

THE MOSLEM WORLD

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VITA NUOVA

THE MOSLEM WORLD is entering upon a new stretch of its life and I have been asked to write a short note of introduction to this its *Vita Nuova*. But, in truth, while we may look for new forms of expression, there is really no change. The Hartford Seminary Foundation, and, more narrowly, the Kennedy School of Missions, has adopted this Quarterly as part of its service. But the Magazine is still to be edited by Dr. Zwemer and will be carried on in the spirit in which he created it. Just as in the past, it will still be the desire of this Periodical—for such a Periodical as this has a will and personality of its own—to draw into its service all who seek to understand and to explain Islam, and, still further, to help the Moslem peoples to understand themselves in this world common to us all, and to see more clearly the road of their future as it lies before them.

For this Magazine was founded by a Christian missionary and has always been frankly missionary. There are, however, many ways to be missionary, and the ways of this Periodical have never been those of narrow bigotry. The writers in this Quarterly have always tried, at least, to serve in the spirit of that Jesus, revered by both East and West, and especially revered by all Islam, as the Great Healer and Restorer of Life, as one who was not merely and only a man, but came to help men from the world of spirit. In the mind of that Jesus and in His spiritual strength, we would take up anew the task of this understanding and helping.

For, in truth, it must be frankly confessed that many of those who formerly approached Islam with the Christian message had little knowledge of Islam itself, and still less of the many and wonderful ways in which it had expressed itself. Thirty years ago there were far too many missionaries who were ignorant of the fact that Islam possessed a living development of theology and a theological literature quite as real and extensive as that of the Christian Church. To meet all ignorance about Islam, Dr. Zwemer founded this Quarterly. To meet that ignorance in others and in ourselves, we now purpose to carry it on. For there is much in the history of the Moslem Faith, in its thinking, its religious experience and its writing, that is still obscure. In regard to Islam we are all students and learners. Therefore the pages of this Periodical will always be open to bring to the whole world, Eastern and Western, what new understanding and illumination may have been reached.

The ultimate object of this Quarterly is still to draw the hearts and minds of Moslems to the great fact of Christ and to His work in and for the world. While trying to do that through the better training and instruction of His messengers, the Periodical can also appeal to the great body of students of Islam, in East and West, in Islam itself and in Christendom, whose object is simply that of the historian and student of theology and philosophy, who is irked by ignorance of whatever kind and seeks to abate it. There will appear in our pages studies of all kinds in the past and the present of the life and thinking of Moslems. These will naturally vary from broad, general, easily read statements to minute scholarly examinations. The endeavor of all contributors will be to seek to state truth. For the true scholar truth is just as sacred as for the true theologian. For both, freedom of statement is a necessary right. To such investigations, conducted in a spirit of forbearance and courtesy, these pages, according to their possibilities, will always be open. Whatever is of importance to the World of

Islam is still our subject. The spiritual welfare of Moslems is still our object. Good-will toward all is still our method.

Finally, it is for me personally a matter of the most lively satisfaction that the Studium of Arabic and Islam in Hartford, the nucleus of the Kennedy School of Missions, and older than that School by many years, should now have acquired a Periodical of its own and that a Periodical with the long history and the high standing of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, and that it should still remain under the editorship of its Founder, Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer. May he long rejoice in this child of his, and in the work which it is doing for the children of Allah in the Lands of al-Islam.

Hartford, Conn.

D. B. MACDONALD.

THE NEW PLAN

Announcement is made of a plan whereby after twenty-seven years of independent editorship, Dr. Zwemer is to transfer to the Hartford Seminary Foundation the sponsorship of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*. From the very beginning the professors of Islamicics of the Kennedy School of Missions, one of the constituent units of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, have been associated with Dr. Zwemer in his editorial work, and it is eminently fitting that its continuance should be in such competent hands. The plan is conditional, however, upon the raising of a special fund named in honor of Dr. Zwemer's seventieth birthday, which will be available for supplementing the normal income of the magazine. Readers who wish to have a share in guaranteeing the continuance of the magazine are invited to send gifts to "The Zwemer Anniversary Fund—Delavan L. Pierson, Treasurer, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y."

ROBBINS W. BARSTOW,

*President of the Hartford
Seminary Foundation.*

VIVAT, CRESCAT, FLOREAT!

As of almost all scientific magazines in Europe and America the story of THE MOSLEM WORLD during these trying years has been somewhat chequered. All well-wishers of Professor Samuel M. Zwemer will eagerly desire that his Quarterly may successfully continue on its course.

The late German Islamist, Professor Dr. C. H. Becker, one of the first authorities on the world of Islam, more than once remarked that hardly anyone lived with an all-round knowledge and insight into the diversified situation of the Moslem world comparable with Samuel Zwemer. Friends of foreign missions need more than ever his well-informed leadership. Of course, during these three decades of the Quarterly, it has even become doubtful if there exists any longer a "World of Islam", just as there is serious doubt if we are justified to talk of a "World of Christendom" or a "Christian world". Yet, after all, this common denominator in both cases will for a long time remain a useful designation for a large group of similar problems.

The Moslem countries are in a state of transition; the Middle Age idea of the rule of religious interests and of the Church-State or state-church idea is rapidly passing. It is of unending interest to study the course of evolution by which each country individually tries to fit its existence into the rapidly changing conditions of modern life. Every reader of THE MOSLEM WORLD will gratefully remember many startling and illuminating articles on these stages of political, cultural, and religious evolution.

New religious movements are turning up unexpectedly, like the Indian Ahmadiya or the Persian Babism; reform movements are crowding in, like the Sarekat Islam or the Mohammadiya in the Dutch East Indies; almost forgotten

provinces in the "World of Islam" are suddenly appearing on the stage of history, like some countries in Central Asia.

There hardly exists another magazine which brings together in such easily accessible form all this startling information as Zwemer's *MOSLEM WORLD*. Happily our knowledge of internal movements of Islam, of its cultural background, of the life of the Prophet, of the development of the Koran, is growing rapidly. The science of Islamics is more and more coming to the forefront in the same way as the individual Moslem countries are playing their diversified rôle in modern history. Here again, we need a well-informed and reliable guide always remaining in close touch with the different schools of Oriental studies which, of course, are widely divergent.

Professor Zwemer, again, is unique in his worldwide survey and the wide circle of fellow-workers whom he is able to claim as associates. Lastly, Moslem missions are a very wide and diversified field of study; there is the life and work of individual missionaries and of churches through thirteen hundred years; there is the prayerful consideration of the best approach to the Moslem heart and of the most convincing presentation of the Christian truth; there is the perplexing question of a satisfactory literature, proved in many countries as the best possible means of access to the barred doors of Moslems. We could wish no better helper and friend in all these fields than Dr. Samuel Zwemer, who, through a long, active life in Arabia, Egypt and the United States of America, through intimate contacts with the leaders of Moslem missions the world over, has become a key personality in this field. It is a pity that not wider use is made of his valuable *Quarterly*; we hail its new year with the old German student motto: *vivat, crescat, floreat*.

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JULIUS RICHTER.

ISLAM: AN INTERPRETATION

Islam is totalitarian, says President Charles R. Watson, of the American University at Cairo. He explains what he means by "totalitarian." "By a million roots, penetrating every phase of life, all of them with religious significance, it is able to maintain its hold upon the life of Moslem peoples."¹

It is the thesis of this article that the description of Islam as totalitarian provides the key for a consistent and comprehensive interpretation of the past history of Islam. Furthermore, this interpretation will reveal the way to a hopeful expectation for the future progress of Islam. This latter subject, however, will be considered at another time.

The word "totalitarian" is a new and needed addition to the English language. It is happily used in describing Islam, for although the term itself is new, the fact that Islam is totalitarian is not a new discovery. Specialists in Muslim history and literature have long emphasized the all-inclusive control of Islam over the life of its adherents. The words "Islam" and "Muslim" refer at times to political empires and states and at times to the civilization of those states, but religion has ever been the dominating element in their government and culture. For that reason the terms "Islam" and "Muslim" everywhere and always have included the Islamic religion within their connotation.

There is no phase or interest of the Muslim's life which his religion leaves untouched. Before he is born and after he is dead the Muslim's welfare comes under the direction of the laws of his faith. He finds in his theological books instruction not only for his religious beliefs and the practice of his worship but also for all his private and his public life.

¹ Watson, C. R., "What is this Moslem World?" Friendship Press, New York, 1937, p. 53.

His domestic, social, commercial, cultural, civil and political relationships are all prescribed. There are detailed instructions for his use of the tooth-stick, for his marriage and marital life, for the payment of his income-tax and for the division of his estate. The Badawi of the desert carries a cane in accordance with traditional advice from Muhammad and the preachers in the metropolitan pulpits of Cairo, Istanbul, Damascus and Delhi lean on a wooden staff or sword of steel or wooden sword, all in accordance with traditional custom. There is nothing that the Muslim dreams or thinks or says or does that is outside the scope of the interest of his religion. If he does not know what he should do in any new experience, he can go to his religious leader and secure from him an authoritative opinion about the teaching of his faith in that particular case, and he can keep his conscience clear by following that advice. The system under which the Muslim lives is totalitarian; it undertakes to regulate all his beliefs and acts.

Islam received this inclusive authoritarian character from its founder. Muhammad proclaimed himself the Prophet of Allah to his Meccan contemporaries, but he was not satisfied to remain merely a preacher and teacher. It is true that while he remained in Mecca he was in fact only the religious and social leader of his adherents, but there is sufficient evidence to prove that even then he recognized the political implications of his leadership as well. The immigrations of his followers to Abyssinia and his own visit to Ta'if indicate a relationship in his mind between religion and government. Scholars have differed about the time when Muhammad began to have political aspirations. The author of the article on Muhammad in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (vol. iii, p. 648) gives arguments for Muhammad's interest in politics while at Mecca and adds, "The decisive point however is that the Medinese would certainly not have thought of seeking in him a saviour from their social and political difficulties if they had not been much impressed by his abilities in this direction."

It will be shown that the statement of another biographer of Muhammad is entirely correct when he says, "Mohammed could hardly conceive of a religious community which was not both a social and a political organism."²

When Muhammad emigrated to Yathrib he became the paramount prince of a city-state that contained a number of different tribal and racial groups. When he died he was the dictator of a religious state.

It was really only natural that Muhammad, when he proclaimed himself the Apostle of Allah, should expect to control completely the interests and activities of those who accepted his religious leadership. The minute and complete direction of life, *in some way or other*, is really inherent in the nature of religion. Muhammad acknowledged that principle for himself. After he began his prophetic career he sought authority for his public preaching and for his private life through divine revelation. As the new Prophet and Apostle of Allah it was Muhammad's office to reveal to his fellow-Arabs what they should believe about Allah, the only God, and what they should do to obey their Creator and Lord. The Arabs could believe the truth about the God whom they should worship and serve only by learning what Muhammad taught, and they could obey their Lord only by obeying the Arabian prophet and apostle, whom Allah had sent especially for them.

That is undoubtedly the logical explanation of the totalitarian nature of religion as Muhammad understood it. Allah was the only Creator and Lord of all. Allah alone could prescribe laws of faith and practice. Allah alone would recompense men for obeying or disobeying His laws. Allah's messenger to the people of Arabia was Muhammad. All who worshipped Allah and who also accepted Muhammad as Allah's Prophet and Apostle, could obey Allah's laws by obeying His revelation of those laws through Muhammad.

² Andrae, Tor, "Mohammed: The Man and his Faith," Translated by Theophil Menzel. London, 1936. p. 186.

It needs to be noted that it was only in so far as his own adherents were concerned that Muhammad claimed exclusive authority as both teacher and ruler for Allah. There were others who were excused from following Allah's revelation through Muhammad. The Arabian prophet never considered that he was Allah's first or only true prophet or apostle. Muhammad believed and taught that Allah had sent thousands of prophets before himself to teach mankind the true religion and had revealed doctrines to be accepted and methods of worship to be followed through hundreds of apostles before his own time. (Apostles were those who from time to time proclaimed new laws and regulations for the worship of the one true God, while prophets were those who preached obedience to those laws. All apostles were prophets, but not all prophets were apostles.) So Muhammad never believed that he was the first apostle of Allah, nor even the first prophet to the Arabs. Rather he was the last of all the prophets of Allah, and the first apostle to bring laws from Allah in Arabic to the people of Arabia. Allah had given to mankind many "books," a hundred and three of them, before He "sent down" the Qur'an as His final revelation. Jews, Christians and Sabians were all "people of the book", were all honored with revelations, but Allah had honored the Arabian people above all others by giving His last revelation in their language through one of themselves.

It is this feature of Muhammad's teaching that explains the use of the terms "Muslim" and "Islam" in the Qur'an. Muhammad taught that Allah is and always has been the one and only God. He defined the Muslim as one who is surrendered to Allah. He declared that surrender and obedience to Allah constitute Islam, and that Islam always has been and always will be the one and only true religion. He believed that all who have ever accepted and worshipped Allah alone have been Muslims. He considered that Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon and Jesus were all Muslims. All "people of the book" were Muslims, he said.

This is acknowledged by all to be the teaching of the Qur'an and Muhammad about the meaning of the terms.

It is interesting that there are Turkish writers who are now insisting upon a return to the original Qur'anic usage of those words. The following quotations appeared originally in a Turkish paper, *Fikir Hareketleri*, for April 12, 1934, in an article entitled "What is Islam and Who is Muslim?"

"Today Islam is understood as the religion of Muhammed, and the person who has accepted the religion of Muhammed is regarded as a Muslim. Whereas if we examine the Qur'an, we find that this concept is altogether wrong. In the Qur'an we find that the term 'Muslim' has not been confined only to those who have accepted the religion of Muhammed."

"The Qur'an says that there were Muslims before Muhammed, namely, the people of Abraham."

"According to the Qur'an even Solomon was a Muslim."

"The Qur'an is also explicit in stating that the people of Jesus are also Muslim."

"We conclude therefore that according to the teaching of the Qur'an, Islam is the one religion sent by Allah through the various prophets, and all who have accepted this religion are Muslims. We have considered only the Muhammedans as Muslims, and all the others as non-Muslims. This has been due to a complete misunderstanding of the Qur'an on our part. It is our fault."³

It is not probable that the Qur'anic usage of these terms will become the only one accepted either in the East or in the West. The Muhammadans will not deny the validity of the Qur'anic meanings of those words, but many will assert that only the Jews and Christians referred to in the Qur'an have any right to those names along with themselves. At any rate, both the broad and the narrow meanings have the sanction of historical usage. For that reason it is well to recognize that the terms have these wider and more limited meanings and to expect the context in which they are used to disclose which is intended in any particular instance.

Resuming the discussion of the teaching of Muhammad, it should be noted that he never opposed what he considered to be the real doctrines of the Jews and

³ Levonian, L., "The Turkish Press, 1932-1936", Beirut, 1937. pp. 79-81.

Christians, and consequently he never compelled Jews and Christians to change their religious allegiance. He never forced them to become Muslims, for the simple reason that he considered that they were Muslims already. He was willing and even eager to have them accept him as one of their own prophets and apostles, and to follow the revelation "sent down" to him, but the important thing to note is that he never compelled them to renounce their religious faith. He did not hesitate to compel them to accept his political domination, but he never forced them to acknowledge him as their religious leader. Politically, all were to be subject to Muhammad. Religiously, Jews, Christians and some others received recognition, tolerance and a measure of civil and political freedom.

Thus with historical accuracy it is possible to say that according to the Qur'an, Muhammad was not the founder of Islam, the religion of Allah, but of Muhammadanism, the last form of Islam, and that Muhammadanism was said to be superior to the equally true and valid Jewish and Christian systems only because it was considered to be final, never to be succeeded by another revelation.

