

# THE MOSLEM WORLD

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## OUR EVANGEL AND ISLAM

The New Testament word for evangel very early became a commonplace word in the Arabic Koran and in the religious vocabulary of all Moslems. It occurs twelve times in Mohammed's revelation and refers either to Christ's teaching or to "a book" which He brought down from heaven.<sup>1</sup> It does not occur in the earlier chapters, but when Mohammed was in close contact with Jews and Christians later in his life, the word was often on his lips. "We gave (Jesus) the evangel (*injil*) and we placed in the hearts of those who followed him kindness and compassion." (57:27). "Ye rest on naught until ye stand fast by the Law and the Evangel and what is revealed to you from your Lord." (5:72). Such is the high praise given to the message of Jesus. It is a word of truth and produces the spirit of adoration (48:29).

But although the Gospel is so highly spoken of and declared to be the very word of God, yet neither in the Koran nor in Moslem Tradition have we anywhere an adequate account of the real content of Christ's message. On the contrary, both deny His deity, the finality of His teaching, the fact of His death for sin on the Cross, and His glorious resurrection. This is, therefore, at once an invitation and a rebuff to evangelism among Moslems. An invitation, because they too love Jesus the son of Mary and are always glad to hear more about Him; a rebuff, because the deepest truths meet with denial, and the Cross

<sup>1</sup> Surahs 7:156; 3:2; 3:43; 3:58; 57:27; 48:29; 9:112; 5:50, 51; 5:70, 72; 5:110 and perhaps 19:31.

of Christ, to us a glory, is to them a stumbling-block. The paradox is this: our Gospel is lauded because of its label but libeled because of its contents. Was there ever such an age-long and world-wide misunderstanding as that between the Cross and the Crescent?

First of all, there is the misunderstanding of the scope of the mission of Jesus Christ. To the Moslem mind that mission was not universal but local. He was sent only to the Jews of His day. His real place in the history of God's plan for humanity is that of a harbinger for one who is to follow after. Jesus is the John the Baptist for Mohammed. He foretold his coming and is superseded and supplanted by the last of Allah's messengers.

Again, the Moslem is ignorant of the origin and content of the book he calls the *Injil*. In the biographical dictionary of Hajji Khalifa, called *Kashf-us-Zunun*, we read:

"The *Injil* is a book which God revealed to 'Isa ibn Maryam. In the work entitled *al-Muwahib* (by Shihabu 'd-Din Ahmad al-Qastalani, died A. H. 923), it is recorded that the *Injil* was first revealed in the Syriac tongue, and has since been translated into seventeen languages. But in the *Sahihu 'l-Bukhara* (A. H. 256), in the story of Waraqah ibn Naufal, it is related that the *Injil* was revealed in Hebrew. According to Wahb ibn Munabbih, as quoted by Zamakhshari (A. H. 538) in the *Kashshaf*, the *Injil* was revealed to Jesus on the 13th day of the month Ramazan, although some say it was on the 18th day of that month, 1200 years after the revelation of the Zabur (Psalms) to Moses."<sup>2</sup>

Other writers record an equally strange mixture of fact and fiction regarding the origin of the New Testament. All Moslems are agreed that what all Christians consider the very heart of the Evangel, namely Christ's atoning death on the Cross and His resurrection, are not merely a stumbling-block and foolishness, but contrary to fact. This barrier must be overcome by historical proof or else our message is futile. There is still a third reason why the Gospel is "a hard saying" to Moslems. It was pointed out in a remarkable parable by Professor Margoliouth of Oxford some years ago. We believe his words are not only

<sup>2</sup> Dictionary of Islam, p. 212.

weighty but they touch the very heart of the subject. He wrote in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*:

“The manifold and irksome ceremonies that constitute part of the daily life of a Mohammedan, not only mean a return to that bondage from which mature man should be free, but they are thought to constitute an obligation to be repaid by the Deity. The fact that a Mohammedan will probably have performed them regularly from boyhood, constitutes a serious bar to missionary effort; for it turns him who would fain bring good tidings into a messenger of bad news. His message is that all this credit is imaginary; the sum amassed by such long exertions does not exist. Go and tell the bankers in Lombard Street that the gold coin in their vaults and those of the Bank of England is all counterfeit; that the slightest test will expose it; that in a few days or hours no one will give commodities in exchange for it. He who brought such a message now would simply incur ridicule; for the owners of the coin could immediately convince themselves that the tale was false. But supposing that they knew in their secret hearts that it was true; that they dare not go down into the vaults or test the coin, for fear it should show base color; that numerous incidents coming into their memory all confirmed the news. What in that case would happen to such a messenger? Even today he would not be safe from pistol or dagger.

“And it is precisely such a message as that which the Christian missionary brings to those who all their lives have supposed that the five daily prayers, and the fasting month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, are the service which God desires. They have to be told that all this is of no value; that what God requires of them is something very different, and far less flattering to their vanity; and that even so, what their discharge of it will represent is not assets, but a deficit. ‘When ye have done all, say, “We are unprofitable servants.”’

“And if the message of the Gospel be in any case that of bankruptcy before it can tell of the greater and truer riches, what must be the character of the message to those whose lives have been spent in discussing the minutiae of those childish rites, and whose profession is thought to be the most honourable that a man can follow? Truly it can only be the grace of God that makes the blind to see and the deaf to hear.”

The task of evangelism may be exceedingly difficult but it is increasingly imperative, for the heart of our message is winning its way, in spite of all misunderstandings, to the heart of Moslems. In this number of our

Quarterly there are evidences that the Gospel is finding a welcome in the world of Islam.

Such a message the Moslem heart needs and of such a message who would be ashamed? But lest we mistake the circumference for the center we need to remember the limitations and implications of the Great Commission.

"We are sent," in the words of Hugh Thomson Kerr, "not to preach sociology but salvation; not economics but evangelism; not reform but redemption; not culture but conversion; not progress but pardon; not the new social order but the new birth; not revolution but regeneration; not renovation but revival; not resuscitation but resurrection; not a new organization but a new creation; not democracy but the Gospel; not civilization but Christ. We are ambassadors not diplomats."

If this be true perhaps some of our methods of evangelism need overhauling and our message itself needs a clearer and less cumbersome expression. We have good news of forgiveness and pardon, of peace and victory over sin. Everywhere the human heart is hungry for such a message. Jesus is the only hope of the world.

The one thing we need is contact. All methods are futile unless they lead directly or indirectly to this goal. Personal evangelism is a collision of souls. The impact depends on the momentum. John was "a burning and a shining light"—but the burning comes before the shining. A passion for souls will kindle the flame of evangelism.

Raymund Lull, Henry Martyn, Karl Gottlieb Pfander—were all men who loved individual Moslems with a love that would not let them go. That same spirit is found today among an increasing number of Oriental Christians. When their hearts are set aglow by the love of Christ they will make the Church a home for Moslem converts, not only, but run to meet the prodigals and welcome them to the Father's home and the Father's heart.

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## GUESTS OF KING IBN SA'UD

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It is no longer a novelty for American Mission doctors to go into Nejd. Dr. Harrison was first invited by the king in 1918 to come and treat his son. Since that time, Dr. Dame has made six medical tours into Nejd and Hassa. Dr. Storm has just terminated his medical tour in Nejd and the Hejaz, after three months in the king's territory.

Two years ago for the first time, a lady doctor and a nurse were invited to accompany the medical men of our mission. And this year (1935) a non-medical missionary and his son were permitted to join the medical group. This is plain evidence that the king is not afraid of foreigners and their entrance into his kingdom. He is known to have said: "We know what to avoid, and we know what to accept for our own benefit."

It must be understood, however, that no foreigner can enter Nejd without permission from Ibn Sa'ud, the king himself. This permission is your passport. You need no more to get in. No one can stop you. This guarantees, in the case of our party at least, free transportation, protection on the way, a friendly hand from every official and subject of this Arab Government you meet on the way. If one is *persona grata* with king Abd Al Aziz, he is everybody's friend. No questions are asked; his path is made easy, and "all's well with the world." It is difficult to imagine what would happen to the unwelcome ones. We know that four hundred thirteen destitute Indian pilgrims have been sent to Bahrain from Nejd and Hejaz, later to be transported to India. They must have become a detriment to the Sa'udi Government and so the king gave orders to ship them off.

Last autumn, the doctor in charge of our hospitals

received an invitation from the king to come to Nejd and to bring with him a lady doctor, a nurse and medical assistants. In reply, a letter was sent asking the king whether permission was granted to me and our fifteen-year-old son to join the party. Mrs. Van Peurse, although a nurse, is known as the "doctora" in Nejd. Most of us were surprised at the king's liberal offer. As far as I know there were no restrictions. Nothing more could be asked for. It showed to what degree the king had placed confidence in the Bahrain Mission doctors. I for one was reaping the fruits of eighteen years of toil and friendship on the part of medical missions. The Arabs of Nejd, from the king down, are medicine-minded. The physician plays a very important part in their lives. If a doctor is even half way efficient, he is held in high regard among the people. How much more then do American-trained surgeons command respect! Next to the king, it would be difficult to name one man more popular than Dr. Dame, among the Arabs of Inland Arabia.

From the time we left Bahrain in February, till our return in July, the whole party were the guests of the king. The launch that carried us to Ojair was his. The crew were Nejdi subjects. The mutton and the rice consumed from that time on, was paid for by the king. In Ojair, three cars belonging to the king were waiting to take the party to Hofoof. Here the ever-efficient Mohamed Taweel, customs officer and the king's general agent, took charge of us. Two days were required to make preparations for the long desert trek on to Riyadh. Whatever damage was done in lavish spending, the king's treasury would have to make good. Careful accounts are kept when it is a matter of getting money from the Government.

For the rest of our wanderings from Hofoof to Khafs, Riyadh, Buraida, Hayil and Anaiza, then back to Riyadh and Hofoof, the king placed two cars and three lorries at our disposal. Two lorries were required for medicine boxes and gasoline tins alone. From Riyadh the drivers carried eighty five-gallon tins of gasoline. When we arrived in

Hayil, they informed us there would not be enough for the return journey. The consumption of gasoline on these sandy roads is enormous, really excessive. However the petrol also belongs to the king, why worry! Forty skins of fresh water had to be carried. Cars demand volumes of water as well as gas, in these parts, because the engine runs in low gear so much of the time. In addition to this we carried three live sheep, two bags of rice, a quantity of coffee and tea, sugar, etc., etc. In fact we were not unlike the ocean liner: self-contained for the time to be consumed and the distance to be covered.

In Hayil and Buraida the Amirs had instructions from headquarters to supply us, and to grant the doctor's every request. In all this we were not in the least disappointed. Lavish hospitality is not uncommon in Arabia. But only a king can entertain in a fashion so extensive as is done in Nejd today. To Ibn Sa'ud, however, this was but a drop in the bucket. Literally thousands eat from the king's table every day. At Khafs, the king's winter camp, I strolled along the open kitchens, and I gazed with boyish wonder at the number and size of the cooking tanks—for such they really were. Some of these vessels were eight feet in diameter, large enough to accommodate a half-dozen sheep at one time, and later to admit bushels and bushels of rice to be boiled for Badawin guests.

It is not sufficient for an Arab host to merely supply food and transportation for his guests. He must also shower presents upon them. It is quite customary at the capital in Riyadh to send visitors off with a complete outfit of new clothing, and a sum of money. The quality of the dress and the quantity of money are all determined by the station, rank and importance of the guest. We, a party of thirteen headed by Dr. Dame, all came in for presents on the day of our departure. No one was omitted. Great care was taken in finding out what position each of the party held. Gifts were distributed accordingly. This is so much of a system, that although it touched us deeply, to the king and his lieutenants it was just daily routine.

The one thing that impresses one as he comes into the presence of the king—European and Arab alike—is his simplicity and other undoubted sterling qualities. Is it too much to say that it is this very simplicity which is the secret of his power? In the reception room, the king does most of the talking. He asks many questions and loves to tell a joke as well as to play one on some poor visitor. His physical form and his energy are striking. It is plain that he works hard at his job of ruling a disjointed nation of fanatic Arabs. His provinces were won by war, and all the Arabs know that. No one contests his power and authority. However, the king is every inch an Arab *sheikh*. He does not introduce European things and ways unless it is absolutely necessary, and unless his people are ready for it. He says repeatedly that he is a Badui. He dresses like one. He loves hunting the gazelle, the rabbit and the bustard like a true Arab, although the chase is made in a Buick at fifty miles an hour over sand and bush. The king is both a democrat and an autocrat, but the two are marvelously blended. Our ladies have seen how tender a father he is to his children. He is also considered a good husband in the Moslem sense. But to a traitor or a spy he is relentless. This the Rashids, now captives at Riyadh, know all too well.

In exchange for the liberality of Ibn Sa'ud, Dr. Dame, Mrs. Van Peurseem and eleven assistants gave their time and services freely. Naturally the king and his household came first. In fact the doctor was called to Riyadh because of a favorite in the king's harem. However, daily clinics were held for the public. Every forenoon except Sundays, two hundred and fifty patients were treated. Richman, poorman, beggarman, men and women, everybody seemed to turn up at this daily clinic. The Badawin seemed a specially unfortunate class of people at these clinics, for the city folks, with a sense of superiority, pressed in ahead of them, so that often these country-bred folks were sadly neglected. The actual numbers of these clinics have not been estimated. To these masses some forty cases of

medicines were distributed. One of the assistants was kept busy giving intra-muscular and intra-venous injections for the men alone. This indicates that venereal diseases have become all too common in Sa'udi Arabia. Some one has said that unless this is checked, it will certainly decrease the population, if not exterminate certain sections altogether.

In Riyadh a total of 9,993 treatments were given, 2,585 injections applied and 193 operations performed. In Hayil the total treatments were 7,984, injections 2,126 and operations 160. In Anaiza the figures were: total treatments, 4,889; injections, 828 and operations, 118. This makes a total of 22,566 treatments, 5,539 injections and 471 operations, not to mention vaccinations, teeth extractions and abscesses.

The afternoons were devoted to surgery. Often the numbers of needy cases made it necessary for the doctor to continue into the hours of the night. As the news of the doctor's arrival radiated into the villages and hamlets, wellnigh hopeless cases were carried into the hospital. The Badawin, not knowing that even to modern medicine and surgery there is a limit, brought victims of tuberculosis in its last stages. Forms of skin and bone, carried on stretchers, appeared every day. Victims of venereal diseases, so repulsive that (poor things) their faces were not to be shown to the public. One look at such a specimen is enough to leave one cold and chill, for days and days. "An extreme case", the doctor says. "No, not extreme," says the Arab. "There are many like that in Hayil." But the *amir* did not know this, until the doctor came.

Hayil is known for its wars and rumors of wars. Every man has served in the army at some time or other. Vast numbers of men are still carrying bullets in muscle, bone and flesh. Sorry they went to war? Oh, no! They are proud of having fought for *sheikh* and country. But they do not object to the doctor's removing that bullet from chest and shoulder. In those parts a slacker is no man at all. Mothers will not give their daughters to such men;

they command no respect in the community. On the other hand, what honor to the reckless hero! He sits near the head of the table. The Arab who killed the would-be-murderer of one of the Rashids, when in the public *mejlis*, received favorable mention, and he received his coffee first. He has married one of the desirable ones from Armenia. If the moral courage of the men of Hayil had been half their physical bravery, their history would have a different color.

Under the king's strong rule however, peace and tranquility pervaded all, even as far as Hayil. One cannot cease to wonder at the strength of this one man, seeing that he rules over three million people, scattered over vast areas. One travels miles and miles, hours and hours, from Hayil to Buraida, without seeing man or beast, or in fact any life at all. One does thank Allah for Ibn Sa'ud, for now there is no plunder or robbery along the way. One of our party lost his bedding in the desert. We remarked that the Badawin might find it and restore it. Thereupon an Arab enlightened us by saying that no Badawin would touch it, much less deliver it, for fear his right hand might be cut off for stealing. "It's quiet on all fronts" because of the iron hand of one man—the King.

To the question why this medical service was rendered freely and to all, the reply was given: "Freely ye have received, freely give." "Of course", the Arabs said, "the followers of the prophet Jesus, the son of Mary, are good people." "Does not the Koran say in Surat-al-Hadid—chapter 57, verse 27: We have caused 'Isa to follow them? We have given him the *Injil*—the Gospel, and we have planted in the hearts of those who follow him, mercy and compassion."

Rome was not built in a day. And Nejd will not change over night. The people are cemented to their social customs and their religion. But if the last fifteen years is an indication, another twenty-five years will see a new Arabia.

## SHOULD MOSLEM CONVERTS UNITE WITH THE CHURCH?

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How little the Christian in far-away England or America comprehends the tragedy of conversion in a Moslem land! The Christian of the West may hear about, or even witness, the upheaval in a non-Christian household when one member of the family comes to the point of decision for Christ and breaks the home ties to follow the Saviour, and yet utterly fail to appreciate the fact that not only the converts over whom he rejoices but all the members of the unconverted family are passing through a veritable Gethsemane. "Are ye able to drink of the cup that I shall drink of, and to be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" How glibly we read the words and how little we enter into the experience of those in whose hearts the same words are a flame of fire because they have left all to follow Christ.

The attitude of the Koran towards a convert is expressed in "The Family of Imran", about line 90, where we read, "As for those who become infidels, after having believed, and then increase their infidelity—their repentance shall never be accepted. These are the erring ones."

In Hughes' Dictionary of Islam a tradition is quoted from *Sahihu 'l Bukhari* which represents Mohammed as saying, "Punish not with God's punishment (i.e., fire) but whosoever changes his religion, kill him with the sword."<sup>1</sup>

Many quotations from the Koran and the traditions might be brought forward to show that the wrath of Moslems against an apostate is unrelenting. Because of their violent attitude the question of baptism is one that causes no little trouble for the convert and for the missionary as well.

In 1933 the Near East Christian Council sent out

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<sup>1</sup> For the whole question of "Apostasy in Islam", see Zwemer's book with this title. The second chapter gives the Koran references in full.

through one of its committees a questionnaire seeking to gather up the experience of missionaries in their dealings with Moslem inquirers and converts. In the section of the report covering Baptism, the compiler says most missionaries "feel that the dangers of delaying baptism unduly of those spiritually ready for the rite are greater than the physical dangers that may be encountered through its administration. Secret baptism is universally deprecated."

To the convert "the physical dangers that may be encountered" are very real and yet the matter of baptism is usually brought forward and urged by the Moslem seeker rather than by the missionary. So the questions are ever before us—when? and where? and how? and by whom shall the convert be baptized? How helpless we all should be before these baffling problems if we had to depend upon our own judgment or that of our friends.

It was a wise person who said, "There is a way that seemeth right unto a man but the end thereof are the ways of death." Mistaken ways are always man-made. God's ways, while often difficult, are always ways of truth leading into life and with Him the way, the truth, and the life are inseparable. If Christianity were a plan of life evolved by man, then there might be some real reason for propounding the question, "Should Moslem converts be persuaded to unite with the church?" On the other hand, if Christianity has its source in God as revealed in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ, then to ask the question is to answer it. To answer it in the negative is to contravene and to disregard the direct command of the Head of the Church. Jesus made some very strong statements about those who enter not by the door of the sheepfold but who seek to climb up some other way, and his application was not to the sheep but to the would-be shepherds of the sheep. So it becomes a very serious matter when an under-shepherd discourages one of Christ's little ones from openly identifying himself with the organized church. He who presumes to lead men to Christ is duty-bound to follow the directions of his Lord.

Let it be said at once that this question is never raised in the mind of any worker among Moslems, who has a true spiritual concept of conversion. The question is raised only by theorists who have lost their spiritual perspective, if they ever had one, and who are confused in their thinking because they have failed to place first the things which Jesus Christ said should be first.

It is not ours to question the ways of our Lord or to debate any command which he has given or to doubt the wisdom of any of His statements. When He laid down the principles of His Kingdom and the course to be followed by all who should believe in Him, He did not even suggest the possibility of compromise in discipleship. They were to be "wise as serpents and harmless as doves," but His unequivocal statement was, "He that is not with Me is against Me", and those who were "with" Him were given the assurance that to follow Him involved accepting the reproach of Christ. "Brother shall deliver up brother . . . . Ye shall be hated of all men for My Name's sake . . . . What I tell you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and what ye hear in the ear that preach ye upon the housetops . . . . Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess . . . . Whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny . . . . I came not to send peace but a sword . . . . A man's foes shall be they of his own household." Surely no Bible-taught, Spirit-filled Christian, seeking to obey the command of his Master and endeavoring to follow His example and His teaching can read the tenth chapter of Matthew, from which these excerpts have been taken, and then ever question His will in the matter of baptizing a convert from Islam or any other faith. Jesus did not make an exception of the Moslem who should come to believe in Him nor did He give authority to anyone else to make such exception. Strange as it may seem to the carnal mind, the way of suffering was the way He chose for Himself, and His teaching is clear that "the disciple is not above his master nor the servant above his Lord." If there had been any

better way into the kingdom, or any other than the way He ordained, surely our Lord would have pointed it out.

Therefore the whole problem involved in the baptism of Moslem converts does not find its solution in what the new disciple would choose for himself or what the sympathetic worker who has led him to Christ might wish to arrange for him, but in the teaching and example of Christ himself. His word on this question should be final. So it seems clear that the missionary or evangelist who would teach a man to believe in Christ and then encourage him to hide, or even countenance his hiding, the light that is in him by refusing baptism and absenting himself from the Lord's table, is guilty of placing a stumbling block in the way of one of Christ's little ones and, according to Christ's own word, making of himself a liability instead of an asset in the work of the kingdom. He is building with wood and hay and stubble, or if building with stone he is daubing it with untempered mortar. (See Ezekiel 13:10-12).

In view of the strenuous and exacting requirements for discipleship laid down by Christ, what was the practice of the first missionaries of the cross? Did they omit or delay baptism in order to escape persecution? Is there any intimation that there were secret believers who did not accept baptism and who did not fellowship with other believers at the table of the Lord? When Peter preached the first Christian sermon at Pentecost and men's hearts were "pricked" so that they cried out, "What shall we do?" he gave them some rather explicit directions. He answered their questions by saying, "Repent and be baptized *every one of you* in the name of Jesus Christ *for the remission of sins.*" (Acts 2:38). A little later we read, "They that gladly received his word were baptized." (Acts 2:41). One would gather from this record that "*everyone*" who believed was found among the three thousand who received the ordinance of baptism.

When Philip preached in Samaria and his hearers believed, "they were baptized, both men and women." (Acts 8:12). When this same evangelist was sent down

toward Gaza to explain to an Ethiopian proselyte the meaning of "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter," and from that Scripture preached Christ, *straightway* the Ethiopian was baptized and the only condition placed upon him, so far as we know, was, "if thou believest with all thine heart" (Acts 8:26-38). When Ananias, through Holy Spirit power, laid his hands on the blinded Saul of Tarsus, "he received his sight forthwith and arose and was baptized." (Acts 9:17, 18).

When Peter was sent to the house of Cornelius he was called upon to do a new thing. He had no precedent for baptizing a pagan into the Christian Church. But when he was convinced that it was indeed the same Holy Spirit whom he had received, working in the hearts of these pagans he said, "Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized?" . . . . "and *he commanded them* to be baptized in the name of the Lord." (Acts 10:47, 48). Follow on through the Acts and indeed through the whole of the New Testament record, and whether it be Lydia, or the jailer at Philippi, or Crispus and the other first believers at Corinth, or any other group or individual mentioned in the whole record, there is not the slightest intimation that any ever believed without being baptized, immediately the evangelist was convinced of the sincerity of their faith. Those first evangelists believed that Jesus meant just what He said when He told them to go into all the world to preach, and to teach, and *to baptize*. If the missionary forces of our generation were as abundantly filled with the Holy Spirit as were the first missionaries of the church, the question regarding the advisability of baptizing Moslem converts would never be raised. And let it be said to the credit of present-day workers, it is not raised by anyone who is faithfully preaching the only gospel that Jesus ever gave. During twenty-seven years of service the writer does not remember hearing the subject broached except once, when one, inexperienced in Moslem work, argued that because of the trouble baptism brings upon a convert he should be recognized as a Christian

without submitting to the rite. In defense of this position, he told of someone who, without administering baptism, had ordained two Indians as "Hindu followers of Jesus Christ." Of course, those who indulge in that kind of pious nonsense are "thinking gray" and consequently have a warped conception of Christ's gospel.

If arguments were needed to meet such propositions, one might inquire what would have happened at Pentecost if Simon Peter had warned those who heard him preach and were "pricked in their hearts" and asked what they should do to be saved, by saying, "Gentlemen, remember that you are Jews and if you definitely break with Judaism you will incur the displeasure of the rulers and you will meet opposition from your families. Some of you might even be put to death. So it will be the part of wisdom for you to believe secretly in Jesus and to try earnestly to follow Him. You will save yourselves and us much trouble if you continue to live as good Jews, attending all the feasts and offering the Jewish sacrifices, although you thoroughly understand that they have all been done away in Christ's sacrifice. In other words, be prudent and make haste slowly in passing over into the church that Jesus came to establish." Every thinking, Spirit-filled Christian in this world knows that if any such speech had been made the Holy Spirit could never have used Peter to lead a single soul to Christ. With that kind of doctrine the church would have been stillborn.

