are those from "the hungry country," who prefer to become slaves rather than to starve.

No, the trouble lies in the internal state of the countries themselves. Changes are necessary there if slavery is to be abolished. As soon as the negro people learn the value of life and liberty, as soon as the economic systems of the countries are so organized that they have enough of the physical comforts of life, enough to eat, then will slave-raiding become impossible.

And the Arab must soon see, too, that economically slavery does not pay. As Dr. Harrison says, "the money spent on food and clothing for these slaves brings a smaller return for service rendered than any wages paid in Arabia."⁸¹ As soon as he realizes that, one of the big motives for enslaving the black man will be gone. Already changes have been taking place. Roads are being built into the more inaccessible parts of the country. The light of

⁷⁹ "The Arab at Home," Harrison, p. 257.

⁸⁰ *The Living Age*, March 4, 1902.

⁸¹ "The Arab at Home," Harrison, p. 89.

civilized thought is penetrating into the primitive mind. And then there are the machines, the machines which are blamed so much for our present economic situation. A Sheikh who can ride in an expensive automobile needs fewer slaves as a bodyguard to demonstrate his importance. Machine guns, electricity, gasolene, the dynamo, the tractor can do the work of hundreds of slaves. The black menial is not so necessary as he used to be.

The changes must be religious as well. As long as a country's religion endorses slavery and legislates for it, those who labor for abolition are as those who strike against a stone wall. As long as Arabia's millions delight to consider themselves the "slaves of God," entirely subservient to His will, with no initiative to think or act for themselves and no responsibility, mere pawns on the chessboard of life, as long as everything, whether good or bad, happens or is because it is the will of God, as long as a slave is a slave because of a decree of the Almighty, and a freeman for the same reason—so long will the Arab mind fail to see anything basically, religiously, or ethically wrong in the institution of slavery. It is the Will of God.

"A revolution in public opinion is necessary," says Sir Arnold Wilson, "and it will eventually come as it did in the West Indies 120 years ago, from the steady influence exercised by missionary bodies, whose beneficent and selfless activities in the Persian Gulf, have affected the trend of local public opinion in this and other matters, far more than is apparent on the surface."⁸²

In 1833 the British Parliament passed the Bill for the total abolition of slavery in all its forms within the British Empire. It is noteworthy that it is just one hundred years later that the "Parliament of the World," the League of Nations, has started its crusade for the total abolition of slavery in all its forms throughout the world.⁸³ Truly a praiseworthy aim. May it continue to enlist the active efforts and sincere cooperation of all of the nations of the world.

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⁸² "The Persian Gulf," Wilson, p. 224.

⁸³ *The Contemporary Review*, Sept., 1932: "Slavery: World Abolition."

MUHAMMAD'S VISIONS¹

In Surah liii, Muhammad claims to have seen two visions. It is on these that, as we have seen, the traditions as to his experiences on Mount Hirā' before the beginning of his prophetic activity are largely founded. The passage is as follows:

1. By the star when it falls,
2. Your comrade has not gone astray, nor has he erred,
3. Nor does he speak from inclination.
4. It is nothing but an inspiration inspired²
5. There taught him³ one strong in power,
6. Endowed with wisdom;⁴ he stood straight
7. On the high horizon;
8. Then he drew near, and let himself down,
9. Till he was two bow-lengths off or nearer;⁵
10. And inspired in his servant, what he inspired.
11. The heart did not falsify what it saw.
12. Do ye dispute with it as to what it sees?
13. He saw him too at another descent,
14. By the sidra-tree at the boundary,⁶
15. Near which is the garden of the dwelling,⁶
16. When there covered the sidra-tree what covered it.
17. The eye turned not aside, nor transgressed (its limits).
18. Verily he saw one of the great signs of his Lord.⁷

Muhammad's object in recounting these visions evidently is to combat objections, or at least, excuses for indifference, to his work. He is not speaking because he wishes to speak, but he has been impelled to do so; and

¹ We retain the author's transliteration of Arabic words.—*Editor*.

² See below for a discussion of the meaning of *awhā*, the verb here used.

³ Or "it."

⁴ This is the sense usually assigned to the phrase; some take it as meaning "endowed with definite shape;" the word *mirra* is said to mean "firmness," either of figure or of intellect.

⁵ This again is the usual interpretation of a difficult phrase; it might possibly refer to the apparent height of the figure seen against the sky.

⁶ The meaning of these words is disputed; see below.

⁷ Or, "he saw of the signs of his Lord the greatest."

he is not in error, because it is impossible to doubt the source of the impulse which impels him. He has actually seen the heavenly personality from whom the impulse came on two different occasions.

It is evident therefore that, while the visions may have happened before Muhammad undertook his mission, they were not recounted quite at the beginning. He has been carrying on his work for some time, and recounts the visions to give a sort of supernatural sanction to the work in which he has been engaged. Surah liii is admittedly not a unity, and one cannot build anything on the fact that the reference to the Meccan deities, with which is associated the well-known story of his recognition of them as intercessors, follows immediately upon the description of the visions. That, in my opinion, would bring the passage down to too late a date. All that we can say is that Muhammad had been at work for some time before he recounted the visions as they stand here.

As to the nature of the work in which he has been engaged, the passage does not tell us much. Muhammad has been "speaking;" but we cannot assume that he has been delivering the Qur'ān. The word here used is a general one, and is not elsewhere associated with the recitation of the Qur'ān. He may have "spoken" in some manner before the actual composition of the Qur'ān commenced. In fact, if, as is generally acknowledged, the word Qur'ān is derived from the Syriac *qeryānā*, and the idea was suggested by the Scripture readings of the Christian church, one would naturally assume that he had gathered some sort of a congregation before he set about supplying them with "readings." Nor does the word *awḥā*, used in v. 4, necessarily imply the communication of the words of the Qur'ān. The later developed Moslem dogmatic takes *wahy* to be the highest form of inspiration, and to consist in the communication of the actual words of the revelation to the prophet by an angel intermediary. But as used in the Qur'ān itself, the words *wahy*, *awḥā* by no means always or even generally have that sense. Usually, some

such word as "suggest," "prompt," "put into the heart of," is a better translation than "reveal."

The agent in *wahy* is not always Allah or his emissary. In xix:12, Zechariah, having become dumb, "suggested" or "signed" (*awhā*) to the people, that they should glorify Allah. In vi:12, satans of men and *jinn* "suggest" tinsel sayings to each other. In vi:121, the satans "suggest" to their adherents that they should argue with the Moslems. The recipient of *wahy*, even from Allah, is not always a prophet or even a human being. Allah "suggests" to the bee to take houses for itself in the hills and trees and the arbors which men erect, xvi:70. The earth gives up its dead because its Lord has "suggested" to it, or "prompted" it, xcix:3. Allah "suggested to" or "made inherent in" each of the seven heavens, its special function, xli:11. Even when the agent of *wahy* is Allah, and the recipient a messenger or prophet, what is communicated is not the words of a revelation, but, as in most of the instances already given, a practical line of conduct, something to do, not to say. It is "suggested" to Noah to build the ark, and he is to build it under Allah's eyes, and at His "suggestion" or "prompting," xi:39; xxiii:27. To Moses it is "suggested" to set out with his people by night, xx:79; xxvi:52; to strike the sea with his staff, xxvi:65; to strike the rock with his staff, vii:160. To Muhammad himself it is "suggested" that he should follow the religion of Abraham, xvi:124; in xvii:41, the "wisdom" which has been suggested to him consists of certain practical maxims of conduct. These practical "suggestions" are indeed often formulated in direct speech, as if it were a form of words which had come into the person's mind; and there are cases in which the formula has reference to doctrine rather than to conduct, e. g., "Your god is one God," xviii:110; xxi:108; xli:5. These formulations, however, are always quite short, the sort of phrase, one may remark, which might flash into a person's mind after consideration of a question, as the decision and summing up of the matter. When therefore in other passages Muhammad speaks of

the Qur'ān being "suggested" to him, it is a question whether we should not understand, not that the actual words of the Qur'ān had been conveyed to him verbally, but that the idea of composing a Qur'ān had come to him in this way. Possibly as his theory of revelation developed, he may have extended the signification of the word to cover the communication of long passages in verbal form, and there are some passages in which this would be the natural implication—iii:39; xi:51; xii:103; xviii:26; xxix:44. These passages are probably fairly late, and in all of them it would be at least possible to avoid giving the word the sense of actual verbal communication. On the other hand, in xlii:50, where it is said that "Allah does not speak to a man except by *wahy*" it is impossible to give that sense to the word at all. We are justified therefore in concluding that, at any rate in the early portions of the Qur'ān, *wahy* does not mean the verbal communication of the text of a revelation, but is a "suggestion," "prompting" or "inspiration" coming into a person's mind apparently from outside himself.

In Surah liii, as Muhammad only claims to have seen the figure on two occasions, it is evident that he is not claiming that all his utterances are being conveyed to him verbally. We should therefore take the pronoun "it" in v. 4, not as referring to the Qur'ān, of which there is no mention in the context, but to the fact of Muhammad's "speaking" i. e., the practical line of conduct which he has been following. That, he claims, has come to him by *wahy*, by suggestion from a heavenly person whom he has actually seen.

Who then was it, that had thus appeared to him? Moslem interpretation assumes that Gabriel is meant. That is natural on the orthodox theory of how the Qur'ān was revealed. But v. 10 points to its having been Allah himself. In that verse, the Moslem commentators have to assume that the subject to the verb is Gabriel, but that the pronoun "his" in "his servant" refers to Allah—surely an unnatural use of language. The pronoun indeed must

refer to Allah, for Muḥammad is Allah's servant, not Gabriel's. But this involves that Allah is also the subject of the verb, and in fact is being spoken of all through. We may recall that in one form of Jābir b. Abdallah's story, referred to in dealing with the Traditions, this interpretation of the vision is evidently accepted.

We have, however, to reckon with the fact that in Surah lxxxi:19-27, where apparently the first of the visions here described is again referred to, the impression is distinctly given that an angel is meant.

19. Verily it is the speech of a noble messenger,
20. One of power by the Lord of the throne established,
21. Obeyed and trustworthy.
22. Your comrade is not mad;
23. He saw him on the clear horizon;
24. Nor of the unseen is he niggardly.⁸
25. It is not the speech of a pelted satan.
26. So where will ye go?⁹
27. It is nothing but a reminder to the worlds.

Vv. 20, 21 clearly imply that the "noble messenger" was an angel. But this use of the word *rasūl*, "messenger," is very unusual. In later passages of the Qur'ān, we find angels designated as messengers sent to call in the souls of men at death, vi:36; vii:35. In other passages, such as xxxv:1, and xx:74, angels are spoken of as messengers, possibly in connection with the delivery of revelation. It is not until the Medinan period that Gabriel is mentioned in this connection (ii:91). There is no doubt that in Medina Muḥammad let it be understood that it was Gabriel who conveyed the revelations to him. But we are hardly justified in reading that back into the early Meccan period. When the objection was raised that an angel should have been sent as messenger, or that at least an angel should have been conjoined with him, his reply is, not that an angel is actually conveying the messages to him, but simply that all former messengers have been men, xvi:45, or that if an angel had been sent, that would have been the end of the matter, and there would have been no respite, vi:8. The

⁸ Usually interpreted to mean that he does not conceal what is revealed to him. Another reading, perhaps original, is *ḡanin*=opinionative.

⁹ i. e., What opinion will ye adopt?

conclusion seems to be that the angel messenger of surah lxxxi must be later than the description of the visions in surah liii, and should not be allowed to influence its interpretation.¹⁰

It is therefore Allah whom Muḥammad claims to have seen. So far as the first vision is concerned, it seems to be agreed that it appeared to Muḥammad on earth, so that presumably it was somewhere in the neighborhood of Mecca that he saw the figure outlined against the sky. The second vision, however, is by Moslem interpretation transferred to heavenly places, and this has been accepted and supported by several European scholars.¹¹ One reason for this is perhaps the occurrence of the phrase *jannat al-ma'wā* "garden of the dwelling" in v. 15. To one familiar with Qur'ān phraseology that would readily suggest Paradise. But to the original hearers, who were not yet familiar with Qur'ān phraseology, it would not necessarily suggest any such thing. *Janna* is often used in the Qur'ān in its ordinary sense of garden; and while *ma'wā* is, as Schrieke says, always associated in the Qur'ān either with Heaven or Hell, its use shows that it had a familiar earthly sense. Such a statement as "their *ma'wā* is Gehenna" would otherwise have been meaningless. The sidra-tree also seems to have been familiar in Arabia. There is, therefore, nothing in the language of the passage which necessarily refutes the suggestion of A. Mueller and others that well-known landmarks near Mecca are indicated. The fact that we do not know of them otherwise is no conclusive argument. The main point of both visions is that Muḥammad has actually seen the heavenly figure from whom the "inspiration" of his religious activity came, and the word *naṣla*, "descent" seems to imply that the figure had come down to earth. Muḥammad, as Horovitz, while arguing for the actual appearance being

¹⁰ Surah lxxxi: 19-27 is probably composite, having been adapted to Muhammad's later theory of how the revelation came to him by the addition vv. 20, 21, and perhaps 23, 24. To what remains we find a fairly close parallel in lxix: 40-43: "It is the speech of a noble messenger; it is not the speech of a poet, little do ye believe; nor is it the speech of a soothsayer, little do ye reflect; (it is) a down-send from the Lord of the worlds." The "noble messenger" is there Muhammad himself; cf. xlv: 16 where Moses is so designated. Probably in lxxxi: 19 it also originally applied to Muhammad.

¹¹ Schrieke in *Der Islam*, Vol. vi; and Horovitz, in *Der Islam*, Vol. ix.

in heaven, emphasizes, must have remained upon the earth. Even so, had the vision been in heaven, he could hardly have said that the "eye did not transgress its limits." Moreover he would simply have nullified the effect of both visions in the eyes of the Meccans, whom he was seeking to convince, if in the second he had spoken of seeing things in the seventh heaven.

But it may be questioned whether the retention of the vision in the Qur'ān is not due to some such interpretation having been placed upon it. The impression of the passage as a whole is that the visions were actually seen with the eye; v. 17 can mean nothing less. But in reading it carefully, one is pulled up by v. 11f., where it is "the heart" which sees. V. 10, with its return to the wording of v. 4, would make an excellent close to the description of the first vision. Vv. 11, 12 weaken its effect, and are probably a later addition designed to obviate objections which had been raised. V. 18 was probably added at the same time, and it is possible that changes were made in the wording of the description of the second vision, in order to convey the impression that it also was a spiritual appearance. One may surmise that possibly v. 15 was introduced for that purpose.

Muhammad was uneasy about these visions, which he had committed himself to having seen. In Surah xvii:62, we read: "We appointed the vision which We showed thee simply as a test for the people." That verse is often taken to refer to xvii:1, in which another strange experience of Muhammad is hinted at: "Glory be to Him, who journeyed with His servant by night from the sacred mosque to the furthest mosque, around which We have bestowed blessing, that We might show him some of Our signs; verily He is the Hearer, the Observant." But that verse stands isolated, and we cannot be sure that it originally belonged to surah xvii. It does not, moreover, speak of a vision. The only vision in our present Qur'ān, to which xvii:62 can refer is what is described at the beginning of Surah liii. The passage xlii, 50ff., already referred to, is very instructive:

"It was not for a human being that Allah should speak to him except by *wahy*, or from behind a veil, (51). Or He sends a messenger ¹² who 'suggests' by His permission, what He wills; verily He is lofty, wise. (52). Thus We have 'suggested' to thee a spirit, part of Our affairs; ¹³ thou didst not use to know what the Book, or what the Faith was, but We have made it ¹⁴ a light by which We guide whom We will of Our servants, and verily thou wilt guide to a straight path."

In that passage one almost sees Muḥammad's conception of how the revelation came to him, growing before our eyes, and can hear in it the confession that in his ignorance he had been doing violence to the proper idea of Allah in His loftiness and sublimity. There are still one or two passages in the Qur'ān in which Allah is made to speak in His own proper person in the first person singular; cf. li: 56-58; lxxiv:11-15. If this direct speech of Allah to the prophet was wrong, as the above passage seems to confess, how much more the claim to have actually seen Him. "Sight reacheth not to Him," vi:103.

The passage xvii:1, above referred to, is too fragmentary to yield any certain results. The legends of the Night-journey to Jerusalem, and to the Seventh Heaven, which have been associated with it, do not concern us here. ¹⁵ The verse does not connect with what immediately follows in the surah. It is not even a unity in itself, as the abrupt changes of pronoun show. That it originally referred to some wonderful experience of Muḥammad himself is probable, for the expression "His servant" is elsewhere in the Qur'ān a designation of the Prophet. The *masjid harām* "sacred mosque" is undoubtedly the Ka'ba. What *al-masjid al-aqṣa* denotes is disputed. The following words, "around which We have bestowed blessing," imply that Jerusalem is meant; for in other passages in which the phrase occurs (vii:133; xxi:71, 81; xxxiv:17) the reference is to the Holy Land. But these words are here an addition. Tradi-

¹² Here an angel; I regard v. 51 as a later addition intended to replace v. 52.

¹³ i. e., the prophetic spirit associated with Allah's direct intervention in human affairs.

¹⁴ i. e., the spirit.