It need not be inferred that this historical definition of "Muslim" and "Islam" condemns as wrong the present-day use of those terms in the sense that equates them with "Muhammadan" and "Muhammadanism." The exposition given here simply states that the terms as used in the Qur'an and by Muhammad himself as recorded elsewhere have a wider connotation than they have in current usage among both the adherents and the students of that religion. The titles "Encyclopaedia of Islam," "Arabia, the Cradle of Islam", "The Muslim Creed" and "The Islamic Review" are all instances of the use of these terms in the narrower sense of the religion which Muhammad founded. If these works had followed the Qur'anic usage, they would have "Muhammadanism" for "Islam" and "Muhammadan" for "Muslim" and "Islamic." It is, however, entirely legitimate and proper to use the words "Islam" and "Muslim" with the more limited meanings. The adherents of the religion

of Muhammad have themselves restricted the meaning of the terms. In the generations after Muhammad they have learned that the Jews and Christians were not prepared to accept the Qur'anic doctrine that the Jewish, Christian and Muhammadan Scriptures were all equally true and were all successive revelations of a single Islamic doctrine of Allah accompanied by different laws and regulations for different times and peoples. Muhammad himself experienced opposition to his claims and his teaching particularly from the Jews but also from the Christians of his time. Later the followers of Muhammad found out how greatly the Jews and Christians they knew differed from themselves in their fundamental doctrines. They learned how greatly those fundamental principles determined the life and religious practice of these other peoples. Then they were constrained to consider themselves to be the only true Muslims and all others to be non-Muslims and therefore unbelievers and infidels. That is the position assigned to Jews and Christians by the Muhammadans of the present day. That is how the current use of the terms "Muslim" and "Islam" in the narrow sense of "Muhammadan" and "Muhammadanism" arose. These limited meanings have therefore historical sanction, so that, entirely apart from the fact that they agree more accurately with the real situation, it is quite justifiable and proper to use them.

It is perfectly clear that these restricted meanings involve departure from Qur'anic usage and authority. Such departure from Qur'anic authority, however, is no new or unusual occurrence in Muhammadan history. Contrary to a widely held opinion, Muhammadanism is not fixed and static, but is subject to change. Indeed, many changes in both doctrine and practice have taken place in that religion. An example of change in doctrine relates to the teaching about the sinlessness of the prophets. The Qur'an gives accounts of the sin of David and others. But the followers of Muhammad later adopted the position that all prophets are kept free from sin. This is the orthodox doctrine of

Islam today. This one instance reveals that the Qur'an is not the only basis of religious authority and so shows that it is not sufficient to study the Qur'an in order to know the Muslim position on any subject.

It may be well to state here that there are four sources of authority recognized by the great majority of Muhammadans. These are: the Qur'an, the *Sunnah* or Usage of Muhammad and his Companions, Analogical Reasoning based on these two sources and the Agreement of the Muslims about any doctrine or custom. In practice, this fourth source of authority works through the general acceptance of a precedent. The Muslims believe that all that happens takes place by the active will of Allah. It is a *fiat accompli* and belongs to the category of fate, which is simply what Allah has decreed. If nothing else happens to change the course and effect of the first occurrence, then this becomes a precedent which in time acquires religious sanction and is accepted as right and proper.

The various changes of place, dynasty and number in connection with the caliphate are all illustrations of the working of that principle. The capital of Islam has been at al-Madinah, Damascus, Baghdad, Cordova, Cairo and Constantinople. Elected relatives of Muhammad were followed in the caliphate by the family line of the Umayyads, who were succeeded by the Abbasid dynasty, with other caliphs ruling at the same time in Spain and Egypt. The Ottoman Turks brought about still another change by claiming the caliphate for themselves. In time the majority of Muhammadans agreed to recognize that claim. Then in 1924 the Turkish Nationalist Assembly at Ankara established another precedent by abolishing the caliphate altogether. Thus far the rest of the Muhammadan world has not agreed upon the selection of another caliph. There is every prospect that the present situation in that regard will continue indefinitely and enforce the lesson that Islam can and does change. Even changes that are originally unwelcome and shocking gradually become acceptable and are given religious sanction.

Thus the vicissitudes of the caliphate furnish illustrations of the possibility of change in Islam. The departure from the Qur'anic meanings of the words "Islam" and "Muslim" is another example of the same possibility.

II

The main discussion thus far has revealed that Islam, in the larger sense, that is, as the one true religion of Allah, included Jews, Christians and others.

Further, it has become clear that Islam, in the narrow sense as synonymous with Muhammadanism, the system of belief and practice founded by Muhammad, was intensively totalitarian for his followers, regulating every phase of their lives.

It is now intended to show that the totalitarian character of the Muhammadan religious state was not a new form of government in the world.

There are those who say that totalitarianism is a new phenomenon in the world. It is quite true that the word itself is new. The word is not defined in the New (Oxford) English Dictionary, but it is included in the Supplement, where it is defined as "of or pertaining to a policy which permits no rival loyalties or parties." It is true also that secular totalitarian states are entirely new in the world's history. But if totalitarianism means the state direction of opinion and activity, with no minority right to criticize, if it means the regimentation and regulation by law and authority of society and individuals, then it is no new system of life and government. Such totalitarianism had been and was still in Muhammad's time the dominant and accepted theory of the governments in the Near East.

In the ancient Egyptian dynasties, the law governed all the details of the lives of rulers and subjects. The familiar story of Joseph in the Bible furnishes an illustration of this governmental control. The toleration extended to the alien family of the father of Joseph was remarkable because it was so exceptional. When the story of Joseph was no longer known, acceptance of the Jews on a basis of

equality, and not subject to the laws of the land, was not permitted.

The ancient Greek city-states treated their citizens as members of the state even to the detriment of the family unit. Professor Barker has reminded us that "To Plato, as also to Aristotle, the constitution of the Greek city-state—the scheme which united and incorporated its members in a society—was fundamentally a 'way of life'." ⁴

Sometimes the city or the empire or the emperor was the object of the worship and was the central element of the religious life as well as the focus of political interest. We are told:

"The (Roman) empire was, in effect, a politico-ecclesiastical institution. It was a Church as well as a State: if it had not been both, it would have been alien from the ideas of the ancient world. A City-State entailed a civic worship: an Empire-State entailed an empire worship." ⁵

The New Testament offers several illustrations of the relation of religion and government in the Roman Empire. The Jews brought charges against Paul in Achaia. Gallio, the Roman deputy, rejected jurisdiction with the words: "If it were a matter of wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason would that I should bear with you. But if it be a question of words and names and of your law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters." ⁶ The Jews had a code of their own, recognized by the supreme law of the Empire, to deal with communal disputes. Paul's appeal to the Caesar at Rome was based on his full citizenship in the Empire and on his right to the jurisdiction and protection of the paramount government.

The legal aspects of the trials of our Lord clearly indicate the subordination of the Jewish law and courts to the tribunal and jurisdiction of the ruling power. In our Lord's case a political charge was the means of fulfilling a religious purpose. A tolerated religious community did not have the supreme power of life and death. As it was not the imperial religion which was involved, the Jews had

⁴ Barker, Ernest, "Church, State and Study," London, 1930. p. 246.

⁵ Barker, E., *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁶ Acts, 18:14, 15.

to present political charges to justify imperial jurisdiction and condemnation to death.

When Christianity was adopted by Constantine as the State religion of his Empire, the really significant fact was that thereby Christianity, which had before been merely tolerated, became the determining and controlling factor in the conduct of the State. Christianity became paramount. The Christians were now the full citizens of the government, with the full rights and privileges of the state law. Adherents of all other religions became subordinate and merely tolerated. The community which before had been persecuted, now could and did become persecutor. The Christian sects other than that to which the Emperor belonged remained without full citizenship rights just as they had been before Christianity, that is to say, the imperial brand of Christianity, became the state religion. Pagans became martyrs and pagan philosophers and teachers suffered exile.

In the Sasanian Empire, the Assyrian branch of the Christian Church had a "millet" status, a "nationality organized in a Church under its religious authorities."⁷

It was Harun al-Rashid who first made a capitulation treaty with another nation. He simply offered to foreigners the position already held by non-Muslims within his own domain. The Byzantine and later the Ottoman Empires practiced precisely the same method. These treaties were made only because heretics and foreigners could not have the benefits of the Orthodox Greek Christian and the Muhammadan systems of law and government.

This historic review reveals that when Islam appeared on the scene of history, what happened was quite what was to be expected. Islam naturally adopted the system of life that other peoples of the world were practicing. Islam did not separate religion and government. Just as monotheism was its central religious doctrine, a single world empire was its natural and logical political principle. It could recognize the rights of other religious communities

⁷ Wigram, W. A., "The Assyrians and their Neighbors." London, 1929, p. 51.

that were monotheistic, but politically it could tolerate them only as subordinate. Theoretically and also actually so long as it was a practical possibility, all non-monotheistic peoples had to become Muslim or suffer the penalty of death. Historically, the principle was carried out only in Arabia itself.

It is these fundamental elements of Muslim constitutional theory that are found in the Qur'an in the recognition of the Jews and Christians as "people of the book." The same fundamental principle determined Muhammad's toleration of the Jews of al-Madinah so long as they did not conspire and revolt against his temporal authority. It is these constitutional principles that developed naturally in Islam into the system of "millets" and "capitulations" for the regulation of the relationship of non-Muslims and foreigners to the paramount government both before and after the establishment of the Ottoman Empire at Constantinople. The Millet System took care of the communities which did not belong to the dominant religion of the State. The Muslim governmental system, like that of the other governments, was exclusive. It prevented any but Muslims from being full members of the State and enjoying the rights and privileges of the *shari'ah*, which was the only law of the Empire. This *shari'ah* may be termed the Muslim law, to describe its scope, or the divine law, to describe its source of authority, or the religious law, to describe its character. But the fact is that it dealt with every department of the life of the Muslim. It was the exclusive law of the State and the only one executed by the administrators of the State. It is only for that reason that every war declared by a Muslim ruler was a *jihad*, a "holy war." Because government and religion were inseparable no other kind of a war against non-Muslims was possible. Furthermore, it is because of the religious nature of every governmental action that every treaty of peace made by a Muslim government with a non-Muslim power could be in fact only a truce. Every Muslim state with the *shari'ah* for its law was required by that law to conduct war upon

a non-Muslim state whenever and wherever war might be expected to have a successful outcome for the Muslim power.

The same policy and system of a single state law based on religion characterized the Western or Roman Catholic Church during the Middle Ages. "The one Christian commonwealth of all mankind, conceived indeed partly as an Empire—the surviving image of ancient Rome—but conceived mainly and generally as a Church, is the essential society of that long period of human history which we call by the name of the Middle Ages."⁸

The intensive totalitarian conception of life, uniting religion and politics in a single system, is found to this day in the Oriental Christian sects, as well as in Islam. A person belongs to the Maronite or Jacobite or Assyrian Church by natural birth. The church law governs him all his life. His relation to the state government is through the head of his Church.

The whole matter may be stated quite simply in another way. The fact is that the secular and the religious, the temporal and the eternal, the material and the spiritual have not yet been separated in non-Protestant Christianity in the East, just as they are not separated in the social system of Islam.

Probably the most convincing evidence of the all-inclusive significance of the terms "Christian" and "Muslim" is furnished by a study in Oriental social life published in 1922. It is called "Constantinople Today, or the Pathfinder Survey of Constantinople." (Macmillan, New York). In the chapter on Adult Delinquency there is an account of the Houses of Ill Repute. It states (p. 356) "The registered houses and pensions in the Pera and Galata districts belong to Christians and Jews and those in Scutari and Kadikeuy to Moslems." On page 358 the number and nationalities of the inmates are given by the Central Sanitary Bureau (for Pera only): "Christians and Jews, 714; Moslems, 56." The girls sent to the hospital for

⁸ Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

venereal diseases are classified as Christians and Moslems (p. 361).

Such classifications show conclusively that the terms "Christian" and "Muslim" have a national or racial or communal meaning. Religious names have lost their religious, or at least their spiritual significance, and to that extent they have become less than totalitarian.

The West has solved this problem of names by distinguishing between Christendom and Christianity. "Christendom" formerly meant the Christian religious, cultural and political world. Now it means the secular civilization of lands where Christians are in the majority. "Christianity" began to be used four centuries later than the word "Christendom." Now it means the Christian religion. In the Muslim world only Turkey has begun to distinguish between the secular and the religious. Different terms to refer to the Islamic culture and the Islamic religion have not yet come into use. "Islam" is still a totalitarian name.

III

Not only were the States of ancient and mediæval times intensively totalitarian, they were extensively totalitarian as well. The dominant and perhaps the exclusive theory of sovereignty before and after the rise and spread of Islam was the theory of universal empire.

Egypt founded the first great empire and extended her power as far as possible over other peoples in Nubia and Syria. Thereafter the centers of sovereignty moved eastward. The Hittite, Assyrian and Persian empires all included many other peoples.

Alexander the Great adopted the Egyptian and later Persian policy of a single universal empire.

Rome accepted the same world-view. The Byzantine Empire inherited and carried on as much as possible of the same system of universal monarchy.

It would have been unusual if Islam had not adopted the same pattern of rule. It would have been strange and would

require extraordinary explanation if Islam had not been both religious and political in its character, and also universal in the scope of its expectation to rule.

The marvel of the rapidity of the expansion of Islam is acknowledged by all students of history. The nature of that expansion is better understood when the totalitarian character of Islam is taken into consideration.

It is a common-place of history that "Islam was spread by the sword." The statement needs clarification. It is quite proper to say that Islam as a political system was spread by force wherever it conquered Jews in Arabia, Christians in Syria and Egypt, Zoroastrians in Persia and all pagans and idolaters. It was legal and obligatory for rulers to compel non-monotheists to accept Islam or suffer death. To non-monotheists only two alternatives could properly be offered. These were Islam, with its full religious and political rights, or death.

But the Muslims offered three alternatives to "the people of the book." These were Islam, or political subjection or death. Only if they rejected Islam as their religion, or, alternatively, subjection as their political status, was it legal to put them to death.

Further, wherever Islam as a religion was spread by the sword over Jews and Christians anywhere, it was done in opposition to the principles of Islam. Such peoples were not forced to change their religion under threat of death by the Muslim law and by law-abiding Muslim rulers. Such action was always contrary to the Qur'an and Muhammadan tradition.

In practice the extent to which these features of the Muslim Law were fulfilled depended upon the religious conscience of the conquerors and their successors. It is probable that the more correct view will not analyze too closely the religious, social and political elements in the promotion of Islam by its adherents and the acceptance of Islam by converts, but rather will see that Islam as a whole way of life was safer and more attractive than any other allegiance.

It is clear then that the Muslim law prohibited the compulsory conversion of Christians and Jews. While it is true that at times Muslim rulers made forcible conversions, it is also true that at times Muslim rulers exerted themselves to restrict the voluntary conversion of Christians to Islam. They were alarmed at the decrease of the total amount of the tribute exacted from the subject communities and so they sought to restrain the Christians from tax-evasion by transfer of allegiance to that of the dominant religion. But just as no Muslim authority had any legal right to compel an adherent of a recognized religion to change his status, so also he had no right to hinder any such subject, or *dhimmi*, from seeking the benefits that Muslims enjoyed and so sharing in the full privileges and duties of the sovereign religious community. It is therefore quite true to say that Muhammadanism spread among the Christians of Asia, Egypt, North Africa and Spain far more by social and civil than by military pressure. The religion of Islam is still growing in certain regions without military force because it still offers religious, ethical, social and economic advantages to individuals and communities.

It has become clear then that Islam in its character as a system of government could be spread by the sword in accordance with its own principles. Moreover, Islam as a religion could not legally be spread by force among monotheistic communities. But actually Islam as a civilization throughout its history has advanced geographically and increased numerically by all the means and motives known to man.

Thus it is the totalitarian character of Islam and other systems of civilization that has provided the key for this understanding of the past history of the Muslim peoples.

Hartford, Conn.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

THE PROBLEM OF CENTRAL ASIA

“Through a land of mighty rivers, snow-filled passes and lofty plateaux, the Expedition’s caravan pushed forward to overcome every obstacle and reach its goal in Sinkiang.”¹

Thus is epitomized the remarkable exploit of the Expedition led by M. Georges-Marie Haardt in 1931 from Srinagar to Kashgar.

If, in Livingstone’s mighty phrase, “The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise”, then that “missionary enterprise” in Central Asia is tragically overdue.

Neither dizzy altitudes nor rushing rivers daunted these intrepid travellers. Obliterated trails, transport problems in the *n-th* degree, biting cold, withering heat and many other deterrents, failed to discourage these men in quest of publicity for their cars, and of fame, from “overcoming every obstacle and reaching their goal.”

As long ago as 1873, the Forsyth Mission, despatched by the Indian Government, went to Yarkand and Kashgar as they carried out explorations in Central Asia—a policy pursued by the Indian Government throughout the seventies in Wakkan, Hunza, Chitral, etc.