The first-century church was cast in a very simple mold. There was not much that could be called an organization. Organization came later when the growth of the church made it a necessity. The disciples of Christ were looked upon for a considerable time as a sect of Judaism, but it is well to remember that this was a Jewish and a pagan point of view, not Christian. The advice given those who heard the sermon at Pentecost was, "Save yourselves from this untoward generation" and from the very beginning the followers of "The Way" looked upon themselves as a peculiar and a separate people. When the Corinthian

pagans believed, the command to them was, "Wherefore come out from among them and *be ye separate*," saith the Lord, "and touch not the unclean thing and I will receive you." (II Cor. 6:17). Let us remind ourselves also that because of their separation, first from the Jews and later from the pagans, the early Christians suffered the bitterest persecution. A refusal to accept baptism, or one word of denial, would have saved the life of any martyr, at any time in all the history of the church. A little incense offered before the image of the Emperor would have kept multitudes of those early Christians from the frightful tortures of Nero and his successors. But they refused to deny and they refused to offer the incense. They chose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season . . . they had respect unto the recompense of reward" (Heb. 11:25, 26). In Apostolic days they were taught to say, "who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, distress, persecutions, famine, nakedness, sword? Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us." (Rom. 8:35-37). It may be added that so long as the church maintained this apostolic standard the church prospered spiritually and numerically in the face of the most terrible persecutions. So soon as the church forgot that she was a stranger and a pilgrim and began to conform to the world she lost her spirituality and consequently her power of testimony, and the descent to apostasy was rapid.

Let us ask then, can the Moslem who is intellectually persuaded of the truth of the Gospel be kept alive spiritually, growing in grace and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, if he refuses to break with Islam by receiving baptism and openly associating himself with the visible church? It never has been done, and in the light of universal missionary experience in our own day and from the beginning it is safe to assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that it cannot be done.

Therefore we conclude that in the light of our Lord's

clear statements and in the light of the practice of the church from the beginning and the experience of present-day missionaries, the worker who has led a Moslem to a knowledge of Jesus Christ cannot be indifferent toward the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, which were appointed by the Head of the church as a means of grace and testimony.

Surely the missionary who has been entrusted with the message of eternal life dare not encourage one of these babes in Christ to sprinkle the incense of conformity on the altar of an anti-Christian faith.

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#### "PRIVATE" RELIGION

In a great variety of ways we have made religion again into a "private" affair between a man and his Maker. That is what the higher pagan religions are. But the Christianity of the New Testament is an intensely public thing. There are to be no secret adherents, such as Nicodemus was once disposed to be; he must come out into the open, receiving Baptism, and standing where the wind of the Spirit may catch him and carry him where it will. The first disciples upon whom the Spirit fell at Pentecost found themselves bound together in the fellowship of a singularly close-knit society.

—ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE.

## ISLAM IN TIBET

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When missionaries first came to Western Kansu with the intention of entering Tibetan territory with the Gospel message, they found the Tibetans very hostile and ready to drive them back by force. Once and again the missionaries were stoned and hooted out of an open market place on the edge of a large monastery. At that time many Moslem traders were moving from tribe to tribe throughout Northeastern Tibet, sometimes forcing their way with weapons of warfare and sometimes "bluffing" the Tibetan chieftains with threats of consequences if they did not offer protection. Among these traders were two cousins who soon saw the possibility of conquest and raised an army of the sons of Mohammed and conquered all the tribes of Northeast Tibet, even to the noted Kolok (Round Heads), and to Jekuk (Chinese Ü-Shu), a town on the border of Lhasa-controlled territory. This subduing of the Tibetans opened the door long prayed for by Christian people, and missionaries took the opportunity and occupied strategic points.

Mohammedan invasion of Tibetan territory is purely for trade and power. The Kansu-Chinese Mohammedan has made himself feared by Tibetans everywhere, with his courage in battle and cunning in trade. Again and again have their armies clashed with heavy loss on both sides but the Moslem is always the conqueror.

Most of the Moslem traders became quite fluent in the Tibetan language. One man lived in a secluded little monastery for years, studying the Tibetan classics, and compromised considerably to the Tibetan religious practices just to learn the language thoroughly. He afterward became a noted orator in Tibetan and was used by the

Mohammedan officials to terrify the Tibetan people into being "good citizens" under Moslem rule.

Every monastery center has its trading post, generally established by some Moslem firms or trading groups. Here the trader leads a more quiet life than his brother who drives the caravan. Years past when the Tibetan monastery authorities were in power, the Chinese and Moslems were not allowed to bring their wives and families from their homes in Chinese territory to these trading centers, and in some places I believe this rule still holds. But the Moslem is not confined to one wife or one home, and finding the Tibetan girls very pretty and desirable they married them and established homes in the trading centers too. These marriages were sometimes just simple agreements on the part of the two parties concerned and sometimes the man, being extraordinarily zealous, required that his bride go through the proper ritual to make her a Mohammedan before he would marry her; but this was always formal and in nearly every case the woman retained the Tibetan costume and continued to practice her Buddhist religious practices. In many cases each practiced his or her own religion and yet lived happily together and had large families. Disputes arose, however, about whether the children from such matches should become Moslems or Tibetan Buddhists, and the authorities came to an agreement that the "half-Tibetan" children should become Buddhist or Moslem depending on their sex. Boys were to become Moslems, (wear Chinese clothes with the Moslem hat and go to the mosque and learn Arabic), while the girls were to become Tibetan, (wear Tibetan garb, turn the mani-wheel and hear the Buddhist priests chant). This custom is still practiced in some of the trading villages along the border.

Occasionally the writer has heard some old zealot say that the Mohammedans should put forth more effort to convert these heathen Tibetans to the blessed (?) faith of the Moslem, but this is an exception, and one has never heard of the good intentions being carried out. There are

aboriginal tribes along the border who were Tibetan or Mongol Buddhists and are now Mohammedans, and some who were Moslem and are now Tibetan Buddhists, but today it is difficult to detect any effort on the part of either to convert the other. Of course the Moslem thinks the Tibetan is filthy and has some of the silliest superstitious practices, and the Tibetan thinks that the Moslem's refusal to eat any of their food is terribly unsociable and troublesome, and he cannot understand how the Moslem can ever reconcile his practices (taking life and lying, mainly) with any kind of religion. The average Tibetan hates and fears the Mohammedans and the average Mohammedan despises and holds in contempt most Tibetans, but each compromises sufficiently to keep a degree of peace which is most remarkable.

Now the Kansu-Chinese-Moslem trading caravans start from Sining Tangar, Kweiteh, Rongwu, Labrang, Heh Tsoh and Taochow and go west all the way to Lhasa, touching points and tribes all along the route. It is said that well over half the trade in Lhasa is in the hands of Moslems from Cashmere, and it is here that the Kansu Moslem meets his brother from the Himalayan side of the "Roof of the World", makes his exchange of goods in trade and criticizes the other's practices and rituals.

The Moslem-ruled Province of Chinghai reaches to Jekuk, the border of Lhasa-ruled territory and here the Moslem troops clashed in three battles with the Lhasa troops in 1933, neither gaining ground. Ma Pu Fang, son of one of the cousins mentioned in the beginning of this article and now military leader of all Chinghai, is making every effort to have an important part in getting Panch'en Rinpoche'i', the worshipful ecclesiastical lama of Tibetan Buddhism, back to Lhasa and thus be the leading influence of the future ruling class of Lhasa.

*Lhabrang, S. W. Kansu*

M. G. GRIEBENOW.

## AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MOHAMMED

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[The author of this article died at the age of eighty-four at Oberlin, Ohio on October 21, 1935. Shortly before his death he sent a penciled note from the Allen Hospital, in which he wrote: "I have been seized with a disease which promises to be fatal. But I had just finished and revised the enclosed manuscript. I hope you can use it. We shall meet, I trust, in a better world where Christ is."

Our readers will remember earlier articles by Dr. Foster and read this posthumous contribution with special interest.—EDITOR.]

It is not intended to affirm that Mohammed ever wrote what he might have described as an autobiography. His sole writings that have come down to us are those which have been collected in the Koran. But, unintentionally he told us much about himself, and what he thus tells us may be called, by a not illegitimate extension of the meaning of the word, an autobiography. The Koran is the source of much information about Mohammed and the events of his life, for he could not write such a book, on such themes, so personal and so broad in the range of its topics, any more than men of our own times can, without including much of direct statement, and very much more of implication, which throws light upon himself. And, for that matter, the Koran is itself one of his greatest exploits. Thus it is a source of any biography of him which may be undertaken; and, more than that, it is the only source that is absolutely reliable. There is much so-called biographical material prepared by later ages, and some of it may not be incorrect. But it is of such a character as to rouse profound suspicion, and to be rightly styled, as a whole, unreliable if not absolutely worthless. What we want to know about Mohammed is not what idealizing and apologetic writers, often centuries after Mohammed's death, have given us, but the truth, scanty and defective though that may turn out to be; and this is to be derived from the Koran alone. It will prove vastly more satisfactory, and it may be found not so insufficient as has been feared.

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### I.

On a certain day, more than fifteen hundred years ago, there appeared on the streets of Mecca, a town in southwestern Arabia, a man who professed to be a prophet of God. His name was Mohammed. He was well known to those who saw and heard him, but not

in this capacity. He gathered groups of people about him, perhaps in the great Meccan Mosque<sup>1</sup> or perhaps in the streets, and preached to them a new religion. He said: "God has said to me, 'Recite thou,<sup>2</sup> in the name of thy Lord.'" We may from this anticipate his entire future; for this sermon was in brief the substance of his entire preaching.

The sermon produced among his hearers a state of great wonderment. They could not believe that Mohammed, whom they had known for years as one of themselves, was a prophet. He did not act like it. He was not a supernatural being. "He walks our streets," they said, "and eats food like a mere mortal. If an angel had appeared with him, or if Mohammed were miraculously enriched, or fed from some marvellous garden, we could believe him. But Mohammed a prophet?<sup>3</sup>—No!" They did not ask what qualifications for the office of prophet he had, or learn anything of the long preparation which he had had for his new career, nor did Mohammed inform them. They took him as they found him, and despised him and his message.

Mohammed has left us in even greater ignorance than was theirs. Of his birth, his family, and his youth he says nothing, except that in xciii:6 he calls himself an "orphan" and acknowledges the divine guidance from error,<sup>4</sup> and his enrichment. From this unexplained enrichment he doubtless derived his support as a prophet in his Meccan days. He was not engaged in business, and must have seemed an idle and worthless fellow. At any rate, on his first appearance in the rôle of prophet, he excited contempt. His education is left equally undescribed. He styles himself the "unlettered" prophet,<sup>5</sup> and has often been said to have been unable to read or write. But this is a misunderstanding of the word; or one may say, at least, that this interpretation of it is unnecessary. It seems incredible that Mohammed, whose words must have been committed to writing, could not himself write, or on occasion refresh his mind regarding his message by reading it.<sup>6</sup> We need not conclude, however, that his education was widely extended. He exhibits nothing of the literary habit.

Of his marriage he says nothing. He was married at some time, for he speaks repeatedly of his wives at a later point,<sup>7</sup> but he never mentions their names.<sup>8</sup> Equally silent is he in regard to relations and any family he may have had. But it may reasonably be inferred that

<sup>1</sup> Much older than Islam.

<sup>2</sup> Sura xcvi.

<sup>3</sup> x:17.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. xlii:52—"Thou knowest neither the Book nor the faith."

<sup>5</sup> vii:156, 158.

<sup>6</sup> The other cases when the word occurs are ii:73, iii:19, 69 and lxii:2.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. xxxiii:28-59.

<sup>8</sup> Even the passage, xxiv:11-19, said by the Commentators to refer to A'isha, does not mention her.

he was of noble birth, for he assumes the tone of authority from the beginning, as if he were accustomed to a position of command. And his prayer for the Quraish in cvi (a prayer unique among the early suras which seldom introduce his personal interests) indicates a special and probably a personal relation to this clan.<sup>8</sup>

Nor is there anything formal or detailed about his occupation or experiences in the "years" preceding his appearance as a prophet. He had had "business" of some kind, since he is commanded to abstain from it later.<sup>9</sup> His minute observation of nature<sup>10</sup> and affairs in regions remote from Mecca indicate that he must have traveled abroad. He came also into contact with both Jews and Christians at some time, for he shows an acquaintance with their legendary biblical history and popular distortions of biblical material.<sup>11</sup>

When we have said as much as this, we have summarized the meager information which Mohammed himself affords of his life previous to his commission as a prophet.

## II

His personality is, however, pretty well revealed in the course of the Koran, although the revelation was more or less unconscious. His exceptional mental activity is sufficiently indicated by the mere existence of the Koran, for it is a first step in the creation of a prose literature in Arabic, and thus a literary exploit of great magnitude; as is manifest in the style of his discourses, especially the earliest ones. He was a volcanic preacher. The words rushed from his mouth in such a torrent as to choke one another. The sentences came in gasps. Single words, a pair of words, are often the only relics of them left.<sup>12</sup>

He was also a very intense man. He bursts out in his first sermon, (xcvi:13-16), and often interrupts the comparative calm of a discourse by a most astonishing exclamation—"created for Hell" (vii:178)—or a most bitter and savage epithet. Beneath all this there was, however, a quiet but determined will. He persevered in Mecca for some years with little or no success, undeterred. He could suffer uncomplainingly under such discouragement<sup>13</sup> and he could display great patience, for he returned again and again unruffled to the preaching,<sup>14</sup> and persisted for years without much apparent acceptance. One is struck, amid all the vigor of his assertion of his divine commission and authority, with his personal

<sup>8</sup> x:62.

<sup>10</sup> Referred to later in this article.

<sup>11</sup> Suras xx, xxvi, xix, and many others.

<sup>12</sup> e.g., sura cii, the translations of which would be unintelligible if not given an artificial smoothness.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. xx:1, xxvi:2, xxx:50-60. He is told that his responsibility is limited, for his duty is only "to warn."

<sup>14</sup> As he was exhorted to do, xx:130.

modesty. He is "only a man,"<sup>15</sup> only a "warner"<sup>16</sup> and makes no profession of supernatural powers or of working miracles.<sup>17</sup> Nor does he profess sinlessness, but acknowledges on one occasion the rebuke of God (lxxx).

His personal compassion for man, and his pastoral yearning over his people come to frequent expression.<sup>18</sup> His mental traits exhibit both his independence of his environment and his success in rising above it. He has the powerful imagination of an Oriental, exhibited particularly in his descriptions of heaven and hell, and in the poetical suras of the earlier days. His mind is ever alert, and his powers of observation keen. His chief defect, and it is a serious one, is his failure in argument. He had no regular discipline, no formal instruction in argumentation, at any time; nor did any other Arab of his day. Hence he substitutes endless repetition of his positions for proof of them and sometimes fails in proof because he argues quite aside from the true question.<sup>19</sup>

And, as was to be expected, from the influence of the baser features of his environment, superstition and licentiousness, he did not wholly escape. He believed in *Jinns*; and he opened to others and practiced himself the vices of polygamy and concubinage. The trail of this serpent is seen even in the descriptions he gives of heaven.

### III.

Beginning his prophetic career quite suddenly, as we have seen, Mohammed did not begin it without a very considerable preparation. The chief position of this came from his contact with Jews and Christians. There is no probability that he was a monotheist in his earlier days. He contends, to be sure, that the religion of the Arabs was from all antiquity monotheism, and that they had long been neglecting God rather than denying him.<sup>20</sup> They traced their ancestry back to Abraham, who abandoned idols for the worship of the one God.<sup>21</sup> But they were sunk in gross polytheism, and in this Mohammed grew up. And on that day, when God found him an orphan, he found him "erring,"<sup>22</sup> i.e., an idolater, and "guided"<sup>23</sup> him to the truth. It may have been his

<sup>15</sup> xli:5 and repeatedly.

<sup>16</sup> xv:89; and in the final sura, v:22.

<sup>17</sup> xxi:5, xliii:8. The "signs" are creation and the processes of nature, vi:98f.

<sup>18</sup> e.g., The expressions put in the mouth of Noah, xi:27ff. Also ix:128; particularly, the general tone of v.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. xxvi, in which he argues from the fate visited upon those who disregarded former prophets to the danger of disregarding himself, but omits the crucial point, viz., whether he was himself a true prophet.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. xxix:61, 63; xxxix:3. They "associated" other gods with God, found on almost every page of the Koran.

<sup>21</sup> vi:162.

<sup>22</sup> A word used most frequently of those who are not in the right path, i.e., still idolaters. lvi:51, 92; xxvii:67, etc.

<sup>23</sup> This word (*Huda*) and its oft repeated derivative, "guidance" (*Huda*) refers to the guidance of his people in all their dealings, but it sometimes, as in this passage, signifies conversion to Islam.

profound disgust at the idolatry and diversified wickedness of Mecca that led him to revert unaided by others to the ancient monotheism of his people. It is more likely that the idea was suggested by his intercourse with Jews and Christians. Whether suggested or not, it was powerfully reinforced by this intercourse. He seems to have had long and intimate association with both these monotheistic peoples, for he had heard much about their religion and their scriptures. Their communications did not give him any first-hand acquaintance with the Bible, for he certainly knew neither Hebrew nor Greek, and was, as he somewhat unnecessarily informs us, "unlettered" in such matters. Nor did he have the advantage of intercourse with scholars, but evidently heard the biblical stories as they were related by the plain people, who were themselves "unlettered." It was oral tradition which was given him. Hence the frequent, great and remarkable deviations, supplementations, and homiletical applications to be found in the stories from the Bible with which his sermons abound. Many of these additions have been traced to the post-biblical literature of both Jews and Christians, but generally they came from the unrestrained operation of the popular imagination. He was led to huge misunderstanding of Christianity.<sup>24</sup> He drew to some extent from heretical Christianity.<sup>25</sup> But he knew enough of the two religions to put them both in that series of efforts which God has been making to save man, of which Islam was, in his mind, the last and most perfect.

The monotheism which he adopted was that of the Jews, rather than of the Christians. His reference to the gospel of John<sup>26</sup> and the accounts of the conception of Jesus,<sup>27</sup> show that he had very extended association with Christians, but he seems never to have had any instruction in Jesus' teachings. He never understood at all the spirit of Jesus. Eastern Christianity was so immersed in ritual, ecclesiasticism and idolatry that it had forgotten the gospel of sin, forgiveness, fellowship with God, and obedience to the law of universal love. It missed its opportunity to gain this powerful man, and God in his righteous anger, visited its sins upon it by overwhelming it then with the destructive flood of Islam; as he has again in modern Russia overwhelmed it with the destructive power of a hostile socialism. The present Western Church, in its drift into ritual, architecture and wealth is in danger of a similar failure and a severer judgment.

This intercourse with great religions was the major part of Mohammed's preparation for his work. But there was also a

<sup>24</sup> e.g., as to the Trinity, which he conceived of as embracing God, Jesus, and Mary. Cf. v:116.

<sup>25</sup> These matters are more fully brought out in my brief "Commentary." See Koran iii:41, 43; iv:156.

<sup>26</sup> 20:17 in v. 118; 1:18 in cxii:3, cf. xix:91, 93; 16:7 in lxi:6; cf. xxii:26, possibly suggested by 21:25.

<sup>27</sup> lii:42; xix:20; lxvi:12.

preparation arising from his own meditation. It was directed both towards enhancing men's conceptions of the blessedness (bliss, or victory, *fauz* iv:17, v:119, vi:16) in heaven or the dreadfulness of their torment in hell. In some respects he surpasses Dante in richness and detail.<sup>28</sup>

## IV

The city of Mecca which was the scene of Mohammed's appearance as a prophet, is situated in a narrow valley of the mountains of Southwestern Arabia. The locality is absolutely barren and unfruitful, and apparently totally unfitted for the establishment of a city. But from immemorial time it has been a center of religious pilgrimage. In the earliest period, it remained, except during the pilgrimages, uninhabited. But gradually it acquired population, which was obliged to look for its sustenance to the trade which sprang up in connection with its religious frequentation. With the process of time, its trade grew very extensive and important. Large and very valuable caravans were fitted out annually for journeys to the north and south. Large warehouses were stored with great quantities of costly merchandise. It became a great, self-conscious, and autocratic city.

As Mohammed's place of birth and upbringing, Mecca exerted a powerful influence, both good and bad, in determining his career. Its situation is remarkable. The mountains by which it is surrounded are barren and precipitous, and it is through their narrow passes that the City is reached. The surroundings are far more impressive than those of Jerusalem which called forth the psalm: "As the mountains are round about Jerusalem so the Lord is round about His people" (125:2). And Mohammed gives expression to their influence on him many times in his reference to mountains, from *sura lii* on.

But Mecca, which Mohammed after the long preparation through which he had gone, sought to win to the worship of the one true God, fairly heaped difficulties in his way. It had lost the original monotheism. It was a very wicked city, though it was a great religious center. It had its sacred mosque,<sup>29</sup> which was the center of pilgrimages. In this was the Kaaba, a building of great antiquity,<sup>30</sup> which was the center of an idolatrous worship.<sup>31</sup> Great multitudes flocked annually to the city and brought trade to enrich it. The prophecy of the city and its wealth depended thus in large measure on its reputation as a religious center; and thus the interests of

<sup>28</sup> Who probably derived many pictures of his hell indirectly from Mohammed. See Asin, "Islam and the Divine Comedy."

<sup>29</sup> xvii:1. It was believed to go back to the time of Abraham. Cf. xxii:27.

<sup>30</sup> v:95, 97.

<sup>31</sup> xxv:3, iv:117.

"business" were identified with an idolatrous heathenism.<sup>32</sup> In consequence Mohammed had against him the forces of greed, and even, with many, their concern regarding their gaining a livelihood. The prophet is himself rebuked in lxxx:5ff. for fawning on the rich. Mohammed suggests that the business ethics of the city were low. Merchants skimmed their measures and gave short weights;<sup>33</sup> they disregarded truth in trusts and engagements;<sup>34</sup> they cheated the orphan;<sup>35</sup> in fact, acted like modern unprincipled business men.

In those matters which exhibit most forcibly the degradation of a city, Mecca occupied a very low position. Prostitution,<sup>36</sup> the "filthiness" of Sodom,<sup>37</sup> divorce unlimited by law or custom,<sup>38</sup> are sternly rebuked by Mohammed or openly charged upon the people. The extremity of the punishments of hell which he elaborates shows his sense of the general prevalence of well-known and most offensive sin.

How did Mohammed attack this situation? We have already read the opening sermon of Mohammed's career. The accompanying ones were equally uncompromising. He declared his monotheism, and at the same time made it clear that he was not seeking to foist his religion on a people who despised it, in the following brief sura (cxii):—

"In the name of the all-compassionate God!  
Say: He is God alone,  
God the eternal  
He begetteth not neither is begotten,  
And there is none like unto him."

And he did what placed the spiritual side of his message in the forefront of his teaching, by the first sura:

"Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds!  
The compassionate, the merciful!  
King on the day of reckoning!  
Thee do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help.  
Guide Thou us in the straight path,  
The path of those to whom thou hast been gracious,  
with whom thou art not angry, and who do not go  
astray."

All this early preaching and all that is given us of subsequent sermons in the Koran is presented as the immediate utterance of

<sup>32</sup> cii:1, lxxxix:21, xxviii:57.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. lxxxiii:1.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. lxx:32, 33.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. xvii:36 and parallels.

<sup>36</sup> Of slaves forced into it. xxiv:33.

<sup>37</sup> Arabic, *fahsha* means something surpassing the utmost limits of decency, vii:78. Cf. xlii:35 and xv:68, 69.

<sup>38</sup> See Mohammed's regulations of marriage, and note the concessions he made as to concubinage.

God himself. Mohammed always regards himself as the medium of God's message to men. But the reception with which he met, made it necessary for him to justify his claim to be God's messenger. And as the off-hand and contemptuous rejection of the earliest days took on a more distinct and dangerous character, Mohammed was compelled to meet it more specifically. Mere assertion was no longer sufficient.

Mohammed has left us so many hints of the character of his reception in Mecca that we are able by that combination to get a somewhat accurate view of the kind of audiences he drew about him in the days in which he preached in the streets of Mecca. He faced a very diverse crowd on these occasions. Near him there may have clustered a few who listened because they believed him and found new joy in the worship of God; then a different class of people, in a great semi-circle, some new-comers, who had seen the man talking and came to hear what it was all about. Mohammed told many stories, principally those he had learned indirectly from the Bible. This attracted the crowd, for the Arab is very fond of stories. They are the enlivenment of the evening camp way out on the desert. There must have been a group, too, of men inclined to disputation. The Arabs like nothing better than a dispute. Mohammed had frequently to avoid their attempts to entangle him in an argument. Another group would be one of objectors; and another of frowning *sheikhs* and merchants. And back of all was the casual hearer who had stopped now and then to see if there was anything new, or to gauge their tendencies of Mohammed's doctrines, or to mock, or to go off laughing their disdain. If there were real converts, such gatherings were not the places for making their new faith known.