¹⁵ For discussions of these legends see Bevan, ZATW, *Beiheft* 27; Schrieke *Der Islam*, VI; Horovitz, *Der Islam*, IX.

tion also associates it with Jerusalem. It may have been, as some forms of the tradition imply, a dream, which Muḥammad recounted as a reality. We are also told that it caused some defections among his own followers. It is a mere surmise, but it is possible that we may see in the alteration of the verse a sign of the same uneasiness about these wonderful claims as we have seen in regard to the visions of surah liii. The passage which follows in surah xvii, as it at present stands, does not connect with v. 1. But that passage is evidently later than the bulk of the surah. It has displaced what we now find at v. 103ff. If we replace that passage where it originally stood, we do get a sort of connection with v. 1. Did Muḥammad alter a verse in which he originally claimed a wonderful experience for himself, and make it apply to Moses? Moses elsewhere receives the command to journey by night with his people, xx:79; xxvi:52. Hardly, I think; for the verse still clearly claims the experience for Muḥammad himself, but the reference to Moses and the signs given to him is designed to allay objections to Muḥammad's having been the recipient of a sign, and perhaps to confirm his own belief in its reality; for it is he himself who is commanded to "ask the Children of Israel."

Were then these visions and wonderful experiences mere empty claims on Muḥammad's part, without any reality behind them? At one time I was inclined to suspect so,¹⁶ but that is too hasty a judgment. That they were fundamental in his thought it is impossible to believe. Nor need we assume that he was quite incapable of a certain amount of mystification. In the later stages of his career, it is very difficult to acquit him altogether of that. Nor would even the invention of such visions necessarily imply that he was fundamentally insincere. The sensitivity of conscience, which we nowadays demand of a religious personality, did not belong to Muḥammad, nor to seventh century Arabia. Still all these experiences are capable of very simple explanations. If we keep to what the Qur'ān itself

¹⁶ See my "Origin of Islam." p. 93.

says, and do not allow it to be mixed up with legendary matter, there is nothing asserted which may not very well have happened to a man whose mind was occupied with the thought of the One God, and whose spirit was held in tension by the task which loomed ahead of him, of persuading his people to the worship of the God in whom he had come to believe. The impulse which urged him on was to himself mysterious. We need not wonder if at different times he gave different accounts of it, not only to his hearers, but to himself. Every here and there in the Qur'ān we hear the soliloquies of the brooding soul trying to understand, and to adapt the explanation to the growing knowledge of previous messengers, and the beliefs of those who already had the Book, which gradually came to him. He thought at first that he had seen Allah. As he came to realize better the sublimity of Allah, he perhaps felt that that was impossible. No matter, Allah remained, and the conviction in which he worked was not abated. If the eye had not seen Him, the heart had. It was a test of his followers' faith, if they had so known Allah, that such a mistake on their prophet's part did not shake their belief. But meantime a whole new world was opening up to him, that of the angels—note the phrase in xxxv:1, "He addeth in the creation what He pleaseth" as indicating probably that the creatures there spoken of were new to Muḥammad. Here was the possibility of the reality of what he had seen after all. It was not Allah, but Allah's messenger who had appeared to him. The fact that he went back after all, and reasserted in Surah lxxxi that he had seen the messenger on the clear horizon, is I think an indication that something of the sort had really happened to him, though for a time he himself seems to have been doubtful of the possibility of its having been real.

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MORMONISM AND ISLAM

The purpose of this paper is neither historical nor apologetic. I do not want to give a mere description of the origin and development of the religious movement called Mormonism, nor to criticize it from the point of view of Christian doctrine. My purpose is that of comparative religion. I wish to describe this cult in so far as it shows parallels to another great religion of world-history, Islam—parallels not only in its outward appearance but also in its inner essence, which are the more interesting because we do not see any traces of mutual influence and formal connection. Our paper culminates, therefore, after the description of the parallelism, in the question of the system or type of religion; whether perhaps Mormonism and Islam belong together as one peculiar type, and what are the characteristics of this type.

Joseph Smith speaks about himself as “a second Mohammed” (Meyer, p. 119) and Bruce Kinney calls his book: “Mormonism, the Islam of America,” though not giving any reason for this statement in the contents. The only book in which the parallelism is pursued thoroughly is Eduard Meyer’s “Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen” (1912). This famous German historian, professor at the University of Berlin, author of the great book on “The Origin and the Beginnings of Christianity,” and a friend of Adolf Harnack, wrote his book about the Mormons after certain visits to America and many years of study, being attracted to the subject as an exceptionally interesting fact in the history of religion, namely, the growth of a new world-religion based upon a new immediate revelation, in the full light of modern history. “Without exaggeration,” so we read in Meyer’s book, “one

may describe the Mormons according to their outer appearance and their habit of thought as the Mohammedans of America" (p. 67). I use Meyer's book as my special source, but try to go as much as possible to the original documents of the Mormon leaders, and on the other hand, to the Koran for showing a threefold parallelism in regard to the persons of the respective prophets, the products of their work and the development and tendency of their movements.

Joseph Smith was born in 1805, the son of a poor, uneducated colonist, who being restless, like many other adventurers, roamed about in the forests and tried to cultivate the soil here and there. Dependent only on himself, far away from normal conditions, from culture and social life, he was yet openminded in his religious feelings and interested in dogma and biblical revelation; for the Bible lay beside the ax in the home of every colonist. On account of his low intellectual standard, he united the wildest superstitions with his Christian belief, and sought in one after another of the innumerable sects of his time for a happy life to come and a secure condition during his earthly existence. His mother Lucy lived all her life in dreams, visions and miracles, and bequeathed this special endowment to her son Joe. Speculating about the meaning of the different sects, this boy, fifteen years old—whose reading was very imperfect, and whose mother reports that at the age of nineteen years he had not yet read the whole Bible—read in James 1:15: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him." At this moment he had his first vision. When he prayed to God for guidance he suddenly felt himself surrounded by thick darkness, and his tongue was bound. Yet he asked God for delivery from the power of the enemy. Then "I saw a pillar of light directly over my head, stronger than the light of the sun, which descended slowly until it fell on me." So he became free from the power of the enemy. He now saw above him in the air two figures in brightest glory, and one of them

pointed to him and said: "This is My beloved Son. Hear ye Him" (Matt. 17:9). Joe asked the Lord what sect he should join, and got the answer, that they all erred; he should follow none of them. When he regained consciousness, he found himself lying on the soil, his eyes directed toward the sky.

Three years later the second vision followed. The angel Moroni appeared and revealed to him the secrets of the hill Umorah and the hidden golden plates. The subsequent life of the Prophet is full of events which prove the visionary endowment of the Mormon leader. He shared this visionary gift with Mohammed, who also states that he was called as a prophet by the special revelation of a divine messenger. We have here the first point of comparison between the two religious movements. The calling of the Islamic prophet is reported in two different versions. The first one reports: Mohammed had retreated to the mountain of Hira for meditation. Going down again, after some time, he heard a voice. Looking around to the left and to the right he did not see anything, but above him in the air he perceived the angel of God. Coming home to his wife Khadija, he asked her to cover him with a mantle, and to pour water over him. And then the angel of God appeared again and said: "O thou who art covered, arise and warn! and thy Lord magnify! and thy garments purify! and abomination shun" (Sura 74). The other tradition reports that Mohammed, before he was called as a prophet, wandered in the desert mountains of Mekka suffering from religious doubts, and that he finally decided to throw himself down from the rocks. "Then I heard a voice from heaven: 'O Mohammed, you are a messenger of God, and I am Gabriel.' I lifted up my head toward the heaven and saw Gabriel in the shape of a man wherever I turned my head, I saw him." He fell down and was found in this position by the messengers of Khadija.

It is not necessary in this connection to decide which of these two reports is original, or if they both belong

together as two different experiences, and how they are related to the immediate utterances of the prophet in the Koran (Suras 81, 15, 94, 68, 53, 74, 96). We merely state the fact that in each case a man suffering under religious uncertainty and dissatisfied with the existing creeds had an overwhelming experience in the wilderness, which he interpreted as the appearance and the message of an angel of God. Mohammed calls him Gabriel; Smith, Moroni. Mohammed is an adult man; Smith, a young boy. Mohammed lives in good circumstances among the cultivated Arabian people of Mecca; Smith is a poor workman among the primitive colonists in the American woods. But these differences, though finding later on their respective expression in the organization of the two religious groups, are, after all, not essential in regard to the general identity of the experiences of both men, who, by reason of the same endowment and the same dissatisfaction with their respective surroundings, conceived of an immediate revelation of an angel of God.

Following the revelation, Joseph Smith went to the hill Cumorah, but the angel forbade him to take home the plates immediately, and this prohibition was repeated in the following years when he returned at the anniversary of the revelation. Moreover, he continued his former life, dirty, shy and idle, as he is described by his neighbors, using his visual powers for seeking hidden treasures with a so-called "peep-stone." In September, 1827, he finally got permission to dig up the plates. In February, 1828, he started to dictate the book of Mormon. It is not necessary to describe the external circumstances of the translation, how he, sitting behind a curtain, his head bowed into an old hat, made out the reformed Egyptian writing of the golden plates, how he held his different scribes in absolute subjection and in firm belief, and how he finally, after a long preparation of praying and fasting, showed them the plates. All that is unimportant in regard to the fact that he really believed himself to be honored with a divine revelation, and that he uttered his fantastic

prophecies in subjective honesty. Only this immovable confidence in himself as divine messenger makes it credible that he, the poor, simple peasant, never lost his authority among his followers, even in the most complicated situations. In this respect we find the second point of comparison between him and Mohammed, who also always adhered to a firm belief in the reality and the divine origin of his revelation. Mohammed and Joseph Smith both felt themselves to be real prophets, honored by the angel of God with a revelation which was to make an end of the religious, political and economic distress of their time. In both cases the prophecy is given in the form of a book, though neither of them was capable of writing a book. Joseph translates; Mohammed composes on the basis of immediate intuition. But that does not interfere with the main similarity.

I believe, as I said, in the subjective honesty of both prophets, following in this respect the opinion of Eduard Meyer. But that does not exclude objective error. That appears, for instance, in this, that both acknowledge the Old Testament and the New Testament as divine revelations, but that they both, on account of their imperfect knowledge, alter the teaching of the Bible by subjective additions and arbitrary changes. When, later on, Jews and Christians attacked the new product as untrue and inconsistent, both prophets excused themselves by saying that the Jews and Christians had falsified the original revelation of God. And this statement they firmly believed. Furthermore, their subjective belief in immediate divine revelation did not prevent them from mingling profane and worldly motives with spiritual things in their own inspired utterances. Mohammed, especially in his later years, appears to produce these revelations as a means of establishing his autocracy and as a help in attaining his personal interests. He defends himself, for instance, in some *Suras* against the suspicions of his enemies, and at another time he defends one of his wives against the charge of adultery. Joseph Smith goes much further in this direction, in accordance with the fact that he, his works

and words are much more rough and uncultivated than those of his Arabian prototype and antitype. It is really amusing to read in the "Doctrines and Covenants" how he, by menaces and promises, compelled the poor peasant Martin Harris to give his money to pay for the printing of the Book of Mormon, and how he wrote a second manuscript, after the destruction of the first one by the wife of Harris:

"And again, I command thee that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the Book of Mormon, which contains the truth and the word of God . . . Impart a portion of thy property; yea even part of thy lands, and all save the support of thy family. Pay the debt thou hast contracted with the printer. Release thyself from the bondage. Leave thy house and home, except when thou shalt desire to see thy family. And misery thou shalt receive if thou wilt slight these counsels; yea, even the destruction of thyself and property." (D. & C. 19).

Still more typical in this respect is another occurrence: In the summer of 1828, Martin Harris finally got permission to show the first part of the manuscript to his suspicious wife, who was angry about the heavy payments of money. But the hope of the foolish man to convert her by this act of confidence was not fulfilled. On the contrary, she destroyed the manuscript. This brought Joseph into great difficulty, for how could he replace the lost manuscript of one hundred and sixteen pages! How could he translate again the golden plates without revealing the fact that he had only produced the efforts of his own imagination and that he was unable to repeat word by word what he had said on the lost pages! The problem was solved in the following way: At first he was forbidden to produce any new oracles for one "season," and got at the same time heavy reproaches for his arbitrary procedure with the divine book. And then, after some time, a new oracle commanded that the lost book of Lehi be replaced by the book of his son Nephi which contained in another

form the same contents. The reason for this commandment was that the Satanic powers, as Joseph believed, had taken away the book Lehi and had falsified it. (D. & C. 10). Meyer says: "For understanding things like these one has never to forget, that such natures do not make a clear distinction between reality and hallucination, the natural world of senses and the supernatural world of spirit which is closed for the normal eye. They really live in two different worlds, and also if they try to distinguish between them and to define distinctly which of their utterances is human and personal and which are real revelations, yet both flow into each other. Those natures have no real consciousness of the difference between truth and deception, firstly in objective regard, in so far as phantasms for them are just as truly realities as observations of their senses, furthermore in subjective regard, because they are able to produce at any time figures of their phantasy and to give them out then as realities."

Joseph Smith and Mohammed are principally identical in this regard—the third point of comparison—though they differ in degree. The appearance of Smith is, according to his simple education and primitive surroundings, much more grotesque, and it is very often rather difficult to distinguish between the prophet and the charlatan; while, on the other hand, Mohammed lived on a much higher moral and intellectual stage in the aristocracy of the Koreish of Mecca.

The further both prophets progress the more they are involved in this road of mixing divine and worldly motives. What originally came up spontaneously in their soul, becomes finally the routine working of their profession; they must continue without interruption, to retain their position, and reach their aims. And so they have to take the mask of inspiration also, if the inner motion is lacking. "It is the work of God which they have to fulfill in this world. Human help, they think, might be allowed, until it finally steps into the foreground more and more. . . . In all these procedures their consciousness might be full of

holy earnestness. This very thing justifies them before themselves even if they must use very human means and neglect the commandments of mere human morality." (Meyer p. 59).

Smith and Mohammed in this regard undergo the same development—and this is the fourth point of comparison. While their first revelations were more or less thoroughly devoted to matters of religious concern, the coming judgment, the necessity of repentance and obedience to the divine law, the description of the past history of salvation in Palestine, Arabia and America, their later products are more and more devoted to matters of this world, questions of the organization of the new religio-political state, matters of personal interest, and prestige.

In this connection we may show another relation between Joseph Smith and Mohammed. Being such persons as they are described, they understand all that they feel going on in themselves to be Divine work and will. Their instincts and desires, therefore, must be directed and approved of God, in spite of all moral laws and the commandment of purity. So it happens that Mohammed and Smith, the more they feel their sexual desires growing, the more they interpret them and the means of their satisfaction as divine will. They both approve, therefore, finally of polygamy.

If we take all together what I have said so far about the similarity of the two prophets in regard to their endowment, their prophetic function and work, and their development, then we can understand also that the products of their prophetic work, the Koran and the Book of Mormon, are very similar indeed. Both contain reports about the history of salvation connected with moral and political demands and eschatological menaces and promises. Both acknowledge the authenticity of the Bible, use it as a main source and connect it with national-Arabian or national-American subjective phantasies. In other words both try to apply the will of God as it was revealed in former times to their own respective country, and try to

express it furthermore in an ultimate form. Both interpret themselves and their message as the ultimate revelation before the end of time, and make the belief in their prophecy and in the divine origin of their respective books necessary for salvation. Both, in other words, claim for their revelation and their books universality. Both, therefore, teach the contents of their message to a larger circle and try to spread abroad the belief in it not only in their own country but throughout the whole world.

That leads us to another and to the most striking point of parallelism between Mormonism and Islam, namely, the theocratical religio-political ideal and the means of its realization. The idea of Joseph Smith is that the Old Testament and the New Testament are given to the old world. But God did not neglect the people of the western hemisphere. The original American people, belonging to the stem of Noah and having come, after the Babylonian diffusion of tongues, to America, or, according to other versions, belonging to the lost tribes of Israel, belong after all to God's creation and to his elect people. And God's mercy must provide them, therefore, also with His revelation, especially at a time when the struggle of human opinions, sects, and denominations makes necessary such a revelation more than ever before. Joseph Smith believes, therefore, that he received the divine teaching for the Indians (the Lamanites) and the white colonists in the states, and from the first moment of his calling until his martyr-death he is strongly persuaded that his message is the only and true revelation for America; just as Mohammed understood the Koran as the revelation of the divine will for the Arabs. And every member of the Mormon movement feels that he is going on the only way which leads into future paradise. He despises, therefore, the "heathen," and tries to convert them to the only truth by all means, and feels his superiority in spite of all outer inferiority; just as the Mohammedan beggar in the street despises the white *Kafirs*, "unbelievers," whose money he takes.

It is furthermore characteristic of both religions that

this belief in absolute religious superiority has not only a religious but also a political background and political consequences. They, as the chosen and elected people, have the right and the duty to govern their country and all the world. Their propaganda, therefore, has not only religious but also political aims, and uses not only peaceful means of missionary preaching but also holy war. Mohammed wanted to be not only a religious reformer, but after his *hegira* from Mecca to Medina, he tried to command the political situation as well. He started the war of Medina against Mecca; he fought against the Bedouins in the desert. In 628 he sent diplomatic letters to the emperor of Byzantium, the king of Persia, and the Negus of Abyssinia and other potentates, to receive him as divine prophet and to recognize his supreme government. Finally, after the capture of Mecca, he instituted there a religious political dictatorship, which in course of time and especially after his death, spread all over Northern Africa, Southern Europe and parts of Asia.