In later years, the explorers Sir Aurel Stein and Dr. Sven Hedin carried out extensive researches in Central Asia, chiefly Turkestan, with the support of the Indian Government. Their reports furnish most of what we know about the more desolate parts of Turkestan.

The exclusiveness of Tibet was broken by the Young-husband expedition of 1904, since which time British officials have been located within Tibetan territory proper. No missionaries, it is believed, have ever entered Tibet proper, except the Lazarist priests Huc and Gabet, who

¹ *National Geographical Magazine* Vol. LXI, No. 3. March 1932.



MAP INDICATING
CENTRAL ASIAN MISSION
FIELDS OF WORK

Existing Stations of C.A.M. underlined thus. Mardan
Prospective... Skardu
Scale 0 50 100 200 Miles

Province boundaries
Fields of work
Land over 10,000 feet

CHINESE
TURKISTAN

INDEPENDENT
TRIBES

INDEPENDENT
NORTH WEST
FRONTIER PROVINCE

Mountainous region
mainly over
16,000 ft.

BALTIKASTAN
OR LITTLE TIBET

PROVINCE OF
THE NORTH WEST
FRONTIER

TRIBES
RESPONSIBLE

TRIBES
RESPONSIBLE

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entered Tibet in 1844 with a caravan from the north, and stayed some weeks in Lhasa itself before being expelled from the country. The record of their travels and sufferings makes an astonishing story.

The Moravian Mission at Leh is very active. The apostolic labors of Mr. and Mrs. Heyde should be well known by lovers of Central Asia and appreciated at their true value. Up to 1894, Mr. Heyde had never seen a railway train! He had left his home fifty years before, and had never taken a furlough. Of such "stuff" are pioneers.

Among the explorers of one hundred years ago, mention may be made of Alexander Burnes, Stoddart and Arthur Conolly. The last travelled extensively in Central Asia, Bokhara, Khotan, Afghanistan etc. They were all army officers, and all perished by violence. T. Manning visited Lhasa in 1811—the first European to do so. W. Moorcroft did the same in disguise, and lived there for some years. He died while travelling in 1825. Dr. Joseph Wolff, the converted Jew and missionary, made two journeys to Central Asia as a missionary in Persia, Bokhara, Afghanistan, about 1830-1832 and 1844, at enormous risk.

Where the explorer can go, the missionary can follow. Yet today, in this vast parallelogram of almost unrelieved spiritual darkness, wherein forty million souls are living without Christ, there are less than two hundred missionaries laboring in connection with twenty-three societies.²

"In other lands you have won your victories", would the great Adversary of souls seem to be saying, "but here, in these Central Asian kingdoms, I remain in undisputed sway—undisturbed, unchallenged, serene."

The annals of missionary advance in Central Asia are rich in spiritual giants; the records of their lives and work reveal the "stuff" of which pioneers to these midnight lands must be made. The intrepidity of Annie Taylor and A. H. Francke of Tibet; the fearless courage and brilliant medical skill of Dr. T. L. Pennell and Dr. Marie Holst, of the North West Frontier Province of India; the unquench-

²"The Challenge of Central Asia", pp. 113-118. World Dominion Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

able fervor of Miss Jenny de Mayer for the peoples of Russian Turkestan, even to banishment and cruel imprisonment; the pioneering spirit of Percy Mather and Rev. W. Simpson (the latter killed June 20, 1932 between Sianfu and Langchow) of the China Inland Mission; the steadfast faith of G. Högberg and John Törnquist of the Swedish Missionary Society, and the devotion of Nurse Arnold and Daniel Voumard of the Central Asian Mission—these brave men and women have pointed the way, and demonstrated the possibility of the evangelization of the Central Asian peoples.

Central Asia includes roughly all that vast area which lies south of Russia, east of Iran, west of China, and north of India—an area of four and one half million square miles.

The population, though no figures are certain, is estimated as follows:—³

Russian Turkestan (The Soviet Republics) ..	6,000,000
Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang)	2,588,000
Kansu	6,281,000
Outer Mongolia upwards of	800,000
Inner Mongolia approx.	2,250,000
Tibet between 5,000,000 and	3,722,000
Afghanistan approx.	4,500,000
	<hr/>
Total	26,141,000
	<hr/>

No missionary is permitted to work in Russian Turkestan. In Southern Sinkiang the Swedish Missionary Society is working with a staff of thirty-one missionaries; the Christian Church there has lost many members by violent death, and even by martyrdom during the last three years; it still numbers, however, some ninety-five communicant members, and others are coming forward for baptism.

In Northern Sinkiang, the China Inland Mission has three missionaries who work chiefly among the wandering or nomad population of that region, and who can there-

³ China Year Book, 1936.

fore hope for little of that encouragement that comes from working with a Church that has grown up in the country.

The devoted labors of Miss Mildred Cable with her companions, the Misses French, and of Mr. G. W. Hunter of the China Inland Mission, are well known, and must yield fruit in due season. Outer Mongolia, again, is closed to missionaries since the Russian influence ejected the Swedish Mission from Urga. In Inner Mongolia, the Swedish Church Mission, the C. I. M. and the American Mission are at work. In Kansu, the work begun by the C. I. M., and still carried on by its missionaries, is now being actively taken up by the Chinese themselves. Afghanistan and Tibet are still closed to missionary influence, though both countries are now open to both tourist and trader.

Missionaries from America, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland and Finland are engaged in these vast spheres. Their courage amidst apparent fruitlessness; their fortitude through hardship and loneliness, their resourcefulness, patience, faith, and unstinted devotion to herculean tasks, constitute a romance of heroism and tenacity unequalled anywhere in the mission field.

Central Asia awaits the patience and skill of the linguist. Scriptures in Chinese, Turki, Russian, Tibetan or Mongolian, wholly or in part, are available in the Eastern section: in Pushtu, Urdu and Persian in the Western section. Literacy is estimated as low as two percent: hence for many years the Gospel message must be brought by word of mouth by the missionary and colporteur, who are confronted with vast distances, precarious highways, formidable altitudes, and peoples suffering from the centuries-old blight of Islam, and the bane of Buddhism.

Certain definite lines of action have been discussed by missionary statesmen and missionaries that may lead to an effective solution of the problem of Central Asia's evangelization. The following constructive methods of spiritual approach upon these strongholds may be recapitulated for prayer and reflection with a view to concerted action.

1. *Governmental Relationships*

The future government of Central Asian peoples will inevitably be determined at an appropriate season by the three Empires having vast territories contiguous to their borders. Let the Church of God be ready against that day to "go in and possess" lands that may then be accessible.

It must, however, be recognized that such political changes will not always be favorable to missionary work. And, in this connection, may be mentioned the value that has already been found in maintaining two principles in particular—first, that under no circumstances will the mission claim compensation for any damage that may be done to its property, or any harm that may befall its members; secondly, that it is better that missions that work in such regions as these should not spend their money on such large, expensive "plant" (whether hospital, printing press or college) as should awaken the cupidity or fear of local authorities or wandering bandits.

2. *Indigenous Evangelism*

The remarkable and rapid growth of Christian communities in India, China and Iran, some of which are aggressively evangelistic, suggests that in the "army of occupation" for Central Asia, divinely called laborers may be sent forth from these countries. Such a possibility should be kept in view by missionaries in India, China and Iran. It is also encouraging to see that even in some parts of Central Asia itself, the growth of the churches is due now, to an increasing extent, to the enthusiasm of the local Christians in spreading the Gospel among their own people. This is already beginning to be noticeable in Kansu and in Sinkiang; and it is a development for which the missionary should be prepared, and toward which his energies should be directed. Every Central Asian missionary should energetically sow the seed of the Word of God in active cooperation with the Bible Societies of America and Great Britain.

3. *Spiritual Coordination*

A prayerful study of the possibility of a closer coordination of work (both on the field and at the home base) at present conducted by twenty-three Societies. Such coordination should be neither mechanical nor artificial; it should be real, and in the Holy Spirit.

5. *Education of Home Bases*

A steady policy of enlightenment at the home base upon the challenge of Central Asia. Literature, personal acquaintance with missionaries, letters, photographs, maps, charts, travel books, lectures and radio talks are methods of instruction which suggest themselves, and, arising out of such enlightenment of the mind, there must be above all else, importunate prayer, unwearying zeal and unwavering faith.

May it be the fixed resolve and holy purpose of all friends of central Asia, whether on the field or at the home base, to "push forward" in the task of evangelization "to overcome every obstacle, and to reach their goal."

6. *Reinforcements*

Central Asia, as a mission field, should be kept before students of our Universities, Public Schools and Bible Colleges. Where others have served successfully, reinforcements can obviously go forth to build spiritual superstructures upon foundations so nobly laid by the pioneers. Doctors, dentists, nurses, teachers, linguists, evangelists, administrators, accountants, builders, and many others, are all needed. Let this be widely known, and let there be redoubled prayer for new missionaries in this ancient, and yet most neglected mission field. Above all, let there be the earnest prayer to the Lord of the harvest that He will "thrust forth labourers into His harvest."

London

ERNEST E. GRIMWOOD.

THE CONCILIATORY TONE OF IBN-'ARABI

Introductory.

The life blood of Moslem thought lies in Sufism, the movement which in the twelfth century created the beginnings of a vast reorganization in Moslem life in the East, corresponding to the monastic orders of medieval Christendom.

The same spirit which produced this idealistic movement in Islam produced also the greatest monist and pantheist mystic, ibn-'Arabi (A. D. 1165-1240) of Spain, whose tomb at the foot of Mt. Qāsiyūn in Damascus is today enclosed in a large mosque bearing his name.¹ Unlike orthodox Sufis, as al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111) and al-Junayd of Baghdad (d. 910)² he tried to reduce Sufism to a science which he intended to have reserved for circles of initiates. "All is God"³ is the substance of his pantheism. The ruling mystic of the day, he wrote, travelled and taught, and finally emerged as the supreme speculative genius of Islam, who gave Sufism the framework of its speculative philosophy. Embedded in an enormous mass of writings, not yet critically edited, his influence is detectable in many studies that form part of the rich legacy of Moslem mystics. Perhaps *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah*⁴ (the Makkan Revelations) is his greatest work for it dominates the extensive domain of his productions.

Discernible in his works is the conciliatory tone of ibn-

¹ Philip K. Hitti, "History of the Arabs," London, 1937, hereafter referred to as Hitti, p. 436.

² Al-Qushayri, *al-Risālah*, Cairo, 1284, pp. 24-5; al-Hujwiri, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, tr. R. A. Nicholson, Leyden, 1911, pp. 128-30.

³ Ibn-'Arabi has made the acute observation that God is a percept, the world is a concept; see Mohammed Iqbal, "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam," London, 1934, pp. 171-88.

⁴ 2nd edition, 4 vols., Būlāq, 1293, hereafter referred to as *Futūḥāt*.

'Arabi. His esteem for the followers of 'Īsa⁵, their higher morality, their relationship to Moslems, their lofty Sufi affinities and their mystic outlook, led him to formulate what to him was the true Islamic attitude toward Christianity. For this he deduced evidence from Prophetic teaching and from the fact that they enjoyed protection bestowed on them as People of the Book. Certainly Islam to him is the last word on sacred law. But followers of 'Īsa can attain unto Muḥammadan perfection. When and if they do so they merit a double reward.

The high morality of 'Īsa and his followers.

“The true followers of 'Īsa are people of vital meditation (*himmah fa' ālah*), of acceptable conduct and their supplication is heard. You may recognize them by their sign, which includes that compassion for the world of men and that spirit of pity for others, no matter who the other men are. Furthermore, they avowedly surrender themselves to God and do not give utterance to any provocative words. In these characteristics, share the first and second groups of 'Īsa followers. 'Īsa himself belonged to the first group and it is related that once as he passed by, he saw a pig, to which he said: 'Escape in peace'. When asked about this he commented: 'I am training my tongue to the practice of good speech.'

“As for the second group of 'Īsa followers, to which Muḥammad belonged, it is said that the Prophet once came across a dead animal and looking at its teeth exclaimed: 'How white!' Those in his company had said: 'How foul!' Another story relates that Muḥammad, who had ordered that his followers should kill snakes when they saw them, for Allah loved courageous men even as they dare to kill venomous serpents, was one day in the cave at Muna, where the *sūrah* entitled *al-Mursalāt*⁶ was revealed (the cave is still known and I [ibn-'Arabi] have visited it seeking God's

⁵ The proper name of Jesus in the Koran, and thence in Islam, derived by phonetic change from Syriac *Yeshū'*; consult D. B. Macdonald, art. 'Isa in "Encyclopædia of Islam."

⁶ Koran 77.

blessing), when a snake appeared. The Companions tried to kill it, but the Messenger of Allah stopped them with the words: 'Verily God has saved her from your evil, as He saved you from hers.' Note how he considered 'evil' their attempt to kill the snake, even though they were acting in accordance with his teaching. Likewise the admonition of Allah that 'for the recompense of evil is evil like unto it'⁷, in which punishment is called 'evil'. In other words this is an explicit call for forgiveness. The followers of 'Īsa have the faculty of closing their eyes to the defects of men, not the defects themselves. They are deaf to the hearing of obscenity; they are dumb in so far as speaking evil goes. This is how we have found them to be. And glory to Him who has chosen, befriended and guided them. 'It is these that God hath guided, and by their guidance be thou led.'⁸ "

"Such is the station of 'Īsa, peace on him, in comparison with Muḥammad. The former proceeded in peace and about him have been told all these experiences. Thus we say that we are led by Allah in describing the feelings (*aḥwāl*) of 'Īsa's followers. And Allah says but the truth. He leads to the righteous path."⁹

Their relationship to Moslems.

"Nevertheless, the followers of 'Īsa have not the power to perform such miracles (*karamāt*) as 'walking on the air', although they can walk on the surface of the water.¹⁰ Here the Moslem excels them, for he can, in succession to Muḥammad, 'walk on the air.' For on his nocturnal journey (*laylat al-qadr*) as he was carried heavenward Muḥammad said about 'Īsa: 'If he had had more faith he would have walked on the air'. But there is no doubt that 'Īsa has infinitely more faith than we have. He was one of the most strongly 'determined' apostles. However, the fact that we may walk on the air does not signify that we have more faith than he did, for each one has a station

⁷ Koran 42:38.

⁸ Koran 6:93.

⁹ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, pp. 294-5.

¹⁰ See John 6:19.

and our station is far inferior to any one of the prophets. Have you not seen how ordinary slaves accompanying their princely masters may enter the audience chamber of the court while they carry the shoes of their chiefs? On the other hand some veritable princes are asked to wait outside the imperial presence. This would not mean that the slaves entering the court are superior to the princes who are not so honored. Add to this that the Prophet walked on the air carried on the mysterious creature—al-Burāq—¹¹ a fact that throws light on the supreme station of Muḥammad.”¹²

Their lofty Sufi affinities.

“The Pole (*al-Quṭb*)¹³ is one standing firmly in belief,
 The ‘Īsawī’¹⁴ is he whose ambition reveals him;
 To the ‘Īsawī shall one day be raised
 The banners of prophets’ testimony.
 He is the one from whom all perfume emanates,
 Musk-like, its smell inspiring the sacred word.
 Life is his so he endows with it whomever he wishes;
 He gives to men life that they shall not taste death.
 If only you see him when his wonders are wrought
 And unfolded, in the world, to prove his wisdom!
 If men ask him: ‘Are you really God as you have said?’
 Knowing that God is his Teacher, he shall reply:
 ‘Let bygones be bygones as to what has been conjectured,
 And forgive; look not at the errors of one whose grief was caused
 by errors.’
 May the Lord of men bless him, what a great man he was!
 Who gave and in giving reflected glory upon the One who gave
 him first.”¹⁵

Their mystic outlook.

“Know, may God confirm you through the holy spirit (*rūḥ al-quḍus*) that the ‘Īsawī pole is one who has united in himself the two legacies—the spiritual legacy resulting in gain and inward change (*infi‘āl*), and the Islamic legacy

¹¹ A winged horse with a woman’s face and a peacock’s tail; on this miraculous trip it supposedly stopped in Jerusalem which thus became Islam’s third holiest city. “Al-Burāq” is the Arabic name for the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. Consult Hitti, p. 114.

¹² *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 294.