The first charge against him was short, "He is certainly possessed."<sup>39</sup> And they added, "Shall we leave our gods for a mad poet?"<sup>40</sup> For the charge, there was to be adduced the visions and trances which Mohammed did not pretend to conceal.<sup>41</sup> The charge was an embarrassing one, for it is difficult for any man to prove his own sanity if he differs at any important point from his surroundings. He met it, however, with denial.<sup>42</sup> Then he said that the charge had always been made against prophets,<sup>43</sup> and specified Moses<sup>44</sup> and Noah.<sup>45</sup> And for positive refutation cited his agreement with the prophets of old, whom all men accepted.<sup>46</sup> This charge seems to have died down rather early.

<sup>39</sup> lxviii:51.

<sup>40</sup> xxxvii:35.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. liii.

<sup>42</sup> Put in the mouth of God! lii:29. lxviii:2. lxxxix:22.

<sup>43</sup> li:52.

<sup>44</sup> li:39, xv:11.

<sup>45</sup> liv:9.

<sup>46</sup> xxxvii:36.

The real answer to the charge was thrown back, however, on the message itself, on the divine authority of the Koran. The disputation over this subject began at once and was continued till the very last sura, in which the old argument of reassertion was for the last time brought forward.<sup>47</sup>

His first defense was in the first sura uttered (xcvi), and was the simple statement of the origin of the Koran. The sura begins: "Recite thou in the name of the Lord." The verb *recite* (*iqra*) is the root of the word Koran, which consequently means fundamentally a recitation. Mohammed puts himself forth as simply reciting the words of God.<sup>48</sup> In the next sura (lxxiv) he explains a little more at length. He is lying wrapped in a mantle (probably asleep),<sup>49</sup> when he hears the words, "O thou enwrapped in thy mantle! arise and warn!" Mohammed simply repeated what he had heard.

This proof, that of simple explanation, is presented, greatly extended and adorned, in sura liii. In imitation of earlier Arabic poets, he begins with an oath,<sup>50</sup> "By the star when it setteth." He goes on to say that he is not in error in what he is teaching, nor does he speak of his own will. He tells the story of a vision, how he had seen one "strong in power" standing in clear view, who appeared on the horizon, and then came very near and "revealed what he revealed," into which Mohammed can not go.<sup>51</sup> But his consciousness<sup>52</sup> rightly reports what he saw. To deny it, when he declares that he *saw* it, is to accuse Mohammed of lying. Do they propose to do *that*? Nor was this the only time he saw this mighty visitor, for he had seen him once again by the very throne of God!

Naturally such an argument was not very convincing to the hard-headed and still harder-hearted Arabs, as it is not to us. He therefore soon begins another argument, which is that the Koran is in line with all the former prophets. He *declares* this with reference to such peoples as Ad and Thamud, heathen peoples who rejected their prophets and were overwhelmed by the divine wrath. At greater length does he dwell upon the similar fate of the Hebrew prophets, bringing in a great number of stories from the Old Testament to prove the agreement of the Koran with its teachings. But this argument had little force with a people who did not acknowledge the Old Testament.

Accordingly Mohammed begins to dwell upon the excellencies of the Koran, in a word dropped here and there. It is a "clear book" (xliv:1), "glorious" (1:1), "lucid" (xxvi:1), "full of warning" (xxxviii:1), "wise" (xxxvi:1), "luminous" (xliii:1). Many

<sup>47</sup> v:52.

<sup>48</sup> The absoluteness with which Mohammed's own thoughts and opinions were excluded (as he thought) may be seen in lxxv:16, xx:113, especially lxix:44.

<sup>49</sup> In lxxiii with another word for *enwrapped* the context indicates that he was asleep.

<sup>50</sup> So in xciii, xcii, lxxviii, xci, lxxxv, and others.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. lxxxi:19 and Dante, Par. xxxiii:55, ff.

<sup>52</sup> The heart.

of the suras begin with this kind of brief commendation. But the struggle thickens as time goes on, and Mohammed hits harder blows. He has been himself praising the unique excellence of the Koran and now he turns on the obstinate people, and challenges them to produce its equal. "None but God," he says, "could produce the Koran. Write one chapter of it, if you can."<sup>53</sup> This was an argument which could be ignored, but not answered; and the unbelievers ignored it. It could not be answered because there were no learned men to attempt to write the demanded chapter. There was no university, no professional class, no recognized writers of Arabic prose on any subject. And hence Mohammed could say with great apparent force, and does say many times, "No man can write its equal; God is therefore its sole author." And therefore again and again he utters its praises. And he lays stress upon its being written in plain Arabic, which every Arab could understand, and argues hence to the goodness of God, who gave it.<sup>54</sup>

The charge was further made that the Koran was written by Mohammed and that he had a helper whom the Meccans named. Mohammed's reply was short and pungent. "That man has not written the Arabic Koran, because he does not know Arabic. He's a foreigner."<sup>55</sup>

After all, this was not proof, and did not give what the jeering, laughing, godless crowd demanded,—the proof by some sort of force—miracles perhaps; and so the argument went on after Mohammed had left Mecca and its scoffing crowds, and even to the last Medina sura.

What, indeed, had he to build upon in Mecca? He came with a message which he said was from God. It was not an agreeable message to hear or to follow. Mecca had paid no attention to the supreme God, if they had in truth never gone so far as to deny him. They did not enjoy being called sinners and threatened with hell.<sup>56</sup> And Mohammed had no real proofs, except one, the truth of his accusations and the self-evidence of the moral principles he announced. This proof they were incapable of perceiving. They had no religious experience by which to test it. There was no body of people, nothing like the synagogues or the church, to which Mohammed could appeal, urging their experience of the healing power of a religious submission to the will of God, and their conviction of the sublime truth of monotheism, and the puerile folly of idolatry. They were making money. They felt prosperous and therefore self-satisfied, and nothing could stir them. The preaching by and large was a failure.

<sup>53</sup> x:38, 39. Cf. xi:16, xlvi:3, xxviii:49.

<sup>54</sup> xx:112.

<sup>55</sup> xvi:105.

<sup>56</sup> The elaboration of the picture of hell and the intensity of the preaching was probably, in part at least, determined by the thought of the near approach of the Day of Judgment. Cf. lxx:7.

For this attitude of the Meccan people persisted to the end. But the story of Mohammed's life among them is not concluded when it is styled a failure. Mohammed was persistent; but he was also versatile. And the simple historic series of the suras shows that his efforts were marked by change and an ever renewed effort to gain attention and adhesion to his monotheistic message.

Not that there was any well-developed and logical plan in his preaching. Mohammed was not possessed of a logical mind. But we notice two important changes in the suras as they go on. The exclusive emphasis on hell as the place of punishment for the sins of men, and especially for the sin of rejecting the prophet, was transferred to the destruction visited upon peoples in this world. The former emphasis concerned chiefly the individual; the latter, the nation. Illustrations of the infliction of such punishment are drawn from former peoples, Ad and Thamud, etc., of which the living generations had some traditions, but since little had been handed down in respect to them, it was to the Hebrew history as written and detailed in the "Book," that Mohammed resorted. And he narrated the stories of Noah and the Flood, of Pharaoh and the Red Sea, of David and the Philistines, over and over again. These stories do not agree, except in their outlines, with the biblical accounts, as already remarked. But neither did Mohammed follow closely the popular versions among the Jews. They show distinct traces of the putting in the mouth of Pharaoh, for example, as remarks addressed to Moses, what Mohammed's hearers in Mecca had addressed to him. For example, Pharaoh is represented as saying (xl:51 ff.):

"Am I not better than this despicable fellow,  
Who can scarcely speak distinctly?  
Have bracelets of gold been put upon him,  
Or does a train of angels accompany him?  
And he inspired his people with levity,  
And they obeyed him; for they were a perverse people."

And again in xl:27:

"And Pharaoh said, 'Let me alone that I may *kill Moses*; and let him call upon his Lord; I fear lest he *change your religion*, or cause *disorder* to show itself in the land.'"

Perhaps the most remarkable of these contributions of Mohammed to the Jewish narrative, whether biblical or popular, is his putting in the mouth of Joseph, in the prison, a distinct profession of Islam (lxxvii:37-40).

"I have abandoned the religion of those who believe not in God and deny the life to come; and I follow the religion of my fathers,

Abraham, Esau, and Jacob. We may not *associate aught with God* . . . . This is the right faith, but most men know it not."

These biblical stories are the beginnings of an effort to win the Jews to Islam, which was long maintained. Judaism apparently offered to Mohammed a very hopeful field of labor. They were monotheists, and there were no offensive doctrines like the Christians' "only begotten Son." No doubt the telling of stories from their history seemed an excellent way of convincing them of his friendliness for them and for their ideas. But, as a fact, he never made any substantial headway with them. How could it be expected that a people, under the instruction of scholars whom they revered, should prefer the religion whose conception of God was so defective, in which experience of the divine fellowship was so lacking, and whose ethical principles were so vague?

The Koran is remarkable, as already indicated, for never attempting to prove the existence of God. This is always assumed. There is nothing of what we call natural theology,—in fact nothing explicit or avowed of what we call theology at all. Nevertheless, as many of the doctrines of theology are implied,<sup>57</sup> so a certain use of the materials of a natural theology is to be recognized. The argument for the existence of God from design is at least adumbrated by Mohammed's endeavors to parry the demand made of him for miracles to attest his mission. This demand was constant. Sometimes Mohammed answered it by saying that former prophets, as for example Moses, had been given signs to convince people, but they were never effective. Men did not believe because of them. And therefore God had not given this last prophet the power of working miracles. But as time went on, Mohammed determined to call attention to the signs of God's activity to be seen on every hand.<sup>58</sup> "These," he writes, "are the signs of the Book . . . . It is God who hath reached the heavens, without pillars thou canst behold; then mounted his throne, and imposed laws on the sun and moon; each travelth to its appointed goal. He ordereth all things. He maketh his *signs* clear, that ye may have firm faith in a meeting with your Lord."

These natural "signs", to be found in the works of God, were very comprehensively visioned by Mohammed. In one catalogue<sup>59</sup> he speaks of the germinating of grain, and of the date stone, the dawn and the night, the motions of the sun and moon, the descent of the race from one man, the rain and God's bringing forth, by its means, buds, foliage, thick-growing grain, the clustering dates of the palm trees, gardens of grapes, the olive, pomegranate, etc.

Mohammed also appeals to providential events, to deliverances,

<sup>57</sup> See Commentary, *passim*.

<sup>58</sup> xiii. This argument is repeated at many points.

<sup>59</sup> vi:95-99. Cf. xiv:1ff.

as well as, in almost tedious repetition, to destructive judgments,<sup>60</sup> as signs, confirming the truth of his threatenings. But, after all, these varied arguments availed little. The people of Mecca were sharp enough to see that Mohammed's case was far from proved. The weight of public opinion was too obviously against him. Opposition deepened; and if the hint given in xl:27 is to be attended to, it began to be evident that plans were forming to get rid of Mohammed.

It may be that there was a little group of believers gathered about him. If xcvi:10, "What thinkest thou of him who holdeth back a slave<sup>61</sup> when he prayeth" is correctly translated thus, there was probably some success before the preaching of the earliest sura. Sura xix:74 makes reference to "believers" numerous enough to be called a "goodly company."<sup>62</sup> And sura xxxviii:62 implies that among the dwellers in heaven there should be some whom Meccan unbelievers had "treated with scorn."

But, nevertheless, Mohammed felt himself defeated. His long persistence was at an end. He had given everything a man can give to show his sincerity and complete devotion to his calling—endurance of every insult, immovability in face of death, the agonies of repeated failure, the loss of youthful years and buoyancy. But at last the threat of death<sup>63</sup> was too loud, and the danger to his few followers too great. He fled. "His city had driven him out."<sup>64</sup>

He did not go alone. Some of his little "company" went with him, or at least about the same time, slipping away when they could, and others later.<sup>65</sup> They received the name Muhājerin, that is, "those who fled their country," or refugees; and Mohammed never forgot them. Among these were the daughters of Mohammed's uncle and his paternal and maternal aunts.<sup>66</sup>

Of course, "driven out", those companions of Mohammed suffered greatly in temporal affairs. They "spent their substance,"<sup>67</sup> left their homes,<sup>68</sup> "suffered" variously,<sup>69</sup> and were reduced to poverty and the necessity of receiving alms.<sup>70</sup> They seem to have suffered some demoralization from their indigent condition and their becoming objects of charity, and were not always on hand for military duty.<sup>71</sup> Among them were some women who forsook their husbands for their faith.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See xi:102-105.

<sup>61</sup> 'Abd may mean servant, but is understood generally of Mohammed. Pickthall renders it *slave*.

<sup>62</sup> *Nādiya*, assembly.

<sup>63</sup> viii:30.

<sup>64</sup> xlvii:14.

<sup>65</sup> viii:76.

<sup>66</sup> xxxiii:49.

<sup>67</sup> viii:73.

<sup>68</sup> liii:194.

<sup>69</sup> lii:194.

<sup>70</sup> xxiv:22; lix:8.

<sup>71</sup> ix:118f.

<sup>72</sup> lx:10.

One incident of Mohammed's flight from Mecca, and only one, is mentioned in the Koran (ix:40). When Mohammed fled, he took with him but one companion. It was his evident purpose to escape observation, and to continue to expect this till he had gotten beyond pursuit and capture. He accordingly took refuge (for the night) in a cave. Here his companion was distressed at the danger of discovery; but Mohammed reassured him by saying, "God is with us"; and they were calmed and encouraged by the divine help. The story provokes as many questions as it answers; but it has the advantage of being Mohammed's own.

Such were those who came from Mecca with Mohammed. But there were men in Medina, the city to which he fled, who were ready to join him at once. A considerable number did so, greatly to his encouragement. These received the name of *Ansars*, helpers, which served as a mark of distinction. They are associated with the refugees in honor and responsibility.<sup>73</sup> They were the nucleus of a rapidly increasing body of believers, who soon dominated the city and made Mohammed its most influential personality, and soon its civic and military head.

Medina, where Mohammed was welcomed and received as a true prophet, was a very different place from Mecca. Located in a fruitful plain, it was scarcely a city, more like a collection of hamlets much like an oasis of the desert. Its divisions and quarrels, almost amounting to wars, presented a situation which Mohammed found it later difficult to control. A considerable proportion of the population were Jews, whom Mohammed found, after all his efforts, inaccessible to the claims of Islam. But he went on his way, and added the organizing labor of a law-maker, and commander of armies to his religious propaganda. The Flight therefore worked a great change in Mohammed. It was like the elevation of a great preacher to be a modern bishop. The preacher was lost in the administrator. He continued to issue revelations,<sup>74</sup> which contained, to be sure, many of the features of the earlier ones. But the freshness, the eloquence, the evangelical earnestness, were gone. New elements also crept in. There was a certain hardness, a certain self-consciousness and self-assertion and downright selfishness, which did not appear in the Meccan days.

Sura ii, which opens the Medina revelations, offers a kind of epitome of the autobiographical elements of the Koran in these later days. It begins with a statement of the Moslem creed (1-3, cf. 172). A long discussion of the Jewish question is soon taken up. A beginning of legal enactments is made, and (something new) Abraham is presented as the founder of Islam (vs. 118 ff). What-

<sup>73</sup> ix:118.

<sup>74</sup> About one-third of the entire Koran.

ever changes were thus going on in Mohammed's life, he probably entered Medina much the same man as he had been in Mecca. His general ideas and aims were the same. He still sought to gain converts. He still regarded Islam as a religion revealed for Arabs. He embraced all the monotheists of whom he had knowledge, among those who should "have their reward with their Lord" (ii:59). He still sought to win the Jews about him to Islam, and was even more urgent in his entreaties addressed to them than before.<sup>75</sup> Nor did he utterly give over his efforts while he lived, for in his last sura a remarkable catholic statement as to their salvation reappears (v:73).

During this period of a more hopeful and cordial attitude towards the Jews, Mohammed seems to have changed the time of prayer from chiefly in the night<sup>76</sup> to the day, and appointed three daily prayers, in accordance with the Jewish custom.<sup>77</sup> More striking is his adoption of the Jewish *qibla*<sup>78</sup> and his subsequent change of it. Mohammed had first directed that believers should pray towards Jerusalem. This was evidently one of his efforts to conciliate the Jews. But in turning away from them, he was in fact changing his whole attitude towards his own message. We have at this point a view of the larger importance of the transfer to Medina. He now comes to consider Moslems as a "central people," reaching out and bearing "witness unto all men"; that is, to view Islam no longer as a religion for Arabs alone, but for the world, and no longer one of the various efforts of God for man's salvation (with the Jews, Christians, Sabeans, etc.), possibly to be followed by other efforts, but this one original effort, beginning with Abraham, continuing through Moses and Jesus, and now culminating and final in the revelation made to Mohammed. He therefore gives them a new and distinctive *qibla*, the "Sacred Mosque" of Mecca, and he also directs that pilgrimages be made to that Mosque (ii:354, xxii:25, iii:91) by *all* men (xxii:20). His break with the Jews becomes thus the enlargement of Islam to the one universal religion for mankind.

The break with the Jews was not indicated only by such measures as these. It lay still more in Mohammed's general attitude. But in sura xxii he expresses his general feeling in the sharp separation which is made between Moslems and Jews, Sabeans, Christians, Magians, and "those who join other gods with God." With whatever wavering of sympathy or sentiment he exhibits, his conduct seems to have settled itself in an opposition to Jews, born of their hopeless obstinacy. And with his enlarging success in gaining the

<sup>75</sup> ii:38-60.

<sup>76</sup> xvii:81; lxxiii:20.

<sup>77</sup> ii:39. Cf. Daniel 6:10.

<sup>78</sup> *Qibla* means: first, *direction* in prayer, and then the place towards which Moslems are to pray. That this first *qibla* was Jerusalem is not *stated* in the Koran but is the necessary inference.

city where he now was, and carrying his message out among the "Arabs of the Desert",<sup>79</sup> his enlarging conception of the meaning of Islam was confirmed, and he began to present it as the universal religion for the world. As a part of this, a new position is given to Abraham. He is a Moslem and "neither Jew nor Christian" (iii:60), and made by God an *hanif* (ii:118). He founded the sacred house in Mecca (xxii:7) and founded it "for mankind" (iii:90). When, then, Mohammed appropriates it as *qibla*, and the goal of pilgrimages, he is, in his own view, merely forcing it from immemorial abuses, and rescuing it for its legitimate and original purpose! It is plain from the Koran that he incorporated in his own ritual many of the customs of veneration observed in the days of Paganism.<sup>80</sup> He was thus conquering the religious opposition to Islam from business circles in Mecca by preserving to them the principal sources of their reverence.

In the late Medina suras Mohammed takes up again<sup>81</sup> the discussion of the person of Jesus. It may have been because he could never quite give up the hope of winning the Christians to Islam. He acknowledges the miraculous conception, gives Jesus full credit as a prophet and adds an outline sketch of His life.<sup>82</sup> But his chief concern in this revival of the discussion seems to be to make Jesus disown both His own divinity and the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>83</sup> He made no headway with Christians by taking such positions, for they knew that his quotations from Jesus' words were all spurious,—in fact, of his own invention. It throws much light on the decay of the Eastern Church at this time, that he never shows the slightest acquaintance with Jesus' great parables or other teachings. The church was so dead in its devotion to ceremonies, and the survival of the sharp controversies of the past so dominant that simple ethical precepts like the Golden Rule, had little place in its thought. Here again, the Church lost its chance with Mohammed, and its spiritual torpor ended in its perishing.

It is probable that Mohammed was led to begin his work of legislation at quite an early period of his Medina life, for examples of it are handed down to us in sura ii. One group of these concerns divorce. It will contribute to our understanding if we take a glance at Mohammed's own marital affairs. Mohammed was a polygamist.<sup>84</sup> Polygamy was practiced in Arabia, but monogamy was general, is now and always has been, because on a large scale polygamy is impossible. Mohammed sanctioned it for Moslems, but limited the number of permitted wives to four.<sup>85</sup> He permitted concubinage

<sup>79</sup> ix:100, et al. Lxii:2.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. sura ii:153, xxii:30ff, ii:192ff.

<sup>81</sup> From sura xix.

<sup>82</sup> iii:43-49.

<sup>83</sup> iv:169; v:116ff.

<sup>84</sup> xxxiii:28ff.

<sup>85</sup> iv:3.

with a man's own female slaves,<sup>86</sup> but he himself took gradually a larger number of wives. This was made a ground of complaint,<sup>87</sup> which Mohammed was obliged to meet, as he fell into the habit of doing in reference to his private affairs, by the production of a revelation. But, for all that, there are evidences in the Koran that he was of a chivalrous mind and bearing towards women.<sup>88</sup>

Mohammed found marriage and divorce in Arabia in a condition of great laxity. The result was an increase of license, and of hardship particularly for women. He set about remedying; yet it may be assumed that he went as far in laying down restrictions as he deemed practicable. Limiting the number of legitimate wives to four, he permitted free intercourse with a man's own female slaves (even when married, ii:28). But he forbade forcing such slaves into prostitution for their owner's gain.

And when it came to divorce, he fenced this about with restrictions. He first of all, in the sura entitled Divorce, brings the whole matter into the religious sphere. "God your Lord"; "bear witness as unto God";<sup>89</sup> "fear God, and know that God's knowledge embraceth everything."<sup>90</sup> Then divorce may be revoked twice;<sup>91</sup> but the third time it shall be irrevocable. The times and seasons are strictly prescribed;<sup>92</sup> and the financial side of the matter ordered with consideration and generosity.<sup>93</sup>

Mohammed's legislation touched also a large number of other topics, by which he laid the foundation of Mohammedan law. Thus he prescribed with particularity the treatment to be given orphans by their guardians;<sup>94</sup> the matter of wills and inheritance;<sup>95</sup> provision of attorneys;<sup>96</sup> the law regarding feuds and murder;<sup>97</sup> theft;<sup>98</sup> retaliation;<sup>99</sup> military service and the laws of war.<sup>100</sup> The fast of Ramadan was also regulated.<sup>101</sup> Commercial methods are also regulated.<sup>102</sup> It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into the details of these subjects. But the general verdict as to the character of Mohammed must be that he showed a conscientious regard for the interest of his people in a stable and ordered society, and manifested here, as well as in his treatment of ethical topics, a love of justice and right, however faulty in detail his ideas

<sup>86</sup> iv:3.

<sup>87</sup> xxxiii:49.

<sup>88</sup> xxxiii:52. xxiv:33. See also the case in xxiv:11. The Koran is silent as to names; but whether this case is that of A'isha his wife, as tradition says, or not, Mohammed brands a slander as a lie.

<sup>89</sup> lxxv.

<sup>90</sup> ii:231.

<sup>91</sup> ii:229.

<sup>92</sup> ii:238, 242.

<sup>93</sup> lxxv:1ff.

<sup>94</sup> iv:2ff.

<sup>95</sup> iv:12ff., 175.

<sup>96</sup> ii:282.

<sup>97</sup> v:33, 35.

<sup>98</sup> v:142.

<sup>99</sup> ii:173ff. Cf. the much milder passage, xlii:38 (Meccan).

<sup>100</sup> At length *passim* from ii:245. See below on Mohammed's campaigns.

<sup>101</sup> iii:181ff.

<sup>102</sup> ii:282, 283.

on these subjects may have been; Mohammed also devoted a large part of these Medina suras to the various aspects of war, and laid the foundations for the great conquests made by Islam in the years succeeding his death. He intimates certain things about his battles, and discusses war in general in a manner which presents him in a new view.

How Mohammed was led to begin military operations he does not tell us; but there are several facts well known to us that sufficiently explain it. Medina had some touch of the life of the "Arab of the Desert," for she was, as already said, like a group of desert oases. The Bedouin has been styled a "professional robber." He lives by raids on others. The property of no man is safe from his attack, if he needs it or fancies it. A rich, commercial caravan is an irresistible temptation to him. Such caravans passed periodically between Mecca and Syria. Medina lay near their customary route. An attack upon them was certain the moment it became safe, or even hopeful. Then Mohammed's thoughts turned over and again to Mecca. It was his native city. A man seldom loses utterly this love of home, or the deep-seated pride which he has for his birth-place, if it possesses anything of which he can be proud. Its mosque and the long associations with it, even in their heathen degradation, and the continual pilgrimages to its shrines, exalted it as a proper center of religion, and therefore needed a central temple. The feelings of outrage which he had at being driven out of it, and the long bitterness of exile, did not fail to influence his mind. The desire of revenge swelled within him. He meant to crush Mecca and then appropriate it. As he saw the numbers who were putting him at their head and knew that they were Arabs, with the hereditary tendencies of the Arab race—which were his own tendencies—the possibility of war and conquest, yes, even of the holy city itself, became more and more clear. And increasingly did he and his followers deem it an affair of honor to rescue the holy city from heathenism and its defilements. Thus natural human instincts, resentment, hate, and ambition, not untouched by a lofty religious ideal, combined to render a final attack on Mecca certain.