Joseph Smith followed the same principles. The claim of universality and therefore the missionary enterprise is immediately connected with the foundation of the new church. In June, 1830, the wife of the prophet, who had been converted in the meantime, was appointed as scribe, "that I may send my servant Oliver Cowdery whithersoever I will" (D. & C. 25). In October of the same year Parley Pratt and Ziba Peterson joined with him. These and many other missionaries baptized and converted many people in Kirtland, Ohio, and elsewhere in America, and later on also in Europe, especially in England. So Joseph Smith decided to give up his work in Coleville, New York, where he was disliked very much. Just as Mohammed, so also the American prophet, was not accepted in his own country—and so he went with all his followers to Kirtland, Ohio. (*Hegira*). Typical is the oracle which expresses this decision (D. & C. 38, p. 148). These verses reveal at the same time the missionary consciousness and the ideal of theocratical religio-political organization, led by the author-

ity of the divine prophet and independent of all outer influences, ready to spread out from a strong centre all over the world. Inasmuch as this ideal could not be realized among the "heathen" in Kirtland, he planned to go further west to the border of the Lamanites, to build there the new Jerusalem. They founded it there, in the western part of Missouri, in July, 1831. Here he bought great tracts of the cheap land, built a town, with stores, banks, and printing offices, organized a government and the protection of the poor people, but experienced here also after some time the opposition of the heathen, who refused the absolute Mormon government of a church which wanted not only to convert the heathen, but to rule, to oppress, if possible, to destroy them altogether. So it happened that the principle of the new religion, the theocratic autocratic principle, provoked the opposition of the unbelievers, and led finally to heavy clashes and fights, which stand in strong contrast to the general American tolerance in religious affairs.

It is not my purpose to tell of the development of the Mormon church and to show how they always, both in Kirtland, in Missouri, and in Nauvoo tried to realize their ideals; how they constantly met the opposition of their fellow-colonists and of the State, and how they were finally expelled, under great loss of property and of blood. I wish to show the principle which causes the same trouble everywhere, and which made them suffer because they could not gain the victory. Mohammed did nothing else than follow the same principle, and encountered the same alternative: defeat or victory. But, after some suffering in Mecca, he won the victory and spread his message all over the surrounding country, which, at this time, was politically dis-united and religiously weakened. For a short time the Mormons seemed to reach the same success, when they left the Middle West and went on twelve hundred miles through the wilderness to Utah and built there a flourishing commonwealth of their own. Even this lasted only a short time. The general trend toward the West finally

reached that region also, although so far away; and after some warfare and struggle, the Mormons gave up their old political ideal and accommodated their customs and habits to the general rules of the continental state. They became peaceful citizens among their fellowmen and began to spiritualize their political ambitions, to bring them into a more modern and commonly acceptable shape, to separate their political aims from their religious ideals—just as also the Mohammedans in the course of their development were forced to separate their political and religious universalism, to make the Caliph the politically impotent head of the “Church” only, and to give up the old ideal of a united Mohammedan world-government.

We are at the end of our description of the parallelism of Mormonism and Islam. The question arises now, what is the reason of this parallelism? The uneducated workman of the American woods did not know very much about the Prophet of the Arabs. The parallelism, therefore, cannot be indicated by mere historical interdependence. It also cannot be declared to be mere accident. There are too many similar symptoms to allow this easy solution of the problem. The only possibility is that both religions are representatives of the same type of religion, according to the fact that we also elsewhere in the history of religion find certain types, appearing in concrete form independent of each other in different parts of the world. The mysticism of the Catholic middle ages, for instance, has its striking parallelism in the mysticism of India, and the Catholic-Protestant controversy appears not only in the Mahayana-Buddhism in India but also in the Amida- and Zen-Buddhism in Japan. As such representatives of the same principle, Mormonism and Islam belong together. They are two concrete realizations of the type of a theocratic-autocratic religion, which not only believes in the kingdom of God, but also and especially is persuaded that God needs human beings for carrying on His will and for helping to establish the kingdom. This misunderstanding of the kingdom of God leads the respective religious leaders to an intermixture of divine

and human elements in their thinking, talking and writing, leads them to under-value human sinfulness and divine sovereignty, puts men in the place of God, with the right over death and life, and with the key to the kingdom of heaven in their hands, and makes them claim, in divine exclusiveness, for their human and sinful organization all religious and political power.

This type of theocratic-autocratic religion has the idea of the kingdom of God in common with the Christian religion. But it differs from it altogether in one decisive point. It does not realize the meaning of the message of the Cross, that on earth the divine glory is hidden behind the martyr cross, that it can nowhere appear in an unbroken fashion, that human nature is thoroughly corrupted by sin and that it carries out the will of God, not on account of its power, but on account and in spite of its helplessness through God's enabling grace, and that human works are always human, transitory and corrupted. Therefore no religious organization can claim to represent the kingdom of heaven on account of its own perfection. Mormonism and Islam both lack this message of the Cross.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAM¹

No one who considers the vast numbers of Moslems at the present day can fail to realize the importance of Islam both as a religion and as a political factor. No one who reads history can fail to see the significance in human story of the Islamic movement.

I desire today to put that movement before you in the setting of human history that you may see the part it has already played, and if possible that I may help you to see the future that lies before it.

Islam began in Arabia in the seventh century A. D. As a political power it superseded the Persian empire and the Asiatic and African possessions of the Roman empire. As a cultural force it developed in the course of two or three centuries until it had superseded the Syriac culture of Western Asia. As a religion it came six centuries after Christianity, and is thought by Moslems to have superseded Christianity. That is not strictly accurate, but it is true that Islam superseded what passed for Christianity in Asia.

We must deal first with these three aspects of the rise of Islam.

When we think of the empire of Islam we usually think of the empire of the Caliphs, beginning from the time after the death of Mohammed. Those were the days when Moslems were making their great conquests. Their empire stretched from Afghanistan to Spain. In both power and culture those were the greatest days of Islam. But after a hundred years the empire of the Caliphs began to break up,

¹ An address delivered at the Y. M. C. A., Rangoon, to an audience consisting mainly of Moslems. An address had been given on the previous day on "The World in Mohammed's Day," and some paragraphs printed here for the sake of completeness actually formed part of the earlier lecture. In particular it should be noted that the lecturer severely criticised the Christian life in Mohammed's day, so that it was easier for him without offence to criticise Islam in the second lecture.

and when three hundred years had passed, the Caliph ruled over little more than the city of Baghdad itself and its immediate neighborhood.

Two invasions from Central Asia gave rise to new Islamic empires. The Saljuq Turks built up an empire which ruled for half a century in the middle of the eleventh century A. D. from Afghanistan to Syria. The Mongols in the thirteenth century formed empires over the same area, which lasted eighty years before it broke up. The Ottoman empire began in the fourteenth century in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, gradually extended its power until it ruled over Arabia, Syria and Egypt, and then gradually dwindled in power and extent until it was practically restricted to its original home of Asia Minor with a little territory in Europe. At the same time it ceased to be an empire, and gave up Islam as the state religion.

Thus Moslem empires rose and fell. Their greatness must be measured, not by their power to subdue other peoples, but by the culture that they fostered and the orderly nature of their government. The latter can best be judged by their treatment of the non-Moslem minorities. It stands to the credit of the Caliphs that the Christian minorities received, on the whole, fair treatment at their hands. Although from time to time Moslem mobs rose up and destroyed Christian churches, the Government itself always protected them, except at times when it lacked sufficient power to do so. The Saljuq empire carried on the same tradition, and when the successors of the Saljuqs met the Crusaders in battle, it was the Moslems who showed the higher standard of honesty and chivalry. Judged by the same standard of their treatment of non-Moslem minorities, little good can be said of the Mongol and the Ottoman empires, both of which were marred by disgraceful massacres of Christians.

Turning now to the cultural achievements of Islam, we find a similar result. The Arabs at the time of their first conquest were of course entirely uncivilized, but they had the capacity for civilization, and within a century or

two had made themselves masters of all the learning of the day. The main part of this learning was the ancient philosophy of the Greeks, which had been brought into Asia by the Syriac-speaking Christians. Learning from these Christians, the Moslems in the days of the Caliphate became great philosophers, doctors, chemists and mathematicians. These things flourished under the rule of the Caliphs, but as that rule weakened, the philosophers found refuge in outlying places. For a while, for instance, Islamic culture found a home in the lands north of the river Oxus, in Bukhara and Samargand. Then after the invasion of the barbarous Mongols, Moslem learning took refuge in Egypt, where it flourished for a season under the Mamluk Sultans. But in the end, Arabic learning, which had at one time held out such promise of greatness, came to an end. By the fifteenth century, A. D., the Western nations of Europe had received and were developing learning from the Moslems, while in Moslem lands learning was well-nigh dead.

So far I have spoken only of the political and social aspects of Islam. There remains yet the most important aspect to be considered, viz., Islam as a religion. But you must remember that Islam is definitely a state as well as a religion. It has been so from the beginning. The law books of Islam make no distinction between civil and religious matters. In the West, the State concerns itself only with offences against other persons. It does not concern itself with a man's private moral or religious behavior. Those things, which do not directly affect other people, are regarded as the sphere of religion. In Islam there is no such distinction. There is one law, called the *shari'at*, which embraces everything. It includes religious things, such as the directions for prayer and the washings before prayer; it includes social things, such as the division of a dead man's property amongst his relatives; it includes political things, such as the powers and duties of the Caliph.

In forming an estimate of Islam in history and at the present day we must therefore pay as much attention to

the political and social status as to what is more strictly religious. Thus in India a Moslem in civil offences is subject to British law; in social matters, such as marriage and inheritance, he is subject to the Moslem *shari'at*, except in places where long association with Hindus has produced a customary law differing more or less from the *shari'at*. In Turkey the *shari'at* has been entirely abolished, and European codes of law adopted in its place. There remain in fact but few countries—I imagine only Arabia and Afghanistan—where the *shari'at* is enforced in all matters. Now according to all orthodox Islam this general repudiation of the *shari'at* in certain departments of life is a denial of Islam. The Turkish Government may say that its subjects have perfect liberty to practise Islam, but actually that liberty is curtailed so long as the civil and social law does not follow the *shari'at*. It may be that eventually Moslem leaders will agree that the really essential thing is the religious and moral law, and that social and political laws may change with changing conditions, but up till now they have not done so.

I now pass to my third heading, Islam as a religion. In the mind of Mohammed himself the whole of the religion he proclaimed came to him as a direct revelation from God, being brought by Gabriel in the very Arabic words in which Mohammed proclaimed it. Yet Mohammed never supposed that the content of his revelation was new. In fact he believed that a primitive revelation of monotheism had been given to all mankind, but that the heathen Arabs had forgotten it altogether, while the Jews and Christians had distorted it. Historical research has shown that the greater part of Mohammed's teaching was actually borrowed from the Christians and Jews of his day. A fuller knowledge of the type of Christianity that existed in his day has shown that many of the ideas of the Koran, hitherto unexplained, came from the popular Christian ideas of the time.

This conclusion can be accepted without impugning the honesty of Mohammed. The current ideas of his day sank

into his subconscious mind, and came forth as a system which he may quite sincerely have believed to be by direct revelation from God. Nor do these conclusions diminish our respect for Mohammed as a pioneer and the founder of a new religion. Even if it were proved that every single thing he taught had its origin in Christianity or Judaism, yet it was still a new religion which he founded, for he put those ideas in such a way, and combined them in such a system, that the Arabs accepted them; although neither Christianity nor Judaism had had much influence on those Arab tribes.

With this simple monotheism, laying stress on the fear of hell and the promise of heaven, the Islamic movement began. As the Arabs conquered territories far and wide, and came into touch with more civilized peoples, they learnt many more ideas about religion than had ever come to Mohammed. The result was a tremendous advance of Islam as a religion during the first two or three centuries of its existence. Until recent times this development of Islam was quite unknown both to Moslem and to Christian scholars; and its discovery is largely due to the late Professor Goldziher, a man of massive learning, being not only a scholar of Western learning, but also of the traditional learning of Islam. For he enjoyed the rare privilege of learning his Islam in that centre of Moslem orthodoxy, the University of Al-Azhar at Cairo. He showed conclusively that the greater part of the traditions of Mohammed, which form the great books of *Hadith*, did not actually report the words and actions of the Prophet, but were composed at various times in the first two or three centuries of Islam. Changing ideas of the times demanded expression, and the attribution of these ideas to Mohammed gave them the sanction they required. For instance, one tradition says, "Despise not a Persian, for no one despises a Persian without God taking vengeance on him in this world and in the world to come." It is impossible to believe that this was really said by Mohammed. It was probably composed in the early days of the Abbasid Caliphs, when the Persian

Moslems were struggling for equality with the Arabs. Another tradition, which can certainly be dated at the beginning of the Abbasid period (i. e., 750 A. D.), expresses the hopes that the new dynasty would be more religious than the Umayyads before them, and would last forever. It runs as follows: "The Khilafat shall abide among the children of my paternal uncle (i. e., Abbas) and of the race of my father, until they deliver it unto al-Masih." Such traditions of a political color show the way traditions were made. They were given the semblance of historicity by being prefaced by a list of names through whom the tradition was supposed to have been handed down from Mohammed to the writer's own time. But of course a man who was not afraid to invent a tradition and attribute it to Mohammed would find it equally easy to invent the chain of witnesses to it.

The books of traditions, then, show us, not the primitive Islam of Mohammed, but the developed Islam of some two centuries later. This developed Islam is in many respects an improvement on primitive Islam. The most highly revered of all the books of Traditions, the *Sahih* of al-Bukhari, places first of all this tradition: "Deeds are judged according to intentions, and reckoning will be made to every man according to the measure of his intention." One feels at once that this is a great advance on the strict requital for deeds done or omitted that one finds in the Koran. Here the attention is fixed, not on the deed itself, but on the thought that lay behind it, just as our Lord Jesus said that a man who looked on a woman with intent to commit adultery had already committed the sin in his heart. There can be little doubt that this tradition recorded by Bukhari arose under Christian influence. Other traditions, of which the Christian origin is clear, are the following: Mohammed promises a blessing to "the man who does good and keeps it secret, so that his left hand does not know what his right hand has done." Mohammed is reported to have said, "My companions in relationship to my community are like salt in food, for food without salt is of no use,"

and "He who wastes knowledge on the unworthy is like him who binds pearls on swine," and "I stood by the gate of paradise, and behold the most part of those who entered in were the poor, while the rich were imprisoned, though in the world riches had been their portion."

Christianity was not the only influence on the early development of Islamic thought. Another potent influence was that of Greek philosophy. Orthodoxy at first resisted Greek philosophy as a heresy, but later on was able to accept a great deal of it.

Without going into the details of Moslem theology I could not explain to you the whole nature of the development that took place. It is not merely by study of the books of traditions, but from the Moslem theological writers of different times, that we can trace this development.

Unfortunately a check was set to this development. It happened in this way. The great lawyers of Islam, in trying to find the basis for the law they were to administer, had recourse first of all to the Koran and to the Traditions, and then to analogy that might be drawn from these. But as even thus all possible cases were not provided for, they allowed a fourth basis which they called *ijma'*, the agreement of all the Moslems. A tradition was put into the mouth of Mohammed which said, "My people will never agree in an error." You will see that so long as *ijma'* was allowed, any development of Islamic thought was possible, for all that was necessary was for the recognised leaders to meet together and to pass a unanimous resolution. It is the great misfortune of Islam that *ijma'* ceased to be operative. Had it remained operative, God only knows how greatly and wisely Islam might have developed.

As it was, the theory arose that not only the Koran, but also the books of Traditions, were infallible, and it began to be believed that the four great lawyers of Islam had said the last word, and that there could be no agreement of the Moslem people contrary to the decisions of those four lawyers. So the doors of progress were closed, and

Islamic law and theology became fossilized. Thought of all kinds was held in chains.

It is to this cause that I attribute the check to Islamic culture, philosophy and science, and its eventual extinction.

But far more serious than this check to philosophic thought was the check to theological and religious development.

For instance: beneath the use of *ijma'*, the agreement of all the Moslem people, lay the idea that each Moslem had the power to know something of the will of God by direct knowledge, so that the agreement of all expressed for certain the will of God. This belief that man has the power of direct knowledge of the will of God is something like our Christian doctrine that the Holy Spirit of God can come and dwell in the hearts of men, and lead them and guide them into all truth. It is perhaps one of the greatest calamities of Islam that they did not allow the belief of the indwelling of the Spirit of God to come to fruition.

But of all the failures of Islam the one I most deplore is the failure to appreciate the person of Jesus Christ, 'Isa b. Maryam. You know that in the Koran Jesus is the only prophet to whom sin is not imputed, and He is spoken of as the Word of God and the Spirit of God. Although the Koran denied to Jesus the position that Christians gave Him, yet by the use of these expressions the Koran places Jesus in a unique position amongst men. Later Moslems did not hesitate to go further than the Koran. It was commonly believed that Jesus would judge mankind at the last day. Through the false asceticism which had laid hold of the Christian Church in those days many Moslems began to think of Jesus, not only as the greatest of the saints, but as showing that saintliness by being the greatest of ascetics. For instance that pillar of orthodoxy, Al-Ghazzali, in his book *Ad-durra al-fakhira*, said of Jesus, "He is of all the apostles the one who offers most guarantees for certainty, the one who knows God best, the most ascetic and the wisest of them." It is hard to see why a man who thus con-

fessed that Jesus offered most guarantees for certainty, and that Jesus knew God best, did not take Jesus for the guide of his life. Also it is hard to see how Moslems of later times can look up to Al-Ghazzali as the pillar of orthodoxy without trying out in their experience whether Jesus is indeed the surest guide to God. Among other Moslems the name "Seal of the Saints" was given to Jesus, just as Mohammed was called "Seal of the Prophets;" meaning that as Mohammed was the last and greatest of the prophets, so Jesus was the last and greatest of the saints. The great Sufi Ibn al-'Arabi, not only gave Jesus this title but proclaimed Him as the greatest of men. He said, "Surely the Seal of the Saints is an apostle; and in the world He has no equal. He is the Spirit, and the Son of the Spirit, and Mary is His mother."