¹³ “Pivot of the universe”—a title applied to high ranking Sufis—Hitti, p. 435.

¹⁴ A follower of ‘Īsa.

¹⁵ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 294.

of the 'Īsawi form of discernment. We shall now proceed to mention some of the secrets (*asrār*) of the 'Īsawi poles." ¹⁶

"Among their characteristic secrets we will first note that if they wish to bestow on one a certain feeling (*ḥāl*), over which they happen to have power, in view of the preparedness of the person to receive such a feeling as shown either by his revelation (*kashf*) or by divine information (*al-ta'rif al-ilāhi*), they touch the person, embrace or kiss him. They might also give him a garment into which they would lade out whatever they wish to give him. Then they ask him to gather his garment unto himself or to don it, in accordance with the feeling which they desire to bestow on him. And no matter which of these courses they follow, the designated 'feeling' shall flow into the person under their influence immediately. Indeed I have seen this very behaviour in the performance of one of my teachers (*shaykh*), who upon seeing some commoner would tell me: 'Behold! This man is prepared.' And forthwith he would approach the stranger and by touching him on his breast would instil in him a new feeling that would drive the man out of his customary manner and lead him to communion with the Lord." ¹⁷

"Also among their secrets is that they speak about rhetoric and are conversant in the superb wonder of the Koran (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān* ¹⁸), although they never received instruction in Arabic or learned it in the usual way of studying the classical works. Yet they acquired this appreciation through divine sources known only to them, for they express that which dwells inwardly and reaches them through mystical channels bringing realities in its wake, while they are unschooled. Nor are they Arabs."

"Their secrets also include knowledge of the two forms of creation (*nash'ah*), known to this life—the physical natural creation and the spiritual creation. They delve into the depths of the origin of each form of creation, and then

¹⁶ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 295.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 295-6.

¹⁸ See Hitti, p. 129.

observe the difference between the emergence of life and the re-assembling of spirits in the hereafter.”¹⁹

“No one among them who has reached the fulness of this station is short of some six hundred divine powers that he inherits from his forbears, through his father. With these manifold faculties he may do as they impel him; if he desires he may secrete them; otherwise he may proclaim their power to the world. But secreting is more commendable. For servanthip (*al-'ubūdiyyah*) acquires all the faculties that it may employ in the fulfilment of the commandments of the Lord, to the end that it may assert the truth of its servanthip. All powers that come to the pole, transcending the realms of service, are not really required by men. For the men of perfection do not compete with Him, the Owner of all Might and Power. God does not ask of them that they seek the help of his Power except in order to serve and worship Him, not in order that they may appear like unto 'ruling monarchs', as have urged upon us a faction of the People of the Book who have thought of 'Īsa as a Lord and insisted that Muḥammad expects us to worship him as they worship 'Īsa, as the Lord. Thus did Allah cause to be revealed the Koranic verse: Say, 'O ye people of the Book, come to a word laid down plainly between us and you, that we will not serve other than God, nor associate aught with Him, nor take each other for lords rather than God.' (Koran 3:57)”²⁰

Islam's attitude toward Christianity: Prophetic teaching.

“Let us, furthermore, remember that the Prophet forbade the committing to the sword of Christian monks,²¹ who withdraw from human society and seek union with the Lord. He taught us to let them alone in the pursuit of the object of their solitude. In this he initiated a special provision in their behalf, and did not command us to preach to them, for he knew that they were clear as to the Lord. The Prophet commanded us to preach Allah. But he told

¹⁹ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 297.

²⁰ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 298.

²¹ On the attitude of the Prophet towards Christianity, however, see Richard Bell, "The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment," London, 1926, pp. 134-61.

us that those who witness the Messenger should communicate their knowledge of him to those not witnessing. Had he not known that God shall teach the Christians, as He had taught al-Khiḍr and others, he would have asked us to minister to their need. Indeed, Muḥammad voiced the truth when he declared himself: 'A Messenger to all men', which epithet was corroborated by the very word of Allah concerning him. Thus did the Message spread throughout the world. The spirit of our interpretation of the Message is: Whosoever shall have lived after Muḥammad and heard his Message shall only be required by God to follow the precepts of Allah as taught by Muḥammad. Knowing full well that to all men who did not see the Prophet face to face, to them shall apply the Moslem attitude taken towards the 'trustee of 'Īsa', provided they shall be in a category that is like his or parallel to it."²²

Protection bestowed on Peoples of the Book.

"If a particular follower of 'Īsa be one of those who pay the tribute (*al-jizyah*) then again we would have a case where we would say that the Islamic law has made provision for people of other inspired religions. Here lies a fine point with respect to the Message of Muḥammad, implying that with his appearance all other sacred laws received special treatment. Among the special legislations taken by Muḥammad towards the Christians is that of permitting them to pursue their own life under their sacred system, provided they do not cease to pay tribute, since they are among the Peoples of the Book (*ahl al-Kitāb*). But the distinctive features of true Christians is that they have freed 'unification' from the shackles of images, which dominate the nominal Christian world. Also, they have cast away all the pictures which were to be seen in churches. When and if they achieve this they become followers of Muḥammad's sacred law. Yet in so far as these true Christians have a spiritual mystical faith that is derived from 'Īsa, they remain different. The true Jews are also

²² *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 293.

followers of Moses. Both groups are, however, under the spell of Muḥammad's light (*mishkāh*, lit., niche)."²³

Islam the last word on sacred law: Subservience of other systems.

"Know that since the sacred law (*shar'*) of Muḥammad incorporates all the preceding codes, and since none of these codes are effective unless confirmed by the law of Muḥammad, and since by being confirmed these laws gain recognition from all Moslems who would then feel that they may benefit spiritually from the systems confirmed by Muḥammad, it follows that the systems of the world as they stand, including the realms of men and *jinn*, are all Muḥammadan²⁴ for no divine legislation obtains in the world but this our Muḥammadan legislation. Thus it is inevitable for laborers, in the spiritual field, to be drawn unto whatever revelations are felt by their hearts and on their path, through the medium of the light shed by the prophets of old—all of which is comprehended by our law. If this be true about any one, he shall become the follower of that particular system of sacred law. Therefore, a follower of 'Īsa or Moses or Abraham as the case might be."²⁵

"This identification helps to show the variety of gnostic knowledge possessed by the worshiper; it shall help determine the stations arrived at by him. To be sure, in all these he shall not cease to be included in the sacred fellowship of Muḥammadan law. Yet a categorical identification shall define his precise allegiance. All in all, his life shall show that he owes allegiance to Muḥammad, to the same extent that would have been owed by Moses or any other prophet, had they lived in Islamic times."²⁶

An estimate of the prophets of old.

"The non-Islamic sacred laws all preceded the law of Muḥammad, thus a gnostic who is allured by them falls

²³ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 293.

²⁴ From Alfred Guillaume, "The Traditions of Islam," Oxford, 1924, p. 135, we quote: "The most prejudiced among his followers could hardly trace in the authentic record of Muḥammad's life the lineaments of the Prince of Peace. . . . Weary of hearing of the acts of love and mercy, of supernatural power and forgiveness of 'Īsa ibn-Maryam, they have made a Muḥammad after his likeness."

²⁵ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, 290.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

heir (*wārith*) to them. Indeed, the fact that the prophets of old left us sacred sources of vision, accepted by Moslem law, is the only way in which they are above us in rank. But for this great fact we would be the equals of Ilyās,²⁷ al-Khiḍr²⁸ and 'Īsa. Even these prophets, should they come down to earth, will find themselves co-workers with us, for there is no heavenly dispensation after that of Muḥammad."

"Nevertheless, we must clearly state that none of these seekers of other prophets can be considered Muḥammadan in a strict sense, except under two conditions: First, if the spiritual seeker be one of especial affinity for the inheritance of some science, such as the previous dispensations did not envisage. The like may be considered Muḥammadan. Second, if a man shall have encompassed all stations, then abandoned them in favour of a new station, like abu-Yazīd²⁹ and his group, he also shall be a Muḥammadan. All other seekers of the truth at the feet of foregone prophets, shall be identified with the prophet they seek. In this spirit has the tradition come down: 'The religious scholars (*al-'ulama*) are the heirs of the prophets.' Not of one prophet but of all. This statement certainly is addressed to the 'religious scholars' of this Moslem nation. It was related that the Prophet once said: 'The religious scholars of this nation are the equals of the prophets of other nations.' Another version has it: ' . . . are like the prophets of Israel.'"³⁰

The story of a good Christian revered by Islam.

"In our own times there live followers of 'Īsa and of Yūnus,³¹ who have ceased from the ways of the world. As for the followers of 'Īsa, a story has reached us to the

²⁷ The biblical prophet Elias or Elijah is twice mentioned in the Koran; like al-Khiḍr he is often identified with St. George, Jurjis.

²⁸ The name of a popular Moslem figure, who plays a prominent part in legend, primarily associated with the Koranic story in 18:59-81, which may be traced back to three sources: the Gilgamesh epic, the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben-Levi.

²⁹ A great Moslem mystic, better known as Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī, d. A.H. 261/A.D. 875; a leading and early exponent of the pantheistic, poetical and antimonian ideas which lived long after him; see extracts from his works in Joseph Schacht, *Der Islam*, Tübingen, 1931, pp. 95-7.

³⁰ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 290.

³¹ i.e., Jonah.

effect that 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb³² wrote to his general Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqāṣ, while the latter was at al-Qādisiyyah,³³ asking him to send Naḍlah ibn-Mu'āwiyah al-Anṣārī to Ḥulwān in al-'Irāq and to occupy its suburbs. At sunset, one day during this campaign, when Naḍlah was encamped at the foot of a mountain, he called the people to prayer saying: 'Allah is great! Allah is great!' When a voice from the mountain replied: 'Verily, you have called great Him that is truly great'. Then turning to Naḍlah this stranger went on: 'This is the God preached to us by 'Īsa the son of Mary . . . well have done those who have responded to the call of Muḥammad'."

"When the unknown person had uttered these words they asked him who he was, and he answered, as the mountain opened and revealed his round face and grey hair and beard, that he was Ziryāb ibn-Bartamla [Bartholomew?], the trustee (*waṣī*) of 'Īsa the son of Mary—the Good man (*al-'Abd al-Ṣāliḥ*). Then he added: ' 'Īsa placed me in this mountain and granted me longevity of years, till the time of his advent, when he will "kill the swine and break the cross" and wash his hands from all that nominal Christians³⁴ have ascribed to him.' Then he asked: 'What happened to the Prophet of Allah?' And when we told him that Muḥammad was gone, he wept bitterly till his beard became drenched in tears. Next he asked: 'Who succeeded Muḥammad?' And he said: 'Abu-Bakr'.³⁵ He inquired: 'And what happened to him?' We said that abu-Bakr died and was succeeded by 'Umar. Now he spoke thus: 'Since I have failed to behold Muḥammad, I wish that when you see 'Umar, you would give him my salutations. Ask him, furthermore, to be kind. For when in the nation of Muḥammad, men shall seek help from men and women from women, then woe unto men! When men shall call themselves by other than their true names,

³² Second Orthodox caliph (634-44).

³³ Not far from al-Ḥīrah; the site of a decisive battle in the Moslem conquest of 'Irāq, the last of May or first of June 637; consult Hitti, pp. 155, 156, 349.

³⁴ *Al-Naṣāra*, more especially the adherents of oriental churches living under Moslem rule, differentiated from *al-Rūm*, Greek Christians, and *al-Ifranj*, Western Christians; the word is derived from Syriac *Naṣrāya*; Horovitz, *Koran Untersuchungen*, p. 144 seq.; the Arabic singular is *Naṣrānī*.

³⁵ First Orthodox caliph (632-34).

and they shall seek other than their patrons; when the great shall show no mercy to the poor, and when the low shall not honor the high; when charity shall die, and when justice shall not be meted against evil-doers; when the learned shall seek knowledge as a means to self-enrichment, and draught shall descend in place of babies; when pulpits shall be raised high and the Koran shall be sumptuously ornamented, and mosques profusely decorated; when bribery shall be rife and mansions shall scrape the skies, and men shall pursue their own lusts and sell their religion for the world as a price and find the road easy to bloodshed and iniquity; when blood kinship shall vanish and when perjury and extortion of heavy interest on wealth shall rule supreme; and when men shall boast of the undue power they wield over others; and when men shall find their mirth and happiness in song, when a man shall be ousted from his home by another man more virile; when women shall take to riding on saddled mounts—when these things shall come to pass, then know that the end is at hand.’ At these words the mysterious personage disappeared.”

“And Naḍlah wrote to Sa’d who transmitted the report to ‘Umar who in turn made this reply: ‘Go you and your men, including the Emigrants (*al-Muhājirūn*) and the Supporters (*al-Anṣār*), till you find this “Man of the Mountain”, and once you discover him give him my salutations, for the Messenger of Allah, may God bless and keep him, said that some of the “trustees of ‘Īsa the son of Mary” dwell in this region of al-‘Irāq’.”

“Heading four thousand strong Sa’d dashed to the mountain accompanied by the Emigrants and the Supporters, until he reached the spot. For forty days they tried in vain to find the ‘good man’.”³⁶

“Now the Moslem commentators on Tradition insist that the words of this follower of ‘Īsa, against the decoration of mosques and the ornamentation of the Koran, were

³⁶ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, pp. 291-2.

not spoken in the spirit of censure. Rather do these words imply that the hour is nigh and the time is come. Similar are these words in their import to the symbolism of the Advent of 'Īsa, the appearance of al-Mahdi and the rise of the sun in the west. All such phenomena are indications, not couched in reproof and censure, but consisting in a warning calling forth fear and watching; hence they make highly desirable admonition."

"This 'trustee of 'Īsa', ibn-Bartamla, worshiped in the seclusion of the mountain fastnesses, away from men. But when the Messenger of Allah came, he did not continue to follow the trends of nominal Christians. Nay, for the law of Muḥammad abrogates all that goes before it. Had not the Prophet said: 'If Moses were alive, he would follow me, undoubtedly.' Surely, if 'Īsa the son of Mary should come now, he would not ask us to have faith in aught but our own Practice (*al-Sunnah*). He would not judge us except under our law. This to us is the path of unmistakable discernment (*dharwq muḥaqqaq*)."

"We too have adopted many of the precepts of Muḥammad, which basically are gifts of Allah transmitted through the authorities of other faith (*'ulamā' al-rusūm*). In this way, we also, are able to emend the Prophetic traditions and may reject some of them if we find them weak and imperfect."

"The way of this 'trustee', who was a singular man in that he reached out toward the essence of reality, is the selfsame way as that of al-Khiḍr, the companion of Moses who indeed gave credence to our law. 'Even though the paths leading to true knowledge may differ, that difference does not vitiate the existence of knowledge'. The Messenger of Allah said about him who is given rulership, without being examined, on his qualifications: 'Verily God shall help him in that rulership', and added: 'To him shall God send an angel who will direct him aright', that is, will give him immunity lest he fall in error. Al-Khiḍr said: 'I performed naught at my own will'. And again we quote the

Prophet: 'If there be any radicals (*muḥdathūn*) in my nation, then among these is 'Umar.'"³⁷

"Now this monk is one of the followers of 'Īsa who fell heir to Jesus, peace on him, until the coming of Muḥammad, Allah bless and keep him. When Muḥammad appeared among men, this monk rallied to the Moslem cause and worshiped God accordingly. God, furthermore, taught the monk to seek His mercy with which he imbued him after having also revealed to him the greatness of 'Īsa, through the Message of Muḥammad. Thus under the two orders he continued to be an 'Īsawi. Do you not perceive that this monk told about the coming of 'Īsa and that 'Īsa shall perform the act of disposing of the swine and of shattering the cross? For 'Īsa would not tolerate the eating of swine. Thus did the monk retain his 'Īsawīyah³⁸ under the two laws. He shall therefore be doubly rewarded—once for his fidelity to his master and once for his fidelity to Muḥammad."

"Accordingly, when the companions saw this monk speaking to Naḍlah, they did not question him as to his status in Islam and as to the tenets of his faith, nor as to the laws that he accepted, for the Prophet did not teach them to question the like of him. He taught, on the other hand, that Allah does not tolerate polytheism, that Allah has His own servants whom he instructs in the pathways of Truth, and that to these He communicates the message as revealed to Muḥammad, out of His abundance and mercy, 'for God's grace was mighty on thee'. (Koran 4:113)."³⁹

Double reward for true followers of Isa.