We have no regular account of Mohammed's military operations in the Koran, but it does not lack in rather definite information about them. They were preceded by what we now call "government propaganda", by which Mohammed sought to excite those feelings which should make his Medina people good fighters. "A sanction is given," he says,<sup>103</sup> "to those who, because they have suffered outrages, have taken up arms. Verily God is able to succor them: those who have been *driven forth from their homes* wrongfully, only because they say 'Our Lord is God.' And if God had not

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<sup>108</sup> xxii:40f.

repelled some men by others, monasteries, synagogues, oratories and mosques, wherein the name of God is exalted, would surely have been destroyed. And him that *helpeth God*, will God surely help." Also, the exhortation, "Fight for the cause of God" in various forms abounds in these last suras.<sup>104</sup> And the reference to Mecca in many places is perfectly plain.<sup>105</sup>

Perhaps the first expedition sent forth by Mohammed is the one hinted at in ii:214. This is a revelation *post eventum*, a kind which appears frequently at this time. Some expedition had been sent out, and fought in the Arab "sacred month", Rajab, in which war was forbidden and the quiet atmosphere of peace brooded over the land. It was a matter of honor among the Arabs not to violate this peace. Mohammed seems to have been growing reckless of such conventions. When the expedition returned, and its violation of a sacred understanding was known, there was an outcry against it. The Arabs have a high sense of honor, different as it may be from ours. The preservation of the conventions of the desert is essential to subsistence in that unfriendly and inhospitable region. Mohammed was greatly embarrassed. He had been dishonorable, and he knew it. What could he do? His people trusted him implicitly, and believed in his "revelations." He could use this belief to protect himself. And so, perhaps, for the first time he committed positive and conscious imposture. He brought forth the revelation: "To war in the Sacred Month is bad, but to turn aside from the cause of God . . . . is worse; and persecution<sup>106</sup> is worse than bloodshed" (ii:214). Ambition and desire of revenge were destroying the naive honesty and simplicity of the prophet.

The next expedition to which allusion is made in the Koran was crowned with a military victory,<sup>107</sup> although there is no evidence that it was successful in attaining its main object, booty. It seems to have been an event so thoroughly understood in Medina that Mohammed could refer to it without telling its story at length. All that we learn of it from him is therefore fragmentary and obscure.<sup>108</sup>

It was an expedition for the plunder of a Meccan caravan.<sup>109</sup> It was preceded by animated debates,<sup>110</sup> and Mohammed had some difficulty in assembling his troops, and still more in getting them to stand up before the enemy. Meantime the news of Mohammed's raid had got to Mecca, and an armed force had been sent out to save the caravan. The two arrived finally, encamped on opposite

<sup>104</sup> ii:186, 245. ix:13, 14, etc.

<sup>105</sup> Not only in this passage (ii:186ff.), but in viii:34, xxii:25, xlvi:25. Cf. ii:212, iv:79, 86.

<sup>106</sup> *fitna* translated by R. "civil strife" but by Pk. in better conformity to the context as above.

<sup>107</sup> Our authorities are principally in Sura viii.

<sup>108</sup> Mentioned once in iii:119.

<sup>109</sup> I follow Pickthall here.

<sup>110</sup> Vs. 5.

sides of a valley, and in the valley below was the caravan.<sup>111</sup> Counsels were divided between seizing the caravan (the course desired by Mohammed's army),<sup>112</sup> and fighting the enemy. God decided the question, for the enemy attacked Mohammed; and when the terrified Moslems cried to God for help, there was given the unterrified prophet a "revelation" in which God promised them angelic assistance.<sup>113</sup> Neither party understood the strength of the other.<sup>114</sup> Mohammed repeatedly emphasizes the fact that the victory was not gained by man, but given by God, as was that over Pharaoh, at the Red Sea.<sup>115</sup> But, on the other hand, the army of unbelievers was a weak affair. There was bloodshed; but the Meccans finally fled, and left their camp as spoils to the Moslems. The battle gave the victory to Mohammed, and in spite of his ascription of it entirely to the interference of God, established his reputation as a general. It also increased his arrogance and his determination ultimately to possess Mecca.<sup>116</sup> It also caused him to determine openly upon a war policy.<sup>117</sup> And he strengthened the courage of his followers in view of this by boasting of the superior fighting value of his own forces. Twenty were to vanquish two hundred, and a thousand two thousand.<sup>118</sup> Similar boasts have been heard in our own day.

Later Mohammed met with a great defeat. Of the details of the battle we learn but little—the early start of the Medina army,<sup>119</sup> the initial success,<sup>120</sup> the stopping of the army to gather spoils<sup>121</sup> in disobedience to an express order from Mohammed,<sup>122</sup> the rally of the enemy and the flight of the Moslems,<sup>123</sup> their gaining a height and the utter confusion and demoralization which prevented them from gaining any advantage from their position,<sup>124</sup> their defeat and utter exhaustion of the army<sup>125</sup>—this is all except the bickerings and reproaches and blasphemies which followed, and the loss of Mohammed's prestige and the necessity under which he found himself of defending the ways of God with men. He appeals to great fundamental principles,<sup>126</sup> to the method of God's discipline of men, to the benefits of hardship, to the faults of men which bring failure upon them, to the universality of God's decrees and the impossibility of escaping them, and to the inexhaustibility of the

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<sup>111</sup> Vs. 43.

<sup>112</sup> Vs. 6.

<sup>113</sup> Vs. 9.

<sup>114</sup> Vss. 46, 50.

<sup>115</sup> Vss. 17, 52, 54.

<sup>116</sup> Vs. 19.

<sup>117</sup> Vs. 62.

<sup>118</sup> Vs. 67.

<sup>119</sup> Sura iii:117.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. Vs. 145.

<sup>121</sup> Vs. 151.

<sup>122</sup> Vs. 145.

<sup>123</sup> Vs. 146.

<sup>124</sup> Vs. 147.

<sup>125</sup> Vs. 148.

<sup>126</sup> Vss. 133-170.

divine mercy. The argument is familiar enough to the present generation, for it is the same as that with which we console ourselves today in our disasters. Mohammed appears nowhere more calm and dignified in his whole bearing than in this hour of suspicion,<sup>127</sup> of incipient abandonment by his followers, and of the threatened crash of his whole enterprise. And he saved the day. Subsequent victories completely reestablished his prestige. The sura ends with a prayer of repentance, petition, and trust, and an air of absolute confidence in the rewarding providence of God to the righteous everywhere.

The general tone of the last suras favors the supposition that Mohammed engaged in various other military enterprises. It is certain that he made many efforts to gain "the Arabs of the Desert", successful or partially or temporarily. He had serious trouble with the Jews of Medina, and finally drove them out of the city.<sup>128</sup> One event, the failure of a combined expedition against Medina, is brought before us in a few hasty sketches,—as of the surrounding of the city,<sup>129</sup> the fears of the populace, their conflicting suggestions, and the final retreat of the expedition without any serious or decisive battle: "God drove back the infidels in their wrath."<sup>130</sup>

The aim, to capture and subject Mecca to the system of Islam, was, however, never forgotten. Mohammed pursued it without faltering, but he was compelled to regard considerations of timeliness and prudence. The Koran gives no account of the progress of events that finally gave him the city. But the whole of sura xxii, which commands Mohammed to proclaim the Pilgrimage, and gives various directions for its performance, presupposes the control of the city. And the remarkable sura cx expresses his exultation in his success:—

"Since the help of God and the victory have arrived,  
And thou seest men entering the religion of God by troops;  
Then utter the praise of Thy Lord, implore his pardon; for  
he loveth to forgive."

At this point the Koran ceases to furnish us materials for biography. What impression may we carry away from our study? I shall speak only for myself; but I derive, with more or less certainty, the following view. The first point to be emphasized is that Mohammed was originally no imposter, but a man sincerely convinced that he received revelation from God. The psychological explanation of this conviction, I decline to attempt. The facts contained in the Koran are not sufficient for the formation of any theory. He resembles in his utterances, and in his declaration of divine commission as a prophet, the Hebrew prophets Jeremiah and

<sup>127</sup> Note the suggestion of vs. 155.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. sura lix.

<sup>129</sup> Sura xxxiii:10-27.

<sup>130</sup> Vs. 25.

Ezekiel. But the general level of his suras is so much lower than theirs, and the evidences of his own agency in their creation so many, that one must conclude that he was greatly deceived when he claimed that every word of them was spoken by God. He may have been sincere in calling himself nothing but a warner, and in saying that he only reported what he had heard; but he was deluded regarding the hearing. For a large number of passages in the Medina suras, no such explanation can be substituted; they are a fraud.<sup>131</sup>

Still the great elements of Mohammed's preaching are elements of Christian preaching also.<sup>132</sup> It was a message exposing sin, demanding repentance, and submission to the divine will (Islam), and prescribing a life of prayer and good works. Perhaps here I may best close this sketch by reverting to the more gentle side of Mohammed's character. He cherished many beautiful sentiments, attracted men to himself in enthusiastic friendship and had many of the characteristics of a good man. Among these more gentle and admirable qualities was his love of nature.

He was, among other things, a preacher of Heaven, and sought to make this as attractive as possible to men whom he found it difficult to win to his new religion. He painted it in such a way that it shows what he most admired himself. Believers were to spend their time there in gardens. There were to be there delicious fruits, grapes and dates, the fruit of palms hanging in clusters, "one above another", and not beyond the reach of those who abode there. His eyes had often dwelt upon the beauty of the palm and its fruit. And "under these gardens were rivers of water" whence the irrigating channels so indispensable in Arabia could be filled. He had watched the animals which drew up the refreshing water from the wells sunk down to the unfailing supplies in those under-ground rivers, out of sight, hidden from the eye, but ever flowing and ever ready to satisfy the needs of man.

He studied the palms, noted their spathe distended with flowers, how some of them were clustered, drawing sustenance from one bundle of roots, others single; how on some the fruit hung low; and he wondered how, when watered by the same water, they could produce so different fruit.

As was natural for an Arab, water had a certain fascination for Mohammed. Nothing seemed more beautiful than the oncoming of the storm, and he watched with delight its promise of a new earth. How "dead" Arabia was in the burning droughts of Summer! But here came the "laden" rain-clouds, borne upon God's servants the winds, and floods fell upon the earth,—terrible sometimes with the resistless power of God himself, and

<sup>131</sup> e.g., xxxiii:49, 52, 53; and the passages of vengeance, attributing to God sentiments that belong only to the malevolent, viii:12, 13; ii:187.

<sup>132</sup> This idea is more fully carried out in the "Commentary."

carrying away with their torrent the laboriously created gardens and fields of man,—the flashing lightning exciting thus both fear and hope,—but vivifying the earth again, so that abundant pasturage sprang up upon the sands of the dry plains and the plantations of palms and grain smiled with fruits and vegetables,—and the dead earth lived again. He stood and watched the wadies filling after a Winter's rain, the flood restrained by the banks, and on its swollen surface the patches of foam, just as he had seen scum gathering on the pot of melted metal. How quickly it was gone! He had thus watched Nature in many of its forms, sometimes with evident delight and admiration, and sometimes with the fascination which terrible aspects often exercise over the susceptible mind.

His childhood and youth had been passed in mountain-girt Mecca, and these "towering" masses form a constant source of the poetic imagery of his addresses. Their firmness, their immovability, impressed him. He thinks of them as giving the earth its stability. Here and there their color caught his eye among the "varied hues" adorning the earth. By them he swears. They join in praising God at evening and in the morning. They are among the beauties and glories of the world. He looked up to the "star-bespangled" heavens and exulted in their glory, noting the great constellations, and wondering how the vast vault was sustained without pillars upon which to rest. The majesty of the sea, its storms, its billows, the darkness of its stormy night, moved him greatly. And when he refers, as he often does, to the course of Nature, it is to single out particulars which only the eye of one who loved to gaze and mark the lesser features of events as well as the greater, could have perceived. He emphasizes in various connections the succession of day and night, to which he refers repeatedly. He delighted in the great brightness of the sun, for which he uses a special synonym of the word "light"; but the night was, for all that, a "veil", and a protection, and the time of rest for the wearied laborer, heralded by the "night-comer", a star of "piercing radiance" (perhaps Venus). He noted even the shadows which, as they stretched in different directions morning and evening, seemed to him to bow in worship unto God.

In fact, his notice of trifles and his use of them in illustration of his thought were constant. The snorting of horses, the sparks struck out by their hoofs, minute creatures like the ant, the gnat, the spider, the frailness of whose house he noticed, all attract his eye. For a close observer, and hence a lover, of Nature, Mohammed certainly was.

*Oberlin, Ohio*

FRANK H. FOSTER.

## DO WE WANT A NEW VERSION OF THE ARABIC NEW TESTAMENT?

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[The following article is based upon a survey of the text of the Gospels undertaken in the past two years by different missionaries in various parts of the Arabic-speaking world, and upon conversations and correspondence with others over the different aspects of the subject mentioned below.—EDITOR.]

It was in 1860, after twenty-three years of loving and conscientious labor, that the edition of the New Testament, still in use among the Arabic-speaking Protestant communions of the Near East, was given to the Church. The work was actually finished in 1857, when Dr. Eli Smith passed away, having also translated a dozen Old Testament books. His mantle fell on Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, who, with the help of Syrian scholarship, Christian and Moslem, "thoroughly revised the New Testament, conforming the Arabic more closely to the Greek *Textus Receptus*, but adding variant readings."<sup>1</sup>

Whether or not this means that the translators did have access to the work being done by the German scholar, Tischendorf, during that very decade is not clear. Though a preliminary account of the *Codex Sinaiticus* was issued by Tischendorf in 1860, the full first edition of his New Testament was not out till 1869. Still we do know that Christian scholars in Germany were consulted, and they, of course, knew something of the importance and results of Tischendorf's discovery. The influence of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, therefore, on the Arabic version must have been indirect, if any; and for the most part the basis was the *Textus Receptus*. The work, moreover, of Bernard Weiss, and Westcott and Hort, was still future. The Sinaitic Syriac, among the versions, was as yet undiscovered; and scholarship generally was much more sceptical of the

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<sup>1</sup> "Historical Catalogue of Printed Bible," p. 72. For an added variant there is "with tears" in the Arabic of Mk. 9:24, as in the Western text, but not in A. V. or R. V.

readings of the *Codex Bezae* than was the case a few decades later.

We have in fact travelled a long way in our knowledge of the text of the Greek New Testament since 1860. If another early manuscript were to turn up today somewhere in Egypt, scholars would very soon allot it to its family, Alexandrian, Caesarean, Byzantine, Western or mixed. None of this knowledge was available seventy-five years ago. We can be only too thankful for what was done then, and seek in this textual line loyally to bring up to date the devoted labors of those days for the sake of the Arabic-speaking world.

In 1898 Dr. Eberhard Nestle produced a New Testament in Greek based on the work of the older scholars, Tischendorf, Weiss, and Westcott and Hort. In the case of having to make a decision as to a variant reading, Dr. Nestle adopted that in which two of the previous editions agreed. Variations of importance were relegated to footnotes.

It was this text, published in 1898 by the Bible Society of Württemberg, that was adopted six years later (1904, the centenary year) by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and has remained its "latest text" ever since. A comparison of this text of 1898 with that of the Greek text (chiefly the T. R.) that underlay the Arabic version of forty years earlier reveals the fact that there are over one thousand slight variants. There are nearly nine hundred in the text of the Gospels, which are our *immediate* concern. The majority of these variants are negligible in themselves. In the mass they assume more serious proportions; and in view of this fact as well as faced by the great importance of Arabic, we do need to ask whether there is need for another critical edition of the Arabic New Testament based upon the researches of half a century and more.

Most of the differences between the versions of 1860 and 1898 are well known to New Testament scholarship, and need not be cited here. Many of them are in the text

or margin or footnotes of the Revised and Standard versions of Great Britain and the United States of America. Still others have been adopted by the modern individual versions, but these readings do not concern us, any more than the translations of the Gospels based on a reconstructed Aramaic original! Some, in fact, of our nine hundred differences would be considered by competent scholars as more right than some of the "Nestle" readings; but this is not the case with the vast majority of them. The main issue is the decision as to whether another *version* of the Arabic New Testament is called for because of these facts. There are voices from other directions, as we shall see, asking for a new *translation*; and if these voices prevail, the immediate question will be, "What text shall we translate?"

Before taking up the problem from this point of view, it may be worthwhile to record a few matters of textual interest in the Gospels, as raised by a comparison of the versions. One of the most interesting details of this kind is the name of the first of the last pair of apostles in Matthew and Mark. In the Arabic version this Simon appears as *al Qanarwi*, i.e., from Cana of Galilee. This is also the reading of Jerome, and in much later days of Dr. Torrey of Yale in his "Four Gospels." The Greek word form seems best taken as referring to a place. It is interesting to find three Christian scholars, who knew their Palestine well, agreeing in a small point, and that without any collusion! In some cases the Van Dyck version did anticipate the Revised Version as in Matt. 12:21, where the Revised Version has "hope" as against the Authorized Version "trust." Then there are two cases of the use of the dual, where the sense is accordingly obscured. In Matt. 21:7, our Lord is represented as riding upon the two animals at the time of the Triumphal Entry. Surely the reading of the *Codex Sinaiticus* is right here, that He sat "on the top of the clothes", which did duty as a saddle. This would seem to be a case where alteration is required in the interests of good sense. In Mark 10:6,

again the Arabic has the dual over God's creation of "male and female"; but the words are a quotation from Genesis and should be in the plural. Then in Luke 5:8 there is the otherwise untraced reading in Peter's words to Jesus, "Go out of *my boat*." This may of course be merely interpretative, much in the same way as English versions utilize italics, but here it would seem stretching a point. In Matt. 24:15 and Mark 13:14, it is perhaps unfortunate that the "abomination of desolation" should be needlessly feminine in Arabic, whereas in Greek it is masculine in Mark and probably neuter in Matthew. Then there are tiny matters of letters, where there may be an extra "and", as in Mark 5:20. But the most important "and" we shall probably be glad about; for Arabic's two "*waws*" in Luke 2:14 mean that no mistake is possible about their being three clauses and not two. Incidentally this has the support of the Sinaitic Syriac, while there is probably more to be said for this older translation than when it was turned out of the critical editions half a century ago. The last instance we might mention is Mark 1:1, where Nestle has omitted "Son of God." The Revised Version calls attention to the fact that it is omitted in some ancient authorities. Moffatt brackets the phrase, Goodspeed does not have it. It is not in the modern Turkish edition. This brings up the interesting point of a Moslem "Objection to Christianity." Many missionaries have said that they feel "Mark" to be the best gospel for introducing the Moslem to the Life of Christ—but he is put off by the opening verse. Here is an honest dilemma for any future Arabic version. What is the line of least resistance? The late Professor Turner has contended for the retention of the words as original Marcan on the ground partly of Mark 15:39.<sup>2</sup>

There is the further, and the for the present secondary, question of the Arabic renderings of various Greek words. For instance is *sarîr* really the right word for *κράβαττος*?

Does *fida'* render *ἀντάλλαγμα*? Why is *ishtabigha* used for "baptize" only in Mark 10:38 (with the Matthean

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan., 1927.

parallel) and Luke 12:50, but only in these places in the whole of the New Testament? The usual word has a Syriac origin. How comes it that *fikr* is made to do duty for a variety of Greek words? Should *ῥαββί* always be rendered by *sayyid*? Would it not be better to keep the Aramaism as in other passages? Why is *ἐγένετο* left out so often, when translating from Greek into a Semitic language, while the Hebrew equivalent seems mostly to be retained in the Old Testament? There is the curious change of gender in the "Shayatin" in Luke 4:41: or the insertion of *dhalika* as explanatory in Mark 7:20, due presumably to the difficulty of reading the neuter. Or ought not *εὐάγγελιον* always appear as *injil*? And why not retain Latin words where they occur as in Mark 15:16?

These and many other questions of "rendering" would present themselves, whether it was the question of revision or retranslation that was taken up. And here probably there would be the greatest diversity of opinion at first. For already there are heard notes of dissatisfaction with the current version, either as being too Syrian for it to be really welcome in other parts of the Arabic-speaking field; or as possessing words never used in a particular area; or as not suitable for Moslem readers even though it is for Christian. There is probably something worth careful consideration in all these criticisms. An article in the *MOSLEM WORLD* for July, 1934<sup>3</sup> has a paragraph in this connection which is worth quoting:—

"The work ahead of us is enormous. 'Yes', said a dignified thoughtful *sheikh* to me as I sat in his *mejlis*, 'I have the Gospel too. One of your missionaries gave me a copy twenty years ago, but its Arabic is so strange that I understand nothing.'"

Does this mean that we need national versions to suit the needs of different Arabic lands? or that one translation will suit the Christians, and the Moslems must have another? Here it is perhaps interesting to note that in 1816 a translation was made from English by Nathaniel Sabat, a Christian scholar (who had been educated in Baghdad) under the supervision of Henry Martyn. It was published

<sup>3</sup> Page 269.

after further revision and editing by the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the B. F. B. S. "The style adopted was intended to attract Eastern Moslems, who disliked the Newcastle Bible of 1811; but its resemblance to the phraseology of the Koran rendered it unacceptable to Arabic-speaking Christians."<sup>4</sup>

Fifty years later came Van Dyck's great work, when Christian terminology was deliberately adopted in deference to the feeling of Syrian Christian scholarship. So this is still a debatable point. Shall the Christians have a book that the Moslems cannot understand, with words like *namus* substituted for *shari'at*? Or shall we have the Gospel in a language which shall reach the Moslem, but which will offend Christian susceptibilities? Here surely is another real problem for the revisionist, so real that we dare not leave it on one side for fear of the future or anything else.

What is the way out, if there is one? Is it to have a series of versions of the New Testament in the Arabic as spoken in the various countries that comprise the Arab world? Shall there be a version for North Africa, and another for Egypt, where they are well on the way to getting a New Testament in Egyptian Colloquial?<sup>5</sup> Certainly Syria, and almost certainly Palestine will vote to continue with the version they have grown accustomed to, and which originated in Beirut and not in Cairo. Perhaps in these countries alone the Van Dyck version has approximated to the place in the affections of Christians which the Authorized Version has held in Anglo-Saxon lands. But Iraq will have the same feeling as Egypt, though perhaps from a different angle, claiming that the format of the book is far too Syrian and contains words that always have to be explained. And down the Persian gulf the tale is just the same. Shall we follow the line of nationalism to discover our way out, and willingly see the various countries producing their own New Testament in their own classical, or perchance their own colloquial?

<sup>4</sup> "Hist. Cat. of Printed Bibles," p. 69.

<sup>5</sup> There are already "portions" in Tunisian, Algerian, Egyptian, Moorish and Sudanese.

We have not come to the end of the complications even yet, for there will be objections to change of any sort whether those changes concern revision, retranslation or are merely literary considerations. We may ask in return, what is the good of only having a classical version, if when thinking of the illiterate masses, the classical version has to be rendered always into colloquial *orally*, and an oral translation at sight must always run the risk of being expositional and not just pure translation? But the real clash would come when the question arises not of classical *versus* colloquial, but of retranslation and revision; and it will be asked whether in undertaking a revision we are not giving away the Christian case for the inspiration of Holy Writ. Surely this is tantamount, it will be argued, to admitting the Moslem claim that the *Injil* is *muharraf*. With more than one version in circulation what shall we say in defence of our position? Surely this is an objection that should not worry us at all. The truth is the truth; we want to put at the disposal of the Christian and the Moslem alike<sup>6</sup> the best text of the New Testament, especially of the Gospels, that can be found. Here is a definite proof that the Christian is poles away from the Moslem in his ideas of inspiration. If the Christian is driven to find other arguments for his own belief in inspiration, that will be all to the good for himself and his Moslem friend.

This leads up to a possible suggestion for the future. We ought not to be satisfied with the more national solution of the problem of another version, until every path has been explored as to the possibility of the entire Arabic-speaking world agreeing over the rendering of an up-to-date critical edition of the New Testament, as up-to-date as was the Van Dyck version seventy-five years ago. Of such a critical version the Van Dyck text would surely be a main basis. It might be feasible at first to produce the Van Dyck version once again with the more important various readings in footnotes to popular editions, in order to familiarize the Christian and Moslem public with the

<sup>6</sup> After all, it was largely the rapid expansion of Islam which was responsible for crystallization of the text of the New Testament on the "Byzantine" pattern in the *Textus Receptus*.

fact of variants.<sup>7</sup> The question is whether this would ultimately meet the need of a more correct version, or be equally welcome in those parts of the area where certain words may be strange. But is it not worth while to try first to see whether an agreed critical edition with a text to be adopted throughout the whole Arabic world is a practical proposition or not? If it were, then surely this would be regarded as the normal text in Arabic lands, and then, if the need arose in particular countries or localities for a colloquial or more national version, or a more private translation, such as those of Moffatt or Goodspeed in the West, such translator or translators would naturally be faithful to the agreed critical edition. Colloquial versions would be the responsibility of areas, and unity of text would be achieved in the classical version. For if we are going to have any new translation at all, we ought to be agreed first on what text we should translate. What is the next step?