Thus, at the time when Islam was at its highest, ideas were struggling for expression which set Jesus in the front rank of men, foremost in holiness and foremost in asceticism. It is a calamity of the first order that the Christians of those days exalted asceticism instead of self-sacrifice. For asceticism means bearing suffering for one's own self-advancement, while self-sacrifice means bearing suffering for the sake of others. Jesus in truth was not an ascetic, but He did show the greatest example of self-sacrifice which the world has known. Islam quite rightly rejected asceticism. So it may well be that it was that mistake of the Christians in those days which led the Moslems astray, and prevented them from looking to Jesus as the ideal man and the Savior of the world.

But, whether it was the fault of the Christians or not that the Moslems in those days got a misconception of Jesus, the fact remains that they turned away from the truth that they knew about Jesus, and refused to take Him as their guide and Savior. They would not draw the obvious conclusion from the references to Him in the Koran, from the fact that He is the Seal of the Saints and the judge of the last day—the conclusion that He is the

perfect character, the moral standard for mankind—not to speak of His power as Redeemer from sin.

As I say, I do not much blame the Moslems for this failure, because I think it was largely due to the failure of the Christians. But it was calamitous. It was this failure which finally stopped the progress of religious thought in Islam. You cannot be untrue to the greatest truths you know without suffering for it. The result for Islam was intellectual stagnation.

But why should Moslems despair? Lord Cromer once said that reformed Islam is Islam no longer. That is questionable, and shows an ignorance of Islamic history. Let Moslems once realize the great progress that occurred in the early centuries of Islam, and then let them pick up again the threads of that development at the point where their forefathers laid them down.

I do not ask that Moslems should accept any ready-made doctrines about Jesus, or the titles that Christians give Him. I only ask that they should think afresh about Him whom the Koran calls the Spirit and the Word of God; and that they should consider Him as His life is told in the original records, the fourfold Gospel. At some periods Moslems would not read the Gospels, believing that the text had been corrupted. That view, though held by individual scholars such as Ibn Hazm, and very widely held by the ignorant, has never been the opinion of Moslem scholars as a whole. In any case, even if a Moslem fears that these books have been corrupted, let him at least read them and form his own opinion about them, and about the Central Figure whom they portray. I do not know what titles he will find to describe that central figure, Jesus. But I do know that Jesus will hold him enthralled, and that he will find in Him what Jesus claimed for Himself, the Way, the Truth and the Life—the way of renewal for life, the way that leads to God and to God's kingdom; the truth of God, the whole eternal truth; the life that is life indeed, the divine life that is forever with God.

Lahore, India

L. E. BROWNE.

AL-AZHAR THROUGH CHINESE SPECTACLES

Somewhat over a year ago four Moslem students from China were sent under escort of a leading Middle School Professor by the name of Sha, to enroll in the ancient Moslem University at Cairo. How unprecedented was this event and how unique its importance for the whole Moslem world these free translations of paragraphs from their letters, will show. These letters in Chinese appeared in the *Yueh Hwa*, a Moslem magazine, published in Peiping under date which would correspond with April, 1932.

Introductory paragraphs deal with their choice, preparation, and departure: their voyage from Hong Kong by French Mail Steamer, experiences at Singapore, stops at Ceylon, Colombo, and Aden; then one student writes:

"After our arrival at Port Said a telegram was despatched to the Azhar. When we alighted from the train at the Cairo station, four men from the school were there to meet us. These escorted us to a hotel in the University vicinity. We now found that there had not been previously any group of students from China, so there was no special Chinese hostel established. Fortunately the Moslem Forward Society (Chu-Chin-Hwei) of Yunnan had corresponded with the University concerning us, so with this as evidence, the authorities received us most cordially and appointed as our residence a Hostel for foreign students."

Then follows a number of economic and social facts about Cairo, and the arrangements made for the students, such as an allowance per month toward their books, after which the following descriptions of the Azhar occur:

"The Egyptian schools are very progressive. The literacy percentage of the population is only 12 per cent.

Schools are divided into religious and secular. The religious schools are controlled by the Azhar. This is the educational heart or hub of the entire Moslem world. The student body at present totals 9,200. From the time that Mr. Az-Zawahiri became President of the Board of Directors he has had two great aims. One has been to conserve the ancient system in which the student may choose and regulate his course of study without any limit of time. The other aim has been to establish and foster a modern system divided into four divisions: primary, middle, collegiate, and normal. The primary covers four years; the middle covers five years, and includes, besides theology and Arabic, courses in history, geography, mathematics, logic, chemistry, natural history, civics and hygiene; the collegiate covers four years, leading to its degrees in arts, law, and philosophy; ¹ finally, the normal department is for two years ² and comprises teaching and preaching."

The following is from another letter:

"The Azhar is the most ancient Moslem University. It was founded in 972 of the Western calendar. ³ It has five branch schools, at Alexandria, Port Said, etc. These have more than 10,000 pupils."

As to the places from which students come, one is impressed more by the wide range:

"They come from the South Sea Islands, India, Afghanistan, Irak, Yemen, the Hedjaz, Syria, Palestine, Turkey, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, South and West Africa. These total more than 700."

Another begins with the most important and has the following: "Most have come from Moslem countries east and west: the Sudan, Abyssinia, Morocco, Persia, Java"

The bias of these modern students in favor of the modern system and aversion to the ancient is clearly shown by the following:

"The ancient system allows the student to select and

¹ One student adds, "Theology."

² One letter says: "Three years."

³ One says, "it has been established more than 973 years."

control his own course. He may read for three, five, ten, yes, twenty years, to please himself Besides the five of us, there are two other students from China. One is a man from Sinkiang, about forty years of age. He cannot speak one word of Chinese. He has already studied under the ancient system twenty years. The other is a man from Kansu about fifty-two years of age. He has studied seven or eight years and has forgotten nine-tenths of his Chinese."

That these students found some difficulty in adjusting their Arabic knowledge to that which they would need for class work is quite evident. Even of Mr. Sha their leader, one wrote: "Mr. Sha spoke to them (the reporters and visitors who flocked to see them) in English, but they usually replied in Arabic."

"In order that we should advance rapidly," writes one, "the Principal appointed a private tutor to come to our room each day for three short periods to coach us in Arabic."

Another writes: "The school Board of Management appoints a modern teacher as tutor for each group of new students. This is to speed up their knowledge of Arabic and teach needed forms of etiquette."

One of them tackles the language problem very philosophically, "The periodicals here are numerous. The trade-marks and signs are mostly in Arabic. Everyone, be he scholar or artisan, employee or servant, is proficient in Arabic. One's ear is perpetually accustomed to the sounds, and one's progress is very rapid."

The most astonishing fact brought out by these letters, however, was the apparent ignorance about the Moslems of China on the part of the student classes. That one part of the great Islamic brotherhood should know as little about their co-religionists in China would not be surprising, if it had occurred in the days of Marco Polo.

"The student class of Egypt has practically no knowledge of the Mohammedans in China. The Head Principal came to call on us the day after we arrived; important

people, students and newspaper reporters came one after another to our rooms. Newspapers wanted photographs and information. To all these Mr. Sha spoke on the subject of Islam in China. Thus the news of these things spread over the whole country. For the very first time they heard that China had 50,000,000 brethren in the faith;⁴ that there were Moslem schools and mosques without number; that Moslems held important positions in central Government offices, in Provincial offices, on newspapers and in schools in almost every Province; and that there were more than ten kinds of Moslem magazines and papers in Chinese."

"The educated people of Egypt are exceedingly ignorant of the Mohammedan religion in China. Many did not know that there were any Mohammedans in China. Even those who did know were very hazy about it. They thought that the heavenly Koran in China had ceased to propagate. Now on hearing that Moslem students were really coming from China some were elated beyond measure Within one week the fame of the Chinese-Moslem students spread all over Egypt."

With all the publicity it is not surprising that the following paragraph occurs:

"As the leader of the group of Chinese students, it was arranged by a representative of Mr. Zawahiri that Mr. Sha have a personal audience with his Majesty, King Fuad. Mr. Sha thanked his Majesty for receiving the special request of the Chinese students, and informed him about the 50,000,000 Moslem brethren of China. The King of Egypt was exceedingly gracious, and moreover promised to do his best to aid the Chinese Moslems in their plans of development. He hoped that ensuing efforts to add to the number of students would meet with success."

As evidence of the widening horizon I will translate two more paragraphs:

"The Azhar at present publishes one monthly magazine called *The Light of Islam*. Each month more than 50,000

⁴ The translator and many others would like to see the proofs for this tremendous figure. But even allowing for this, the Moslem population of China is certainly almost equal to that of Egypt, so the thought expressed holds good.

copies are issued. At present the first part is Arabic and the latter pages, English. The ultimate aim is to have German and French also included."

"In Cairo there is a Young Men's Moslem Association which has extensive plans. It has more than a thousand members, mostly from the Collegiate and middle schools. It has a curriculum which covers exposition of religion, preaching, teaching, drawing, singing, and athletics. It publishes a monthly called *Young Moslems' Magazine*. The head of the Association is a man of great ability, Abdul Hamid, who holds a Doctor's degree from French Universities."

Is the presence of these students in Cairo a matter of interest generally to Moslems in China? In an out-of-the-way corner of this Province, Tsinghai, on a recent itinera-tion, a young Moslem said to me: "China now has many students studying in Al-Azhar." I said, "Are there really very many?" and he answered, "I know of five." Doubtless the same is known in parts nearer the Coast.

The little schools on modern lines springing up wherever there are mosques in China are evidences of a new day. The old-fashioned school still struggles on, however, and the flocks of orderless youth still sit about in the mosque enclosures chanting the Arabic phrases written by their teacher on their wooden pallettes, with glorious din, but these schools are fighting a losing battle.

A wider horizon is demanded, wider than China, wider than Jidda, Mecca, and Medina, and the few are beginning to find it in the modern Azhar.

Sining, China

GEORGE K. HARRIS.

KHALIFA OR KHALIQA

A VARIANT READING OF SURAH 2:28¹

A few years ago an Egyptian scholar sent a wire to a Palestinian paper announcing that he had discovered a mistake in the Gospel. On further examination the discovery melted away before the scrutiny of scholars, but the bitterness which his wire provoked still prevails. I do not intend to emulate the gentleman from Egypt. "A mistake in the Koran" would be the last title to be given this paper, which only suggests a possible variant reading to a verse in Sūrah ii:28. I would substitute the word Khalifat **خَلِيفَة** for Khalifat **خَلِيفَة**. This is only the addition of one point to **ق** to make it **ق**.

To begin with, the word Khalifat appears in the Koran only twice. In Sūrah ii:28, "And when Thy Lord said unto the angels, 'I am about to place a vice-gerent in the earth,' they said, 'Wilt Thou place therein one who will do evil and shed blood? We celebrate Thy praise and hallow Thee.' Said (the Lord), 'I know what ye know not.'" (Palmer, *The Koran*).

The other place where Khalifat appears is in Sūrah xxxviii:25 where David is addressed as such. The verse is rendered by Palmer: "O David, verily We have made thee a *vice-gerent*, judge then between men with truth and follow not lust, for it will lead thee astray from the path of God".

In both cases the word is rendered *vice-gerent*. Sale renders the first a *substitute* and the second a *sovereign prince*. Rodwell's translation makes the first *one in my*

¹ A paper read before the Oriental Club of Princeton University.

stead and in the footnote he says *Lit. a caliph, a vicegerent*, while the second he translates as *vicegerent*. Muḥammad 'Ali makes the first *one who shall reign* and in the footnote favors *successor* with a special connotation, namely *mankind*. The second he translates a *ruler*. Pickthall gives both as *viceroys*. The German translation according to Bückert renders both *stellvertreter* which means a deputy, a delegate, a representative. All these hardly differ in their rendering, but are practically the same.

The rendering of the word as it appears in the second instance, namely Sūrah xxxviii:25, where it relates to David, is both correct and in line with the opinions of the Moslem commentators. The same cannot be said of the first instance. For while it is not divergent from the opinions of Moslem commentators, it is not at all satisfactory. A literal translation leaves the verse as ambiguous as ever and a free rendering similar to that of Muḥammad 'Ali is, to say the least, artificial. He undoubtedly has been influenced by the Moslem commentators because of his thorough knowledge of, and close familiarity with the Arabic commentaries, and because of his accentuated loyalty to Islam. In fact he only sums up what al-Ṭabari has to say (*Tafsīr*, Cairo A.H. 1329, pp. 156ff.). Al-Ṭabari, after relating a number of opinions more or less identical, concludes that *Khalifa* relates to *Bani Adam*—the sons of Adam. Al-Bayḍāwī identifies *Khalifa* with Adam who, like all prophets, was God's deputy on earth (*Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Ta'wīl*, Leipzig 1846, I, pp. 47ff.). Thus both the Moslem commentators and the western scholars accept without any question the word *Khalifat* in Sūrah ii:28. The latter also accept the far-fetched and artificial interpretation of the old commentators.

To make the word *Khalifa* mean "the sons of Adam" can hardly be justified in any way. But the commentators, when confronted by the dilemma of either making the successor of God on earth, a tyrant and a murderer, or of suspending all the dictates of language and of making room for imagination, found that their religious scruples

imposed upon them the latter course; and therefore most naïvely interpreted it as meaning "the sons of Adam"—the murderous race which infects the earth.

This interpretation was after all a happy one, for while the word both as it stands in the text and as it stands alone, cannot be made to mean "the sons of Adam" without committing the most stupid linguistic error, the context not only suggests, but also demands the very same interpretation which the orthodox commentators promulgated and the western scholars accepted. For what else besides Bani Adam could we expect to be in the mind of the Almighty when, as the narrative shows, He was contemplating the act of creation, He gathered together the angels and consulted with them on the momentous step He was about to take.

It is hard to suggest that the verse contains a mistake. The meticulous care of the scribes is alone quite sufficient to make us as sure of the accuracy of the Koranic text as we are of the text of the first folio of Shakespeare. It is possible, however, that when, under the supervision of al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Yūsuf, the diacritical points were first introduced into the text of the Koran (Ibn-Khallikān, Cairo A.H. 1299, I, pp. 218 ff.), the scribes committed unconsciously a number of mistakes. Instead of two points over a letter they placed one, or instead of one point over, placed two under (as perhaps in Sūrah xii:12 **يرفع ويلعب** for **يرفع ويلعب**) or even placed the points totally in the wrong place (as in Sūrah xci:10 **دَسَّيَا** for **دَسَّيَا**) thus giving another meaning or no meaning at all, and therefore inviting the ingenuity of the commentators.

Sūrah ii:28 however is the most glaring and the most important of these very rare places. I suggest that the scribe has forgotten a point. He had before him the Kufic equivalent of the form and when he supplied the points he wrote *Khalifat* instead of *Khaliqat*. This is the more evident when we consider the reason which prompted al-Ḥajjāj to introduce the diacritical points into the text (cf.

Ibn-Khallikān I, pp. 219/20; al-Suyūṭi, *Itqān*, Cairo A.H. 1343, pp. 171ff). In the days of 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Marwān the erroneous readings of the Koran had become very numerous and widespread. This obliged al-Ḥajjāj to consult with his *kuttāb* for the purpose of putting distinctive marks on words of uncertain pronunciation. The single and the double points were then introduced. This however did not stop the evil. A further step was taken and the *i'jam* was introduced. (The *i'jam* being points serving to distinguish letters of similar form from one another). Even then, we are told, erroneous readings occurred and in vain the authorities endeavored to find a remedy. They still had to recur to oral tradition in order to learn the true reading (Ibn-Khallikān, I, p. 221). Furthermore, the remarkable contribution of al-Ḥajjāj was not accepted without any opposition on the part of hide-bound *imāms*. The practice was frowned at and the great Mālik decreed that only copies intended for instruction may be pointed, while the mother copies should remain unpointed (*Itqān*, II, p. 171) true to the prototype in the seventh heaven (Sūrah lxxxv:22). One marvels at the remarkable preservation and integrity of the text under such a system. It is not strange then to find here and there instances where the ink on the pen of the scribe failed to flow and instances where it overflowed. The remarkable thing is not that these cases occur, but rather that they are so few.

In view of all this I feel convinced that in Sūrah ii:28 a point should be added to the *fa* to make it *qaf* in order that *Khalifat* should read *Khalīqat*. The verse will then run smoothly and its English rendering will therefore be:

"And when Thy Lord said unto the angels, 'I am about to place a *creation* in the earth,' they said, 'Wilt Thou place therein those who will do evil and shed blood? We celebrate Thy praise and hallow Thee.' Said (the Lord), 'I know what ye know not.'"

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NABĪH AMĪN FĀRIS.

CURRENT TOPICS

Seven Hundredth Anniversary of Raymund Lull

Mr. E. Allison Peers, author of the most extensive biography of Raymund Lull and translator of a number of his books, calls attention to the seven hundredth anniversary of the birth of this first and perhaps greatest missionary to Moslems. We quote from his article in *The British Weekly*:

"The exact date of Ramon Lull's birth is unknown, save that it lies between 1232 and 1235, but, as 1233 is now that most widely supported, it has been decided that the celebrations shall be observed between April, 1933, and March, 1934. On June 30th last year (this day being the traditional date of Lull's martyrdom) the Archbishop of Mallorca commended the observance in an interesting pastoral which reviewed the whole course of recent Lullian studies. But the principal activities are taking place in Barcelona, which, as the capital of autonomous Catalonia, contains within its city bounds about one-fifth of all whose native tongue is Catalan, and is thus the natural centre for those who come to do honour to a Catalan writer.