"The early followers of 'Īsa⁴⁰ are the disciples⁴¹ the

³⁷ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, pp. 292-3.

³⁸ i.e., allegiance to Jesus.

³⁹ *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 293.

⁴⁰ Al-'Īsawi, pl. 'Īsawīyūn, today applied to all Christians. See, however, reference to a particular sect called al-'Īsawīyah, al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milāl wal-Nihāl*, ed. W. Cureton, London, 1846, p. 168; these were supposedly named after abu-'Īsa Ishāq ibn-Ya-qūb al-Isfahānī, known as 'Ībid Ḥūhim, i.e., "servant of God," who lived in the days of al-Manṣūr (A.D. 754-775) but is said to have started his propaganda in the time of Marwān II (A.D. 744-750), the last Umayyad caliph, and was heeded by multitudes of Jews. This so-called 'Īsa claimed to be the expected disciple of the Christ.

⁴¹ Al-Hawāriyūn, disciples of Jesus, occurs in the Koran and seems to be derived from an Ethiopic root, meaning "to send," though al-Bayḍāwī, *Anṣār al-Tanzīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer, Leipzig, 1846, vol. 1, p. 157, says it means "white ones"; consult T. P. Hughes, "A Dictionary of Islam," London, 1895, p. 235.

true Christians. Their followers, who are living today, are conversant in the law of Muḥammad, believing in it and following it. Should they accept such sacred precepts as 'Īsa taught, they then become heirs of Christian principles—principles not covered by a veil. Thus do they draw a legacy from 'Īsa, in the same way that one person inherits another, but not in the sense of a disciple inheriting a Master (*matbū'*). The two cases are entirely different. The first case of inheritance was legalized by Muḥammad when he spoke of certain men who enjoy two rewards, two legacies, two conquests (*fathān*) and two discernments (*dhawqān*), in all of which they will be associated with two prophets. Such are the second generation of the followers of 'Īsa. Their principles shall include detached unification (*tawḥīd al-tajrīd*), traced after their Pattern, for the birth of 'Īsa, blessings on him, was not a case of human reproduction, rather was it an incarnation of the spirit in human form. This is the reason why the followers of 'Īsa, in contradistinction to all other peoples, believe in images. They make images and hang them in their churches; and as they worship they face these images. All this is consequent upon the rise of their prophet and his incarnation, which even after his death became a reality among his followers and an object of daily worship.”⁴²

“But the advent of Muḥammad brought about the abandonment of images, although the law of Muḥammad did incorporate and assimilate the substance of the reality of 'Īsa. The Prophet taught us to worship Allah as though we saw Him face to face. Thus he brought God into the mind which, after all, is the essence of the use of images. Yet he forbade the use of physical portrayal and denied the Moslem nation the right of representing the Almighty in physical form. It may further be said that this new teaching—worship Allah as though you saw Him face to face—brought to us by Muḥammad, did not come from on high without a medium. Verily Allah said it to Gabriel and Gabriel was the selfsame angel who had appeared to Mary

⁴² *Futūḥāt*, vol. i, p. 290.

in physical form, at the time of the immaculate conception. This is a reminder to us that we may think of the two events together."⁴³

Who is the true follower of 'Isa?

"Whoever revives his reality

And cures men from the disease of veils:

He indeed is a follower of 'Isa,

Undoubted, unscorned by us.

This quality endows him with an august rank:

And by holy traits is he ever known

In the records of authentic revelation.

No one shall attain to this rank,

Unless he be designated to succeed 'Isa.

Thus does his seed grow among men—Arabs and non-Arabs

By his teaching are their souls stirred,

And by it shall their ordeals cease."⁴⁴

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⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁴⁴ *Facsimile*, vol. 1, p. 239.

THE STORY OF THE KA'BA

The old books of the *Sira* (Chronicles of the life of the Prophet Mohammed) give several fantastic though sometimes very charming legends about the Ka'ba (the holy house honored by Moslems), and its history. They date its foundation from the beginning of Creation. Their principal argument in this is that Islam was announced when the world began to exist and was proclaimed by Adam himself. The first of these legends maintains that the Ka'ba was founded in heaven, before the earth came into being. When Adam was created, and, at the instigation of Satan, had disobeyed the Almighty, he was banished from heaven, which till then had been his abode, and he was brought down to earth. Adam pleaded with God that he would no longer be able to walk around his throne with the angels and praise his name. Then the Almighty ordered that the Ka'ba be sent down to earth, in order that it might become his terrestrial throne around which mortals should worship him.

Adam, it is said, was let down on the top of the highest mountains in India, and he came walking from there to Arabia, where the Ka'ba had descended, at the center of the earth. He reached the Ka'ba in a few days' time, traversing a town at every pace, and after making his pilgrimage returned again to India. This celestial Ka'ba was a big hollow crimson ruby, with two doors: one of green emerald, facing the East, and the other of pure gold, decked with all sorts of precious stones, facing the West. Three golden candlesticks lighted it with the light of heaven. Adam paid fifty visits to the Ka'ba, and brought with him the Black Stone, now to be seen there, and originally one of the brightest diamonds of heaven; but

Adam had kept wiping his tears with it for being expelled from the presence of God, until it became absolutely black. When the Flood came, God lifted the Ka'ba to heaven, as everything that is heavenly must return to heaven. Noah's ark floated round its seat three times, and Noah gave orders to all his progeny in the ark that no man should approach a woman while in that sacred place. His son, Ham, disobeyed this order, and, for this reason, God blackened the faces of all his progeny, who later became the inhabitants of the Sudan.

The less legendary accounts of the Ka'ba generally attribute its first building to Abraham, father of Isaac. The Arabs like to attribute their descent to Ishmael, son of Abraham and of Hagar. Their story about it is that when Sarah became jealous of her slave Hagar, on account of the child which the latter bore to Abraham, he led Hagar and her son to the land of Arabia and came with them to a place where the caravans going between North (Syria) and South (Yemen) pitched their tents. That place was the future Mecca, which was destined to become the important trade center of Arabia and the seat of Islam.

Here again the story goes that when Abraham came to that place, he heard the voice of God calling on him and ordering him to build him a house. Abraham asked where he could do that, and a strong wind came and led him to the place of the Ka'ba. Then the angel Gabriel came down and beat the earth with his wings, until he uncovered a stone foundation which went down as far as the seventh earth. Abraham built on that foundation, and then thought of marking a point in the building from which his son should begin to walk round it in his prayer. At that moment Gabriel again came and brought to him the Black Stone of Adam, and Abraham built his structure upon it. Abraham's Ka'ba, it is said, was thirty cubits long, and nine high, and had no roof; and it was built from the stones of the five mountains of Mecca. Then Abraham taught his son Ishmael how to worship God and made him repeat

his own prayer: "Labbaika, labbaika, Thou hast no partner," etc. Then he left the boy and his mother and returned to Sarah in Palestine.

Hagar, however, was in great anxiety about water, on account of the dryness of the place. When their small supply was spent, she went in search of a water source. After going up and down the place for seven times—between *Safa* and *Marwa*, where pilgrims nowadays race up and down the same number of times—she returned, despairing, only to find that Ishmael had dug the earth with his heel, and water had gushed out. That was the well of Zamzam, which is now the chief water-fount of Mecca.

Ishmael grew up and took a wife from amongst the daughters of the Amalekites, and Abraham returned another time to Arabia to visit him. Not finding him at home, he enquired of his wife where he was and whether she could give him hospitality by offering him any food or drink. The wife replied that Ishmael had gone to find their daily food, and that she had nothing with which to entertain him. Then Abraham told her to tell her husband, when he returned, that his father gave him his greetings and required him to straighten the threshold of his house. Ishmael understood the meaning of his father's words and immediately divorced his wife. He espoused another woman of the Amalekites, so that when Abraham came a third time to visit his son he was well received by his son's new wife, and told her to tell her husband that now the threshold of his house was straight.

Ishmael begot twelve sons who became the fathers of the Arabs. The Prophet Mohammed is thus traced back to him. The Amalekites were idol worshippers and consequently attempted to destroy the Ka'ba; but a story goes that God sent against them a plague of ants which forced them to quit that place. Ishmael's sons, however, did not long follow their father's religion, and we see in Herodotus that, as he passed through Arabia, he saw idols installed in the Ka'ba, one of which was *Al-Leti*.

The Arab story about these idols is that one of Ishmael's descendants was going out to Syria, and passed by the land of Moab; there he saw the people worshipping a stone god. He enquired what that was, and the people told him that when they asked it to give them rain, it gave them rain, and when they asked it to make them victorious, it gave them victory. The Arab then requested them to give him one of these idols, and they gave him the god *Hubal* and he carried it home and installed it in the Ka'ba and the Arabs began to adore it.

Thereafter, stone worship evolved in several forms. It took the shape of adoration of beautiful stones, like the Black Stone, which was probably a remnant of a volcanic ejection or of a shattered meteorite, and, on that score, was looked upon as having fallen from heaven. The Arabs, then, kept such stones in their houses, and took them with them on their travels, to secure prosperity, addressed their prayers to them, and rubbed their fingers on them whenever they went out or returned home. Stones were made into idols and not only every tribe had its own public idol, but every household had a small idol of its own, like the Roman Penates. They also shaped out for themselves small Ka'bas, around which they walked at home and at which they killed their offerings. Public idols, also, were cut in special kinds of stone. Thus it is said of *Hubal* that it was made of black agate, and had the shape of a man. One of its arms having been broken, it was replaced by an arm of gold. Two other gods, *Isaf* and *Nā'ila* stood in the Ka'ba. A story is told about them that they were originally a man and a woman who had attempted to have sexual intercourse together at the Ka'ba and were immediately converted into stone; since then, men regarded them as gods and slaughtered offerings at their feet.

The Arabs, however, still retained many of the forms of worship of the Jews; namely, the glorification of the house of worship, the habit of walking round it in prayer, the pilgrimage to it, the ascension on Mount Arafat to call on God, etc. It is even said that they still preserved

the old prayer of Abraham which they modified for their own use, thus: "Labbaika, Labbaika; Thou hast no partner but one, who is thine and thou possessest him but he doth not possess thee."

However, the respect for the idols was not quite absolute, and frequently the men revolted against them, whenever they were disappointed in some object. Thus, it is related that a man one day brought his camels to *Hubal* for benediction; but the camels, seeing it, and beholding the blood poured at its feet, were dismayed and plunged in every direction; their owner, seeing this, took a stone and hurled it at the god, cursing him for having thus scattered his beasts.

Meanwhile, the town of Mecca had grown into a large trade center, and caravans came to it, not only for barter but also in pilgrimage to its holy temple. Gifts were also brought to its god *Hubal*, which were kept in a well, situated behind its back and known as the chest of the Ka'ba.

Prosperity brought with it laxity of manners, and it is said that the Arabs grew so dissolute that they did not even observe that the well of Zamzam was running dry. Besides, the Roman conquest of the East had diverted much of the trade going through Arabia to the Red Sea. Feuds began to arise between the Arab tribes, and the tribe of Ludad, who held the functions of keeping the well and the Ka'ba, began to apprehend aggression. So the head of that tribe collected all the gifts at the chest of the Ka'ba, and melting all the gold into two gazelles, buried them, with the swords and shields that were there, in the bottom of the dried-up well and filled it up. He then departed with his household to Syria, but there he died. He left only one son, Kosaī, who was to become the great-grandfather of the Prophet. When Kosaī came to manhood, he returned to Mecca, but the Ka'ba was already in other hands and no one knew the place where the old well or the treasure stood. However, Kosaī had already made himself a good name and had grown wealthy by conducting trade with Syria. This fact influenced the head

of the family holding the Ka'ba to marry his daughter. When Kosaī's father-in-law died, the guardianship of the Ka'ba came to his daughter, who gave over that charge to one of her own family. The latter, however, was a drunkard and a dissolute man, and finding himself one day short of wine, he sold his charge to Kosaī for drink. Kosaī was now master of the Ka'ba and organized its various functions. They consisted in the keeping of the keys, the entertainment of pilgrims, the presiding over the meetings of the tribes, the command of the army, and the hoisting of the flag to call men to fight. Among the obligations which these charges imposed on him was the task of giving hospitality gratuitously to pilgrims, and supplying them with food, drink, and also wine of dates. For the Arabs realized that one of the reasons which brought trade to Mecca was the respect which all the tribes of Arabia paid to the Ka'ba and its gods. For this purpose, four months of the year were kept holy, for the sake of pilgrimage, and anyone who found himself in Mecca was safe against his enemies. No war could be waged by the Meccans during these months and their visitors were inviolable. Kosaī now imposed a levy on all the tribes of Mecca in order to meet the expenses of this entertainment. As there was no longer any water course at Mecca, water was collected from wells situated outside the town and stored in cisterns around the Ka'ba.

When Kosaī grew old, the charges of his office were divided between his sons. The entertainment of pilgrims devolved later upon Abdul Muttalib, the grandfather of the Prophet. Abdul Muttalib had only one son, and consequently experienced great difficulty in procuring water for the pilgrims, being deprived of the help which a numerous offspring would have given. The Arabs had, then, no limit to the number of wives which a man could have; in fact, their relations with women were absolutely free, until the Prophet made his law for them.

Abdul Muttalib, it is said, saw in a vision the old place of Zamzam and he set to digging it. Before reaching water,

he hit upon the old treasure of the Ka'ba, and as a contest began to arise between him and the tribes about it, he decided to take the oracle of the gods in the customary way, by flinging arrows in the Ka'ba's chest. The Arabs used arrows for divination, each arrow bearing a special significance. There was an arrow for travel, another for war, a third for water, a fourth for marriage, and so on. There were also arrows for deciding between a tribe and another upon a given object, and others for taking counsel about any proposed thing. Thus, if a man or tribe wanted to know whether to undertake a certain business or not, three arrows were taken, on one of which were inscribed the words: "My God ordered me;" on the second, "My God forbade me;" and the third was blank. The arrows were flung by their keeper at the cave under the god *Hubal*, and whichever one rebounded outside, it was considered to convey the desired oracle. The flinging operation was often repeated several times, when the result was doubtful, until a satisfactory reply was obtained.

Abdul Muttalib, therefore, caused the arrows to be flung about his treasure, and the oracle came out giving the arms and shields to the Ka'ba, and the gold to him. He caused the gold to be beaten in sheets and decorated with it the doors of the Ka'ba and again set to digging until he came to water. That was the well of Zamzam which had hitherto been Mecca's main water source. The discovery of this well greatly enhanced the value of the town as a trade center; and the prosperity which it gradually recovered, particularly after the decline of the Roman Empire, provoked the jealousy of other rival towns. Some of these had now begun to build temples, like the Ka'ba, in order to compete with Mecca, while, on the other hand, several campaigns were led against it in order to demolish its temple. The Ghassanites built a sumptuous temple at Hira, and Abraha, the Abyssinian king of Yemen, built a magnificent church in the finest decorative style. However, no pilgrims resorted to these new temples, and the afflux of trade still continued to come to Mecca.

Then king Abraha decided to lead a great army to Arabia with the object of pulling down the Ka'ba. He came with elephants. That was probably the first time in which elephants were led to Arabia, and that year was, consequently called "the year of the elephant". When he approached Mecca, he sent to Abdul Muttalib asking him to deliver the Ka'ba to him or else to see their town sacked. But Abdul Muttalib replied that the temple did not belong to him and that it had its gods to defend it. No sooner did he attempt to attack the town than a big flock of small birds was seen flying over the place, each holding a small stone between its claws. As the birds came above the army, they let drop their stones over men and beasts, slaying the men, and causing the elephants to plunge madly, and working great havoc to the army. It seems that an epidemic of smallpox had prevailed among Abraha's men, causing the death of Abraha himself and routing his soldiers. Thus that attempt to destroy the Ka'ba was frustrated.

Years wore on, and the Prophet was born, but did not first announce his divine message. The Meccans then proposed to rebuild the Ka'ba, as a torrential rain had undermined its foundations and swept away the sandbank raised for its protection. It happened at that time that a ship had been wrecked at the Red Sea, and its wreckage had been swept near the shores of Djedda, not very far from Mecca. That ship was laden with wood, marble, and iron which, it is said, were parts of a church in Abyssinia which was burnt by the Persians. These remains were being sent to Caesar at Rome. The Meccans, therefore, made up their minds to make use of these materials for the reconstruction of the Ka'ba. There was also in Mecca a Roman carpenter who, it is said, was skilled in the building of churches, and the Meccans desired to charge him with this work.