*Jerusalem*

E. F. F. BISHOP.

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<sup>7</sup>The Beirut reference edition also has "textual" and "translational" footnotes by Dr. Hoskins, but though these overlap in many cases with our 900, they number 512 in the Gospels and contain other points not noted in this more recent Survey. 3

## THE NILE MISSION PRESS

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The frustration of evil enterprises, strongly supported and cunningly planned, has been a constantly recurring miracle for which Christians of all ages have been thankful. Strangely enough the contrary is also true. It is surprising how long it often takes good and able men to put into execution their humane and beneficent designs. The need for a Press in Egypt had long been felt. The American Press in Beirut was far away and moreover was within the bounds of the Ottoman Empire and within the limits of its strict censorship. The desire for a Literature or Tract Society with especial reference to Moslems was not only felt but voiced.

Miss Van Sommer, whose interest in Egypt was already long standing, began in 1900 to produce a quarterly paper, *Blessed be Egypt*—which sought to secure interest in the evangelization of Egypt. In the columns of this paper, as early as July 1900, an article by Mr. Wm. Summers on Christian literature for Egypt ended with a plea for “the establishment of an Arabic Tract Society.” This was followed in the next number by an article by Mr. A. T. Upson on “The Proposed Tract Society”, in which he expressed the desire to widen the sphere of such a society to care for distribution of English as well as Arabic tracts, and in which he made proposals for stimulating native Christian authorship. He closed with a quotation from David Hill, showing what had been done in China and suggesting what could be done in Egypt. In the July number of the following year Miss Van Sommer in an article entitled “The Nile Printing Press” wrote these words: “It is with a longing desire to hasten the message, and that it may be *in time* for thousands beside the Nile, that I

venture to bring my plea to friends at home and to my missionary friends in Egypt." In the same number Mr. Martin Cleaver, after saying that he had consulted some of the oldest and most experienced workers in the country, stated that there was an almost unanimous conviction of the need of such an organization. In enumerating the advantages of such a society he stressed many points, the truth of which has been demonstrated in the history of the Nile Mission Press, especially the fact that tracts and books issued by a certain body supported and aided by all the missions would have more authority and power than the separate publications of each society. (The same year contributions for the proposed Press had reached over £700).

The expressed desire of missionaries working in Egypt was but the outcome of their experience of new forces working in that land. Egypt was beginning to awaken to a new intellectual, social and political life. The awakening is blossoming today into nationalism and a new Islamic consciousness. There was a new religious stirring evidenced by the increase in missionary agencies working in Egypt and the strengthening of those already in existence. A committee was formed in Cairo which began to publish tracts. Another committee was formed in England which began to collect money. The Cairo committee favored the idea of a tract society, the English Committee of a printing press. Eventually the two ideas were combined and a printing press was opened under the care of Mr. W. R. Gentles, with a publishing department supervised by Mr. A. T. Upson. The whole work was controlled by a local committee of missionaries.

Although books had been produced before the printing press was open, great difficulties had to be contended with. Apart from the technical difficulties of producing durable books, native printers could not be relied upon for accuracy even if their intentions were always good. In any case the task of seeing books through the press was very laborious and means for their effective distribution had not yet been

devised. The committee which was formed before the opening of the Press, began to achieve that cooperation so essential in the economic and effective production and use of Christian literature.

In fact the tract society seemed more important at some stages than the Press, but most of the gifts received were designated to the setting up of this Press and thus after the necessary local and technical advice had been taken, about two years after the Press had been planned in Mr. Upson's house in Shebin el Kom (there is no missionary working in that large town today) it was opened in 1905. From the first, all books and tracts published by the Nile Mission Press had to receive the assent of a representative Publication Committee. This Publication Committee, which still meets and performs the same office, was formed by representatives of the various missions working in the country, the American U. P. Mission, the C. M. S. and the Egypt Mission Band, later the Egypt General Mission. The number of members was increased by the inclusion of representatives from the North African Mission, the Church Mission to Jews, the World Sunday School Association and the Synod of the Evangelical Church. For some years the business affairs were also managed by an inter-mission committee, though this was afterwards found to be impracticable and was replaced in 1915 by a business manager. He in turn was succeeded by a director, who not only controlled the business affairs, but was also the literary superintendent. It had been found that unison between the various departments of the work was essential to its smooth running.

At first the newly-founded Press was principally occupied in printing the tracts and books of other societies. However, from the very first, separate publications were issued as funds allowed. One of the first issued by the preliminary committee, which was in existence before the Printing Press had been determined on, was the "Sinless Prophet." This tract was reprinted about twelve times until in 1933 some copies were seized from a bookshop in

Assiut and after the subsequent enquiry, the government prohibited their distribution in Egypt. The first Arabic tracts to be printed by the Press after it was actually established were three of Miss Trotter's story parables. Another early book to be published was the "Sweet Story of Jesus." These tracts and books are still in constant demand. To read through the minutes of those earlier meetings with an up-to-date catalogue in hand is sufficient to convince anyone who is sceptical, of the Divine guidance given to committees. The history of the Press has abundantly confirmed the opinions of the members of its Publication Committee in the early critical years of its history.

The work very speedily grew in all directions. As more money was supplied, the publishing department became more ambitious and a steady stream of Christian literature of every kind issued from the Press. It is true that these earlier publications were often of a controversial nature, but the needs of children and simple folk were not altogether neglected. Distribution was not confined to Egypt. At a very early stage, contacts were established between the N. M. P. and missionaries in other lands, contacts which strangely enough are not permanent but seem to form rather a periodic feature of the N. M. P. work. At first the missionaries were able to use the tracts and books as produced, but it soon became necessary to supplement the means of distribution at their disposal. Colporteurs were appointed and materially aided the distribution of the Arabic books and tracts which were issuing from the Press in ever increasing numbers.

In 1912 the colporteurs working for various missions were brought together under a Joint Colportage Committee. This scheme enabled the work to be managed more efficiently and more economically. The Colportage Committee still exists, though largely in name, for it is only financially supported by the Nile Mission Press and the Egypt General Mission. The colporteurs have been reduced in numbers but on the whole the men at present engaged in this work are the result of a long process of weeding

out and the work accomplished has not diminished in proportion to the reduction in the numbers of men employed.

The beginning of the second period of the Nile Mission Press's history coincided with the outbreak of the World War. The arrival of Dr. Zwemer in Cairo in 1912 and the purchase of a site for the printing works, offices, etc. (formerly the Press was housed in rented premises) were the first outward signs of the expansion which was rapidly taking place. The local Management Committee and the Master Printer were replaced by a business manager who not only developed the printing work in relation to the outside world, but took charge of the whole business management of the Press.

This period of expansion which began with the establishment of the N. M. P. in new premises continued till about 1920, when it was found that the expansion of organization had far outstripped the field work and consequently expenses were greater than the work accomplished warranted.

Although something had been done to meet the need of children and young people, neither staff nor equipment had previously enabled this to be adequately done. In 1916 Miss Padwick was designated to this work by the N. M. P. Committee and was followed by Miss Elsie Anna Wood, whose pictures of scenes in the Near East are so well known. Later Miss Monro was sent out to this department. Under these circumstances, together with the help and interest of Miss Trotter, it is not surprising that books and tracts for children multiplied. To this period belong "Coral Island" (a translated book), "Florence Nightingale" for young women, "The King of Love", Miss Padwick's Life of Christ for children and "Galila's Struggle", an original Egyptian story written partly in colloquial. These are only specimens of an all-round effort to meet the needs of children and young people. The R. T. S. Copping pictures were widely used and gained a popularity which they have not yet lost.

In other directions, too, there was expansion. To secure

an entrance into the old churches of the East, a series of biographies was planned, and several lives of early church leaders were produced, sometimes in collaboration with members of the Eastern Churches. Newer editions of these books are still being sold. The older type of controversial book for Moslems was replaced by the comparative method associated with Dr. Zwemer's name, and the direct method of teaching Christian theology to Moslems, as in Mr. Upson's "Lord of Glory." It was in these years that the "Illuminated Gospel according to St. John" was planned and produced. It is, I suppose, the most beautiful Christian Arabic work in existence. The printing was of course done in England where the paper was specially made for this work. It seems to us, living in harder times, that money flowed in during those years. Yet the plans and projects then formed were far in advance of the means of carrying them out.

Though distribution did not advance in proportion to the new matter published, great steps were made. The colporteurs working under the Joint Colportage Committee reached the number of fifteen at one time. Work was opened in Palestine and Transjordan. Dr. Zwemer brought his knowledge of many countries to the Press and took the knowledge of the Press to many countries. It was during this time that the publications of the Nile Mission Press began to be known in China and India as well as in the lands situated nearer to Egypt.

Some of these Arabic tracts were translated into Urdu, Püshtu, Telugu and Gujurati, and some printed side by side with a Chinese version. The favorites for translation were Mr. Upson's *Khutbas* and Miss Trotter's story *Parables*.

It now became advisable, and increasingly advisable as the years passed by, to issue English versions of some of these original Arabic tracts, as basis for translations.

In 1923 Mr. Upson was given entire control of the work. Organization and overhead expenses were reduced and commercial work was given up. Although the number of men employed was reduced to about half the number

employed in previous years, the essential work of the Press was carried on. Publishing proceeded at about the same rate, though perhaps fewer of the publications were especially designed for the children. In fact the Junior department was more or less submerged for the time beneath a flood of other publications. It never, however, was completely suspended and since 1930 has been in regular and continuous action.

Distribution steadily mounted, reaching in 1928 its maximum of nearly half a million copies distributed during the year.

This period, which lasts up to the present day, has been marked by several changes in the type of book produced. The old controversial type of book has been replaced by a newer type which seeks to meet the difficulties of the Moslem without letting him know that the book is meant for him as a Moslem. The most significant advance has been made in the New Testament Commentaries for Moslems, the latter volumes of which, having been written by an Egyptian pastor, have a general power of appeal which the earlier volumes had not. It might be thought that for this reason they are not so sought after by Moslems but this is not the case. Even more recently, a new form of apologetic has been introduced in the form of a Christian novel written by Mr. J. E. Kinnear. The story is meant to present a contrast between the ideals and practices and well-being of a Christian and a Moslem young man. Some of the claims of Christianity are introduced into the dialogue portion.

Latterly, also, distribution has been affected by the attitude of the authorities and the fact that little, if any, provision is made in Mission budgets for the purchase of literature for distribution.

At the same time most missions feel at the present time their need of one another as never before, and also realize in a general way the power of the press. Circumstances are in many cases driving us to a cooperation such as we had only dreamed of before.

A specimen of what might be done was furnished by "The Week of Witness" held for two years in Egypt. The idea was that members of the Christian Church should witness to Moslems by selling them Christian books. This meant a real sacrifice of dignity and something of a share in the reproach of the Cross for those who engaged in it. Large numbers of tracts and books were sold during this week, mostly to Moslems. While plans for the organization of this week were in course of preparation for a third time, the troubled state of the country and the anti-missionary campaign conducted with such power and for so long, rendered the repetition of such an effort impolitic if not disastrous.

Distribution during this period had decreased in the number of tracts and books circulated but the area of circulation is probably greater, and the proportion of books to tracts is much greater.

Books are sent to every continent and the number of countries where readers of Arabic are to be found is surprisingly great. A colporteur works in New York supported by the American Tract Society and the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems. This man distributes a number of our Arabic publications every year. Two lending libraries of Arabic books have been placed in England, another such library has been placed in Persia,<sup>1</sup> several of course have been set on foot in Palestine, Syria and Egypt.

These libraries are more and more becoming a feature of the work. There are many places where the people are too poor to buy books, and these libraries mean that the message thus reaches many who otherwise would have little opportunity of hearing. Each general library costs about twenty dollars and we have so far received these specially earmarked gifts in the same number and at about the same time that the requests for the libraries have come in. We are further hoping to provide smaller libraries for young

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<sup>1</sup> We have a request for another library in Persia, which will soon be fulfilled, as the cost of placing another library has been sent in.

children, children and village folk, costing respectively one dollar or five to eight dollars.

During all these years the Printing Press, self supporting, has been helping missionaries by undertaking their printing. It has specialized in the correct printing of Egyptian colloquial. The late Sir William Willcocks said that the Nile Mission Press was the only Press that he knew which took pains to print colloquial accurately. A good deal of printing in Persian, and some in Malay, Sundanese and Javanese has also been undertaken, and on the whole, missionaries working in those respective districts seem pleased with the work. The great difficulty has always been the proof reading. In solving this we have helped considerably to augment the income of various mail-carrying Airway Companies.

At present there is a general feeling of the need of a united advance in the evangelization of the country. In this advance such a work as the Nile Mission Press has a responsible task. Books are often the pioneers of advance, they are also the consolidating force, when the positions have been carried. There are evidences on every hand of the need of pioneer work. The lapse of so many nominal Christians is surely a call to undertake also the other part of our ministry. New plans are being made for doing this in a way undreamed of before. It remains to be seen whether such schemes will be wrecked on the shoals of finance or will yet prove the means of bringing in many from Islam to know Christ, whom to know is Life Eternal.

*Cairo*

J. R. MENZIES.

## RUE AND THE EVIL EYE IN PERSIA

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“Although the rue upon the fire my darling threw  
For fear the evil eye might her with bale pursue,  
Alike the rue and fire to her are profitless  
Whose glowing cheeks the fire, whose beauty mark the rue.”<sup>1</sup>

To anyone making a study of Persian literature the constant references to the use of rue to avert the influence of the evil eye<sup>2</sup> make it increasingly a matter of interest and speculation as to the causes of its beginnings and present-day uses in marriage ceremonies.<sup>3</sup>

First, I shall give a background for the rise of the superstition of the use of rue to avert the influence of the evil eye, next, a brief history of its uses in many lands in ancient times, then the story of its former and present-day uses in Persia, and finally my theory of the proemial origin of the employment of rue today in Persian marriage ceremonies.

To understand any primitive superstition it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that at the very earliest beginnings man felt a unity and intimate relationship<sup>4</sup> with everything about him in nature. He gradually evolved a belief that he, as a human being, was the peculiar charge of a supreme Being<sup>5</sup> and that everything else in nature existed for his service. However, if he observed the great laws of nature, he marked not only the fluctuations of his own fortune, but his helplessness in matters of life and death. To fit himself into the scheme of things, as well as from his instinctive love of ease and aversion to pain, sprang the desire to propitiate the evil influences of his life and to secure the favor of that Being and his agents who were

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<sup>1</sup> “Goolistan of Sadi,” p. 30, by James Dumoulin, Calcutta, 1807.

<sup>2</sup> *Sikander Nama e Bara*, pp. 381 & 393, by H. Wilberforce Clarke, London, 1881.

<sup>3</sup> “Persian Manners and Customs”, from a Lecture delivered to the Persian Society, p. 11, by Lieut. Col. P. M. Sykes, C.M.G., C.I.E., Edinburgh, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> “Pagan and Christian Creeds”, pp. 75 & 270, by Edward Carpenter, New York, 1920.

<sup>5</sup> “Herb Magic”, by H. Stanley Redgrove, *Occult Review*, May, 1923.

supposed to serve him or make him happy.<sup>6</sup> Thus came a logical belief in magic and a continually increasing use of charms, amulets and talismans and any other defensive or offensive armor of exorcism. Straightway he turned to the objects about him, and especially to those in nature which were alive.

In the earliest times, the use of anything partaking of divine, satanic, or natural magic<sup>7</sup> was supposed to have been taught by the gods themselves to the priests in the temples, which knowledge enabled them to know all the demons who controlled each and every part of the body. Later on, magicians and astrologers were believed to have obtained most of their power to ascertain future events, ward off calamities, or heal diseases, by listening to the discourses of angels with the devils who had climbed into the signs of the zodiac.<sup>8</sup> Thus every animal, mineral, or plant was believed to be in correspondence with one of the heavenly bodies and most of them bore the seal of the planet wherefrom they derived their virtues.<sup>9</sup>

Since rue was an herb of the sun under Leo,<sup>10</sup> no plant in ancient times had more virtues ascribed to it than this herb. This, like all other plants bearing a yellow blossom, was accredited with supernatural powers, and believed to work in conjunction with the sun, the very fountain of life itself.<sup>11</sup> I think this may have been also the foundation for the use of brass or gold-lined<sup>12</sup> round divining bowls.<sup>13</sup> In medieval times it was carried still farther in all the attempts to transmute base metals into gold. Hence the Mithridatum legend<sup>14</sup> which persisted down to 1746.

The rules in the old Herbals, a distinctive part of

<sup>6</sup> "Dissertation on Languages, Literature and Manners of Eastern Nations", p. 176, by John Richardson, F.S.A., Oxford, 1778.

<sup>7</sup> Magic Art, *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, XIV, p. 201, Bombay Branch, by Edward Rehatsek, M.C.E., Bombay, 1878-1880.

<sup>8</sup> "Queer Things about Persia", pp. 323 & 326, by Eustache de Lorey and Douglas Sladen, London, 1907.

<sup>9</sup> See Note 5.

<sup>10</sup> Evil Eye, *Occult Review*, July-December, p. 5, by Bernard O'Neill, London, 1908.

<sup>11</sup> Culpeper's Complete Herbal, p. 304-5, by Nicholas Culpeper, 1616-1654, London, 1923.

<sup>12</sup> Persian Folklore, in "Folklore", Vol. XII, p. 270, by Ella C. Sykes, London, 1901.

<sup>13</sup> Arabic Magic Medicinal Bowls, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, p. 256, by

H. Henry Spoehr, New Haven, Conn., Sept. 15, 1935.

<sup>14</sup> "The Magic of Herbs", p. 272, by Mrs. C. F. Leyer, London, 1926.

literature from the fourth century on,<sup>15</sup> give most amusing and enlightening data on the magical and medical knowledge of the day. Herbs were gathered by day and some by night, at sunrise or at noon heat, or when moist with dew, from the windward side or facing east. The efficacy of their juices depend upon their being gathered at particular seasons and their being grown in field, garden or on the hillsides. A woman physician<sup>16</sup> who was a contemporary of Avicenna said, "Medicine is most effective when sap runs in the wood, and grape thickens in the cluster. The stomach is the head of disease, and diet the head of healing."

There are fifty species of this shrubby plant, *ruta graveolens*<sup>17</sup> which grows about two feet high, bearing glaucous green leaves, oily and bitter to the taste, and greenish yellow flowers, four-parted with crimped petals.<sup>18</sup> It may be found in Southern Europe, North Africa, the Canary Islands, the temperate parts of Asia, the Mediterranean countries, India, and even in British and American gardens.

Throughout medieval times there were listed a total of eighty-four uses of rue.<sup>19</sup> A stimulative and irritant drug, it was said to be good against infectious and pestilential diseases, fevers, disorders of head, nerves, womb, convulsions, hysteric fits, colic weakness, to repel poison, cure bites of venomous creatures and mad dogs, to use for poultry and cattle, for salads, sandwiches, but by far its earliest and most universal use was for all love philtres, perhaps because the flowers were bisexual, and to ward off the influence of the evil eye. Even the prophet Mohammed himself<sup>20</sup> believed that three-fourths of mankind died under the effects of the evil eye.

The belief in the evil eye is recorded in the literature of every people in every land since history was first

<sup>15</sup> The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XLVII, p. 1, by Charles Singer, London, 1927.

<sup>16</sup> Note 14, p. 29.

<sup>17</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica, *Rue*, New York, 1933.

<sup>18</sup> New International Encyclopedia, *Rue*, New York, 1926.

<sup>19</sup> Note 10 and Note 25.

<sup>20</sup> Belief in Evil Eye among the Modern Persians, *Anthropological Society of Bombay Journal*, 1-2, 1886-1892, p. 150, by John De Cunha, L.M. & S., Bombay, 1886.

written.<sup>21</sup> There are references to the use of rue to avert the influence of the evil eye in the writings of the Egyptians,<sup>22</sup> the Babylonians from 3000 B. C.,<sup>23</sup> the Sumerians,<sup>24</sup> Etruscans and Phoenicians,<sup>25</sup> and Assyrians.<sup>26</sup> An old Syrian recipe for whiteness of the eyes reads, "Beat up rue seed, put it in unwashed wool, throw this into asses' milk, and bind it upon the eye."<sup>27</sup> The Greek physician Pedacuis Dioscorides in the first century A. D. recorded six hundred plants in the earliest herbal in existence,<sup>28</sup> which became the source of herbal therapy for sixteen centuries.<sup>29</sup> Mercury is supposed to have given rue to Ulysses<sup>30</sup> to avert the enchantment of Circe; Hippocrates, 460-337 B. C., who was the first to separate medicine from philosophy,<sup>31</sup> names rue as one of the herbs endowed with magical virtues. It was still popular as an amulet against witchcraft at the time of Aristotle, 384-322 B. C., and Galen, the founder of experimental physiology, ate rue against infection.

The Persians were very familiar with all these previous and current beliefs regarding rue because these ideas had been known to them even from pre-Zoroastrian times.<sup>32</sup> After the death of Mohammed the best Persian works were translated into Arabic by Jews, Nestorian Christians, and the Syrians, and the theories of Hippocrates and Galen were studied and followed.

Scientific medicine was first established in Baghdad in the twelfth century, carried from there to Cordoba,<sup>33</sup> and from then on throughout the middle ages all Europe turned to the Arabians for their pharmaceutical knowledge.

<sup>21</sup> "Allusions to Witchcraft and Other Primitive Beliefs in the Zoroastrian Literature", Reprint from Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume, by Leo J. Frachtenberg, M.A., Part III, "The Evil Eye", Bombay, 1911.

<sup>22</sup> "Divine Origin of the Craft of the Herbalist", pp. 2, 10, 18, 36, 70, 77, by Sir Ernest A. W. Budge, Kt., M.A., Litt.D., Cambridge, Oxford, London, 1928.

<sup>23</sup> "Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution", p. 214, by Agnes Arber, London, 1912.

<sup>24</sup> See Note 22.

<sup>25</sup> "The Evil Eye", pp. 344-45 & 346-47, by Frederick T. Elsworth, London, 1885.

<sup>26</sup> "Flora of Assyrian Monuments", p. 37, by E. Bonavia, M.D., Westminster, 1894.

<sup>27</sup> Contributions to Syrian Folk Medicine, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. XX, Translation No. 33, by Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Ph.D., New Haven, 1899.

<sup>28</sup> *Dioskurides Juliana Anicia Codex*, Pierpont Morgan MS (contains two colored plates of rue).

<sup>29</sup> "The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides", pp. 286-9 (includes two pictures of rue), by Robert Gunther, M.A., Hon. LL.D., Oxford, 1934.

<sup>30</sup> "The Garden of Herbs", p. 112, by Eleanor S. Rohde, London, 1920.

<sup>31</sup> Note 14, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> Note 21.

<sup>33</sup> Note 21.

The late E. G. Browne said, "The old dilemma that the Creator, if He could have prevented the appearance of evil in the universe and did not do so, cannot be all good; while if He wished to prevent it, but could not, He cannot be all-powerful, has troubled the Persian mind more than it has troubled European minds, and has made Persia the source and inspiration of the religious and philosophical ideas of the world."<sup>34</sup> This, to my mind, helps us to understand the fact that many superstitions have paralleled their religious and philosophical development.

Certainly none is more common or persistent than the use of rue to avert the influence of the evil eye, even up to the present day.<sup>35</sup> The Persians used to expel demons or goblins from their houses annually in December. The magi wrote certain words, probably from the Koran, with saffron on a piece of parchment or paper, then held the writing over a fire into which had been thrown cotton, garlic, grape, wild rue, and the horn of an animal that had been killed on September 16th.<sup>36</sup> This spell was nailed or glued to the door, and the door painted red. The priest then took some sand and spread it out with a knife while he muttered a prayer. This sand strewed on the floor completed the enchantment, after which the demons either vanished or were deprived of their powers.<sup>37</sup>

Rue is raised today in the majority of Persian gardens because the leaves and seeds are burned for fumigation. After the circumcision of a boy takes place, the barber fills a brazier with burning rue, the smoke of which averts ill-luck.<sup>38</sup> Among the gifts to a bride is a tray containing one hundred varieties of drugs and herbs, including rue. Rue is either burned in a brazier before her, or she tosses a sprig of rue over her shoulder before she enters her new home. This custom may be explained as follows:

<sup>34</sup> "Religious Influence of Persia", from a paper read to the Persian Society, May 20, p. 59, by Prof. E. G. Browne, M.A., Edinburgh, 1914.

<sup>35</sup> "Persian Women and their Ways", Chap. XXII, by C. Collier Rice, London, 1923.

<sup>36</sup> "Golden Bough", Second edition, Vol. III, p. 83, by James G. Fraser, D.C.L., Litt.D., LL.D., London, 1900. Defend us from evil eye of people born on Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, and from neighbors on the right hand and on the left hand; and from spirits of the earth, from the visible and the invisible.