For the first time, the birth of Ramon Lull is being celebrated in what one may call at once a rational and a modern way. There are two very different aspects of his genius. First, he was a somewhat original philosopher, in his day, a speculative theologian, a scientist in several fields, and a convinced believer in the Divine inspiration of his scientific and theological writings. He thought them literally invincible.

But Spain is no longer mediaeval, and for the last twenty years writers on Lull have increasingly emphasised the other and the immortal side of his personality—the aspect of him which is best known abroad. Converted in dramatic circumstances, he turned from a life of ease and courtly pleasure to a career of continual abnegation and sacrifice. Not content with preaching Christ in his own island (which at that time was largely populated by Jews and Moslems) he went all over France, Italy, and North Africa, and even as far afield as Cyprus and Armenia on his missionary labours, until at last, at the age of eighty, he was stoned to death by unbelievers. He wrote a number of books which, unlike the dusty tomes of his Latin works on science, have been translated from the Mallorcan dialect of Catalan, in which they were written, into Spanish, French, English, German and Italian. Such are the little classic of the "Book of the Lover and the Beloved," which is read by Africans and Hindus as eagerly as by Europeans; the beautifully-written "Art of Contemplation;" the "romance of Christian evidences," as it has been called, entitled the "Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise

Men;" and the two idealistic romances of "Blanquerna" and "Felix," only the first of which, unfortunately, is available in English.

In his life, and in these works of his, Ramon Lull bears witness to the light and the ardour that were in him, to the spirit of the true mystic, which is the spirit of love. Going over half the known world as a *joculator Domini*—as a troubadour of Christ, this "fool of love" did not fail to commit to paper his troubadour's songs, and as such they have come down to us in the "Book of the Lover and the Beloved." "O ye that love," he cries, "if ye would have fire, come light your lanterns at my heart." It is this that Christians the world over have been doing since the renaissance of a new "Lullism" began soon after the beginning of this century. The old Lullism, which was of the letter that killeth, has been notably absent from the celebrations in Barcelona and Mallorca. As the Rector of the University of Barcelona said, in inaugurating the first of a course of centenary lectures last week, the universality of Ramon Lull is due, not to his philosophy itself, but to the spirit which lay beneath it."

An Aleppo Street Symphony

Mrs. Decherd, whose musical training has tuned her ear to getting music even out of the clash and clang and clatter of an oriental city, writes in the *Syria News Quarterly*: "In Aleppo one is not awakened early in the morning by the cheerful chirp of a robin or a wren, nor by the clear call of a cardinal, but rather by a penetrating voice crying in Arabic under the window, "*Hellu haleeb*." This syncopated wail persevering on the interval of a minor third defies all sleep. Eventually it lures one to come outside and buy "nice sweet milk" direct from cow to consumer, for the gentle jersey waits at the door bedecked in her blue glass beads. Breakfast is complete when the little old hunchback man comes along carrying twisted bread rings on a long stick. He sings a chromatic tune from "d" to "f" in dotted eighth and sixteenth notes, "ka-ka-ka-kaak."

A very few minutes later, a donkey passes by laden with lucious ripe tomatoes. The donkey boy shouts his produce, "*bonadura, bonadura*," just as we would sing "Hallelujah, hallelujah" from Handel's "Messiah." Another ambitious merchant with a voice like a sliding trombone does his best to attract the attention of the Syrian housewife to the saddle-bags on his donkey. They bulge with shiny, black eggplant. His cry begins with a pianissimo effect, makes a steady crescendo, and ends with a soft echo, "*Aswad beidenjan, aswad*." Here is the scissors grinder. He might play the oboe in our street symphony. His private theme is a major second from "d" to "c," just two long whole notes. He never varies the slightest from this pitch.

The garbage man rings a huge dinner bell. A little boy sitting on the back of the garbage wagon thumps his knuckles against an old tin oil can in a haunting rhythm. If one could be temporarily deprived of smell and eyesight, this weird garbage drum would suggest to the imagination a beautiful setting on a stage with kings and princesses marching in stately oriental splendor.

Down in the old copper *suq*, or market, there are cymbals enough for all of the symphony orchestras in the world. The cacophony is

deafening as the coppersmiths beat out plangent chords upon the huge cooking utensils which they are modelling. The alluring jingle of castanets is nothing more than the lemonade vendor rattling tiny brass saucers in his hand. In the heat of noon day, the percussion rises to a climax when mobs of people fight for a turn at the public wells, old women, young children, and picturesque Bedouin women dressed in gay gypsy rags.

Our symphony is not finished at sunset. In the quiet of the evening, out under the stars, the shepherd boy pipes as he guards his sheep. Surely it is the music of the magic flute! An Armenian boy struggles with his violin far into the night. Sleep, sleep, there is no sleep. The night watchman strikes his club against the pavement, a reverberating "clunk, clunk" to warn all would-be burglars that he is imminent. Then the steady swish of the street sweeper's broom clears the air for the opening theme of a new day, "*Hellu haleeb.*"

The Other-Worldliness of Jesus Christ

Moslems sometimes complain that the teaching of Jesus includes no legislation for everyday affairs, that he laid down principles, but did not interfere with the existing order of things. His kingdom was not of this world. He aimed, it is true, to attain the highest social ideals, but only by the dynamic of spiritual truth and regenerated individuals. A writer in *The Expository Times* on the Finality of Christianity asks the question:

"Was, then, our Lord mistaken? Have the ages proved Him in the wrong, and shown the need of a mightier redeemer, whose mission should aim at the immediate realization of all worldly power, wealth, beauty, and pleasure? To assist us to give a right answer to these questions we cannot do better than adduce the testimony of one of the ablest jurists of our generation. A letter written by the eminent French philosopher and statesman, Alexis de Tocqueville, to Lord Houghton, is an illuminating document on this very question. 'I cannot make out why in these days so many distinguished minds evince the tendency to approve the Mussulman. For my part my contact with Islamism produces the very opposite effect on me. The more I see of that religion, the more convinced I am that from it springs the gradual downfall of the Mussulman. Mahomet's mistake, which was to weld together a code of civil and political institutions with a religious belief, in such a way as to impose on the former the immovability which is the nature of the latter, was in itself enough to doom its followers to inferiority first, and then to unavoidable destruction. Christianity derived its grandeur and sanctity from never having entered any paths but those of religion, leaving the rest to follow with the progress and free development of the human mind.'"

Islam in America

The Manager, American Islamic Centre, gives the following account of the Moslems living in America:

"The Moslem population in America is given by different authorities at from 50,000 to 250,000, the last number being more nearly correct. The majority are found on the plantations of South

and Central America, as labourers. Many finding themselves barred from North America have settled in these places. Opportunities in North America are only for the White Race and then one must have plenty of money. The Moslems in South America are found mostly in Argentina, Brazil and Guiana; the Island of Trinidad has also a large number. Brazil offers numerous opportunities for the Moslems who wish to work hard, and it is a pity that groups of the Moslems do not ask for land grants and form colonies. Large Japanese colonies exist, mostly of poor farmers who had no future at home but who by hard labor are reclaiming the rich lands now covered by jungle. In Central and North America the Moslems are mostly spread out in many countries and states. Moslems who came here in their youth from Arabic-speaking lands often have forgotten how to read and write Arabic. Many of those who marry Christian women see their children brought up as Christians. The converts to Islam in North America number about 5,000; most of these are American negroes. The white converts number about 1,000. There are several groups that meet in rented places for prayer; also at Brooklyn, New York, there is a mosque owned by a group of Tatar Moslems. At New York City there is a branch of the international Cairo, Egypt Organization, known as The Young Men's Muslim Association, also a Society known as the Muslim Brotherhood who work as a local missionary group. At Chicago, Ill., there is the Moorish Science Temple, which has several branches: also there is the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam which has branch missions at Pittsburgh, Pa., Cincinnati, Ohio, and Indianapolis, Indiana. Also at New York there is Sufi Abdul Hamid, who is introducing Islam among the Harlem negroes through his recently formed Society. The American Islamic Association, whose headquarters is the American Islamic Centre, is trying to lead the Moslems to unify on a non-sectarian and a non-political basis."

A Fatwa on Broadcasting the Koran

The following question was presented to the rectorate of el-Azhar: "We ask your opinion about broadcasting readings of the Koran, of the *adhān* (call to prayer), and of such things by radio, when heard in amusement places and in other unsuitable surroundings." The rectorate handed over the question to the committee on *fatwas* of the *Nūr al-Islām* (a magazine, published by the professors of el-Azhar), so that it could be studied from the point of view of religious law. The reply was that a speech heard over the radio is the voice of the speaker, not the echo of his word, like that heard in the mountains, in the desert, and elsewhere. Therefore, what is heard by radio is really the Koran; and when the speaker is in a suitable place and observes all rules in his reading, fulfilling all conditions prescribed for the reading without disturbance, his reading is permissible, and that which is heard is the Koran, which is worthy of attention.

"If, instead, the reader does not fulfill all prescribed conditions, reading in an unsuitable place, and making a joke of the Koran, then the reading is not permissible.

"If the reader fulfills all prescribed conditions, observes the rules of good pronunciation (*at-tajwīd*) and does as we have indicated

above, he is not to blame for the fact that his voice is heard in a place where the reading would not be allowed.

"It is the duty of the listener to be attentive, and if there is any one who disturbs him he has the right to stop him.—*al-Ahrām*, (5-10-1933,) translated from *Oriente Moderno*, Rome, November, 1933.

Mohammedanism in Nyasaland today

The race which accepted Mohammedanism in this country about thirty or forty years ago are the Ayao, who dwell on the western shore of Lake Nyasa, south of Viota Viota and also to the extreme south, round about Fort Johnston.

In Nyasaland the Ayao who have accepted Mohammedanism up to the present moment, are estimated at about one hundred thousand. Those in the field of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission alone number only about thirty to forty thousand, which is about one-tenth of the population.

The danger of Mohammedanism consists therein that the Ayao are one of the most prominent and capable races of the country. Lately, too, they have certainly extended their area by settling more westward towards and at Lilongwe in pursuit of work. Lilongwe is a large and important tobacco-growing centre. There the native Mohammedans, together with their co-religionists from India, have formed quite a strong Islamic community. Their polygamy certainly makes their religion well favored amongst the black races of Africa, who for innumerable ages have looked upon a large number of wives as a sure test of greatness and wealth, apart from the fact that it fits in very well with many of their heathenish customs and taboos in regard to childbirth, suckling of babes, adolescence, marriage, etc. Like a child, too, the native loves outward show, and is therefore attracted by all the various ceremonies attached to the Mohammedan religion.

The Reverend A. L. Hofmeyr and the Reverend T. C. B. Vlok of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission were very much concerned about the Mohammedan situation and made every effort to get special work started amongst them. In the year 1923 our Council founded a new centre of work at Citundu especially for Moslems, and appointed the Reverend M. G. Uys there. He continued the work for three years with a fair amount of progress. From 1920 to 1929 the work was without a European supervisor. In 1929 the writer was appointed there, and has been carrying on the work since.

Our method of work is founding small village schools, where Bible instruction is the chief subject. Some writing and arithmetic are also taught. At the station we have a boarding school with about forty boarders. They have a fuller curriculum, which includes amongst other subjects, hygiene, English, and manual labor. For manual labor they do forestry, gardening and building. Every quarter, too, we have tours to all the village schools for purposes of inspection and preaching the Gospel. Friendly visits are continually made to the various chiefs. Until now we also had a dispensary there, but this quarter it has been taken over by the government, owing to the shortage of mission funds.

Converts come in slowly, but even if we made no converts we believe that we are keeping back large masses of young men who undoubtedly would have gone over to Mohammedanism if it had held the field undisputed. We believe, too, that if we only keep on sowing faithfully the seed of the Word, the Lord of the harvest will quicken it by His life-giving Spirit whenever He deems best.

Nyasaland

A. C. VAN WYK.

Three Prayers

I

PRAYER OF A CONVERT FROM ISLAM

Forgive the epithets of scorn I poured
In ignorant pride upon Thy saints and Thee.
Now I myself believe, am Thine, O Lord,
They all return a hundredfold on me.

II

PRAYER OF A SECRET BELIEVER

In my heart's secret shrine or with the ones
Who long have been Thy Kingdom's champions
'Tis only joy Thy Lordship to admit.
But knowing to what trials I must submit,—
The loss of home and family and name,
My conscience, reason, or my life the aim
Of threats and poisons, and no livelihood
Except perhaps from charity—I would
I might confess Thee openly, but still
I must pray on, and wait, and hope until
My new-found faith shall learn to bear rebuff.
My courage is not yet grown bold enough.

III

PRAYER FOR AN EVANGELIST TO MOSLEMS

If they might truly see Him in His beauty,
The faultless Christ of Whom they have heard such falsehood,
Their newly opened eyes would love Him only.
He cannot be resisted, if once understood.

But how will Islam ever see Him plainly,
Whom they have caricatured throughout the ages;
And veiled His power till it goes masked profanely,
Illegible in their most ancient pages?

Lord, make *our* lives conform to His completely,
That we may mirror Him to these blind, groping hearts,
For only when He's bodied forth concretely
Comes the convincing recognition faith imparts.

Rezaiah, Persia

ELIZABETH PATTON MOSS.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Capitulatory Régime of Turkey: its Origin, History and Nature.

By Nasim Sousa, Ph.D. Published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore and also in London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford Press. pp. 358. \$3.50.

The author is a native of Irak (Mesopotamia) ; he was graduated from the American University, Beirut, and he studied at the Johns Hopkins University.

The subject of this book has been treated by French writers more frequently than by English or American, but they have discussed it as it affected French interests in Turkey. Philip Marshal Brown, professor of international law in Princeton University and at one time Chargé d'Affaires in Constantinople, wrote a valuable little book published in 1914 on The Rights of Foreigners in Turkey, and G. Bie Ravndal, consul general of the U. S. A. in Turkey, gave an address before the Business League of America on American Trade Relations with the East in 1912.

Dr. Sousa has gathered information from all available sources and presented it with a clarity and a fairness worthy of the highest praise. He has also studied the influence of the Capitulatory Question on the nations during and since the World War, thus bringing the question down to date. A part of this work was awarded in 1929 the Alexander Wilbourne Weddell prize of \$250 for the best essay on the general question of the promotion of peace among the nations. The author was thus encouraged to expand his work into a comprehensive treatise of great value for all who wish to understand the difficult, complicated and little-understood question of the Capitulations.

The book is divided into two parts; the first dealing with the period preceding the outbreak of the World War, and the second with that following it. In the first part he gives an account of the origin of the Capitulations, their nature and contents, a survey of Turkish-American Relations as affected by them, and the historical evolution of the international recognition of the Capitulations.

As to the origin of the Capitulations, the author refutes the commonly accepted idea that they were forced upon the reluctant sultans by the more powerful European nations. He shows that capitulatory régimes, varying in kind, existed in many countries long before the Turkish Capitulations came into being. The reader will be surprised at the number of cases in which extraterritorial rights were granted to foreigners in many countries, some of these having their origin centuries before Christ. Capitulations were not a new procedure when instituted in Turkey.

Moreover, the Capitulations were granted by the sultans voluntarily at a period when they were in possession of full sovereignty,

and other nations were not in a position to exact from them rights or privileges which they did not desire to concede. "The Capitulatory System had existed practically in the same form and had been operating for centuries before the fall of Constantinople at the hands of the Turks. All that they did was to sanction the continuance of the system after their conquest—a conformity to the accepted rules of international intercourse."

The author holds that the Capitulations had their origin in the personality of law, by which a man carries the law of his state, of his ancestors, with him wherever he goes. This did not arise from religious differences, and they were not considered as any abrogation of sovereignty on the part of the nation granting them. It is important to remember this when we come to consider the changed conception of them at a later date.

Some have held that the Capitulations are incompatible with the Sacred Law of Islam, which was for believers only, but this law recognizes certain rights of foreigners which may be capable of extension. Islam divided the peoples of the world into four classes; (a.) Moslems, who enjoy equal rights with no discrimination whatever. (b.) *Kitabi*, peoples of a book, who having a divinely revealed book are to be recognized and protected. (c.) *Mustamin*, persons temporarily residing in Moslem territory; and under protection these are exempt from taxation if they do not reside more than one year. (d.) *Harbi*, people against whom war is to be waged. They are idolaters, who associate other beings in worship with God, they are to be killed unless they repent, surrender and pay the legal alms. There is no conflict between the sacred law and the Capitulations, since that law does ascribe some rights to foreigners.

The account of the granting to the Greeks in Turkey the right to elect a patriarch with all the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by his predecessors is well known. The history of subsequent grants to other religious communities, one after another, until there were thirteen such communities, is given at length. Capitulatory rights were continued to European nations, such as France, Great Britain and Italy.

The exact contents of the foreign capitulations is difficult to define, since they were not the same in all cases, but the most important are: protection of property and security of life; the right to trade and do business; the right of trial before one's consular officers and not by local courts; inviolability of domicile, domiciliary search to be by consent and in the presence of consuls or their representatives; freedom of worship; exemption from direct taxation. In later times the customs were controlled by Western Powers to such an extent that Turkey could not increase her tariffs without their consent.

The Capitulatory privileges of foreign nations tended to increase in the course of time, and they were regarded as rights to be exacted from the Turks, rather than privileges granted by them.