However, they greatly feared to pull down the Ka'ba, lest the gods be angered. Moreover, there was in the chest of the Ka'ba an enormous snake which daily came out and stretched itself on the walls and made a fearful hissing.

The tradition concerning the snake was, that many years ago a man came to the chest of the Ka'ba and tried to steal some of its contents, but the gods dropped on him a big stone, which killed him on the spot. They then sent that snake to guard their treasure, which it had done for five hundred years. The Meccans deliberated among themselves as to what they could do, and finally agreed to distribute the work of pulling down and rebuilding among all the tribes, each tribe to undertake a certain part or corner of the building, so that, if any calamity were to befall, it would not strike a single one of the tribes. One morning the snake came out for its daily peregrination, when a big eagle came down to the wall of the Ka'ba, caught it in its beak and flew away with it. The Meccans saw in this a favorable sign and began to collect stones from the mountains for their object. Mohammed, too, engaged in that work with them, and one of his companions advised him to turn the edge of his garment over his head so as to shelter himself from the heat of the sun, as the others did. As soon as he did so, however, a voice from heaven resounded in his ears, saying: "Cover thy nakedness." He immediately let down his garment.

When the preparations for building were made, a man from one of the tribes proposed that he would start pulling down part of the building alone and the others should then wait till the next day to see if any evil befell him. He did so, and as he stood on the top of the building he cried to the gods: "We mean well by this deed." Next morning the tribes saw that nothing had happened to him, so they decided to proceed together with the work. However, as some of them tried to pull out stones, the stones leapt back from their hands and returned to their places. Thereupon the tribes decided not to employ on this work any one who took money, or practised extortion, or used the dowry of a prostitute, or oppressed others. The building was demolished, and as the foundation was reached, a parchment was found in which the following words were written in Syriac: "I am your great god, who created this

house; I created it on the day I made the sky and the earth, and shaped the sun and the moon. And I surrounded it with seven chaste angels." The people then realized that that was the foundation on which Abraham had built the house. One of them tried to put his axe between two stones of that foundation; but the whole town of Mecca shook as with an earthquake and the men came out of their houses in great dismay.

When the building had reached the height at which the Black Stone ought to be placed, the tribes began to dispute with one another as to who of them should have the honor of lifting the Black Stone to its place. After a good deal of strife, they decided to take for arbiter the first man who should make his entrance through the door. At that moment Mohammed chanced to come in; he had acquired amongst them the name of "The Faithful". On hearing of their contest, he asked that a garment be spread for him on the ground. This being done, he rolled the Black Stone on it, then requested each one of the tribes to hold by an edge of the garment and to lift it up until the stone was lodged in its place. When the building was finished it was decorated with pictures of angels in the image of beautiful women, as well as of Abraham, Mary, and the other prophets. That was the first time the Ka'ba was rebuilt, two thousand seven hundred and seventy-five years after its first building by Abraham—so says the story.

A few years later, when Mohammed called the Arabs to Islam and entered Mecca as conqueror, he caused the idols on the Ka'ba to be destroyed. However, he still venerated the cult of the Ka'ba itself, as the temple of Abraham; he made pilgrimage to it in the ritual fashion and enjoined the same pilgrimage on all Moslems who had the means to perform it. However, he caused the pictures in it to be destroyed as reminiscent of idol worship, saying that angels were neither male nor female and that men's adoration must be addressed to God.

Since then the Ka'ba has been the sanctuary of Islam. Mohammed's successor, Abu Bakr, wishing to widen the

space around the Ka'ba, caused all the houses which surrounded it to be demolished. A mosque was then built, in the midst of which the Ka'ba now stands, and all sorts of architectural decorations have been introduced into it. However, the Ka'ba itself has not since been rebuilt, except once, after a conflagration. But several repairs were made on it, whenever the need for them arose. The chiefs of the Moslems have always resisted the offers to build the Ka'ba in better style, in order not to allow its sanctity to be tampered with by future generations.

The custom of sending coverings of fine cloth to the Ka'ba dates back several centuries. It is said that the first covering sent to it was about nine hundred years before the Prophet. The Prophet himself covered it with a rich cloth called *Kubaiti*, in allusion to the Copts of Egypt who wove it. It is said that one of the Mameluke Sultans of Egypt appropriated the rents of two agricultural villages for the manufacture of cloth for the Ka'ba. At the present time, the Egyptian government prepares yearly a "Holy Carpet" made of velvet and silk cloth skillfully worked all over with flowerets, and Koran verses, in gold and silver fibre of very beautiful design, for the purpose of covering the Ka'ba. This practice, which had been interrupted during the last ten years on account of political disagreement with Arabia, commenced again this year, and a rich covering in the same beautiful classical style has been sent in company with the Egyptian pilgrims, to Hedjaz for this pilgrimage. The legend goes about the covering of the Ka'ba, or the "*Kiswa*", that whenever one was sent by a profane people or from a profane land, the Ka'ba shook under it and threw it away.

Cairo, Egypt

GRANT ALEXANDER.

A NEW DAY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

"But the slow watches of the night
No less to God belong,
And for the everlasting right
The silent stars are strong.

"And lo! Already on the hills
The flags of dawn appear;
Gird up your loins, ye prophet souls!
Proclaim the day is near!"

These two verses, familiar to most readers of this periodical, gives us a picture of the Church of Christ in Northern Nigeria, spreading roughly over a period of forty years; generally speaking, the first stanza shows us the first thirty years, the second describes the last ten. Dr. W. R. S. Miller in his book "Reflections of a Pioneer", tells his readers of the difficulties encountered in those early days. But God was there during the dark watches of the night, and the lives of missionaries, of whom many of the names are forgotten to us, burned on in the darkness.

During these years, various forces were preparing the way for a better day. Apart from the few, isolated missionaries, the Pax Britannica has been the greatest unifying, indirect Christian force in the country. God has been working His purpose out, and now, in recent years, a better understanding has evolved between Moslem, pagan and Christian, government officials, commercial agent and missionary.

It is encouraging to glance at some of the movements which have brought about these changes. The Pax Britannica has ended tribal wars and the slave trade, so that all the various peoples of the country have been obliged to study the arts of peace.

There is the complete change of outlook: in former

days, the Moslems of the large towns and village trading centres looked to the north and east across the Sahara to the countries of the Mediterranean and the Nile Valley for fellowship, trade, and communication with the outside world; today they look to the south. On the West Coast, the ports are the gateways through which flow the forces of civilization from Western Europe, America and Japan, together with the flood tide of Christianity from the south which is invading the hinterland. Coupled with this is the change in communications. From being a country of bush paths leading to the caravan ports of Sokoto, Katsina, Kano and Bornu, it has come to own a network system of motor roads and railways connected with the navigable rivers, all leading southwards to the coast, and a man may journey in safety from one end of the country to the other, and tribes too, who in former days were occupied with private wars, now intermingle peaceably and busily in trade.

The social services, medical and educational, have now established themselves. Government cannot cope with the demand, and cooperation is the door of missionary opportunity. Missions have been invited by government to cooperate particularly in leper colonies and women's work—maternity and infant welfare. In education, the old type of Koran school is dying out rapidly. They are now government-controlled and obliged to teach a form of elementary school curriculum; the children (in some cases both boys and girls) learn to read their own language and use the Roman script; the *mallams* too, have had some sort of training in the art of running a school. Education is stirring up the youth of the country to look beyond their own village. To learn to read and write in one's own tongue is more interesting and more vital than wrestling with Arabic, which is a dead language to them. It is then but a short step to learn English. They hear it in the large markets and towns, it is the language of the railway, commerce and all government departments. If they know English well, the whole world lies before them. Here then, is an even greater opportunity: to capture the youth of

Northern Nigeria in their desire for a wider education and to make it their schoolmaster to bring them to Christ.

But perhaps the biggest change of all is in the religious temper of the country. From days when no Christian dared attempt to live there, and when the pagan tribes clung to their hill fastnesses to defy the enslaving power of Islam, it has changed into a country where Christian, Mohammedan and pagan jostle side by side in stores, markets and railway carriages. There are now several missionary societies at work in the country, and thousands of Christians to be found throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Generally speaking, there are three types of Christians in Northern Nigeria: the foreign native, the converted pagan, and the convert from Islam. The first are the most ubiquitous, numerous and obvious. They are to be found throughout the whole country in large settlements outside the old towns or forming the nuclei of new ones in bush trading stations; they are the "middle men" of the country, going between the European and the indigenous native whether he be pagan or Moslem; they are the clerks, the buyers, the post and railway officials, the mechanics, the Government hospital nurses, etc. Their religious practice might be Anglican, Non-conformist, Roman Catholic, or one of the "fancy religions", but whatever it may be, it is to be regretted that as a class they do not recommend Christianity to the Moslem. This is more their misfortune than their fault; being the second, third and fourth rate people from the south and the coast towns, even from the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, they have flocked into this expansive country of Northern Nigeria where anyone with a smattering of "education" was sure to find lucrative employment until the last few years; and having come primarily to make money, it must not be expected that they should be evangelizing the Moslem. On the contrary, one admires their initiative in the way they build their churches, even if they are crude and ugly; their schools, even if they happen to be "bear gardens"; and their demand and use

of our European hospitals. Their own pastors and teachers are so occupied with their own flocks, that as a rule they have no time to give to the real people of the country. The foreign native is of a hilarious temperament, voluble to the *nth* degree in the most incomprehensible form of English, eager to possess anything cheap and gaudy from Europe—from a tin gramophone to glaring socks and ties. It is not to be wondered at therefore, that the true Northerner, whether he be Moslem or pagan, who is quiet, dignified and reserved, stands courteously aloof from these intruders, with the mental reservation that if this is Christianity, it makes no appeal to them. Yet God, who moves in a mysterious way, has used these people in a special way—the Northerner has realized that to keep these people out of his country he must acquire a “European” education, be able to do all these things for himself and run his own country. So the Islamic sleep of the ages is passing and the awakening is the opportunity for the Christian educational missionary.

Christian work amongst pagans is largely in the south and east quarters of Northern Nigeria, and not a few missionary societies have large Christian communities won from paganism. Until recently, only the pagan areas were open to evangelization, but now we rejoice that after long years of patient prayer and friendship, the barriers are down and the Moslem areas are open to the missionary. For instance, take the story of the Hausa Church in Zaria, the first and foremost body of converts from Islam in all the Moslem states. During the first quarter of this century when the call from home was “Retrench”, the pioneers in Northern Nigeria ploughed the land and sowed the seed broadcast and bountifully; gradually a small community of Hausa and Filani Christians were gathered together, a school was formed, and medical work tried at intervals; and so the Hausa Church came into being. Then the next stage was reached. This Church was to be put on its mettle in a new community, to show the power of Christ in the community work of the Church; so Wusasa came

to be born outside Zaria city, and our Lord's threefold plan for bringing the Kingdom of God on earth—preaching, teaching, and healing—was embodied definitely in a Church, a School and a Hospital and it is our prayerful aim that all boys and girls brought up in the community of Christ's Church in Wusasa, should give the service of their lives, or part of them, to one of these three lines of approach to their Moslem brethren.

The first five years of the Wusasa experiment saw great developments for a Christian Church in the midst of Islam—the Church membership doubled itself; the School, from being one mixed school with a teacher's class attached, developed into a Junior School, a Girls' Middle School, a Boys' Middle School, and a Training Class for teachers and evangelists; the Medical work, started as a small dispensary and an in-patient ward containing four beds, grew into a fully equipped hospital with five large wards and over forty beds. From being one solitary mission station, the love and friendship of Christ won us four other stations in Moslem Emirates—Kano in Kano Province, Maska and Bakori in Katsina, Chafe in Sokoto, besides the privilege of doing Government leper and welfare work around Zaria City.

The following statistics taken from various recent Government and Mission reports will give some idea of the advance that has been made in the extension of Christ's Kingdom, and what remains to be done.—

I. *General Census Figures.*

Total population of Northern Nigeria	11,434,924
Of these, there are	
Hausa people	3,604,016
Fulani people	2,025,189
Therefore the Pagan and Foreign Native population stands at	5,805,719

II. *Evangelistic and Educational.*

There are at least 14 Missionary Societies with over 270 schools and training centres. It is important to remember

that every school means a church attached, and that also, at present, it is impossible to estimate the number of churches (i.e., organized congregations) which have no recognized schools attached but merely classes for religious instruction.

Training centres for teachers and Evangelists:—

Garkidda.	C. B. M.	Teachers.
Gindiri.	S. U. M.	Teacher-evangelists.
Kagoro.	S. I. M.	Teacher-evangelists.
Shendam.	R. C. M.	Teachers.
Toro.	Government.	Maintains 6 mission pupils.
Zaria.	C. M. S.	Teachers and Evangelists.

Mission Schools in Northern Nigeria:—

Mission	No. of schools	Av. Attend.	Staff		Middle Schools
			Afri- can	For- eign	
U. S. A. African Mission, Southern Baptist Con- vention	9	344.72	16	...	...
Church Missionary Society & Nigerian Pastorate ..	39	96 & 2,503	124	4	1
Church of the Brethren Mission	3	132 & 207	4	10	1
Dutch Reformed Church Mission S. A.	9	438.53	8	20	...
Ibo Union	7	115.4	9	...	...
Methodist Mission	26	355.6	35	...	...
Roman Catholic Mission	78	36 & 2,600	159	1	...
Sudan Interior Mission ..	29	178 & 626	26	37	...
Sudan United Mission ..	50	227 & 1,078	59	26	...
United Missionary Society	7	17 & 156.8	10	4	...
United Native African Church	5	194.5	10	...	...
Wesleyan Methodist Mis- sion	1	24	2	...	...
African Church	1	32	2	...	...
Qua Ibo Mission	1	57	3	...	...

Note: Where 2 sets of figures are shown under Av. Attend., the former refers to boarders.

From Education Reports, 1935: "22 Mission Schools and Jos and Kaduna Schools classified as Elementary, had classes working on Middle School Syllabus."

From Nigerian Handbook, 1933: "182 Mission Schools, mostly in Pagan areas, with 7,166 pupils . . ."

III. *Medical.*

a. *Hospitals.* There are well equipped hospitals with European staffs at

Garkidda, Church of the Brethren Mission.

Vom, Sudan United Mission.

Zaria, Church Missionary Society.

There are also many smaller dispensaries and welfare centres.

b. *Leper Settlements.*

S. I. M. at Sumaila in Kano Province.

S. I. M. at Sokoto in Sokoto Province.

S. I. M. at Katsina in Katsina Province.

S. U. M. at Maidugari in Bornu Province.

C. M. S. at Sayi in Zaria Province.

IV. *Literary.*

The S. I. M. have a printing press and a large bookshop at Jos. The C. M. S. have bookshops at Kano, Zaria and Kaduna.

V. *Personnel.*

There are over 400 missionaries (including wives) other than native agents, but only 10 are qualified doctors; there are about 20 nursing sisters. On the educational side, it has been shown that about 100 missionaries are engaged with that side of the work, which leaves about 270 for pastoral work.

In summing up, it should be noted, that with the exception of the leper work, the C. M. S. is the only society concerned with purely Moslem work, but there is no limit to what can be done. There are many forward schemes afoot—new dispensaries, new schools, leper work, etc.—the time is ripe for them—“the harvest truly is plenteous but the laborers are few” (for the statistics show that, roughly speaking, there are 28,587 people to one missionary)
 “Pray ye therefore to the Lord of the Harvest”
 and answer “Here am I, send me.”

Zaria, Nigeria

A. M. LOCKE.

ABŪ 'UBAID ON THE VERSES MISSING FROM THE QUR'ĀN

That our present text of the Qur'ān represents an honest effort to assemble all that was still extant of genuine proclamations of Muḥammad during the years of his Prophetic activity need not be questioned. It is possible but not very probable that a few passages have crept in which are not genuine proclamations of the Prophet. That a great many quite genuine Proclamations, however, could no longer be found, and are thus not included in the volume, is certain.