<sup>37</sup> Dictionary of Persian Arabic and English, New Edition, pp. 21 & 71, by John Richardson, London, 1829.

<sup>38</sup> Note 3.

The story is told in the Koran<sup>39</sup> of two angels by the names of Harut and Marut, who in a discussion with God were opposed to the creation of Adam and the propagation of the species man. They set forth the argument that since men were made of fire and had carnal passion implanted in them, they would prove to be disobedient to God. In order to test their theory God sent these two angels to earth as men, with strict injunctions not to mention that they were of God. They landed near Babylon in the middle of a summer day, where they chanced to meet a lovely dusky-browed shepherdess, Zahra by name.

"From early dawn the livelong hours she told  
Till late at silent eve she penn'd the fold."

They forgot they were angels, and Zahra forgot her flocks.

"Some simple lay of flocks and herds they sung,  
With joy the mountain and the forest rung."

Now you must know the mountainside on which they sat was covered with aphrodisical and enchanting rue of which

"A various wreath, of od'rous flowers she made."

Then,

"When evening dews enriched the glittering shade  
And the tall forests cast a longer shade,  
At length they found and woo'd the rural maid.  
O! why was Ruin so attractive made?  
Or why these men so easily betray'd?"<sup>40</sup>

It is said that God changed the maid Zahra into the planet Venus,<sup>41</sup> and the two angels were given a choice of their punishment here or hereafter. They chose the former, and are said to be still suspended by their feet in a rocky pit, where they will remain until Judgment Day, and from which place they instruct disciples of magic. They have learned to cause dissension between husband and wife.

In this circumstance was, I believe, the origin of the use of rue by Persian brides in their attempt to ward off the evil eye and thus to eternalize their husband's love. With or without rue

"The dark-browed maidens there possess  
The boon of perfect loveliness.  
Daughters of Persia, still is yours  
The art to charm while life endures."<sup>42</sup>

*New York City*

EDA W. LINDQUIST.

<sup>39</sup> Surah II:96.

<sup>40</sup> Persian Eclogues, 1742, by Mehamad of Tauris; Oriental Eclogues, J. Payne, 1757, Oxford Poets, pp. 313-314, edition of Collins.

<sup>41</sup> Tayibat Odes of Sadi, Note 2, p. 95, by Sir Lucas White King, Kt., C.S.I., LL.D., London, 1926.

<sup>42</sup> Laila and Majnun VII, p. 41, translation of Nizami, by James Atkinson, Esq., London, 1836.

## SOME SLAVES IN MOROCCO

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The first was "Orange-flower Bud" and she is now an elderly woman; all her children are married and have children of their own. Their father, her master, died years ago and left her children and their brothers and sisters,—sons and daughters of his free wife and of other slave wives—quite well provided for. Her sons have, as part of their inheritance, a small house adjoining the big family dwelling and to it they retired with their mother who, as she was a slave, did not inherit anything at their father's death. She is the head of the household and her daughters-in-law are under her care and guidance just as if she had been a free wife; but at the same time she is under the guidance of her eldest son and if he chose to give the order that she must never go out of the house she would have to recognize his authority and obey it. He has not done so and they are quite a united family, and she has considerable freedom.

It is when the slave-wife's family get married that she comes into her own; even during the lifetime of her master she goes on visits to her married children, is in their home an honored guest and beloved by her grandchildren. Once a slave girl becomes the mother of her master's child he cannot sell her though she still remains his property; so she is, to a certain extent, free. If the master tires of her, or for any reason wishes to get rid of her, the only thing he can do is to arrange a marriage for her and present her to the bridegroom. In this case she is legally married to her new husband and becomes a free woman.

"Orange-flower Bud" is a native of the Sus country just beyond the Atlas mountains and south of Morocco proper. She is only slightly darker in color than the fair

Fez people. She told me once that her father was a tribal governor in the Sus, and that when she was a little child, there was an inter-tribal war going on; it went on for years and many people were killed. Then at last the two tribes decided to make peace, and, as was the custom in such cases, each tribe sent children as hostages to the other till the terms of peace should be decided upon, when the children would be returned to their own people with some gift to each child; it might be a pair of silver bracelets or anklets, or some such thing. She was sent with other little children as one of the hostages, but she was very young and very homesick, so made up her mind to run away home to her own people. One day she got her opportunity and fled; but very soon she realized that she did not know her way and that she was lost, so she began to cry lustily. Before long a man on horseback came along and he asked her what was the matter. When she had told him, he asked, "What is your father's name?" On hearing it he said, "I know him well; come up behind me on my horse and I will take you to him." She was delighted and willingly let him pull her up on to his horse. Then he rode off with her and took her to the city of Marrekesh where he sold her in the slave-market.

The public slave-markets, where auctioneers, having opened the proceedings with prayer, paraded the slaves around the enclosure, that intending purchasers might have the opportunity of examining their points as they would have examined horses or cows, no longer exist. Slaves now are sent to one of the recognized houses which are kept for the purpose, where prospective buyers can go to see them, or whence they can have them sent to their houses on trial before deciding whether to purchase them or not. Newly enslaved women are not common now. The French authorities are doing all they can to prevent slaves from entering the country; but those already slaves are still sold from house to house, privately or through the medium of the agencies just mentioned. Now, if a slave girl can satisfy the French authorities that she has some

home to go to, if freed, they will give her a paper of freedom and then her old master has no claim whatever on her. But very wisely they do not give freedom to those who cannot give such an assurance. If they did, the girls would have no life before them but that of the streets. Even in the olden times, any slave had the right to refuse to allow herself to be purchased by anyone to whom she objected, and also the right to demand that she should be resold if she were not happy in the house in which she found herself. They generally refrained from using this power, lest they should find that they had only made their position worse. In all fairness it must be said that, revolting as any slavery is, slaves in Morocco were not, as a rule, badly treated.

Then there is "Star", who also is a Sus woman and a very fine, well built one. We first saw her about a year ago in the house into which she had just been bought. Her mistress had always had two slave girls as housemaids and one of them had, a short time before, "demanded the market," i.e., had claimed her right to be resold, as she wanted to belong to people who would send her out on errands and so give her more freedom than she had in that house where no woman—free or bond—was ever outside the door or even allowed up on the roof. When we saw "Star" we asked how it was that such a fine woman had just become a slave, for the great complaint now is that new slaves are hard to get since the French have stopped the trade from its source. Her mistress replied, "She is from the Sus and there was fighting going on among themselves. All the men from her village had gone out to the fighting, leaving only the women and children at home. Then one day a man came to tell the women that the enemy was likely to come down upon them and that their husbands had sent him to tell them to come at once to a neighboring village and wait there till they returned.

"The women, quite unsuspecting, tied their babies and their bundles on their backs and rushed out of the village only to find that they had been entrapped and that a band

of men was waiting to take them off and sell them." Star said that she resisted until she was wounded in the thigh by a knife and her baby girl was killed on her back. Her mistress was very busily trying to teach her how she ought to behave as a slave; not sit down, but stand and watch her mistress so that she should understand at once what was required of her and then do it. (Ps. 123:2). "She is not yet accustomed to being a slave", she said, "She doesn't know."

After some months we missed Star and asked where she was. "She demanded the market," said her mistress. "This house gave her no chances of getting out; what she wants is to manage to get out and run away and get home to her family." This was said in a tone that meant, "Did you ever hear of such wickedness?"

Once we knew of a slave who did manage to get off and, presumably, rejoin her family. We said that we hoped she had succeeded and that we wished her much good because of her bravery; but the people were quite shocked and said, "But she's our money."

Another slave is "The Little Weaned One." Hers is a very remarkable story for several reasons. She looks now about eighteen years of age. She told me that her home was in one of the coast towns of Morocco, that she used to live with her mother there, and that her mother one day (she does not know how long ago but remembers the circumstances quite well) gave her a bottle and said, "Go and buy me some oil." The mother followed her to the door and stood looking after her. She turned towards her mother and said, "Farewell, farewell." "Don't say that word," said her mother, evidently taking it as a bad omen. So she turned towards her and roguishly again said, "Farewell, farewell." "I had hardly turned the corner to go to the shop for the oil," she continued, "when a soldier, (the son of wickedness,—I'd know him again if I saw him,) caught me and either gave me a blow that stunned me, or put some '*benj*' over my mouth (I don't know which), for the next thing I knew I awakened in an

automobile and was resting against my master (May God have mercy on his soul!) and was being taken to his home in the Soos where he was an under Governor. When he died I was sold again, and here I am now."

Then there was "Jewel," who was a Sudanese girl, a beautiful young black girl—one of the old style who are almost unobtainable now. She told how her father took her one day into their town in the Sudan, when she was very small, and how he left her sitting on a mounting-block outside a business house while he went inside to speak to the master of the place, and how an Arab came along and caught her up under his long, wide cloak and shewing her a knife, said, "I'll stick that in you if you scream." He took her to a place outside the town where he had many other boys and girls gathered together, just waiting till he and his partners had sufficient to form a large caravan of slaves; they were then taken on the long, weary journey of weeks over the terrible Sahara where many died on the way.

"Jessamine" was another little girl who once said to one of us, "I don't care where I go when I die—to heaven or hell—but I *do* want to see my mother again."

"Peace" is the first slave *boy* of whom I write. He was a nice, very black boy and had quite a smile when we first knew him. He came up from a southern town with his master and family and several other slaves, some of them children like himself, and some middle-aged. His master was a government official and a man of wealth and importance, who died soon after he brought his family to Fez; as is usual in such cases, his property—slaves included—was divided amongst his heirs. Peace and a young slave girl named Blessed became the property of the elder son, then a minor. After a few years, during which there were many changes of fortune in the family, Peace came to his owner and said, "I'll serve you always faithfully if you will give me Blessed in marriage. But if you refuse to give her, I'll run away." They thought it over and decided that it would be best to give him Blessed. Soon

after that, when one of the daughters was being married, they made another wedding in a side room where Blessed sat in state, as her young mistress was sitting in the chief room, and Peace and Blessed were united.

Four babies were born, but each one died in early babyhood. Then Peace himself died of consumption—that scourge of the Sudanese slaves, who cannot stand the cold winters of this more northern land. Blessed is married again—this time to a free man, so her quite nominal slave status is over. I have not seen her since her second marriage. Her mistress told me that they had had her marry again because she was still young, and they could not condemn her to be always in mourning. And yet if she, not having a husband, were to dress up, it would be a shame in the eyes of her master. Her mistress is the wife of her young master, and Blessed and her husband have gone south with the family in the position of servants, or retainers, Blessed giving herself up to caring for the little children of her master. They are of the same ages as some of her own little ones who died, and are much loved by her.

Other stories of slaves are known to me. Here is an old one. I copy what I wrote in 1924: Twenty-eight years ago, rather more perhaps, the writer first visited Marrekesh. While there, she was taken by some of the missionaries of the South Morocco Mission to visit in the house of a wealthy old Moor whom we will call Bushta, of Tarudant. It was an ordinary Moorish house and household of the wealthy class, with very many children—children of many mothers. One wife had lately died, leaving a very beautiful little boy of about three years; there were grown-up sons as well. Numbers of slaves—women and girls—crowded around or went about their household duties while we were there, just in the ordinary way.

After we had left the house a fellow-traveller who was also of the party, told me that Bushta of Tarudant was one of whom there was much of interest to tell. He was a British Protégé, and some little time before had been mentioned in the only British newspaper in the country as

a slave-owner. He promptly denied that he possessed any slaves. A law-suit between Bushta and the editor of the paper ensued. Bushta employed a Gibraltar solicitor to defend him, the result of the trial being that he won the suit, all his slaves swearing that they were free. One said that she was an orphan whom, for charity's sake, Bushta had taken in and provided for; another that she received wages and could leave if she wished to do so; and so on through all the number. It was well enough known that they were slaves, but it could not be proven, especially as the witnesses did not mind how many lies they told in order that Bushta might win the case.

Last year we again visited Marrekesh—Bushta had died some time before that. His property had largely passed out of the hands of his family. We were told that they were living in comparative poverty on what was left. The editor of the newspaper was also dead. His sons who had known about the case were dead too, and the whole affair seemed to be a closed chapter.

But, "Truth is mighty and will prevail." It was only the other day, more than thirty years after the law-suit won by Bushta of Tarudant, that the writer, visiting in the house of Shereef, in Fez, asked a fine-looking young black woman, plainly a Sudanese, what part of the country she was from. "From Marrekesh," she said. "Yes", we replied, "But what is your country before you were stolen and brought to Marrekesh?" "I was born in Marrekesh", she answered. "Our Master was Bushta of Tarudant; when he died we were all sold." A slave, born of slave parents in the house of the man able to prove that all his slaves were really free people!

One could but wish that Mr. M——, the Englishman who had exposed Bushta as a slave owner, could have heard the girl's answer."

Another story is about a girl in the same house as the one who told me she had belonged to "Bushta of Tarudant:"

Last week the writer took a stranger, an American lady, to visit in a very beautiful house in Fez. We were

welcomed very warmly by the master and by his two wives and quite a number of slave girls, some of them perhaps eight or nine years old. When we had been shown through the house, which is very prettily tiled, tea was prepared for us in the room of the elder wife. We all sat on high mattresses covered with bright chintz, while the slave girl who had made the tea sat on a lower mattress or cushion near the open doorway, with the tea-tray on a low, round table before her and the tea-urn by her side, and quite in the doorway. The tea was not like our tea but was what is universally used here—green Chinese tea. The tea-tray had on it the teapot and about a dozen tiny cups and saucers, pretty glasses and one teaspoon. Another tray had on it two plated boxes and a bowl of fresh mint. One of the plated boxes was quite large and held the big lumps of sugar ready for the teapot; the smaller box contained the dry tea.

As we drank our tea the American lady said to me, "From what country is the girl who makes the tea?" I asked Orange Blossom and she replied, "I am from the River Nun." This is in the south of the Soos country which is beyond the Atlas, to the south of Morocco. I need not give her story in her own words; this is the gist of it.

When she was quite a little girl she went one day, with several other children, outside her village at Wad (River) Nun to pick up dates which sparrows had pecked at and let drop from the palms, which surrounded all the villages in that district. The children went on and on, following where the sparrows had been, picking up the fruit and thoroughly enjoying their outing.

When it was about time to go home, they had some little quarrel among themselves and one of the boys of the party struck Orange Blossom. She threw herself down on the ground and screamed in temper. She was not hurt, she says, but she was "offended" at being struck.

The other children tried to get her to get up again and go home, but she would not be pacified and remained crying, with her face to the ground. They told her that it was

getting on in the afternoon and that they must go home and would have to go without her; but still she would not move. So off they went and she remained alone, meaning to follow very soon when her pride would let her do so.

But they had hardly gone when some men appeared, picked her up and rode off with her. They brought her several days' journey, to the south of Morocco proper, where they sold her as a slave. One master after another bought and re-sold her until now she is here in Fez. She is well treated but she is a slave; may be sold again or given away as a present; and, of course, she knows nothing of her own people, whether they are alive or dead.

One more story of a slave girl. This time a happy sequel to her having been stolen, for she was very much loved by her mistress, by whom she was bought when very young and who treated her almost as if she had been her own child. (It is only right to say that most of the slaves here are well treated though not petted as this child was).

When this girl, Musk, was about eighteen her mistress died and by her will, freed her three slaves. The two older women thankfully accepted their freedom, but Musk called out, "I won't be free; I don't want to be free; If I'm free I have no one belonging to me; Sell me so that I may belong to someone; I want to be able to say, 'My Master,' 'My Mistress.'"

Writing of these three having been freed by their mistress at death reminds me of how common such a "Good Deed" used to be. Now there is no such thing, for all slaves are practically free. When slaves were so freed they were handed their papers of manumission at once on the death of their master; they then carried the papers aloft, inserted in a cleft stick or cane, at the funeral of their benefactor.

The last time I heard of this being done in Fez was at the funeral of the old ex-Grand Vizier, Si Mohammed Jamai, whose house is now the Transatlantique Hotel, known as Palais Jamai. He died a good many years ago.

One day lately in the dispensary I overheard some

women talking together and one of them saying, "Oh, she has gone to the Sudan." This was such a strange thing to hear that I said, "Who has gone to the Sudan?" This caused them to laugh, and I saw that the expression had some double meaning. Quite possibly it meant, "She's wool-gathering." At any rate, they did not answer me, but an old slave woman who heard them entered into the conversation and said, "It was *from* the Sudan they *used* to bring us; when I was a very little girl I was gathering "*Nebuk*", i.e., the fruit of the lotus, with my little sister, quite near to our home in the Sudan, when two men came along and one of them picked me up and threw me over his shoulder on to his back; (suiting the action to the word she threw her arm over her shoulder; just as the country women here throw their babies with a swinging movement on to their backs and then tie them on with a towel, so that they do not fall off). The other took my sister under his arm; then they brought us up here where they sold us as slaves. But," she continued, "thank God for the French; they can't do that *now*."

J. G. Whittier wrote of those early days in his "Song of Slaves in the Desert":

"Bornou land was rich and good,  
 Wells of water, fields of food,  
 Dourra fields and bloom of bean,  
 And the palm tree cool and green:  
 Bornou land we see no longer,  
 Here we thirst and here we hunger,  
 Here the Moor-man smites in anger:  
 Where are we going, Rubee?  
 When we went from Bornou land,  
 We were like the leaves and sand.  
 We were many, we are few;  
 Life has one, and death has two:  
 Whitened bones our path are showing.  
 Thou all-seeing, Thou All-Knowing,  
 Hear us, tell us, where are we going?  
 Where are we going, Rubee?"

*Fez, Morocco*

—AN OLD MISSIONARY.

## THE TURKISH TRANSFORMATION<sup>1</sup>

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This is the title of a book which gives an admirable presentation of the most remarkable transformation of a nation that the world has ever witnessed. It is drawn from Turkish sources, and is accurate in its statement of facts. It raises questions which are outside of its scope, but which I desire to discuss.

The author begins with a Historical Introduction dating from the Ottoman Adventure in Asia Minor seven hundred years ago. This is quite justifiable from his point of view. The Introduction might well be entitled *The Rise and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. In the thought of the Turks of today, however, the Ottomans were only an offshoot of the Turkish race, which had a civilization of its own on the table-lands of Central Asia, and which branched out into many lands, carrying its industries and its culture with it. The modern Turk dissociates himself from the Ottomans, who are discredited. He regards them as an incubus upon the Turkish people that has hindered the development to which they were entitled by their virile character and their ancient history.

When one reviews the history of the Ottomans, their conquests, their lives, the venality and corruption of officials, the oppression of the people by their government, the Turk of today shrugs his shoulders and says: "Blame Ottomans all you wish but do not blame us Turks. For us the Ottoman is only the Prodigal son, and he has never found repentance."

To those who lived in Turkey during the days of Abdul Hamid, the change which took place in the attitude of the Turks towards the Western world is amazing; this is

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<sup>1</sup> By Henry Elisha Allen, Ph.D., Department of Religion, Lafayette College. University of Chicago Press, pp. 251. Price \$2.50.

described in chapters III and V. A Turkish official once said to Dr. Washburn, President of Robert College: "Why do you not let us go to hell in our own way?" The Turks of that day resented any intrusion upon the isolation which they maintained inside of their boundaries. The title of Halidé Edib's book, "Turkey Faces West," is significant of this changed attitude.

In his chapter on the Penetration of the West Dr. Allen gives the influences emanating from the West which were penetrating Turkey even before the fall of the Ottoman Sultans, and he shows the tendency of the Turks in later days to prefer Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic culture to the Latin.

Among the influences contributing to the westernization of Turkey he cites American Colleges, schools, playgrounds, hospitals, and publications sponsored by American missionary and philanthropic associations. These, he says, are welcomed by the Turks for the knowledge which they give them of Western civilization, but they are regarded as dangerous because they are thought to be cloaks for Christian propaganda, and because they do not foster the distinctive nationalistic culture, which is so important to the young Republic. This fairly represents the Turkish point of view. It raises, however, a question in regard to missionary polity, which the author does not raise. Undoubtedly the American Missions in Turkey, as in other lands, were founded to extend the Christian religion. Now that the Turkish Government forbids religious instruction in such institutions, are the Missions justified in continuing their work on a humanitarian basis? This is not a question for the Turks but for the American constituency and the governing boards of those associations. So far as the Turks are concerned the question is: Are these societies now honestly trying to help us without any ulterior motive? For the American constituency the question takes another form, namely: Is it right for missionary societies to carry on philanthropic and educational work where they are not permitted to preach the Christian message?

There are some who would give a decided negative answer, but there are considerations which point the other way. There is the example of our Lord Jesus Christ. When the multitudes were hungry He said to his disciples, "Give ye them to eat." He did not ask whether they were His followers. He healed men indiscriminately, and it is said of Him that He went about "doing good and healing all who were oppressed of the devil." In like manner the apostle Paul bade Christians to do good to all men. Apart from these injunctions there is to be considered the work of the Spirit of God in the hearts of men, moving them to help their needy fellows, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, teach the ignorant, heal the sick, help the poor. In His picture of the last judgment Christ made the fate of men depend on whether they have done these things. The large gifts made by American Christians to feed, clothe and help the peoples of the world testify that they have felt this inward urge of the Spirit of God. It is that Spirit dwelling in us that leads men and women to consecrate their lives and their money for the help of needy men of other nations, without asking from them anything in return. The large sums contributed by Americans are a striking testimony to the power of the Christ-Spirit in His followers.

In chapter IV of this book the resentment of the Turks against their old religious régime is set forth very clearly. They look upon it as antiquated, a system of superstitions, which gave the *hodjas* a control that stifled the life of the people. This resentment is very strong, and it has led the Turks to view favorably the very drastic measures taken by the government to suppress the old religious orders. The result has been a turning away from the religion of Islam as it was practised in Turkey before the Revolution.

It is not the task of the government to supply religious inspirational teachings, which shall take the place of the old order and enlist the consciences of men in support of what is true and pure and good. The government can only

remove the obstacles to the freedom of the individual by breaking the stranglehold of the ignorant and superstitious *mullahs* upon human life; this it has done. It is now the task of spiritually minded individuals to provide the positive teaching of truth, which will satisfy the cravings of the heart.

There are certain things which religion must give: it must present a rule of righteousness in life, which will bring the moral nature under the control of a higher spiritual authority. I say higher in the sense that it is above all merely human standards. Patriotism may enlist the activities of men in the service of their country, but it cannot ensure that they will be pure in their private life. History is full of examples of men who have been eminent in the service of their countries while their private lives have been morally corrupt. Religion cannot condone this.

Patriotism cannot make men honest, although it should do so. History furnishes many examples of men distinguished for their statesmanship, who yet enriched themselves at the expense of their countries. True religion must make men good *and* patriotic, it must bring them into obedience to an authority which will constrain them to do right because it *is* right. Human ethics have never provided any satisfactory substitute for God, as that authority to which the conscience should bow, irrespective of consequences to our own material comfort. Trust in God and do the right, is a rule of life which cannot be surpassed.

Religion must satisfy the cravings of the human heart for immortality. If life ends with death then the sensualist is right when he says: "Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we die." Religion must furnish a conception of the future life, which is noble and which satisfies the longings of the spirit rather than the animal desires. The sense of responsibility to a Supreme Being, with whom we shall come in contact in the future life, is essential to vital religion. Ethical culture may satisfy men of good moral character, who are content to be as others are, but it has no redemptive power, it cannot make a bad man good, it

cannot save the vicious and the criminals. Appeals to such men to be good because they will feel better for it, or because it will benefit their nation are powerless. Conscience must be awakened to a sense of guilt, and to a realization that in a moral world evil will bring its own doom, if not in this world then in the next. Men who are sincerely trying to live right should be strengthened by the realization that God is on their side and that they shall win His approval at the last day. We look forward to the next life as one in which the moral inequalities and defects of the present life shall be adjusted and righteousness shall obtain its final triumph. There is in this belief a powerful motive for right living, and in it a reasonable belief for all who recognize that this is a moral world and not simply a material one.

Finally, a true religion must show the way to fellowship with God in this life through prayer, a prayer which is not merely petition for benefits, but an interchange of thought, feeling and purpose between man and his Maker. Such intercourse with God floods the soul with love, joy and peace, and it makes a man ardently desire the happiness and well-being of his fellowmen. To provide such religious teaching is the task of individuals who have themselves come in contact with God in an experience out of which they have gained deep convictions. The heart of God speaks to the heart of men, and he from his heart speaks to his fellows.

In Turkey such a development of religious experience is hindered by circumstances. The Turks have the same religious feelings and longings as men of other nations, but the expression of these is hindered by the fear of being considered reactionary and of being identified with the past system of ecclesiastical control. The religious orders have been those arrayed in opposition to the present government, and men hesitate to speak or write about religion except in denunciation of the old orders. The result is that the youth of Turkey are in danger of growing up without any positive religion. The authority of the Koran is

weakened, and there are few religious leaders who speak to them of the authority and power of religion to control their conscience and their life. The Turks are in danger of becoming a materialistic, irreligious people, with injury to their moral standards of life. The book we are considering sets forth the lack of schools which will provide leaders for the religious education of the people. In time the mosques may be left without preachers.