Non-Moslems living in Turkey came under the Millet, or Community, system, by which religious communities were governed by their own heads in many matters. The Patriarch, Rabbi, or Community Head was the official head. Questions concerning religious rites and customs were under his jurisdiction; taxes were levied upon

the community as a whole, and its officers assessed them upon the members. The communities maintained their own schools and churches. These privileges of the non-Moslem communities must not be confounded with the foreign capitulations, but a protégé system grew up, by which foreign nations extended their protection and their capitulatory rights to subjects of the sultans, giving them foreign nationality without requiring them to reside in their territory. This led to many abuses and was one of the causes which made the capitulations so odious in the eyes of the Turks.

American interests in Turkey began at a late date and grew slowly. A treaty was negotiated in 1830, which left many questions to be regulated by the most favored nation clause. The juridical rights of Americans were defined in the following article: "Citizens of the United States of America, quietly pursuing their commerce, and not being charged or convicted of any crime, shall not be molested: and even when they may have committed some offence they shall not be arrested and put in prison by the local authorities, but they shall be tried by their minister, or consul, and punished according to their offence, following in this respect the usage observed toward other Franks."

This treaty of 1830 is important in that no definite period was assigned in which it should come to an end. When the question of the abolition of the Capitulations by the unilateral action of Turkey arose at the beginning of the World War, the American government claimed that this was in contravention of that treaty of 1830.

The Capitulations were of considerable importance for the missions and colleges in Turkey, securing for them a security and a protection which were of great value. These American interests were greater than the commercial, and they gave rise to numerous questions. One of the reasons which caused the American Senate to reject the treaty of Lausanne was that it did away with the protection of the Capitulations for these missionary, educational and philanthropic institutions.

The historical evolution of the Capitulations is treated at length. They were originally unilateral in character, granted by the sultans for reasons of their own, but in the course of time they came to be regarded as obligations sanctioned by treaties, the performance of which was demanded and enforced. The Turks considered them hateful exactions forced upon them by the other nations. A Turk writing in the *Milliyet* (*Nation*) in June, 1930, expressed this as follows; "Again I say that we have no right to be angry with those who have taken advantage of our blindness, the fault is ours not theirs. But we have a right to be angry about the Capitulations, which were forced upon us by the Imperialistic Powers. Now this curse has been done away." Mark how the original view is entirely lost! In March, 1916, Professor Von Schultz-Gaebnitz, from Freiburg, said at my table, "If you ask a Turk why his nation entered the war he will say, To abolish the Capitulations."

Space does not permit me to summarize the second part of this book, which deals with the Capitulations during the War, at the Lausanne Conference, and as they entered into the negotiations of various nations since the war. It also deals with the new status of foreigners and with the status of the Minorities and with the legal

problems involved. It is clear that the Capitulations, which were first freely and spontaneously granted by the Sultans, became in time exactions enforced by the European Powers, which were often abused, and which became odious to the Turks; it was inevitable that they would abolish them whenever they gained their independence.

The cause of religious freedom has not been injured by the abolition of the Capitulations. On the contrary there has been greater religious liberty in Turkey since their abolition than before it. Religious freedom is not gained by paper decrees more honored in their breach than in their observance, but by the growth of sentiments of tolerance and liberalism in the people. Such sentiments have gained ground rapidly in Turkey. The government does not desire to have religion based upon force but upon conscience, and it has avoided religious persecutions as far as possible.

Princeton, N. J.

C. F. GATES.

The Empty Quarter: Being a Description of the Great South Desert of Arabia known as Rub' al Khali. By H. St. J. B. Philby, C.I.E. Published by Henry Holt and Co., New York. pp. 432; \$4.

This volume is designated by Bertram Thomas as the account of "a remarkable performance—an epic journey—a classic." The reading public is familiar with the valuable contributions which Mr. Philby has made during the past twelve years to the geography of Arabia. His book "The Heart of Arabia," published in 1922, and his "Arabia of the Wahhabis" were reviewed in our Quarterly. The book before us opens with an eloquent introduction in which Mr. Philby pays a high tribute to Dr. Hogarth "that great master of Arabian lore," who was an inspiration to him by his encouragement of the exploration of unknown Arabia. In 1924, the author retired from Government service, returned to the Hijaz and embraced Islam. He was bitterly disappointed when, early in January, 1931, Bertram Thomas made his wonderful dash across the "Empty Quarter" from the South. The two men are friends, not rivals. The account of their explorations supplement each other. In the introduction Mr. Philby writes: "To Arabia I went back in the autumn of 1924 to try a throw with fate. To that effort and its consequences I sacrificed everything—the security of an orthodox career and the rest of it. But I did it without regrets." . . .

"For seven years I had laboured in vain as Jacob of old for Rachel. In place of the Rub' al Khali I had found a home by the green waters of the Red Sea—to toil other seven years for the bride of my constant desire. And the great peace of Islam slowly and surely descended upon me, enveloped me, who had known no peace before, in the austere mantle of Wahhabi philosophy which, tilting at the iniquities of the ungodly, had imposed a peace 'that passeth all understanding' upon a country which since the beginning of time had known no peace but that of death and desolation. Mecca became my home, to remain so, *inshallah*, to the end of my days; and I was admitted to the privilege of daily intimacy with the Great King, who had been my hero since the first days of our easy friendship—than whom indeed I know no man more worthy to be called great. During thirty years he has done for Arabia what none has been able to do during thirty centuries. *Si monumentum*

quaeris, respice! But this is not the place to speak of the achievements of Ibn Sa'ud."

The book before us is divided into three parts, of which the first deals with Jafura and Jabrin; the second, with Al Rimal, and the third, with the Empty Quarter, or Rub' al Khali. The greater part of the eighteen hundred miles of the route taken, lay through districts never scientifically explored and known only to the wandering Beduin. The last three hundred and fifty miles was the most difficult, where Mr. Philby and his hardy companions entered a region unknown even to their Arab guides, and in nine weary days crossed the most lifeless and waterless region of Arabia for the first time in history. The story is well told. It has the flavor of Doughty. The maps and illustrations are beyond praise, and in the appendices we have valuable papers on the scientific results of the expedition. An important review of Philby's work appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* by Mr. Bertram Thomas, which, although critical in regard to the questions at issue between him and Mr. Philby on the nomenclature of "The Empty Quarter," gives praise to his rival for laurels that are due to them both. We quote two paragraphs of this review for our readers:

"There could be no better commentary on the almost insurmountable obstacles to European penetration of Arabia. Here is Mr. Philby, convert to the religion of Muhammad, resident of Mecca, enjoying the friendship and patronage of Ibn Sa'ud, Caesar, all but omnipotent in the Peninsula, and whose influence is unparalleled since the Prophet (our author holds), and yet the door to the great Southern Desert is barred and bolted to him, the prize within is remote as Rachel. But at last the day dawned—a day in 1932. Ibn Sa'ud sponsored and financed the Englishman he admired. Mr. Philby was sent across the Peninsula, advance guard of Caesar himself, with instructions to Ibn Jiluwi, Ibn Sa'ud's great viceroy in the Hasa, to organize the expedition. The reviewer recalls with amusement his own shudders when entering the habitat of Ibn Jiluwi's Wahhabi tribes the year before, when he travelled under no aegis but his own, and was making his dash across the desert on the "blind side of the scrum" of Authority, so to speak—the nightmare Ibn Jiluwi, a God-favoured Judge Jeffries, more influential, more intimidating than Caesar himself to the bold denizens of these desert marches. The moment Ibn Jiluwi took Mr. Philby under his wing, our author need have small apprehension for his plans. Nineteen stalwart men, thirty-two chosen camels are off before Caesar arrives at Hasa: before them the desert empties . . .

"It is, however, the intimate details of the daily round—the narrative reads as though it were a faithful extension of the diary—that conjured up visions and joyous memories in the reviewer's mind: the tiny touches of desert colour that bring back the very atmosphere of the place; the conversations of the march; the halts for prayer; the camp-fire by night and the huddled figures sitting round and conversing about camels and pastures and women and Jinn; the cool zephyrs; the blue canopy of heaven rarely disturbed by a speck or two—a vulture, perhaps, or a raven or lark; the billowing vistas of the sands themselves, a never-to-be-forgotten picture of rose-red loveliness; the blazing Arabian sun and the valley of the shadow;

the horseshoe dunes and the joy of green pastures upon their slopes; the singing sands; the foot tracks of oryx, fox, or hare; an old flint instrument or some fragments of ostrich eggs to recall the past; the incongruous 'to do' in dismounting to pursue some wretched mantid or other microscopic specimen for the museum."

The author dedicates the book to his wife and mother, but quotes a couplet which is neither Arabic nor Persian:

"Inn' al harima atyab ma 'andina hast—
For verily women are the best of all that we possess."

Why are the Arabic common nouns capitalized by the printer? For example, "Samn," "Gerbil," "Raml," etc. There is also a curious use of English, for example, "the air had the crisp coolth." Mr. Philby sums up the result of his researches on the geography of this part of Arabia in a paragraph: "The whole of the Great South Desert is Rub' al Khali in contrast with the inhabited world. A great part of it, commonly frequented by pastoral nomads and containing countless wells, is known to them and their nearer neighbours as Al Ramla or Al Rimal, while a part of the latter containing only briny wells is again subdivided from it under the name of Al Khiran, and another section with more palatable water is Sanam, another Tuwal, and so forth. What remains after subtraction of the waterful area is Rub' al Khali *par excellence*, the waterless desert, the Empty Quarter—empty even by the reckoning of the Badawin. The name '*Ahqaf*,' common enough in literature, I have never heard but on the lips of pedants and pedagogues. It may perhaps be known and used by the Hadhramaut Arabs, of whom I have no experience." Z.

Der Tell Halaf, eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien, by Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, 131 illustrations, of which four are in colors. F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, pp. 276, geheftet M. 12, cloth, M. 14.

Readers of this journal may be interested to know that before undertaking his excavations the author had a wide acquaintance with the Mohammedan world from Morocco to India and East Africa. In 1899 he came to Ras el Ain, which is at the source of the Khabur, and also to the neighboring Tell Halaf. The first excavations began in 1911, but were suspended on account of the World War. The work was resumed, however, in 1927 and continued to 1929. The author has, on the basis of his excavations, succeeded in giving the reader an attractive and instructive account of the ancient civilization of the Khabur valley.

According to the Babylonian records, there were four regions: Sumer-Akkad, Elam, Amurru, and Subartu; Tell Halaf and Jebel-el-Beda belong to the latter section.

The author maintains that Subartu had a culture of its own, which is known as Hurrian and may be compared favorably with that of Babylonia and Egypt. The Hurrians extended from the East Tigris land and Assyria to Asia Minor and Syria, and were established in the region of the Khabur before the third millennium B. C. Chapter 2 gives an excellent résumé of the history of the Khabur valley, from the earliest times down to the modern period. The illustrations add a great deal to the value of this interesting book.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Caravans of the old Sahara: An Introduction to the History of the Western Sudan. By E. W. Bovill. Oxford University Press, New York, 1933. pp. 300; \$7.

The purpose of this important and fascinating study is to describe the early contacts of the Western Sudan, by trans-Saharan caravan traffic, with the Barbary States on the North, and thus to show the part played by the Western Sudan in the history of the civilization of Africa. "As our knowledge of Barbary, of the Sudan, and of the Sahara increases, the more reason have we to believe that little change has taken place in any one of these regions since the dawn of history. The successive waves of invaders which swept across North Africa experienced climatic conditions closely similar to those of to-day. To each, the Sahara presented an all but insuperable barrier to regular intercourse with the Sudan, and at no period did man contemplate the crossing of the Sahara except as an enterprise involving grave risks and demanding the greatest hardihood."

In regard to the climate of this region, the author believes that man himself was the chief cause of the "shrinking oases and advanced sand." Depopulation allowed the desert to encroach. Even the abolition of the slave trade has indirectly had an unfavorable effect on the economic conditions in the desert. The decay of the caravan routes is partly due to political insecurity, but also to the diversion of the ancient trade into new channels. Four introductory chapters deal with the ancient history of the Sahara as described by Medieval Arabic writers. Then follow six chapters on the Almoravids, Ghana, Mali, The Rise of the Songhai Empire, the Askias, and Leo Africanus; and seven chapters under the title of "The Golden Trade" tell of the quest for gold and the Moorish invasion from the North, with the subsequent fall of the Songhai Empire. The fourth section of the book contains six chapters tracing the history of the discovery of the sources of the Niger, and "the lifting of the veil," in the penetration to the mysterious city of Timbuktu. Of great importance to the student of Islam are the references to the slave trade and slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The book contains thirteen maps, a full bibliography, and abundant references to authors; but the double system of footnotes by numerals and asterisks is very confusing. Z.

The Prince Aga Khan: An Authentic Life Story. By Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. John Long, Ltd., London. pp. 249; 12/6 net.

This biography, which professes to give the "authentic life story" of "His Highness," is wholly uncritical, fulsome in its adulation, and careless in its facts. The reader would infer that the Aga was "the first man to point out the evils of untouchability in India;" that he was the spiritual head of "millions of followers," that he removed all difficulties at the "Round Table" in London, was an outstanding figure at Geneva, and was distinguished not only in the realm of sport but in that of piety: "Some portion of the Quran is read regularly every day, and prayers, as enjoined by the Prophet, are uttered punctually at the appointed times. It is because of this, and because he displays none of that lethargy which is the characteristic of some Oriental potentates, that the members of the Shiah com-

munity accept his word without question, and obey all that he dictates with perfect and profound confidence."

The millions of Moslems whom he is said to represent shrink to a group of less than 100,000 Khojas in the Bombay Presidency and in East Africa. (See Encyclopedia of Islam). The Aga's fondness for ostentation is evident not only from the biography but from the biographer. He sends addresses to royalty "encased in a magnificent casket of solid gold." At his first nuptials in Poona, "a country surfeited by spectacles of pomp was astonished." "His Highness collected other titles when he visited Europe on subsequent occasions." He scintillates in the viceroy's council, and this superman is not only "an enormous reader," but knows more about books than the publishers, about nurseries than a gardener, and about diplomacy than "the greybeards of the Chancelleries of Europe." His second wife, whom we remember from the newspapers, is described as "one of the most beautiful women in Europe and one who carries, with superb aplomb, the magnificent gems which the Aga Khan has showered upon her. She is of French birth, but, nevertheless, takes the keenest and most intelligent interest in matters Muslim. She is always to be seen beside the Aga Khan in the embassies of Europe, and in her conversation displays a deep and unique knowledge of modern world politics."

The most revealing chapter in the book comes at the end, and tells of the Aga Khan's income, how it is derived and administered, and the dreaded power of excommunication held over the heads of those who failed to pay their tithes. In religious affairs this descendant of the Prophet retains supreme and absolute control as a manifestation of deity. He is also a good sport, and won the Derby race twice. In this volume he is painted without a flaw.

The following two paragraphs, however, from an Open Letter, published by the Secretary of the Khoja Reformers' Society, Karachi, 1927, and widely circulated in India at the time, are illuminating:

"Before proceeding to carry out our intention to depict the deplorably backward and neglected condition in which we, the followers of your Highness, have been systematically kept, we would, as a preliminary, refer to the connection which associates your Highness' family with the Khoja Community. This connection is the alleged descent of your Highness' family from the Caliph Ali, traced through the Grand Masters of Alamut, the infamous heads of the Assassins, the fourth successor of whom, Hassan II Zakaria-salam (grandson of Kiabuzrig-umid, the Vizier of the first 'Old Man of the Mountain,' Hassan bin Sabah) is stated to be in the direct line of your ancestors. That is, your Highness' connection with the Khoja Community is based on mere allegations of lineage to the Caliph Ali and therefore to the Prophet's family."

"Nominally, the followers of your Highness pass for a sect of Islam. As a matter of fact, the fundamental and essential tenets of Islam are almost wholly violated by the principles inculcated among them. It is common knowledge that Islam requires of its adherents belief in the One True God; the offering of prayers to that Almighty God; faith in the Holy Koran; giving of *Zakat* (poor rate); the practice of fasting and going on *Hajj* (pilgrimage). How

is it possible for your highness' followers to conform to the first and most important of these tenets when missionaries in your Highness' pay and acting under your instructions preach in every *Jamait-khana* (Khoja prayer house) that your Highness is the Almighty God, and divine worship is to be paid to you alone and no one else? And as a matter of fact, that is what your preachers preach, your followers practice and all prayers are addressed personally to your Highness as the Supreme Deity" . . . No man is a hero to his own valet. Z.

Islam Versus Christianity. By M. Hossain, B.A. Published by Dr. A. Ghafur, Chak, Dacca; Modern Book Agency, Calcutta. pp. vi+232; illustrated. Rupees 2/8/-.

This book, which has recently appeared on the market, was written evidently at the end of 1932, and purports to be a reply to Professor L. Levonian's book, "Moslem Mentality." The writer considers the point of view of Levonian to be wholly one-sided, unfair, and altogether unreliable. "Moslem Mentality," he evidently regards as being another "Mother India" directed against Islam, so he sets out to present in this volume "an impartial study of the comparative excellences of Islam and Christianity." He further declares that he has undertaken this work for the vindication of the faith "at the repeated requests and urgent importunities of some distinguished members of the Muslim League, the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Tabligh Committee, and the Khilafat Committee." Who the author, M. Hossain, B.A., is, we have no means of discovering, but suffice it to say that he is evidently not too desirous of letting the world know much about himself.