Occasionally in Arabic works one comes across references to some of these missing verses, and in Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, I, 234-259 these references are gathered together and commented upon. In the sources from which Schwally drew his list one finds very frequent reference to the authority of Abū 'Ubaid, and in Munich this summer, through the kindness of Prof. Otto Pretzl, I was able to consult the photographs of the Berlin MS of Abū 'Ubaid's *Kitāb Faḍā'il-al-Qur'ān*, folios 43 and 44 of which contain a chapter on the verses which have fallen out of the Qur'ān.

Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām (154-244 A.H.), who studied under the famous masters of both the Kūfan and the Baṣran Schools, was the son of a Greek slave, and though born on the outskirts of the Muslim empire became a famous teacher at Baghdād, renowned equally as a philologist, a jurist and an authority on the Qur'ānic sciences.¹ By reason of his early date and the reputation

¹ On Abū 'Ubaid see Flügel, *Die grammat. Schulen der Araber*, p. 85 ff., and particularly Hans Gottschalk's essay "Abū 'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Sallām: Studie zur Geschichte der arabischen Biographie", in *Der Islam*, XXIII (1936), pp. 245-289.

he had in the eyes of later writers, his chapter on the missing verses of the Qur'ān merits translation here.²

Said Abū 'Ubaid:

Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm related to us from Ayyūb from Nāfi' from Ibn 'Umar who said—Let none of you say, "I have learned the whole of the Qur'ān", for how does he know what the whole of it is, when much of it has disappeared? Let him rather say, "I have learned what is extant thereof."

Ibn Abī Maryam related to us from Ibn Luhai'a from Abū'l-Aswad from 'Urwa b. az-Zubair from 'Ā'isha who said; "Sūrat al-Aḥzāb (xxxiii) used to be recited in the time of the Prophet with two hundred verses, but when 'Uthmān wrote out the Codices he was unable to procure more of it than there is in it today."

Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm and Ismā'il b. Ja'far related to us from al-Mubārak b. Faḍala from 'Āṣim b. Abī'n-Nujūd from Zirr b. Ḥubaish who said—Ubai b. Ka'b said to me, "O Zirr, how many verses did you count (or how many verses did you read) in Sūrat al-Aḥzāb?" "Seventy-two or seventy-three," I answered. Said he, "Yet it used to be equal to Sūrat al-Baqara (ii), and we used to read in it the Verse of Stoning." Said I, "And what is the Verse of Stoning?" He said, "If a grown man and woman commit adultery, stone them without hesitation, as a warning from Allah, for Allah is mighty, wise."

'Abdallah b. Ṣāliḥ related to us from al-Laith from Khālid b. Yazīd from Sa'id b. Abī Hilāl from Marwān from Abū Umāma 'Uthmān b. Sahl that Khāliya said—The Apostle used to recite to us the Verse of Stoning, "If a grown man and woman commit adultery, stone them unhesitatingly as a reward for their (illicit) enjoyment."

Hashīm related to us—I heard az-Zuhrī say, 'Ubaidallah b. 'Abdallah b. 'Utba related to us from Ibn 'Abbās who said—'Umar was preaching and said, "Some people say 'What is this about the stoning? there is nothing in Allah's

² The Berlin MS is Or. Peterman 449, and an edition of the text is now being prepared by Dr. Anton Spitaler.

book except a scourging', whereas the Apostle stoned and we stoned with him. By Allah, were it not that people might say that 'Umar had added something to Allah's book, I would have written it in just as it was revealed."

Hashīm related to us saying—'Alī b. Zaid b. Ḥidh'ān informed us from Yūsuf b. Mihrān from Ibn 'Abbās from 'Umar who said—"I indeed wanted to write on the margin of the Codex, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Auf bear witness that the Apostle of Allah stoned and we also stoned.'"

'Abd al-Ghaffār b. Dāwūd related to us from Abū Luhai'a from 'Alī b. Dīnār from Khālid that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb passed by a man who was reading aloud from a Codex, "The Prophet is nearer akin to the believers than they are themselves, his wives are their mothers and he is their father" (xxxiii:6). Said 'Umar, "Separate not from me till we find Ubai b. Ka'b." When they came to Ubai b. Ka'b he said, "O Ubai, may we not hear how you recite this verse?" Said Ubai, "It was among the things that dropped out." Said 'Umar, "And why were you away from it then?" Said he, "There kept me away from it what did not keep you."

'Abdallah b. Ṣāliḥ related to us from al-Laith from Hashīm b. Sa'd from Zaid b. Aslam from 'Aṭā' b. Yasār from Abū Wāqid al-Laithī who said, "When the Apostle of Allah had a revelation we would come to him and he would repeat to us what had been revealed to him. One day I came to him and he said, 'Allah, blessed and exalted be He, says, "We have sent down wealth for the performance of prayer and the giving of alms, but if the son of Adam had a valley (full of wealth) he would want a second, and if he had a second he would want to add a third to them. Nothing indeed will really fill man's belly save the dust, and Allah turns to whom He wills."

Ḥajjāj related to us from Ḥāmid b. Salama from 'Alī b. Zaid b. Jid'ān from Abū Ḥarb b. Abī'l-Aswad from Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, who said—There was revealed a Sūra

about the size of al-Barā'a (ix), which was later withdrawn, of which I remember (the words) "Allah will help along this religion by means of a people for whom is no portion. Had the son of Adam two valleys full of gold he would yearn for a third. Nothing will really fill man's belly but the dust, and Allah turns to whom He will."

Abū Nu'aim related to me from Yūsuf b. Shu'aib from Ḥabīb b. Yasār from Zaid b. Arqam who said—We used to recite in the time of the Prophet, "Had the son of Adam two valleys of gold he would desire a third. Nothing will really fill man's belly but the dust, and Allah turns to whom He wills."

Ḥajjāj related to us from Ibn Juraij who said—Abū'z-Zubair informed me that he heard Jābir b. 'Abdallah say—We used to recite, "Had the son of Adam a valley full of treasure he would want another like it. Nothing will really fill man's belly save the dust, and Allah turns to whom He wills."

Ḥajjāj related to us from Ibn Juraij who said—'Aṭā' informed me saying,—I heard Ibn 'Abbās say—"I heard the Apostle of Allah say the like of this, but I do not know whether it is Qur'ān or not."

Ḥajjāj related to us from Ibn Juraij who said—Ibn Abī Ḥumaid informed me from Jahra bint Abī Ayyūb b. Yūnus saying—I read to my father when he was eighty years of age from 'Ā'isha's Codex—"Verily Allah and His angels pray for the Prophet. O ye who believe, pray for him and speak peace upon him and upon those who pray in the first ranks" (xxxiii:56). She said, "It is said that 'Uthmān altered the Codices." Said he, "Ibn Juraij and Ibn Abī Jamīl have related to me from 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Hurmuz and others the like of this about 'Ā'isha's Codex."

Ḥajjāj related to us from Shu'ba from al-Ḥakam b. 'Ubaid from 'Adī b. 'Adī who said—We used to read, "Turn not away from your fathers for that is godlessness on your part." Then he said to Zaid b. Thābit,—“Is that so, Zaid b. Thābit?”, and he answered “Yes.”

Ibn Abī Fahm related to us from Nāfi' b. 'Umar al-Jumāhī, who said,—Ibn Abī Mulaika related to me from Musawwar b. Makhrama who said,—'Umar said to 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. 'Auf,—“Did you not find in what was revealed, 'Strive as ye strove the first time,' for we cannot find it.” He answered, “It dropped out among what dropped from the Qur'ān.”

Said Abū 'Ubaid,—These *ḥurūf* that we have mentioned in these passages are among the extras, which the savants did not hand down, saying that they are similar to what is between the covers (of the Qur'ān), because they used to recite them during prayers. Thus they did not consider as an unbeliever anyone who rejected them, even though they were recited in prayer, for they only passed judgment of unbelief against any one who rejected what was between the covers, for that is what was in the *Imām* which 'Uthmān caused to be written out with the approval of the Muhājirs and the Anṣār.

Cairo

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

MULLAH SA'EED OF SENA ¹

We are constantly reminded that the age of miracles has not passed, and that the power of God is the same in all ages. Nothing brings this out more forcibly than the story of how this bigoted, fanatical, learned Kurd was led to become a follower of Christ.

Kurdistan is a vast mountainous region that extends from Armenia and Mt. Ararat on the north to Kermanshah and the famous Rock of Besitoun on the south.

Here, in deep canyons and gorges, relieved occasionally by a small valley or plateau, have lived for centuries the Kurds and Assyrians. The latter fled here to escape massacre. By infinite toil they have built up small fields that rise in terraces on the mountain side, where by great labor they have eked out a living.

Dr. Sa'eed, who has made a careful study of the Kurds, believes they are descendants of the Assyrians. There is little doubt they are the Karduchi who harassed Xenophon and his army on their way to the Black Sea.

Kurdistan lies partially in Iran and partially in Turkey, and for the most part its people have been independent of either country and refused to pay tribute. They are called *Asheret*. To see their naked mountains one would wonder where taxes could be collected. The population of Kurdistan has been estimated at from thirteen to fifteen million. They are divided into tribes and governed by Sheikhs, whose office is both political and religious. These Sheikhs are greatly revered as holy men and when they die, shrines are built in their memory, which the Faithful visit as a religious duty. Their religion is that of Islam, and they belong to the Sunni sect as distinguished from the Shiah, who are in the majority in Iran.

¹ "The Beloved Physician of Teheran". By Isaac Yonan. Cokesbury Press, Nashville. pp. 117. \$1.00.

Mullah Sa'eed was born in Sena, a city of some 60,000, in Kurdistan. It is considered the most fanatical city in Kurdistan, with more mosques to the population than any other city of its size.

All Mullah Sa'eed's ancestors were of religious orders and were noted theologians and scholars in Arabic. For seven generations his forefathers held important ecclesiastical positions. His father, of whom he always speaks with much affection and respect, was a distinguished theologian and a devout follower of the prophet. He spent much time in prayer and meditation, often in tears.

Sa'eed from childhood was unusually precocious and gifted with a brilliant mind. At the age of six he could read the Koran, and at eight had read all the works of three most noted Persian poets. Superstitious people believed he had direct revelations from the Angel Gabriel who revealed to him the deep mysteries of religion. Combined with his great ability was deep yearning for holiness.

At the age of ten he lost his mother and at thirteen his father, who had remarried, but never indulged in the Mohammedan's privilege of polygamy. At his death, where the custom is for prayers to be read over the grave for forty days by a noted theologian this office was given to Sa'eed, an unusual honor. When fourteen years old he was consecrated as a priest and wore the turban. He filled his father's place with credit and satisfaction to the people. His older brother, Kaka, took the place of his father and the two had to find a few pupils to make a living. The following two years he made rapid progress in theology and the Persian classics, and was initiated into the order of Naksh Bandi, one of the most powerful mystic orders of the Sunnis. His reputation as a holy one spread so that many came asking him for prayers that they could carry as a protection from the evil eye or sickness, and this added somewhat to his income.

A few Roman Catholic Chaldeans had settled in Sena, very bigoted and ignorant. One of them asked Sa'eed to give his children lessons in Persian.

Here for the first time he saw drinking and the bowing down to pictures and images. This greatly disgusted him, as intoxicating liquor is strictly forbidden to the Moslems, and Islam arose as a protest against idolatry.

A Bible was given to him at this time and he read it, mainly from curiosity. As he could not understand many of its sayings, he asked their meaning of the Roman Catholic priest, who was unable to answer, so he discarded it. He was further antagonized by the incense, vestments, and worship of the eucharist in their services. More than ever convinced that Islam was the true religion, he redoubled his efforts in teaching.

But God had great plans for Sa'eed, even as He had for Saul the persecutor.

At the end of 1879 Pastor Yohanan, one of the Assyrian preachers in Urumia, accompanied by two colporteurs, Deacon Syad and his son, visited Sena on an evangelistic tour. While the two latter knew Persian the pastor did not, and seeking for a good teacher was recommended to Sa'eed. He agreed to teach him if he would as a return teach him Syriac, to which he agreed. When they met for the first lesson the Sa'eed did not give the formal salutation, *Salam alaykum*, "peace be unto you," as that is only for true believers. Deacon Syad said, "We are the people of the Book, to salute us is lawful." Sa'eed saw that they were acquainted with the Koran and did not know what to say. As it was the time for their usual worship they handed him a copy of the Psalms in Persian, using the Syriac themselves. He was deeply impressed by their prayers where they asked God to forgive their enemies. From the first the Bible was their textbook. Later the pastor hoped to lead gradually to the Gospel. He showed great wisdom and tact, his aim being to cultivate first a feeling of friendship and confidence on the part of his student before speaking more boldly. As there were many Chaldeans and Jews in Sena, Pastor John gave most of his time to them, doing what he could for Mohammedans indirectly, as there was no religious liberty at that time

and any other course would have made trouble and resulted in their expulsion from the place.

One day a set of smart Jews came for a discussion and challenged him to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. The challenge was accepted and Pastor John asked his pupil to act as judge. Sa'eed was much impressed by the pastor's honesty as well as his remarkable knowledge of the Scriptures and its interpretation. His proofs were so convincing that the judge often rebuked the Jews for their unfairness.

This gave the pastor, in an indirect way, a splendid opportunity to preach the claims of Christ, and made a very deep impression on his pupil. It also aroused a sympathetic feeling and greater admiration for the character of Pastor John.

But Kaka became suspicious and feared his brother was being too much influenced by his teacher and might be led astray, so he forbade his studies. Sa'eed truthfully replied that far from becoming a Christian, his object was to write a book refuting Christianity as well as urging Islam to be more firm in its belief. This satisfied Kaka and he was allowed to go on.

The opportunity long prayed-for had come and their studies became a school of comparative religions. Sa'eed was at this time seventeen years old, unusually brilliant, with a fine mind and most enthusiastic and hungry for the truth. He asked many questions and made a deeper study of the Bible. One thing he was very anxious to learn. Mohammedans claim that all the prophecies referred to Mohammed and not to Christ. Careful study of the two characters of their own prophet and Christ soon showed that the prophecies could not refer to a person of Mohammed's character.

The thing that impressed Sa'eed more and more was the beautiful character of his teacher as compared with their own teachers. His conscience began to accuse him of doing many things that were wrong. One day matters came to a point when he bluntly asked his teacher what he

thought of Mohammed. No more delicate question could have been asked, for up to the present, Pastor John had been very careful to say nothing against Islam, its book or its teacher. His reply was that Jesus had warned of false prophets that would follow him and he added, "I don't think that Mohammed is a worthy ideal to represent the Holy God."

For the first time doubts began to trouble Sa'eed and he became the more anxious to know the Truth. The Mohammedans say that Christians have changed God's word and deleted all references to Mohammed. To show his thoroughness and honesty he mastered the Hebrew so as to be able to make his own comparisons and found the charges were false. As he realized where he was drifting, and that Mohammed might after all be an imposter, he cursed himself for the thought and redoubled his ablutions and prayers. He also realized that the Koran was full of errors. The agony became so great he could not sleep, and one night he rose, made a fire and then placed a live coal on each leg and watched it burn a hole and simmer until it went out. This, he thought, will cure me of doubt and these scars will remind me of my sin. He ceased taking lessons. One day he met his teacher, who with a kind smile begged him to continue his studies. That evening in going home, deep in thought, he stumbled against a rock and had a bad fall. Rising in an agony of soul he cried out, "O God, thou who dost lead the lost, show me the right way and I promise to follow it, otherwise I shall become insane." And he made up his mind what to do. The next morning he went to the pastor's room, and with a smile asked for the Bible. As the dear old man handed it to him he said, "Sa'eed, I have been praying for you, I know that God loves you."

He now redoubled his study of the Bible, memorizing many passages.

This went on for months until, to put it in his own words, "The Galilean conquered". Immediately a great peace and joy such as he had never known flooded his heart. No words can express the great joy of the dear Pastor at

his decision and with flowing eyes they embraced and kissed each other. They were now brothers in Christ.

There is no time in this brief review to speak of what this great decision meant. So far his battles had been with himself, now they were with the whole Moslem world.

The time had come when Pastor John must move on to other fields and after careful instruction Sa'eed was to be baptized. The author of "The Beloved Physician" has told the story so beautifully I shall take the liberty of using his words: "A small upper room where the man of God had for two years toiled and prayed, where there was neither altar, crucifix nor pulpit, was to be the scene of the first baptismal service for the noblest Kurd ever born, who was destined to be a John the Baptist for his race."