I have said that it is not the task of the government to provide such teaching, and yet the Presidency of Religious Affairs has made a laudable attempt to do this by the preparation of sermons for use in the mosques, especially in the Mosque of Hadji Bairam in Ankara. Chapter X in Dr. Allen's book explains the New Place of Islam in the Republic of Turkey, and it should be carefully read by all who desire to understand the attitude of the government towards religion. It is not hostile, as is the Russian government or the Neo-Pagan element in Germany; they only oppose the old religious orders, which hindered progress, and they have left the way open for a better form of religion. The sermons, examples of which are presented to us in this book, furnish incitements to right living. It is noticeable that they do not appeal to the sense of responsibility to God as the motive for right living, although Allah has always held a large place in the thinking of the Turks. They base their appeals on material, humanistic considerations, and this is significant of the trend of religious thinking in Turkey.

Turkey's changed status in the family of nations and her efforts to create a unified population are well described, and they explain some of the measures which she has adopted to this end. She is earnestly striving to build up social institutions which will reconstruct the life of her people on a different model from that of the past. She deserves the sympathy of all of us in these efforts.

In speaking of missionary education the author says the number of Turks in Robert College and in the Constantinople Woman's College was small prior to the

Young Turk Revolution in 1908; he failed to state that Turks were forbidden by Abd ul Hamid to attend these institutions, and that in several instances Turkish youth who did attend them were taken out by his orders.

He emphasizes again the suspicion of the government that the Americans used educational work as a cloak for religious progaganda. Undoubtedly such suspicion did exist and was frequently expressed. It was not the desire of the American teachers to make proselytes, which laid them open to this suspicion, so much as it was their efforts to build character. Every true teacher desires not only to impart knowledge but to train his students to live right. The Americans found the strongest motives for right living in the Christian religion. It was the belief that these schools did make men of good character, which attracted parents towards them, rather than the desire for Western knowledge. Again and again in bringing their children to the colleges parents have said: "I want you to make a man of him." The followers of other religions should earnestly consider how they can find motives of like force for the training of their youth.

*Princeton, N. J.*

CALEB F. GATES.

## FREEDOM OF THOUGHT IN ISLAM

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A number of different details might be gathered from the *Jamiah Islamiyah* of the past three months; but perhaps it is more interesting to follow a single subject through a series of about twenty articles, "The Freedom of Thought in Islam", by Sheikh al Kiyaly. No doubt a number of educated Moslems would subscribe to his thoughts.

After a rather long introduction about the meaning of thought and of freedom—freedom is defined as letting each man do and say what he likes within the limits of the law—the author admits that Islam does not acknowledge what is generally called absolute freedom. For Islam has brought and laid down certain rules and regulations, religious and non-religious, with quite definite demands, and if they are refused, man is an unbeliever, and breaking them involves heavy punishment. But in spite of them, the author says man's freedom of thought is not interfered with; he is not to throw away his own thinking; the goal is set for him, but he is free to choose for himself the way.

The next chapter is a lengthy statement of things in the Christian world just before Islam's appearance. The author no doubt makes certain mistakes and has certain preconceived ideas which Christians generally would call wrong, but there are many other remarks which, bitter as they are, will no doubt have to be accepted.

"Divisions and sects increased among the Christians. The pope made himself, in Rome, lord of the churches of the Occident. The Near East stood with the Church of Byzantium. There was so much strife and disagreement that common people were confused; and the doctrines of faith became more and more entangled, so that the laity could hardly understand anything, especially after faith had been mixed up with Greek philosophy. Priests and monks were greedy and had personal axes to grind. They spoiled the good

name of religion and its virtues and the noble character upon which it was built.

“Then Islam came with its sound doctrine and its message of brotherhood and equality and tolerance. The Qur’an is full of verses inciting to meditation upon nature and creation, and it deals harshly with those who neglect it. The famous Qur’anic verse, ‘There is no compulsion in religion’, is the rule Islam has been working upon in its dealings with non-Moslems. Islam guaranteed the Christians and the Jews life and property and religion and did them no harm. When Islam fought against its neighbours it was to turn back their attacks or because they had broken covenants. Another famous Qur’anic verse, ‘Nearest in friendship thou wilt find those who call themselves Christians’, shows the spirit of equality and justice which is the pride of Islam and which won the hearts of many, so that they accept Islam as individuals or in crowds. Islam made the ‘people of protection’ equal to Moslems in all civil rights—compare, e.g., Omar’s declaration to the inhabitants of Jerusalem after he had conquered the city.”

The author goes through the great development of the first Islamic centuries, thinking specially of civilization and science, and closes with these words:

“This rich intellectual life in Islam could never have had such fruits without being watered by the sweet fresh water of freedom. Had that freedom not been, we should never have seen this development of civilization, and the modern cultural life could never have connected itself with the ancient one on any other bridge than the one Islam built.”

After that he goes on to describe what the freedom of thought had to suffer in Islam:

“Freedom is one of the fundamental rules of Islam, but it often met with obstacles in times of revolt and political trouble, and also through the greed of the men of religion who wanted to fell their opponents by transgressing upon their freedom. ‘Ali was the first victim to the freedom of thought—What should be followed in religion is only God’s book and the Prophet’s *sunnah*, nothing else.’ Many of the Kharidjites were killed for no other reason than their sticking to their religious conviction. And when the Kharidjites got the power, they acted in the same way to their opponents. When the caliphate fell to the Abassides, freedom was greatly transgressed upon, and the sword acted against all who were friends of Umayya. Those who wanted to hit an opponent accused him of unbelief and opposition against religion. The Mu’tazilites said that the Qur’an was created. Ma’mun agreed and persecuted their ap-

ponents, the Sunnis, if they did not accept his views; and those who stuck to their convictions suffered severely.”

The author gives many other examples from the history of Islam of compulsion and cruelty; even the noble Salah-ed-din (Saladin), who showed tolerance to the crusaders, even he made use of accusations of unbelief against a certain man to get rid of him. And after this tragic period he describes another perhaps even more tragic period of Islamic history.

“The spread of philosophy in Islam caused disturbance of doctrines; unbelief threatened; many enemies of religion tried to make use of philosophy in order to overthrow religion; many sincere scholars became afraid and rose to defend religion and to attack philosophy, among them al-Ghazali. He knew from his own life the bitterness of uncertainty and doubt. He moved on from one aspect of philosophy to another, but nowhere could he settle down, and so he became disgusted and angry and began to attack philosophy from the standpoint of the Sunnah. His voice was the strongest instrument to destroy the castles of philosophy, and others followed him, such as Ibn Taymiyah, and with the departure of philosophy the light of freedom failed.

“After the four schools of Islam had conquered philosophy, they alone controlled the minds, and fought against anyone who brought forward new thoughts. All activity of thought had to lean upon the founders of these four schools, although its foundation was formerly the Qur’an and the Sunnah. The time came when people knew only tradition. Every independent activity (*ijtihad*) was dead and forbidden. This way of thinking is still found with many of the leaders of religion, and specially in al-Azhar. Just see how they attacked Muhammad Abduh when he attempted to deliver religion from the old stories clinging to it. Or Ali Abd-ur-Razak, because in one of his books he went against the common ideas in Islam about the caliphate. Or the uproar against Taha Hussein, when he published his book about pre-Islamic poetry . . . . .

“All religions are useful to those who believe in them. There is no compulsion as long as a man accepts, himself, any school of thought and obeys it. The ancient religions came, when mankind was still in infancy, and they had much pressure and little toleration. But tolerance spread more and more.

“At last Islam came with full tolerance. That is seen also in a comparison of Judaism and Islam. Islam did not allow the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula to remain non-Moslems, unless they had a revelation, such as Christians or Jews. Islam considered

paganism in the Arabian peninsula as a danger to the political unity which Islam stood for. But the Jews are the most fanatical and obstinate people in sticking to traditions and opposing reforms. They persecuted their prophets. They had more prophets than other nations, but they also needed them! The Jews never entered the struggle of life as the Moslems did. The Moslems let themselves be influenced by the civilization of the nations and proceeded in development. Only in our own time, as the bond of Islamic unity is loosened, are the Moslems slipping behind.

“The Christians, like the Moslems, entered life and development; in the beginning they were persecuted and had to suffer much for the sake of their religion. But when the Catholic Church became powerful in Rome, the original Christian principles changed, tolerance disappeared, the leaders of the church were afraid of losing their power and as the best means of keeping it they allowed ignorance to spread. They fought against science and freedom of thought, and it became one of the foundations of the Church to obey the Church and its doctrines. But then the new movement broke out. The terrible war began between the Church and the men of the new reformation. With all the transgression upon freedom in the Orient there has been nothing there like the terrors of the Occident. Blood flowed in streams on the night of Bartholomew, the inquisition ruled in Spain, Holland, Switzerland and France. There is nothing like it in the history of Islam. How can those be compared to the Moslems, those who fought so bitterly against their brethren in religion, who dipped their hands in their blood for nothing but a difference of opinion, those who barred the door to reason and attacked science, those who for more than a century sent their armies against the Islamic World under the sign of the cross? In those same days the Moslems defended their enemies! Moslems were kind even to the Crusaders after they had conquered them, they treated them as noble guests. When Lord Allenby entered Jerusalem he declared that this conquest is the end of the Crusades. In Morocco, Tunis and Algiers the French fight against Islam and the Arabic language, and so does Italy in Tripoli, and Holland in Java and Malay. The Christian nations have been and still are opponents of freedom and its men.

“There have been many great thinkers and philosophers in Islam worthy to be counted among the leaders of human thinking; and if Islam had dominion and power in our day, they would be counted so.”

—PALESTINE PRESS SERVICE.

## KHADĪJAH, MOHAMMED'S FIRST WIFE

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This paper proposes the investigation of Khadijah's case with a view to the consideration of that side of her personality which is least known and most interesting, namely, her spiritual affiliation. As Mohammed's first wife, who was his superior in both wealth and age, she was bound to exercise a unique influence over the Prophet, and, we may therefore say, over his message, which was then in the making. His respect for her cannot be overemphasized. Not until Khadijah's death, three years before the Hijrah, did Mohammed embark upon his much-married career.<sup>1</sup> We shall subsequently try to state clearly the facts that bear upon this woman's life, with special reference to her religious standing.

We may begin by asking, What was Khadijah's faith? In order to give a reply to this, we might list the possibilities of faiths to which she might have adhered. Then by the process of elimination, let us seek to arrive at some conclusion.

The bulk of the Arabs in al-Hijāz and the whole of Arabia at that time were undoubtedly heathen. Their idols and forms of worship have been gleaned, not without pains.<sup>2</sup> Yet we know a good deal about the faith of the overwhelming majority in pre-Islam.<sup>3</sup> Khadijah has been implicitly assigned to this group.

The second religious group of significance must have been represented by the Jews. Of the Jewish community of al-Madīnah the Koran has much to say. In the opinion of some scholars, the foundation of Islam is to be sought within the confines of this settlement whose origins go back

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<sup>1</sup> See William H. Worrell, The Case of Muhammad, in *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 48, pp. 136 seq.

<sup>2</sup> The remains of heathenism were best presented in the last century by Julius Wellhausen in his monumental work—*Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1897 (2nd ed.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibn-al-Kalbi's *Kitāb al-Asnām* (Book of Idols) was edited by Ahmad Zaki Pasha, Cairo, 1914.

even to the days of the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldean period (612-539 B. C.).<sup>4</sup>

Thirdly, there were the Christians. Mohammed's own tribe, the Quraysh, of which his first spouse was also a member, included some who had accepted Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

A fourth element must have looked to Persia for spiritual inspiration. We know that in the century preceding the establishment of Islam, Zoroastrian Persia was contesting with Abyssinia the supremacy over al-Yaman. Tradition related that it was a Persian, Salman, who taught the Prophet how to dig a trench for the defense of al-Madīnah. But it would seem that Persian influence trekked in through al-Hīrah, the Arab satellite kingdom of Persia. As these Arabs were mostly subjected to Aramaean-Nestorian influence, the Zoroastrianism of Persia hardly had a fair chance in Arabia.

Lastly, a class was constituted by a few intellectuals who formed an independent group of very small size, members of which Islam gradually learned to accept as forerunners of Monotheism, they having preserved the traditions of the true religion once revealed to Abraham by Allah. Indeed, we must expect to meet a few individuals of this description in the Arabia of that day. Whether this description dovetails with the full import of the term "*Hanīf*" is another problem. Several attempts have been made to explain the word.<sup>6</sup> The result has been that while we have learned more about the men carrying the name, all hope of reaching a satisfactory agreement concerning the word as such is still very weak. We do know, however, the sense in which Mohammed used it. We have details concerning the life and spirit of the men to whom it was applied.

Our sources do not tell us whether Khadijah was a

<sup>4</sup> C. C. Torrey, "The Jewish Foundation of Islam", New York, 1933, pp. 1-27. Cf. Henri Lammens, *L'Arabie Occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut, 1928, where this problem is treated under, *Les Juifs à La Mecque*, pp. 51-99.

<sup>5</sup> Al-Ya'qubi, *Tarikh*, Vol. I, p. 298 (ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883). On this general subject consult also Richard Bell, "The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment", London, 1926. Much useful information has been reproduced by Louis Cheikho in Arabic under the heading, "*Le Christianisme et la Littérature Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*", Beirut, 1912-1923, although it is commonly held that he over-stretched his points.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the previous researches on "*Hanīf*" are referred to in the two following articles which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903: a) D. S. Margoliouth, pp. 467-493; b) Sir Charles Lyall, pp. 771-784.

Jewess or a Christian. Her character as revealed to us in the texts rebels against identification with Zoroastrianism. But we are told that Waraqa ibn-Nawfal was her cousin. He is one of the so-called *Hanīfs*. Moreover, others tell us that he became a Christian convert. And although our knowledge of him has the color of a legend, we seem led to believe that he possibly influenced Mohammed in the first years of his mission, not only directly, but also indirectly through Khadījah. Mohammed had consulted him before marrying her. Waraqa, moreover, knew Hebrew, studied the Bible, and had written down the Gospels in Hebrew, using that alphabet. He told Mohammed that Jesus had predicted his mission.<sup>7</sup> Thus we can see how Khadījah might have come under Christian teachings through her cousin. Yet she did not become Christianized, as far as we can tell. Nor did she remain an average Arabian believer in heathen doctrines. Certainly not after all these contacts with superior forces.

Khadījah, it would seem, was too well acquainted with the monotheistic and foreign trends current in the Arabia of her time to have continued to be a pagan. One might even assert that she virtually belonged to that independent group of Arabians who had lifted themselves to a state of spiritual and moral thinking that made them capable not only of accepting what Mohammed had in store, but, what is more significant, it was they upon whom devolved the burden of preparing the way and setting the stage for that remarkable spiritual upheaval which found its champion in the Prophet.

*Princeton, N. J.*

EDWARD JURJI.

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<sup>7</sup> On Waraqa, see: a) Ibn-Hisham, *al-Sirah*, ed. Wustenfeld, pp. 100-101, 107, 143, 149, 153-154, 205; b) *al-Tabari, Tarikh*, ed. de Goeje, I, 1147-1152; c) Ibn-Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, ed. Sachau, I: 1, 58, 130.

## CURRENT TOPICS

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### Princeton Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies

The First Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies at Princeton University, was held at Princeton during the six weeks from June 20 to July 31, 1935. The purpose of the Seminar was, not to produce Arabists or Islamic scholars in so brief a period as six weeks, but to gather together a group of scholars engaged in the teaching of history, the fine arts, philosophy, and religion, who meet the Arabic civilizations peripherally in the course of the day's work and who, by the accident of their educational experience, have never had the opportunity for serious study of the Arabic and Islamic world under competent guidance and with adequate materials. The courses offered were intended to appeal to advanced scholars already trained in other disciplines.

Thirty-three such scholars from nineteen educational institutions in seven different countries participated as students. The staff of instruction consisted of Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Associate Professor of Semitic Literature at Princeton University and Director of the Seminar; Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., then Assistant Professor of History at Princeton University but now President of Robert College, Istanbul; Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, Research Professor of Islamic Art in the University of Michigan; Dr. Muhammad Simsar of the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Nabih A. Faris and Mr. Edward Jurji of Princeton University.

A general course in Islamic culture and Arabic literature was presented by Professor Hitti and was required of all students. Additional elective courses were offered in the Arabic language by Professor Hitti, Dr. Faris and Mr. Jurji; in Ottoman Turkish by Professor Wright; in the development and achievements of the Ottoman Empire by Professor Wright; in the Persian language by Dr. Simsar; and in Islamic art by Dr. Aga-Oglu. The students in general took two elective courses in addition to the required general course. All the students and most of the staff were housed together in the Graduate College, and most of the classes were conducted in the same building. All courses were conducted for one hour a day, five days a week. Besides the three or four hours of classroom work per day, there was opportunity for additional work in the languages, with lectors, and for round-table and other discussions within the pleasant surroundings of the Graduate College. In addition, a number of special lectures were presented by the most eminent authorities available in the various fields, among them President Julian Morgenstern of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati; Dr. Nicholas N.

Martinovitch, former professor in Petrograd University, Russia; Dr. Richard Ettinghausen, of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology; Dr. M. S. Dimand, Chief of the Department of Near Eastern Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. John G. Hazam, formerly of Stanford University and the University of Oregon; Dr. Martin Sprengling, Professor of Semitics in the University of Chicago; Dr. Isaac Husik, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. James A. Montgomery, Professor of Semitics in the University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Walter T. Swingle, of the United States Department of Agriculture; and Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, Professor of the History of Religion and Christian Missions in Princeton Seminary.

—MORTIMER GRAVES.

### **New Commentary on the Koran in Urdu**

We learn from the author, the Rev. J. Ali Bakhsh, that this Commentary has just appeared from the press:

"It gives the Surahs in the chronological order. I have used the order given by Moulvi Nazir Ahmad as it is looked upon by Muslims more trustworthy than the order given by Rodwell and others. So I divided the Surahs in two portions: the 86 Meccan Surahs are given in the first part, which is published; the Medina Surahs are getting ready. The commentary is written in the light of the Bible. The people whom Muhamed addressed were familiar with those scriptures. Therefore Quran cannot be understood without the knowledge of those scriptures. Therefore an earnest appeal is made to Muslims to study the Bible. An effort is made to reconcile the teaching of the Quran with that of the Bible. An explanation is given to those passages wherein these two books differ and the cause of that difference is given, e.g., sonship and divinity of our Lord, His Crucifixion and Resurrection, etc. The whole book is written in a conciliatory tone and there is nothing offensive. The Moslem papers have written favorable reviews on it."

Copies can be obtained from the author: 53 Gowalmandi, Lahore, Punjab, India.

### **Moslem Appreciation of the Oxford Group Movement**

A very unexpected document was read and presented to the Chairman at one of the meetings of the Oxford Group at present gathered in Geneva. A well-known Turkish gentleman, who has devoted much of his time and thought to religious matters, rose up in the hall and requested the Oxford Group as representing certain aspects of Christian thought to cooperate with devout Moslems who shared their views. Permission has been given me to quote from this interesting document, which certainly contributes fresh evidence to the belief that at all times and in all places the Heavenly Father may be pleased to manifest Himself and His will through the Spirit to all who truly seek Him, be they Jews or Mohammedans, Hindus or Greek Philosophers.

The document begins by referring with approval to the Group's four standards of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, and also to its fundamental principle of surrender to the divine guidance; then proceeds: "These affirmations are so ideally beautiful in the

eyes of a Moslem that he cannot fail to realise that with these doctrines are bound up the salvation and happiness of humanity. To a Moslem these principles are the essential commands of God, as required absolutely by the Koran itself. Whosoever does not accept these principles is not a Moslem, and whosoever accepts them but does not practise them is, according to our religion, a sinner." How many Christians are prepared to say Amen to so sweeping a condemnation?

To attain these ends and to overcome the admitted weakness of human nature, Moslems submit to "certain methods of spiritual initiation" which correspond closely in his view, with the methods of the group. In Islam there are two kinds of prayer; the first called "*Salat*" or "*Mounadjat*", which are Arabic words suggesting a secret conversation with God, and the second called "*mourakaba*", for those advanced in "spiritual initiation." "It consists in a complete quiet time, inner silence. It is no longer a question of talking to God as before, but simply of concentrating the mind upon one fixed subject of truth and waiting with open heart and ear for Divine inspiration."  
—EXCHANGE.

### Ignazio Guidi

Professor D. S. Margoliouth writes the following obituary in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*:

"By the death of Ignazio Guidi in his ninety-first year, on 18th April last, the Society loses its oldest Honorary Member, that distinction, one of a vast number, having been conferred on him in 1898. Born in 1844, in 1876 he was put in charge of instruction in Hebrew and the Semitic dialects in the University of Rome, was nominated Professor Extraordinary in 1878 and Ordinary in 1885, when his duties were extended to the teaching of the languages and history of Abyssinia. In 1914 he was made Senator, and in 1919 in consequence of an age-limit retired from his professorial duties.

The reputation which he acquired during the years 1870 and 1880 won him the friendship of the leading European Semitists, such as H. L. Fleischer, Th. Nöldeke, and M. J. de Goeje, who in 1876 secured his cooperation in the monumental edition of Tabari's Chronicle. His output to the end of his life continued to be immense and of the highest quality, being chiefly divided between the literature of Islam, of the Christian East, and of Abyssinia; besides editions of texts, and monographs on an extraordinary variety of themes, he found time to organize the compilation of indices to the twenty-one volumes of the *Aghani* and the four volumes of *Khizanat al-Adab*, and to compose an Amharic-Italian Lexicon with a voluminous Supplement."

### A European Moslem Conference at Geneva

We glean the following particulars from *Great Britain and the East* regarding this Conference:

The Conference of European Muslims which began in the Hotel Victoria in Geneva on September 12, ended last week. It was convened as a result of the Jerusalem conference resolution, by which it was decided to hold regional conferences. To a superficial observer,

the five days of its session might appear little more than time wasted. Many speeches were long-winded; tempers were frequently lost; and its President's pro-Italian and Khilafatist sympathies were unshared by many; yet, in common with my fellow delegates, I saw in the Conference the beginning of a movement which is bound to be taken into account by the various European Governments.

The composition of its delegates was fully representative, for there were Yugoslav, Polish, Hungarian, Rumanian, British, German, Dutch, Austrian and Albanian Muslims present, fully accredited by their nearly nine million peoples; whilst Algerians, Syrians, Egyptians, Afghans, Iranians, Indians and Arabs resident permanently in Europe also attended, thus swelling the gathering to several hundred.

Mufti Yakub of Tatar Poland gave a full exposition of the position of the Polish Muslims, deprecated the institution of mixed marriages, and, mentioning a gift of five hundred pounds from King Fuad for the Polish Muslims, urged the necessity of raising enough funds to build a Mosque in the Polish capital. Mufti Salim Effendi, the President of the Council of Ulama, addressed the meeting in fluent Arabic, giving felicitations on behalf of the Muslims of Sarajevo, and pointed to the presence of no less than seven delegates from his country as a proof of the deep interest that his people were taking in the Islamic world.

Day by day, we heard discourses from various heads of delegations, chiefly describing the conditions of their countrymen, including a very lucid account of Islamic activities in England, as expounded by Sir Omar Stuart-Rankin—the distinguished British Muslim, now taking the place of the late Lord Headley in the Muslim life of England. Next, the Grand Mufti of Budapest described the life of over three thousand Muslims in his country, urging the necessity of a Muslim theological school and a mosque at Budapest; after which the Yugoslavs furnished a comprehensive report on over a million of their Muslim countrymen and their social and economic needs.

After the fully representative gathering at the Friday prayer, the discussion assumed a high degree of passionate exposition on the part of certain Algerians and Palestinians resident in Europe, and in spite of the earnest pleadings of the Bosnian delegations for a calmer atmosphere, the discussion got more and more heated.

When calm was introduced, once again the Yugoslav delegates gave addresses about their country, describing in detail the system by which their 1,293 mosques and religious institutions were run. Then followed a proposal of Mr. Al-Ghaity to build a mosque in Geneva.

The final stages of the conference were marked by social functions at which informal discussions took place, and at the last sitting several proposals were adopted, including the sending of letters of thanks to the Swiss, Polish and Yugoslav Governments for showing kindness to the Muslims, and drawing the attention of the British Government and of the League of Nations to Arab rights in Palestine, further emphasizing to the League and to other International organizations in Geneva that fuller attention would have to be given to the peoples of Islam, if the Geneva organizations were to be made popular amongst the Muslims.

A permanent Bureau was elected consisting of five resident members and three non-resident members. Their names are: Shakib Arslan, Ahsan Bey Jabri, Ziauddin Tabatabai, Aly Al-Ghaity, Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, Dr. Zaki Ali, Derviche Korkut of Belgrade, and Muhammad Bey Salim. All the heads of the various delegations were elected as regional representatives, Sir Omar Rankin standing for England. Finally, it was decided to hold the conference annually, leaving the active work to the Permanent Bureau.