As "an impartial study" the book is worth absolutely nothing, and comes in the same category as the famous "Uncle Sham" which was written in reply to Miss Mayo's "Mother India." At best it can be said to compare the *best* in Islam with the *worst* in Western civilization, particularly that brand of it which is found in Hollywood, Reno, and other social disease-spots of America.

As a book it is not worth reading, and will not in the least accomplish anything, as the writer hopes (*sic*) toward "removing the misconception prevailing among non-Moslems, especially Christians, about Islam, the religion of humanity, and thus paving the way for establishing friendly relations between Islam and Christianity, the two great sister-religions of the East." In fact, if such a book can do any good at all, it may be in helping western Christians to see that the worst in our western civilization is the skeleton in our closet. And the worst of it is, that the skeleton is no longer a secret. The East knows it is there as well as we ourselves. We missionaries rightly protest that Western civilization is *not* Christianity, but in these days, rightly or wrongly, educated Hindus and Moslems rise up to tell us that neither are many of the Christian presentations of Hinduism and Islam any better than lying caricatures of *true* Hinduism, and *true* Islam.

The truth of the matter is that, human nature being what it is, people do not like criticism from the outside. The hope of the present situation is that in common with Christians, the peoples of the East, Moslems, Hindus, and Buddhists are adopting an attitude of self-

criticism which bodes well for the future. It is a hopeful sign that some Moslems are "adopting" interpretations of Islam which lean toward Christian standards, and that Hinduism by starting a movement for the removal of untouchability is moving toward the acceptance of the doctrine and ideal of the brotherhood of man, which even Christians do not practice to anything like the degree intended by their Lord.

Obviously, then, the message of this book, if it has any message at all, is to demonstrate the necessity for a far more extensive and real presentation of Christ in the lives of His followers; and likewise it is a challenge to us to give up the method of destructive criticism in our writings about other religions in favor of a straightforward presentation of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

MURRAY T. TITUS.

L'Espagne Musulmane au XIème Siècle—Institutions et Vie Sociale, by E. Lévi-Provençal, Larose, Paris, 1932. pp. 272+24 plates+a map of Moslem Spain of the tenth century.

The author, who has written a number of books on the Moslem Occident, treats in this work one of the most fascinating periods in Spanish history. In the first chapter he considers the elements in the population. In succeeding sections he discusses the government and administration of the empire, the provinces, the defense of the frontiers, and the military organization. A whole chapter is devoted to the economic life of the period, while in the last division (pp. 195-236) we have a treatment of the city of Córdoba. In this connection there are furnished a plan of the great mosque of Córdoba, a map of the city, and a sketch of its environs. An index of 25 pages is a very useful feature of the book. The footnotes show that the author has consulted a large number of sources in the preparation of this volume. The plates at the end of the work are all beautiful reproductions and bear testimony to the greatness of the Arabic civilization in Spain during that period.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Alfarabi's Philosophy: and its Influence on Scholasticism. By Father Robert Hamul, O.F.M. Pellegrini and Company, Sidney. pp. 86; 5s.

We welcome this admirable sketch of a Mohanmedan philosopher of the tenth century by Father Robert Hamul. It is the first attempt to present in connected form the philosophy of Alfarabi and its influence on medieval thought. The author bases his work on the Arabic texts that are extant. Alfarabi received his philosophical training mainly at Harran under the Christian philosopher Yuhanna ben Hailan. He spent the greater part of his life at Aleppo and died in Damascus, 950 A. D. His works include Logic, Natural Physics, Psychology, Ethics, and Metaphysics. Our author states that Alfarabi was a Neo-Platonist, but nevertheless his theology was largely Christian.

"Alfarabi's Theodicy considering God in Himself does not differ much from Christian Theodicy, either in the arguments for God's existence or in the exposition of the various attributes constituting His nature. Apart from certain secondary points which are a little

imperfect, whoever reads Alfarabi's Theodicy, at first sight, gets the impression of hearing the words of a Christian Father. In this section we shall be somewhat lengthy in expounding each attribute of God according to Alfarabi's thought, with a view to grasping the perfect resemblance of his and the Christian Theodicy."

One would like more extended proof of this conclusion. The book does not contain many direct quotations from Alfarabi. Its importance is "that Alfarabi knew how to effect the first penetration of Arabism into Hellenism, and of Hellenism into Arabism, and that his influence has spread beyond the limits of the Eastern world."

Z.

Introduction à Avicenne: Son Épître des Définitions. By A. M. Goichon. Traduction avec notes. Desclée, De Brouwer & Co., Paris. pp. 216, 35 fr.

This little volume would have delighted the late Canon Gairdner, who often expressed the need of a handbook to the technical terms of Moslem philosophy and mysticism. In a preface the distinguished Spanish Orientalist Miguel Asin Palacios reviews the earlier attempts toward such a dictionary, the difficulty of the task and the excellence of the present work: "C'est cela précisément que, dans une étude pénétrante et avec une patience infatigable, a fait Mlle. Goichon pour interpréter les définitions d'Avicenne. Chacune d'elles est l'objet d'une monographie érudite, dans laquelle les idées cardinales du défini et les vocables arabes qu'ils expriment sont docement commentés d'abord, à la lumière des oeuvres d'Avicenne où on les trouve plus explicités, et sont ensuite comparés avec les sources philosophiques grecques, dont ils dépendent plus ou moins directement. Ce double commentaire est un modèle d'investigation critique et historique, qui aidera à situer Avicenne à la place qui est la sienne dans le cadre général de l'histoire de la philosophie, particulièrement de la philosophie islamique."

Miss Goichon in her introduction sketches the life of Abu Ali al Hussain ibn Abdallah ibn Sina (Avicenna) and his place in the ranks of philosophers; gives a list of his works to the number of one hundred and fifty-six, mostly in manuscript. The work here given is entitled *Al Hudud*: Definitions. We do not have the Arabic text, but a complete and accurate translation with copious critical notes and with each technical term carefully transliterated and explained; e. g., *hadd*, *rasm*, *'aql*, *nafs*, *jism*, *makān*, *'adam*, etc., to the number of seventy-two philosophical categories. His definition of *jinn* shows how early the critical spirit arose in Islam: "Le génie est un animal, aérien, doué de langage articulé, *nāṭiq*, de corps transparent, qui a la propriété de revêtir diverses figures. Ce n'est pas là sa définition descriptive, mais plutôt l'idée qu'éveille son nom." The double index is useful and facilitates reference.

Z.

Hospitals Overseas: Africa and the East Series. Church Missionary Society, London. pp. 88. £1.

An illustrated answer to the "why" of Medical Missions, portraying the romance of pioneer-work as in Ruanda, the care of children as in other parts of Africa, and the need of Indian villagers. Other chapters tell of the work for the blind and for lepers. The record of

fifty years of medical missions in Persia is evidence of the supreme need and value of hospitals in work among Moslems. Statistics, a map, and suggestions for missionary exhibitions add to the value of this admirable study text book.

Kitāb al-Zahrah (the first half). By Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abī Sulaimān Dāwūd Al-Iṣfahānī. Edited by A. R. Nykl and Ibrāhīm Tūqān. The Press of the Jesuit Fathers, Beirūt, 1932. pp. 3+406+8. \$2.

A. R. Nykl and Ibrāhīm Tūqān should be congratulated for resisting the temptation, offered by Martin Sprengling, of translating the *Kitāb al-Zahrah* into English. This is because in any translation of Arabic poetry into English (whether into verse or prose) it is impossible to do that and at the same time convey the meaning without being nearly always insipid, dull and at times even ridiculous. This is because there is no affinity between the English and the Arabic. Moreover their standards of art and beauty widely differ. Rather, as the editor states, the publication of the text as a basis for further elucidation and improvement by those interested, is the first logical step to take.

Arabic poetry has been mainly approached from the rhetorical, linguistic, and metrical angle. This publication should furnish the material and stimulate the interest for further study along critical and scientific lines. More pains should be taken to study the conditions and sentiments of the times as portrayed in poetry—especially, as in the case of this work, love poetry, in which the Arabs are very rich, and which is the most sensitive guide in that field.

A few minor mistakes, especially in the transliteration, may be pointed out. Dāwūd is spelled right on the title page but appears Dāwoūd in the foreword. Al-Hallāj should be al-Ḥallāj, Sulaimān is better transliterated Sulaymān, and *Kitāb az-Zahra* should be *Kitāb al-Zahrah*. The modern name of Shechem is not Nāblus, which is the colloquial form, but Nābūlus (*Yāqūt*, iv, p. 723). The system of transliteration which is observed on the title page is totally ignored in the foreword.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

S. P. E. Tract No. XXXVIII; Arabic Words in English. By Walt Taylor. The Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, New York. pp. 567-599; 85¢.

There are about one thousand words of Arabic origin in the English language. But two-thirds are obsolete and, we are told, of the remainder one-third are technical. In common use we have two hundred and sixty of these loan-words that belong to various fields and were borrowed from Arabic works, translated into Latin in the twelfth century. Since that time, through travelers and merchants, other Arabic words have found a place in the English Dictionary. The author divides his lists topically and gives after each word the date when it was first used. We are interested in his plea for the simplification of the spelling of these derived words. "Now that the Crusades are over, and that we know, thanks to Carlyle and others, who Mahomet was, cannot we agree to keep to his one English name, and not write *Muḥammad* or such unpronounceable forms? And, as a matter of politeness to Moslems, can we not agree to

call them (as they like to be called) 'Moslems,' and not 'Mussulman,' etc.?"

To avoid the spelling of these common words in pedantic form, the writer suggests that the word "Moslem," for example, has for centuries become part of English spelling and pronunciation. "It is possible that future loan-words will be adopted in a form nearly approaching a transliteration of the Arabic word. With the spread of secondary education we are, as a nation, becoming more aware of the etymology of our words. The process which made us use French stress in French words borrowed since the Restoration is going almost too far to-day; and in the form of our Arabic loan-words we are in danger of being deceived by the pedants and their friends the proof-readers." There is a full bibliography of the dictionaries and other works in which the fascinating history of these loan-words can be traced. Z.

Der Einfluss des Christentums auf andere Religionen. By D. Dr. Carl Clemen. A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig, 1933. pp. 122. R. M. 25.

A number of books have been written since the middle of the eighteenth century on the influence of other religions on Christianity, especially that of Buddhism and the Mystery Religions. Professor Clemen, of the University of Bonn, contributes a study on what other religions owe to Christianity. Beginning with primitive religion in a brief chapter, he deals with Gnosticism in its various forms, the religions of Greece and Rome, the Germanic and Slavic religions, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and the recent forms of Shintoism in Japan and certain sects in China. His conclusion is that the influence of Christianity on all these religions has been greater than is generally thought. This is especially true of the later development of Islam and of Buddhism and Shintoism. In some respects this process of borrowing has formed a bridge from the non-Christian world to Christianity. Tilak in India said that "across the bridge of Tukaram I came to Christ." But, on the other hand, it has created a barrier. The process of borrowing has produced a syncretism which is even more hostile to Christianity than the original form of the non-Christian faith. In regard to Islam he says: "Und wenn man endlich bedenkt, welche Verluste das Christentum durch den Islam früher erlitten hat und stellenweise noch jetzt erleidet und wie verhältnismässig gering die Zahl der von der Christlichen Mission förmlich Aufgenommenen bisher gewesen ist, so wird man gerade vom Standpunkt des Christentums aus jeden Einfluss desselben auf andere Religionen auf das lebhafteste begrüben." Needless to say, the book is fully documented and deserves careful study. Z.

Beiträge zum Verständnis religiöser Muslimscher Texte. By A. Fischer. Verlag von S. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1933. pp. 56. M. 4.50.

Our readers will recall the issue of a *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch* entitled "Der Islam: mit ausschluss des Qûrans" by Joseph Schacht and published at Tübingen in 1931. This is an extensive and devastating criticism of the work by an Orientalist who is also a distinguished Arabist. His contention, in the introductory pages, is that, with noble exceptions, Islamic studies in recent years have

suffered because those who published their work were not thorough Arabic scholars and were unacquainted with dictionaries and the usage of technical terms, Joseph Schacht is his first victim, and the work before us is like a quiver full of sharp arrows aimed with deadly accuracy. At the time of its publication Schacht's translation of Islamic texts received high praise, nevertheless, from such scholars as Nicholson, Hartmann, and Nallino, but Dr. Fischer thinks otherwise: "the work is characterized by carelessness and written without the necessary scholarship demanded."

After describing in detail a hundred or more mistakes, he concludes mercilessly: "Wolte ich alle Fehler, die Sch.'s Buch enthält, in der von mir im vorstehenden befolgten Weise erörtern und berichtigen, dann würde ich dazu 200 und mehr Druckseiten benötigen. Diese stehen mir natürlich für eine solche Aufgabe nicht zur Verfügung, auch ist das Amt eines *éplucheur* nichts weniger als genussreich."

The work has its place and value according to Fischer. "Aber es ist Fabrikware und keine Präzisionsarbeit, und daher sollte jeder, der es zu streng wissenschaftlichen Zwecken benutzen will, sich stets gegenwärtig halten, dass es im einzelnen überall einer sorgfältigen Nachprüfung bedarf." Z.

The Ismaili Law of Wills. By Asaf A. A. Fyzee. Oxford University Press, New York. pp. 94. \$3.25.

The value of this book is not to be judged by its size and its extravagant price. It is an important contribution on Islamic law, and bears the marks of scholarship. The author is a barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple, and Principal of the Government Law College at Bombay. As he points out in his Preface, books on Ismaili Law are very rare, and with one exception, found only in manuscript. The text before us is a portion of the standard work *Da'ā'imu'-i-Islām* by Qādī an-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Haiyūn, who died 974. We have a classified list of his works to the number of forty-four, the sources of the text are given as four manuscripts and a summary of the law of wills in Islam. Mohammed the Prophet is said to have stated that "a true believer should not pass two nights without having written a will."

The Arabic text is carefully printed and annotated. The English translation follows, although only twelve pages deal with legal matters. The book is of importance to the wealthy community of Bohoras, the Gujarati merchants, who follow the teachings of this sect and whose representative is the Agha Khan. See the review of his biography in this issue. Z.

La Médecine arabe (Arabian Medicine): Conférences "Fitz Patrick" faites au Collège des Médecins. By Edward G. Browne. Edition Française mise à jour et annotée by Dr. H. P. J. Renaud. pp. 173. 25 fr.

This is a French translation of the late Professor Browne's book which was reviewed at length in the *MOSLEM WORLD*, volume XII, (pp. 316-317). The translator has added notes and a complete index. The first lecture deals with the periods of Islamic history, the transmission of Greek learning and the contributions made to medical knowledge by Syrians and Persians. In the second lecture the author

goes on to trace the history of Arabian medicine proper, mentioning among the great number of writers four who stand out prominently: 'Ali ibn Rabban, Abu Bakr Mohammed ibn Zakariyya ar-Razi, 'Ali ibn' al-Abbas al-Majusi, Abd 'Ali Husayn ibn Sina (Avicenna). All of these wrote voluminously, especially ar-Razi, some of whose medical tracts were translated into Latin, French, and other languages. In the third lecture we have a recapitulation of Arabian popular medicine and an account of medical practice at the time of the Crusades. Anecdotes are given in some cases of amusing and notable cures as recorded in Arabic and Persian literature. The fourth lecture deals with the contributions made to the science of medicine by the Moors of Spain, especially the school of Toledo.

The author's conclusions are summarized in his statement: "From the narrowest utilitarian point of view it is not likely that even the profoundest study of the subject will yield any practical results of importance, seeing that the whole system is based on a rudimentary Anatomy, an absolute Physiology, and a fantastic Pathology." He fails, however, to show that it is this very obsolete and fantastic system which still holds in its grasp the masses in nearly every Moslem land. The reason is evident. Arabian medicine is based upon Moslem tradition.

Z.

Au Pays des Superstitions et des Rites: Chez les Moïs et les Chams. By Commandant Baudesson. Librairie Plon, Paris. 20 fr. pp. 272.

Remembering the interesting articles written for our magazine last year, on the Chams of Burma, and Islam on the border-marches of Indo-China, our readers will welcome this little book by a French administrator. The first part deals with the Moïs of Indo-China, whose primitive rites and superstitions are described with sympathy and insight. The second part on the Chams tells of the introduction of Islam into Indo-China and its conquest of these tribes, who are found chiefly in the southeast corner of Cochin-China to the north-west of Saigon. Islam has spread but not penetrated in this part of the world. The Koran itself goes by the name of "the book of Islam," and in its recitation the text is considerably altered. We are also told that the people observe Ramadhan for three days only. Animism continues to exert a strong influence on all their beliefs and practices. The book contains an excellent bibliography, a good map, and a number of illustrations.

Z.

Mystik und Glaube: Im Zusammenhang mit der Mission auf Java. By Dr. B. M. Schuurman. Martinus Nijhoff, den Haag, 1933. pp. 125. 3 gld.

This is an important contribution to the science of missions and falls in the same class as the well known studies of Warneck on "Animism" and Simon on "Islam in Sumatra." The author is a professor in the Theological School at Malang, East Java, and is thoroughly acquainted with the literature of mysticism and the background of the Javanese mind. In four chapters he deals with the origin of Javanese mysticism, which has its roots in pre-Islamic pantheistic Hindu culture. With the entrance of Islam from India and Sumatra, the spread of mysticism found prepared soil. In the second chapter he writes on the significance of mysticism among

the masses. The importance of this chapter is evident when we learn that the population of Java is almost wholly Moslem and numbers thirty-seven millions. In the last two chapters the author distinguishes between mysticism and Christian faith, and draws conclusions regarding missionary method and policy. By faith, as he tells us in the preface, he understands the Pauline-Johannine conception of the Reformers. "Both mysticism and faith," he says, "are concerned with the relation of the human to the divine. Both have their origin in a homesick desire and thirst for eternity. Both deal with the absolute in its relation to the present and finite." In spite of these resemblances, however, the author does not confound the highest teachings of Al-Ghazali with those of Paul, although he shows that the former had influence on the teachings of Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas (p. 90). He sums up the real distinction between faith and mysticism so succinctly that we give it without translation, to preserve the potency of his argument: "Der Glaube betont das Rechtsein, die Mystik das Echtsein. Hier liegt der Grund für dass was wir den Abfall der Mystik vom Leben nannten. Das Rechtsein führt zum Echtsein, aber das Echtsein führt nicht weiter, es hat seinen Zweck in sich selbst, und bekümmert sich nicht mehr um ein Verhältnis nach aussen. In den beiden Worten 'recht' und 'echt' zeichnen sich Glaube und Mystik in ihrem Wesensunterschiede gegen einander ab." (p. 117). Z.

Dynamisme en logies Denken bij natuurvölker. Bijdrage tot de Psychologie der Primitiven. By Dr. I. I. Fahrenfort. I. B. Wolters, Groningen, den Haag, Batavia, 1933. pp. 179. fl. 2.90.

Moslems in all lands exhibit numerous traits of primitive religiousness, such as we find among aborigines. We term these, superstition and witchcraft, but they are fundamentally nothing but the remains of ancient heathenism, of dynamism, and animism, of ancestor worship, fetishism and demonism. Our author uses these as proof for his assertion, that an aboriginal people do not possess a different thought-process than the western, more cultured nations of our day. The author disputes, in the above-mentioned work, the statement of the well-known French ethnologist, Lévy Bruhl, who denies that these primitive people possess the ability to reason logically. Their thought process, he asserts, is pre-logical. For this reason the author probes the faculty of perception in the primitives which in some respects is keener, but does not, however, differentiate from our faculty of perception. The consciousness of self in the normal native, which is never divided, is exactly the same as that in normal people of higher culture. And finally, the psychology of the primitives, despite the many influences of magic, betrays traces of rational deliberation and logical thought.

In view of the many interesting singularities which the author points out, the book gives to those who are working amid Mohammedan peoples a better understanding of their psychology. The animistic views of these peoples are not ridiculous fancies, but are a kind of philosophic conception of the world which is based on a rational, logical, thought process, and a firm religious belief. Therefore, primitive religion among Moslems presents an obstacle to the preaching of the Gospel which is difficult to overcome.

GOTTFRIED SIMON.

Rusty Hinges: A Story of Closed Doors Beginning to Open in North-East Tibet. By Frank Doggett Learner, F.R.G.S. The China Inland Mission, London, Philadelphia. pp. 157, 2/-net.

The title contains a subtle challenge, and the sub-title gives its interpretation. The writer has had twenty-two years of experience on the border-marches of North-West China, and we remember with deep gratitude his fellowship during our visit last summer to Tsinghai Province.

The bulk of the book deals with Tibetans, but the author has some accurate paragraphs on Islam. Is it a slip of memory when he writes (page 19) that "the five daily seasons of worship are directed to these selected men: Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jesus and Mohammed"? Or is there a Chinese tradition to this effect? The style is excellent; so are the numerous illustrations. Z.

Majnun Layla. Translated into English Verse from the Arabic by Arthur John Arberry. A. Lencioni, Cairo, Egypt. pp. 61.

This poetical drama in five acts is translated from the Arabic of the late Ahmed Shawki, who was the acknowledged leading poet of the Near East. Born in 1868, in Egypt, he died there in 1932. The author of a large collection of odes, this is one of his six plays, and the most popular. The translator saw it performed in Cairo. The English rendering is good, and the theme is famous in Islamic literature. Z.

The Land of Promise. By Edmund Fleg. The Macaulay Co., New York. pp. 256. \$2.

There are predestined places as there are predestined men. The author of this extraordinary book reveals a courageous frankness and an intense spiritual longing in discussing the Land of Promise. He finds in Palestine, in contrast with his home in Paris, the footsteps of Jesus and the hope of his people. The book has lost none of its charm by translation. The illustrations are numerous, and the account of Jerusalem today, of Tel Aviv, of the schemes for reforestation, and the success of the Zionist colonists will rivet the reader's attention. The author, however, is an Anglophobe in his attitude toward the mandate. Z.

A Modern Pilgrimage. By Mary Berenson. D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1933. pp. xiii+355. \$3.

The personal impressions of Mary Berenson during a prolonged visit to Syria and Palestine. The account reveals a thoughtful mind with a pronounced religious slant. For people of similar bent the book should be both interesting and inspiring. Its value, however, would have been greater if the author had been more careful about the historical facts around which she has woven her impressions. For example, the Lebanon Republic did not begin in 1861 (p. 18), but is one of the abnormal growths of the post-war period. Subri-*ezal* and Beháu'llal, (p. 31), should be Şubh al-Azal and Bahā'-Allāh respectively. In the case of the transliteration it is almost impossible to recognize the Arabic origins. One wonders what Ez-Azim,

(172), stands for, and it is hard to recognize Matāwilah in Metawiyehs (p. 295).

The Moslems captured Jerusalem in A. D. 637, not in 639 (p. 45), and there was no Christian massacre in Damascus in 1860 (p. 160). The massacre took place in Dayr-al-Qamar. The Dome of the Rock is the third holiest spot in Islam, not the second (p. 53). Al-Suyūti's first name was Jalāl-al-Dīn not Shams-al Dīn (p. 60).

The opinions which the author expresses concerning certain controversial questions are best regarded as personal, and therefore need not be challenged. The redeeming virtue of the book is the bibliography attached.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Angola. The Land of the Blacksmith Prince. By John T. Tucker. pp. 180. 5s.

The Significance of Portugal. A Survey of Evangelical Progress. By Eduardo Moreira. pp. 71. 2/6.

Religion in the Republic of Spain. By C. Araujo Garcia and Kenneth G. Grubb. World Dominion Press, London. pp. 109. 2/6.

These three volumes are the latest issues of the World Dominion Survey Series, of which we have reviewed earlier issues in our Quarterly. Angola in West Africa has a small Moslem population, but there are very few Moslems in Portugal and Spain, although once occupied by the Moors. The infiltration of Arabian civilization in the fifth and sixth centuries left a heritage, especially in the vocabulary, the life and the architectural monuments. Each of the three missionary surveys is well documented, has a historical introduction and contains excellent maps and illustrations. The volume on "Angola" contains as an appendix a valuable series of documents on the legal status of missions. The *Times Literary Supplement* characterizes the Survey of Angola as "a brilliant account of an important mission field, to be cordially welcomed."

Z.

Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts: University of Egypt. Volume I, Part I. May, 1933, Cairo. pp. 149+106. P. T. 20.

This Bulletin is to be issued twice a year, and the first issue contains much of interest. One-half of the articles are in English; the other in Arabic. Our readers will turn to an account of a manuscript of the life of Mohammed in English "undated and unsigned, which bears the name of Garrett on the fly-leaf." It is probably the same as the one by Dr. Henry Stubbe (1705) published in 1911 by Luzac and Company. Other papers deal with the early history of Egypt, archaeology, the sources of Ibn 'Arabi's philosophy, and early Arabian geography.

Z.

Studien zu einer ostturkischen Lautlehre. By Gunnar Jarring. Borelius, Lund and Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig. pp. 156+53. 12 R.M.

The author visited Kashgar in 1929-30, and this manual on the phonetics and grammar of the dialect of Eastern Turkestan was prepared as a doctorate thesis for the University of Lund. It bears the marks of thorough scholarship and careful editing. A map of Turkestan, a full bibliography (8 pages), specimens of Kashgari hand-writing, a vocabulary and extracts from the popular literature

(e. g., *Rahat-ul-qulub* and *Qisas al-anbiya*) all add to the value of the book. It would seem to be indispensable to all students of Eastern-Turki. The author pays high tribute to his professor, Herr Gustav Raquette, whose labors in this linguistic field are well-known.

Z.

Islam and Modernism in Egypt, by Charles C. Adams. Oxford University Press, London, 1933. pp. viii+283.

The first chapter of this interesting study of modern thought in Egypt deals with the life of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, who began his influential work in Egypt in 1871, and remained there until he was expelled two years later; he is shown to have been the chief inspiration of the modern movement in that country.

Chapters ii to vii give the life history and the main teachings of Mohammed Abduh, who was a student at the Azhar when al-Afghānī began his work in Egypt. Mohammed Abduh began in 1871 to study regularly with al-Afghānī, and soon came to "follow him like his shadow." Abduh received his license to teach in 1877, when he began his work as a teacher at the Azhar and as a journalist, but in 1882 he was exiled from Egypt, and in 1883 went to Paris, where he rejoined his former teacher al-Afghānī, and with him published a revolutionary journal, which had only a very short life. In 1885 Mohammed Abduh separated from al-Afghānī, and lived for three and a half years at Beirut, until his pardon was secured in 1888 and he returned to Egypt. His travels in Europe are shown to have contributed much to his knowledge, and to have been an inspiration for his future career. On his return to Egypt he was honored and respected by the people and had much influence with the Government, being made a consultative member of the Court of Appeal at Cairo. In 1899 he became Mufti of all Egypt, and a member of the Legislative Council. Until his death in 1905, he exerted a powerful influence in Egypt itself, and through his writings he was able to influence the thought of Moslems all over the world.

The author discusses in chapters v to vii the merits and the influences exerted by Mohammed Abduh's commentary on the Koran and by his *Risālat al-Tauhid*, as well as his attitude towards Reason and Science, and his doctrines of God and Man, Prophecy and Morals. In Chapters viii and ix he deals with Mohammed Abduh's pupil, Mohammed Rashid Ridā, and the paper *al-Manār*, and also with the "Manār Party." There is also a brief chapter on some of the younger Egyptian modernists. The main purposes of the Manār Party are given in these words on page 247:—"There is something wrong with Islam; it should be reformed; the reform should begin as a religious movement; this consists in a return to the Koran, the following of the sound laws of thinking and the rejection of many usages and traditions which have hitherto passed as Islamic, but have in reality nothing to do with Islam."

Altogether this is a first-class contribution to our knowledge of present-day movements in Islam, and it is well documented.

W. G. SHELLABEAR.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

HAIFA CALLING. Florence E. Pinchon. (In *The Baha'i Magazine*, Washington, D. C., January, 1934. pp. 303-307).

The trade impetus given to this ancient port of Palestine by the fine harbor constructed by the British is but a prelude to what will take place when Mosul oil begins to pour into the city for export.

II. ARABIA AND AFGHANISTAN

AFGHANISTAN MAKES HASTE SLOWLY. Maynard Owen Williams. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C., December, 1933. pp. 731-769).

Unlike the Turks, the Afghans resent Western innovations, as King Amanullah learned to his cost.

AFGHANISTAN UNDER NADIR SHAH. Vasudeo B. Metta. (In *The Indian Review*, Calcutta. November, 1933. pp. 708-709).

In a reign of less than four years, the advance in education, trade and agriculture speaks eloquently for the internal peace of the country and the tolerant methods of the late ruler.

MECCA AND MADINA. H. St.J. B. Philby. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1933. pp. 504-518).

Descriptive lecture urging the desirability of railway construction to extend the beneficial work of motor-cars and aeroplanes in developing effective communication.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ISLAM TO THE SOLUTION OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER WORLD PROBLEMS. A. H. Ghuznavi. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1934. pp. 108-112).

The possession of stability of political relations inside the renascent Moslem kingdoms must be assured and recognized by the rest of the world. Then there will be new markets for the products of more developed countries.

IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY

LE CHRIST DANS LES EVANGILES, SELON AL GHAZÂLÎ. Louis Massignon. (In *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 4, 1932. pp. 523-536).

Soon after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, this Moslem scholar sought to prove, by reference to the Gospels, that the dogmas of Christians fail to agree with their own sacred books.

LE CHRIST DES MUSULMANS. Théodore Monod. (In *Le Monde non Chrétien*, Paris. Décembre, 1933. pp. 7-26).

Pictures the Christ of the Koran and of Moslem tradition.

L'ISLAM DANS LA LITTÉRATURE ARMENIENNE. Frédéric Macler. (In *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 4, 1932. pp. 493-522).

Abstract of a study by Mgr. Babgèn of a treatise by Gregory of Tathew, written about 1397 and hitherto suppressed. It is called the "Book of Questions" and undertakes to refute sixteen errors of the Moslems.

DIE LIBERALE MYSTIK DES ISLAM. M. Horten. (In *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, Münster. Heft 4, 1933. pp. 308-316).

Analysis of the teachings of Moslem mystics, with some characteristic extracts from their writings.

NOTES SUR L'UMMU'L KITÂB DES ISMAËLIENS DE L'ASIE CENTRALE. Vladimir Ivanow. (In *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 4, 1932. pp. 419-482).

Exhaustive study of a book, composed in the eleventh century, held sacred by the Ismaili sect of the Upper Oxus region, but showing Manichaean and other influences.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

LA CONDITION RELIGIEUSE EN TURQUIE. D. A. Davis. (In *Le Monde non Chrétien*, Paris. Décembre, 1933. pp. 64-75).

The new government treats all religions alike, but allows only "nationalized" education, which shuts out missionary teaching and leaves Christianity to be taught solely by example.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF LABOUR CONDITIONS IN THE LEBANON. Fuad Abu-Izziddin and George Hakim. (In the *International Labour Review*, London. November, 1933. pp. 673-682).

Investigation of 272 factories, considered a cross-sectional study of industrial conditions in the Mandated Territory, showing need of modern labor legislation.

HISTORIC CENTERS OF ISLAM. Ma Sung Ting. (In *The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai. October, 1933. pp. 636-642).

An address made at the College of Chinese Studies, June 2, 1933, by the founder of the Ch'eng Ta Normal School at Tsinan, pleading for cooperation between Christianity and Mohammedanism to help bring about world unity.

THE MANDAEANS OF 'IRAQ. E. S. Stevens. (Mrs. Drower). (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1933. pp. 519-531).

Describes a small, peaceful sect in Southern 'Iraq which attaches great importance to bathing in running water and claims to follow St. John the Baptist.

THE MOSLEMS' EDUCATIONAL "DISABILITIES" and the Resumption Proceedings of 1828. Jatindra Mohan Datta. (In *The Modern Review*, Calcutta. October, 1933. pp. 451-453).

Takes exception to an article by Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose on this subject; explains that "resumption" is not confiscation, and adds that one must seek elsewhere than in the lack of endowments for educational institutions for the real cause of Moslem educational backwardness.

LE THEATRE ARABE A TUNIS. L. V. (In *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier 4, 1932. pp. 537-544).

Tells of actors and plays during 1932 and 1933.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

EFFERVESCENCE ET CHAOS DANS L'ISLAM ALGERIEN. A. Giacobetti. (In *Etudes Missionnaires*, Paris. Juillet-Septembre, 1933. pp. 161-172).

Emphasises differences of opinion among Moslems due to European influences, Communism, nationalism, etc., and believes that orthodox Islam must be preached in the mosques, and free speech suppressed.

A FAR-REACHING TURKISH PLAN. Sir Telford Waugh. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1933. pp. 578-586).

Describes a universal history published by the Turkish government, intended to stimulate nationalism, not only in Turkey proper, but in Turkish tribes in Russia, Persia, China, and elsewhere.

THE FRANCO-MUSLIM POSITION. Michael Pym. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1933. pp. 598-629).

Deals particularly with the North African dependencies and shows that the French instinct for uniformity feels Islam an obstacle which may perhaps be diminished by separating Berbers from Arabs and by modifying Islamic rules to suit Christian interests.

MOSLEM NORTH AFRICA. Martin Sprengling. (In *The Open Court*, Chicago. December, 1933. pp. 505-516).

Historical sketch of foreign colonization in North Africa, pointing out the racial elements involved.

MUSULMANS ET JUIFS MAROCAINS. M. Le Glay. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Novembre, 1933. pp. 621-625).

A picturesque description of the way in which Jews and Moslems live and trade in close proximity, yet always with a barrier between them.

THE TURKS BUILD A NATION. Robert L. Baker. (In *Current History*, New York. January, 1934. pp. 409-415).

Mustafa Kemal, by completely overturning the old system of life in Turkey, has created a firm, progressive state, free from the incubus of foreign capital and on excellent terms with foreign powers.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

EGYPT—WHAT PRICE PROGRESS? Rev. C. R. Watson, D.D. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. February, 1934. pp. 71-75).

Egypt is advancing and will continue to advance as long as Christians there and here are ready to make sacrifices to further her material and spiritual prosperity.

THE GATEWAY TO MOROCCO. J. J. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1934. pp. 10-15).

In order that Europe may contribute to Morocco spiritually as well as materially, American and British evangelists are being sent from Casablanca to preach at tribal fairs and in the market places, very much as Moslem marabouts preached as early as the eighth century.

LE PERIL ISLAMIQUE AUX INDES. R. P. Victor Courtois. (In *Les Missions Catholiques*, Paris. 16 Novembre, 1933. pp. 515-516).

What are Roman Catholic missions doing to meet the rapid spread of Islam in India, which Protestant bodies are counter-ing with organizations like the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems, and with specially trained missionaries?

RESOLUTIONS ON WORK AMONG MOSLEMS. (In *The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai. October, 1933. pp. 633-636).

Results of a conference of missionaries working in Moslem districts of China, July 18-19, 1933, on the occasion of the visit of Dr. Zwemer and the Rev. Mr. Pickens.

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