### The Ottoman Empire only Part of Turkish Empires

In a series of important articles appearing in *The Missionary Herald*, Boston, Dr. J. Kingsley Birge calls attention to a common confusion of ideas: "Ottoman history is but the story of an empire built by one dynasty of Turks. Although it lasted for over six hundred years it was only one of several mighty Turkish empires.

"A second misconception perhaps grows out of the first. Ottoman culture was for so long under either Arabic or Persian influence that it has gained the reputation among Western scholars of being simply an imitative culture, the literary and artistic productions of which are inferior to their own models.

"Even the Turks themselves suffered in Ottoman days from a mistaken appreciation of the Arabic and Persian influence in palace circles and a corresponding depreciation of that which was truly Turkish. The Ottomans throughout most of their history looked down on the very word 'Turk' as if that were descriptive of an ignorant, common fellow.

"The poet Mehmed Emin wrote at the beginning of the Turko-Greek war in 1897 a poem which really marked the beginning of a new epoch; the first line of the first stanza has become famous.

'I am a Turk; my religion, my race, is great;  
My breast, my very marrow are filled with fire;  
He who is a man is the bond-servant of his Fatherland;  
The Turkish youth does not stay at home; I will go.'

"The emphasis placed in Turkey today on a study, not of Ottoman history, but of all Turkish history, is part of this realization of Turkish racial inheritance.

"Travelers have long been familiar with the fact that from Asia Minor eastward through the western and northern borders of Persia, the regions of Samarkand and Bokhara, Turkestan, the lands bordering Tibet and the Gobi Desert, far into China itself, the Turkish tongue is spoken in common enough form to make communication possible almost everywhere."

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**The Seven Pillars of Wisdom: A Triumph.** By T. E. Lawrence. Jonathan Cape, London. pp. 672. 27 shillings.

There has been an abundant crop of war books, the stories of the different leaders who made the world war, and carried it on in its pitiful futility, and ended it in a muddy finish. This book takes its place in the front rank of such works. In the vividness and evident truth of its narrative, it ranks with the very best.

It was a comparatively small part of the world conflict which was entrusted to Lawrence, but he did his work well, and the untrained layman may be permitted the opinion that we see in this book, military genius of a very unusual order. The Arab revolt against Turkey was caught in his young and capable hands just as it was about to expire in complete defeat, and guided brilliantly to an overwhelming victory.

Moreover, it is evident to any man who loves to read, that we have here the touch of a literary artist, and the book is laid down with a feeling of keen regret, that such a man, after the war, elected to throw away his talents, hiding in an obscure military post, and that death has now made his return to the world of letters forever impossible.

The personal bravery that fills the book, and the incredible hardships that were the merest detail in the day's work, will give the militarist a fresh argument as he rattles his saber, and expatiates on the moral grandeur of war. Some of the adventures are classics, absolutely, and will doubtless be found in the third and fourth readers of a coming generation. One shuts his eyes and sees Lawrence again, sitting cheerfully on the wires of a mine which had failed to explode, in full view of a passing trainload of Turkish soldiers, hoping only that the mud and the dust on his decorated headpiece were enough to make plausible his pose as a wandering Bedouin gazing open-mouthed at his first train. Stories like that constitute a permanent addition to the mental picture gallery of any reader.

The book has drawbacks. It is too long. The essential narrative could be put into half the space with benefit. The interminable description of the geological features of the country serve simply to show that Lawrence knew more about Geology than the reader does, and the same is to be said of his geographical discussions. Even worse are his long excursions into the depths of a disillusioned and divided soul. Once he spends a whole chapter on such an excursion. The support of religious faith he lacked, and his mind with a sort of fierce honesty rubbed the guilt off from the gingerbread long before the job was over, and left him with a revulsion of

soul at the duplicity and cruelty and waste of the war, and with a strange lack of any vision of a better future for his adopted Arab brothers, which might at least be striven for.

It is this curious vacuum which makes the book a keen disappointment. Even at the beginning, the shining ideal to whose service he brought such unusual gifts seems to have had in it nothing except driving out the Turks, and putting the Arabs in their place, as rulers of the Near East. The shallowness of that could not long escape a mind like Lawrence's. Gilt of that sort does not have to be rubbed off. It evaporates of itself. The rule of the Turks was better than the nomadic anarchy of Arab tribesmen. Progress of a sort that Lawrence seems scarcely to have had anywhere in his mental horizon, is the only thing which has justified the revolt at all.

The pessimist who sees nothing in any human movement except a wave on the beach of a dead universe (the idea is Lawrence's own) must be enthusiastic over mirages if he is to be enthusiastic at all, and mirages are likely to be distorted affairs. Lawrence saw in Feisal a great prophet, which certainly was a mirage if there ever was one, to say nothing of the dream that such a man could unite the Arab race into a coherent unit. An Arab leader with the stature of a giant was actually available in Nejd, but even Ibn Saoud could not have accomplished that.

It was this idealistic vacuum which made Lawrence so utterly useless after the war was over. He seemed to have no contribution whatever, not even any helpful ideas regarding the real progress of the Arabs. The thing we need above all else is an understanding of just what parts of Westernism the Arab ought to be given, and how best to help him assimilate them. Lawrence had no contribution there, neither in this book nor out of it. His contribution was a war contribution, and this is a war book, one of the very best of all that futile series.

*Muscat, Arabia*

PAUL W. HARRISON.

**The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith.** By T. W. Arnold, M.A., C.I.E., Professor of Arabic, University of London, University College. Third edition, with an introduction by Reynold A. Nicholson, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A. Luzac & Company, London, 1935. pp. 467. 18s. 6d.

All students of Islam are acquainted with this important work, of which the first edition appeared in 1896 when the author was Professor of Philosophy at the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, India. The second edition appeared in London in 1913 and this third edition, without further corrections or additions, is published after the death of Sir Thomas Arnold, which occurred June 9, 1930. We quote from the Introduction by Dr. Nicholson: "One need only glance through the bibliography in order to realise the value of the work as a storehouse and survey of facts bearing on its subject. Erudition, however, is a fundamental rather than a vital quality, and this book is alive. Although, to quote his own words, the author has 'endeavoured to be strictly impartial', that does not mean that his narrative is strictly impersonal. As from Arabia it carries us in succession through Western Asia, Africa, Spain, Persia, China, and Malaya, we feel beneath its calm surface the depth and force of the convictions which animate it."

*If one bears in mind that one aspect of Islamic activity is definitely ruled out, the author's views are in the main acceptable. Mohammed's religion was not propagated by the sword alone. On the other hand, some readers of this important work would be apt to conclude that war had no place whatever in the spread of Islam!*  
Z.

**Ethical Issues Confronting World Christians.** By Daniel Johnson Fleming. The International Missionary Council, New York. \$2.80.

The author in his Preface states that this book is written for all Christians but especially for those engaged in the missionary enterprise. He does not attempt to solve all the problems presented but to state them in such a way as to challenge the reader to do his own thinking. When we consider the categories plus and minus white and black, right and wrong, we are apt to think that each problem will solve itself, but such is not the case, for sincere people will be found on opposite sides of most, if not all, of the issues stated.

Those who come to the book expecting their problems to be solved for them will be disappointed, but this does not mean that the book is without value. Had the author set down his own solution for each problem it is not to be expected that he would have won one hundred percent approval from each reader. To those who are accustomed to take the Bible as their rule, not only of faith but of practice, the scant mention of the Scriptures will be surprising. Perhaps even more surprising will be the fact that when mention is made of the Lord's attitude toward receiving gifts from those who have made money in wrong ways (pp. 14 and 15), it is not brought out that in these cases a complete repentance was either evident or demanded. Also it is not brought out that while there are certain social ethical duties belonging to the Christian church as a whole, the New Testament (Acts, chap. 6) recognizes a division of labor, some working especially in the spiritual sphere, others in the material. There is plenty of Christian work for each layman to do.

The book is valuable in that it is thought-provoking, but we shall find that if the ethical issues are to be met effectively we must go to God's Word and interpret it by His Spirit.

J. Y. CROTHERS.

**Burners of Men:** Modern Ethiopia. By Marcel Griaule. Translated from the French by Edwin Gile Rich, with 16 illustrations and a map. J. B. Lippincott Co., London, 1935. pp. 308. \$2.50.

A book that won a French literary prize and gives an amazing account of a scientific expedition into Northern Abyssinia should be of present-day interest. It is not a book of travel but of impressions. Its literary quality cannot be denied, but one would like to see it anchored more closely to date and place. The writer covered 3,000 kilometers on foot and mule-back from Addis-Ababa to Lake Tana and back. The object of his journey was the study of customs, religion, magic, and art. On nearly every page we are aware of the clash of two civilizations.

The cultured French scholar meets "a civilization of large sabers and tinkling chargers, where even in time of peace the

warrior leans on his lance at the end of a field cultivated by a slave." He who was accustomed to the boulevards of Paris speaks of "high banquet halls where pigeons dropped their excrement on the three hundred élite warriors, the honorable foreigners, princes of the blood and the governor, the King's son."

The title of the book is taken from one terrible chapter entitled Death in Muslin, which tells of the execution of one who attempted the life of an Ethiopian Prince and was tortured by being burned to death. There are some references to Islam: "The Mohammedans in this region, as in so many others on the Christian plateaux of Abyssinia, form a commercial colony which is attached by mysterious threads to distant countries."

One receives an impression of the Ethiopian people and of their church which is not altogether favorable, and yet the author says: "I love this country and cannot see how a man who has scrutinized so many of its people and noted its customs would not love it." The illustrations are numerous, but the book has no index. Z.

**Ethiopia, A Pawn in European Diplomacy.** By Ernest Work. The Macmillan Company, New York. pp. 354. \$2.50.

The subtitle of this book quite accurately describes its contents. It tells little about the country and its people, but it does give us the political history of Ethiopia during the last half-century, how England, France and especially Italy have attempted in the great game of territorial aggrandizement to gain either control or direction of this small piece,—a pawn on the board of European diplomacy. Dr. Work was one-time advisor to the Ethiopian Government and is now Professor of History in Muskingum College. The copious footnotes referring to documents, treaties and memoirs, with the progressive maps and the admirable bibliography may well make this book an authority in its limited field.

The author himself summarizes the book when he says toward the end, "We have now traced the devious and complicated route through which Ethiopia has sought to maintain her independence among the more powerful European powers." The reader will be inclined to agree with him and to commend his interpretation of the events recorded.

The book was written in August, 1935, and now at the end of the year, when this review is being written, Dr. Work might take a more optimistic outlook than that expressed in one of his last sentences: "Evidently Ethiopia is to be sacrificed in an effort to maintain the peace of Europe."

JAMES CANTINE.

**The Netherlands Indies.** By Joh. Rauws, H. Kraemer, F. J. F. Van Hasselt and N. A. C. Slotemaker de Bruine. World Dominion Press, New York City, 1935. pp. 186. 5s. net.

At last we have an adequate and accurate account in English of that part of the great missionary enterprise hitherto shrouded in the mists of reports, manuals and monographs in the Dutch and German Languages. It is really astounding that we have no life of Nommensen, the great pioneer of Sumatra, in English and that the extraordinary success of the work among the Battaks is a closed chapter to those otherwise well-informed on missions. Who would

imagine that there are 41,718,000 on the one island of Java, nearly all Moslems, a density of population without parallel, 817 to the square mile, and that among *them* Christian missions count 67,346 converts. The oldest and most successful of missions in this area is that in Sumatra, where today there is a self-supporting church of over 300,000 members.

This is one of the best surveys yet published by the World Dominion Movement. It is a composite picture by two missionaries and two administrators. Apparently much of the material was translated from the Dutch language and this is not without occasional error due to lack of knowledge of Dutch ecclesiastical terms, but on the whole the style is excellent. In ten chapters we have first a geographical description of this island world, a sketch of its history, and of the dawn of missionary interest in Holland. This is followed by a most illuminating chapter on Culture, Politics, and Religion by Dr. H. Kraemer. He points out the Islamic and Animistic background in which Christianity has had its conquests. Today nearly one and a half million of the people belong to the Protestant Church. The number of Pagans is rapidly decreasing, and a real impact has been made on Islam. In no other field are there so many Moslem converts.

We are told that "every year the number of Javanese Christians by conversion from Islam is increasing by many hundreds. Sixty thousand in the midst of forty million Moslems is, however, a very small number. Yet Java as a mission field is an exception among the Moslem countries of the world. One may safely say of the central and eastern parts of Java that wherever well-planned missionary work is undertaken results will surely come. The reason for this exceptional situation in a Moslem country is that only the north coast and the western part of Java may be considered as consciously and tenaciously attached to Islam. The rest of the country is still under the process of Islamization. The old Javanese heritage and the innate Javanese psychology make the people more open-minded towards spiritual forces of different origin than is usual in Moslem countries."

The work of the thirty-seven Protestant societies and eleven Roman Catholic organizations and orders is crowded into these significant chapters and numerous appendices. Invaluable is the one on a dozen Bible translations for this vast area by Dr. R. Kilgour. The five maps are large and well printed. Z.

**Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India.** By Wahed Husain, B.L. University of Calcutta, 1934, Senate House, Calcutta, India. pp. 185.

This little book received the Onauth Nauth Deb Prize for 1932. The author is advocate at the High Court in Calcutta, and has written a number of books on Moslem law. True to its title, the book concerns itself with the entire period during which Islam established its legal institutions in India. The work is well documented throughout and follows the historical periods before the Mughals, and during Akbar's administration and that of his successors. There is an interesting chapter on non-Moslems and their

position under Islamic law. Although the book is obviously intended for specialists, it deserves careful notice and is of permanent value.  
Z.

**The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.** By Sir Harold MacMichael, K<sub>c</sub>, C.M.J., D.S.O., London, 1934. pp. 277. 15s.

This is an apology for British rule in the Sudan. It opens with a geographic and an ethnical discussion of the country and its people, followed by a historic sketch from remote times to the establishment, in 1898, of the so-called Anglo-Egyptian Condominium. The author then takes up the story of reconstruction, the details of reform, the maintenance of law and order, irrigation work, economic progress, native administration, education, and finally the future under the guiding hand of British rule.

The introductory chapters of the book are commendable in spite of a few historical inaccuracies, such as the failure to distinguish (p. 28) between the ixth century Tulunid dynasty in Egypt and the Mamluks who did not appear until the fall of the Ayyubids in the middle of the xiiiith century. In the succeeding chapters, the author reveals a thorough knowledge of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan where he spent over thirty years in government service. His attitude, however, is not that of a historian but that of a British official who firmly believes that the British colonial policy has always been altruistic and in the main morally right. To him imperialism is but a crusade to spread the benefits of Western civilization, not its evils, because he believes it has none. To men and women who share his views, like Lord Lloyd, Winston Churchill, and Lady Houston, the work is a valuable document and a convincing apology for British rule. In certain unguarded moments the author betrays the more worldly motives and aims of imperialism, and admits (pp. 56-7) that the British Government was "strongly influenced by the need to give support to the Italians, who had been seriously defeated by the Abyssinians . . . at Adua." No one could deny the British what they achieved in the Sudan; but equally so, no one could claim for imperialism, no matter how benevolent, the sanctity of a divine dispensation. Sir Harold, however, shows throughout the work a thorough mastery of the current events and present conditions and problems of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

*Princeton, N. J.*

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

**Annuaire Statistique de la Société des Nations 1934-1935:** Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations. Genève, 1935. pp. 306.

The object of this Year Book is to give an international synopsis of available statistics relating to the most important demographic, economic, financial and social phenomena. As many countries as possible are included in each table and the figures are rendered as comparable as the phenomena which they measure or the methods by which they have been compiled permit. It includes, both in French and English, statistics of population of the world by area, sex, and occupation groups. The number of population is indicated by careful statistics regarding marriage, birth, deaths and infant mortality. There are no statistics of religion; but by comparison of the statistics given for Europe, America and Moslem

lands it is evident that infant mortality is still one of the major problems in the world of Islam. The infant mortality of Egypt, for example, in 1933, was 162 per thousand in the first year, as compared with 76 for Germany and 58 for the United States. Z.

**India and Britain: a Moral Challenge.** By C. F. Andrews. Student Christian Movement Press, London. pp. 188. 5s.

In this work, the author has clearly presented, in dialogue form, a consideration of the ever increasingly complex problem of Britain's rule in India.

No one is better qualified to try to interpret the Indian and British points of view than C. F. Andrews, for he is a loyal Briton and a staunch and true friend of India. So, in this book, by the unique method of dialogue, he has Indian and English students at Oxford freely discuss the problems which have made intelligent Indians increasingly resent the attitude of Britain toward India. In fourteen interesting chapters, full of food for thought, are discussed subjects such as the resentment of Indians towards the British attitude of India as a "possession" to be held by force for Britain's advantage; the moral evil of a long-continued subjection of Indian culture; the arrogance and discrimination of "Anglo-India"; the unfortunate and degrading "color bar" between the White and the Brown races; and the imperialistic attitude of Britain towards India. Friends of, and those interested in, India will find in these chapters a very fair expression of facts and opinions, Indian and British, clearly expressed.

And there is "a gleam of hope." For a frank exchange of pictures of, and facts about, conditions in India by intelligent Indian and British students in England, clearly expressed in such a book as this, opens the eyes of leaders of the near future. The present urgent demand in India for political justice, equal racial treatment, and a respect for Indian culture cannot be dismissed as of little concern by Britain. This book shows a way for better understanding through mutual respect, and a free discussion of facts by Indian and British students under able leadership. WALTER F. HUME.

**Islam and Slavery.** By Mirza Basheer Ahmad. Qadian, Punjab, 1935. pp. 84.

This booklet is a revised edition of the chapter on slavery in the author's earliest work, "The Life of the Holy Prophet."

A strong case can be put forward for Islam and Slavery, since in behalf of the slaves, the orphans, the weak and the oppressed, the legislation of Mohammed, who was himself once a poor orphan, is especially favorable and benevolent. Nevertheless there is nothing in Islam that tends to reject the idea that man may have property in man. It has beyond any doubt lightened the burden of the slave, but on the other hand, it has rendered the practice both legal and permanent. In his treatment of the subject, the author has proved himself more apologetic than scientific. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the Arabic idioms *fi al-riqab* and *raqabah*, as used in the Koran, indicate captives of war rather than slaves. Furthermore the author reveals a tendency to take Koran and Hadith quotations out of their context.

Princeton, N. J.

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## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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### I. GENERAL

SATAN'S WORSHIP IN KURDISTAN. Cyrus H. Gordon. (In *Asia*, New York. October, 1935. pp. 626-630).

Tells of the Yezidis dwelling in Mosul, who are helping on the excavations of the mound of Tell Billa under the direction of the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad.

### II. ARABIA

AUS DER MUHAMMEDANISCHEN WELT. Achmed S. Affara. (In *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin*, Basel. November, 1935. pp. 386-389).

In Southern Arabia the author finds less opposition to missions and a great possibility for spreading Christian influence through schools, hospitals, sports, and boy-scout activities.

DESERT ARABIA TO-DAY. Carl R. Raswan. (In *Asia*, New York. January, 1936. pp. 34-40).

Taking the Ruala tribe as an example, the Bedouin show a lamentable change from gallant, chivalrous warriors to degenerate, effeminate semi-Europeans; a change due to Western influences following the World War.

NAJRAN. Sir Fuad Hamza. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1935. pp. 630-640).

Detailed account of a section of Arabia northeast of Yemen.

### III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

ISLAM AND PALESTINE. Douglas V. Duff. (In *The Dublin Review*, London. October, 1935. pp. 210-226).

Tells of the rise of the Wahhabite reform of Islam in 1791, traces its development up to the present day and vividly portrays the danger it presents to Palestine and thence to Christendom under the strong leadership of Ibn Sa'ud.

L'ISLAM EN INDONÉSIE. P. Zoetmulder. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Septembre-Octobre, 1935. pp. 306-311).

As early as 1292 Marco Polo, visiting Sumatra, speaks of the Saracens having converted the towns to Mohammedanism and that faith is still strong to-day.

MUSLIMS IN YUGOSLAVIA. Smail Aga Cemalovich. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. October, 1935. pp. 389-394).

All occupations are now open to Mohammedans, making them the most advanced of their creed in Europe.

THE PEOPLES OF ETHIOPIA. Robert Gale Woolbert. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1936. pp. 340-344).

Ethiopia, as a "museum of peoples", contains about 100,000 Danakil and numerous Somali tribes all of whom are Mohammedans and show many signs of Arabian influence in language and culture.

#### IV. KORAN. TRADITIONS. THEOLOGY

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY. Maulvi Aftab ud-Din Ahmad. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. October, 1935. pp. 363-378).

Finds Islamic civilization and culture superior to those of Christendom, and the Mohammedan religion better than the Christian, because the former is practised, while the latter is only professed.

L'ISLAM MISSIONNAIRE. V. Courtois. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Septembre-Octobre, 1935. pp. 293-305).

Continues an article begun in an earlier issue and contains a summary of the doctrines of Ahmad and the influence of Sufism.

LA RÉFORME DES WAKFS. F. J. Abela, translator. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Septembre-Octobre, 1935. pp. 312-318).

Translation of a paper presented at a conference of the Congress of the Wafdist, or Constitutional party. It suggests various improvements for the Egyptian *wakfs* and discloses that similar institutions in Turkey have been completely suppressed by Mustafa Kemal.

#### V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

EGYPT TO-DAY. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1935. pp. 391-398).

Under the leadership of Tewfik Nessim Pasha, noted for his independence of character, real progress has been made in education and finance, and the anti-missionary feeling, so violent in 1933, has subsided.

TURKEY AND THE TURKS. J. Kingsley Birge. (In *The Missionary Herald*, Boston. November, 1935. pp. 498-501; January, 1936. pp. 11-13).

Concluding portions of a survey of various phases of Turkish life.

TWELVE YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC. Frederick T. Merrill. (In *Foreign Policy Reports*, New York. October 9, 1935. pp. 190-200).

Presents advances made since 1923 in republicanism, secularism, nationalism, modernization of industry and agriculture, and controlled economy.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ENQUIRY INTO THE ASSYRIAN SITUATION. Capt. G. F. Gracey. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1935. pp. 646-654).

Should adequate funds be forthcoming from Great Britain, Iraq and the League of Nations, the lamentable Assyrian problem will be solved by the removal of the nation to Gharb, Syria, where it will be under the protection of the French Mandate.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN SYRIA. I. Chizik. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1935. pp. 556-565).

Presents the main features of the various political programmes existing in the Lebanon and Syria and finds them unanimous in opposition to the French Mandate.

THE PORTUGUESE IN THE BAHRAIN ISLANDS, 1521-1602. C. D. Belgrave. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1935. pp. 617-630).

Historical account of Portugal's rise to maritime power in the Persian Gulf and its subsequent decline.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NILE. William L. Langer. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1936. pp. 259-273).

If Great Britain allows her imperialism to get the better of her internationalism, the Lake Tana district will remain outside the Italian sphere and will be either under the control of a rump Ethiopia or within the sphere of the Sudan and, therefore, of England.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

ABESSINIEN, ITALIEN UND DIE MOHAMMEDANER. Dr. P. Berron. (In *Evangelisches Missionsmagazin*, Stuttgart. Dezember, 1935. pp. 431-434).

Deplores a conflict between two Christian nations as an occurrence bound to lower their prestige in Mohammedan eyes, and fears, in the event of an Italian victory, an intensive Roman Catholic missionary drive.

**ACROSS MOSLEM AND PAGAN AFRICA.** Gilbert Dawson. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1935. pp. 361-367).

Account of an encouraging mission inspection trip from Port Said to the Bight of Benin.

**CHRISTIANITY AND THE MODERN EAST.** William Paton. (In *The Student World*, Geneva. 4th quarter, 1935. pp. 286-296).

Formulates the chief needs of the missionary dealing with Oriental countries.

**ISLAM: THE RAMSDEN SERMON.** L. E. Browne. (In *The East and West Review*, London. October, 1935. pp. 301-311).

A heartening address on the spiritual possibilities in mission work among the Mohammedans, the need for abandoning theological technicalities, and the gains to be won by following the thought of St. Francis of Assisi and "announcing the Gospel of Jesus to them in all its simplicity."

**THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD.** Achmed S. Affare. (In *The Student World*, Geneva. 4th quarter. pp. 427-430).

At present Moslems are ready to respond to the Gospel, but are still hindered by the doctrine of the Trinity, the love of Mohammed, the early success of Islam as evidence of divine origin, and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

**STORMING MANSOUL IN MOROCCO.** James Haldane. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1935. pp. 386-390).

Indicates the growing need of careful and efficient preparation for missionaries dealing with intelligent Moslems.

**A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1935: THE NEAR EAST.** M. M. Underhill. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. January, 1936. pp. 47-60).

Finds all Near East countries facing common problems such as relations with the ancient eastern churches, the place of the younger evangelical churches and the question of religious freedom.

**CALVINISM AND ISLAM.** Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The Calvin Forum*, Grand Rapids, Michigan. January, 1936).

A comparison of the two theological systems and their missionary implications.

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