Everything must be done in the greatest secrecy for, had the public outside known what was to take place, both of their lives would have been taken. The congregation consisted of only two, but they were soon to see a third One. How all heaven must have rejoiced at the scene! The service was majestic in its simplicity. Water was poured upon the penitent's head three times, the sacred words were pronounced and then rising they embraced and kissed each other with tears of joy.

The next day Pastor John, his heart full of praise at what God had done, and yet sad at the parting, went on and Sa'eed was left alone to fight the great battle. There was not a human friend to whom he could go for sympathy or counsel but he had the great comfort of the words, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Oh, how lonely the days that followed! The first thing to be done was to cease the office of Muezzin. His silence and absence would, of course, arouse inquiry. Then the family must know, and how tell them? As to the larger field of Kurdistan, as soon as the fact was known that such a noted man had abjured Islam and become a Christian, his life would be forfeit. One day in his loneliness he went to a vineyard to meditate and pray.

He recalled the Lord's last supper, which had been

explained by Pastor John. Looking up the passages that describe it he felt a great yearning to observe it. As the picture of the Last Supper came before him he cried like a child, then taking a piece of bread from his pocket he repeated the words, "This is my body broken for you", and ate it. Then reaching up his hand to a bunch of grapes he squeezed the juice into his hand and repeated the words, "This is my blood . . . this do in remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show the Lord's death, till He come." Dr. Yonan says, "I do not believe in the whole history of Christianity there ever was such a unique observance of the Lord's supper, when heaven and earth were in such close communion."

He first broke the news to his brother in a letter, where he told him he had become a Christian, and if he wished to kill him it was in his hands, but if spared he would always respect and serve him. He then boldly told his uncles and relatives. It was a terrible shock to all and they shouted *Kufr! Kufr!* (blasphemy). His brother was about to kill him when they begged him to wait, as he would get over this nonsense.

Things could not continue so, and one night he quietly fled. Kaka overtook him the next day and would have killed him but after beating him desisted and led him back home. The whole city heard and was greatly excited and enraged at the disgrace they had suffered. He made a second attempt to escape but was brought back and this time terribly beaten and branded with hot irons. In all his sufferings he remained calm and asked Jesus to open their eyes. The third time he made for Hamadan taking an unusual road, as he heard there was an American Mission there. He was cordially welcomed by the missionaries, and Mr. Hawkes and Dr. Alexander took a special interest in him; he was appointed teacher of Persian in the Girls' School.

At the same time he came under the influence of another Assyrian, Pastor Shimon, who helped him a great deal. He fell in love with the pastor's daughter, to whom he

was married a few years later. Taking up the study of medicine, he made remarkable progress, helping also in the dispensary and clinic, and worked with Dr. Alexander for seven years. He visited many villages as well as the city and wherever he went he won the respect and esteem of the people. From the start, he always combined evangelistic work with the medical, and never performed an operation without prayer, always presenting the claims of the Great Physician. About this time his brother, Kaka, turned up and was also won to Christ and to this day is one of our best evangelists. After seven years with Dr. Alexander he opened up his own office and dispensary, and then took a trip to England to make a special study of diseases of the eye, throat, and ears. He made many friends there who recognized his spiritual power.

Ain-Douleh, the son-in-law of the King, Muzaffar-al-Din Shah, who knew him, asked for his services for the army. His tent was pitched next to that of Ain-Douleh and while there he exerted a great influence over officers as well as soldiers, and was highly respected. After his services there he accompanied Ain-Douleh as his private physician to Teheran. While there one of the favorite wives of the Shah needed an operation. As a very great honor he was chosen, of all the foreign as well as native doctors there, to perform the operation. This was a most delicate task, for woe to the physician, no matter how skillful and well known, if the results were fatal.

He prayed all night before the operation and would not undertake it until assured he was heard. The operation was successful and this brought him into contact with the throne and he rose to high rank.

At one time he was called to treat a *Mullah* who had been one of his most bitter enemies, who never missed an occasion to speak against him for his apostasy. The *Mullah*, who disliked to be under obligation to a man he so thoroughly hated, finally swallowed his pride and called for his help. After a careful examination he found the case was hopeless and that no medicines would help him. Asked what he

thought, as he never concealed the truth, he told the patient that humanly speaking there was no remedy, but if he consented they would together consult the Great Physician. The patient did not understand his meaning but consented. Kneeling by the sick bed he took the patient's hand and with the tears rolling down his face plead with Christ, if it were His will, to restore him to health. His courage, sympathy, and prayer made a tremendous impression.

The patient recovered, and from that time to his death was his warm friend and ready everywhere to pay him the highest tribute.

Many such incidents could be told, as well as his marvelous escapes from death in his frequent journeys through the wild mountains, for many orders were given and bands were commanded to waylay and kill him. At one time a band sent for that purpose were so won by his courage and readiness to treat their sick, that they acted as his body-guard and conducted him safely through dangerous country.

Some time before this he visited Urumia, the home of his wife. His reputation had preceded him and the churches were all opened to him and his words made a deep impression. Even there he had many discussions in which he worsted his enemies. At the time of this visit it was a great pleasure and privilege to entertain him as our guest, and to know him personally. In our last visit to Iran in 1929, Mrs. Coan and I visited him in Teheran, where he now lives, and were deeply impressed by his deep spirituality. He conducts a large Bible class made up of different nationalities, His success with the nobility has been such that he is free to preach openly and many are led to Christ through his efforts. At one time when he wanted to visit a large Kurdish City three days' ride south of Urumia, he was warned that two men had vowed they would kill him, but he insisted on going. When he arrived he was greeted most cordially by the Governor, who embraced and kissed him and wanted him to be his guest.

Many of the *Mullahs*—religious leaders—planned to meet him for a religious discussion. The large room was filled with interested listeners. The doctor answered all their questions so clearly and convincingly that instead of challenging him they listened spell-bound to his exposition of the Bible and were changed from enemies to friends. At one time when treating a Persian nobleman, a very bitter, fanatical Sheikh planned to have him killed when he left, and sent word to a noted highwayman to intercept him with his band and murder him. A woman who heard of it warned her master, his host, and he went another way and so escaped them. Years later when living in Teheran that highwayman and his whole band were arrested by the government and brought as prisoners to Teheran. They were held as hostages and given some freedom. Needing medical help they came to his office one day, where he received them cordially. The doctor was holding a Bible class at the time and they were invited to listen. When through, Mahmood Khan Sami, the former highwayman, fell at his feet and kissed the hem of his garment and made a confession. All of his men were treated freely.

Aside from his great work he is also a profound student and has written some valuable books and made a special study of Bahatism. So the former Kurdish *Mullah* is today one of the greatest powers for good in all Iran and has been able to do what no one else could do for the building up of the Kingdom. His medical practice, knowledge, and means have all been consecrated to God's service.

Who after this can ever doubt that a Moslem can be converted?

Princeton, N. J.

FREDERICK G. COAN.

MOSLEMS IN LONDON

The Moslems of London can be classed under four headings: Moslem students; Moslem peddlers and resident seamen; Moslems who are Europeans; and Moslem sailors, commonly called Lascars.

As for the students, these are usually young men from India and other British possessions and protected countries who come to study law, medicine, administration, and other phases of the professional life. They congregate in the Russell Square district and centers near the hospitals and Law Courts. These men are in the main neglected by Gospel workers. Quite a number of them marry English girls, who return with their husbands to their native lands.

Moslem peddlers and seamen are those who have either left the sea, or have come to seek a fortune, though few if any make more than a living. They import silk scarfs and materials which they sell from door to door. At one time many men were thus engaged, but the film business in London has taken them away from peddling. These men, by appearing for the film industry as extras, dressed in native costume, find it a paying proposition. Peddling is now left chiefly to Sikhs from the Punjab.

There are many Bengalis from Sylhet, Assam, who live by doing any work they can obtain, and there are more whose source of livelihood is a mystery. These men live in houses, generally rented by one of their number, in Canning Town, Poplar, Adgate, Spitalfields, and other such districts. Their number is difficult to ascertain. Some houses have as many as thirty men living in very crowded conditions. These men often change their abode, due, it is said, to their failure to pay the rent. Other houses have been the resort of Bengalis for a long time, but none seems to be on speaking terms with the house decorators so that

things are extremely untidy. These houses are visited by the Missionary of the London City Missionary Society, who is a welcome visitor, and is out to help them spiritually. Many hours have been spent with them reading the Scriptures, and not a few have copies of the Gospels in Musalmani-Bengali, which they read. Some of these men are supposed to be married to English women. It is the writer's opinion that many of the missing girls are here, ashamed to let their people know where they are. Other of these men are living immoral lives, and very few seem to be living respectable lives. Some of them obtain jobs as firemen on coastal and other ships at English rates of wages. One of these men, called Ali, has a boarding house in Canning Town. He has a contract with some shipping companies to feed and lodge their men. The men are not to be envied, but it is what they are used to, and the cook prepares the curry and rice so liked by Indians. This house is open for Gospel testimony, and this open door has been entered on many occasions for the work of the Lord.

The Bengali men seem to be as neglected as if they were in their native Sylhet, and their accessibility has not been fully realized. In the main they are friendly to the messenger of the Gospel, and give close attention to his words; but the cares of this life hinder the Word from bearing much fruit. Several men have shown increasing understanding of the Christian life, which has been encouraging to the workers. The masses, however, are outside the Kingdom of God, although some are almost ready to enter.

Several years ago there were many Arabs and Somalis in London, but at present the number is much smaller because many of the Somalis left when the Italo-Abyssinian war began. The Arabs are mostly from Aden and Yemen, some from Egypt. They live in the Cable Street district, near the London Docks. They are all seamen, generally firemen on the ships. Only those who can prove their British nationality can now sign up with the ship companies, thus causing many of those from parts of Arabia to leave England.

The meeting place for the Arabs is in the house of Mohammed Abdulla, a Sudanese from Arabia, who has an English wife and two children. It is in this place that the best Gospel work is done. A Bible in Arabic was placed there, and it is reported that it has been read often. A number of these men can read, but as the group is always changing, with new men coming from the sea, it is not easy to keep in touch with them. One has a New Testament in Arabic which he reads a great deal. Gambling is prevalent, especially horseracing, and they even play dominoes to see who is to pay for the coffee!

The place where the Somalis live is near-by, at 68 Cable Street, and the owner is Soliman, a Somali who was educated in a Roman Catholic school in Aden. He was trained in Arabic, English, and Somali, and also has a working knowledge of Urdu. Bibles in Arabic and English, through the kindness of Dr. Wakefield, have been placed in his home. At times there are quite a number of Somali firemen in residence. Few of these can read the Roman Somali, and only a few can read Arabic. Every facility for reaching the men is granted willingly, and many there have heard of Christ.

There are still a few Zanzibar men who earn their living as firemen on ships. Most of these men are married.

It is well known that there are English Moslems, and that the Ahmadiyahs have a Mosque at Southfields. The writer has no complete knowledge of the number of their converts.

There are Moslem Lascars or seamen who come in great numbers to London from every part of India and the Malay States, and who form a part of the Moslem population. During the course of a year many thousands of these men visit our city. During their short stay they see all the things that should not be seen in a Christian land, and their impressions are deep-seated. Most of the shipping companies sailing to India and the East employ Indian or Malay deck-hands, firemen and saloon crews. The presence of these men is a great opportunity for Gospel witness.

This is taken advantage of by the London City Mission, and in a smaller way by many friends. The Lascars are almost all village men, and only about fifteen per cent. are able to read in their own language. The languages spoken are Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Malayalam, Malay, Arabic, and a number of others. The Seamen's Hospital cares for the sick, and these men are frequently visited.

A few ships come to London having Egyptian crews. These are visited, and during their stay in the dock or river the men are visited and hear the Gospel preached.

King's Hall in Aldgate is used on Fridays by the Moslems of the East End as a Mosque, where they pray the prescribed prayers. It is also used as a meeting place for their social functions.

The Moslems of London, whether Lascars or residents, are very zealous for Islam and Mohammed, but their spiritual condition is bad. There is very little drinking among them, and gambling is not very prominent, but immorality appears to be very common. Many of these people have run away from ships because of quarrels or debt, or a desire to become rich. It is difficult to locate all of them, and the houses in which they live must be legion. Arabs, Somalis, Zanzibaris, Panjabis, Pathans, Bengalis, Malays and many other Moslems are found at our doors, open to the Gospel, a real training ground for men who feel called to serve the Moslems. What witness for Christ has been borne before these men has been entirely evangelical, but wholly inadequate to meet the need or the opportunity. The writer has spent nearly thirteen years in close touch with them, and has found a willingness to hear the Gospel and to read the Scriptures. On only one ship and in only one house has he ever been refused admission. During this time more than five thousand ships have been visited and many thousands of Moslems have heard the story of God's love and grace in Christ Jesus.

London City Mission, Tilbury.

J. E. BUGBY.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ars Islamica. Vol. IV. The Research Seminary in Islamic Art—Institute of Fine Arts—University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1937. pp. 499. \$8.00.

Annual Bibliography of Islamic Art and Archaeology. Edited by L. A. Mayer. Divan Publishing House, Jerusalem, 1937. pp. 64.

These two publications are proof of a revived interest in Islamic Art. We have given earlier notice of the Quarterly edited by Mehmet Aga-Oglu of the University of Michigan Institute of Fine Arts. The present issue is worthy of the centenary of a great university and does credit to a score of able contributors. Three articles deal with Embroidery in Mesopotamia, Egypt and Algeria, all beautifully illustrated. Ernest Diest writes on Simultaneity in Islamic Art; Siegfried Troll, on the Problems of Damascus Tapestry; and Peter Ruthven, on Some Egyptian Wood-carvings in the Collection of the University of Michigan.

Other papers relate to heraldry, miniatures, titles in Turkey, etc. The most important contribution is by Myron Bement Smith and is the second part of an article entitled, Material for a Corpus of Early Iranian Islamic Architecture (42 pp. with a wealth of illustration). One article of special interest to students of Islam as a religion, is that on the Badi' Script by Eric Schroeder: "From time to time pages of a singularly beautiful script have been published, under a variety of appellations; 'late Kūfic,' or 'East Persian Kūfic' represent the current attributions. The script has been placed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, derived most often from Persia, but on occasion credited to Cairo." "It was never executed with the precision of the great round scripts, although its associated illuminations mark the high artistic importance of some surviving examples. Instead of smooth perfection and unvarying virtuosity, this style embodies a tendency in Persian or Arabic calligraphy which was abandoned in the twelfth century, and whose disappearance at the same time in other arts (notably architecture and ceramics) is symptomatic of the Persian *Zeitgeist* before the breakup of the *Seldjūk* empire. It is a tendency to express dynamic concepts in very strong and even violent forms. Of the pages which have been published perhaps the finest is a leaf in the Chester Beatty collection exhibited at the Cairo exposition of Persian art, 1935, containing the Sūra 'al-Dahā' (No. xciii), first four verses, with heading. The page which once faced this, containing the rest of the Sūra and the heading to Sūra xciv, is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts."

Another article of deep interest is by George Lechler on the Tree of Life in Indo-European and Islamic Cultures.

"In Islam the tree of life is given the name *Siḍra* or *Ṭubā*. In the minds of the Muhammadans it grows in the midst of Paradise and thus becomes a fit subject for artistic representation and, consequently, may be found woven into the *mihṛāb* of prayer rugs.

"The early authorities of Islam, when interpreting the *Qur'an*, explained that the *Siḍra* stands in the seventh heaven on the right hand of the throne of God, and marks the utmost bounds of Paradise, beyond which the angels themselves must not pass. This is impressively told in *Sūra* liii:16, and reaffirmed as the *Sūra* continues with the statement: 'Near it is the garden of eternal abode.'

"The *Siḍret-el muntehā* ('the *Sidra* of the utmost bounds') has its prototype on the earth in the *Sidra* tree, a kind of wild plum tree, *Ziziphus jujuba*, which grows in Arabia and India. It produces small plums. This tree is also sacred to the Muhammadans, as is demonstrated by their custom of throwing its leaves into water which they use to cleanse a corpse during a burial ceremony."

The author, after considering the Tree of Life in early Babylonian culture in Egypt and in Europe, concludes:

"These observations will be a proof of the fact that the Assyrian *asherah* is the sacred tree that symbolizes the course of the year. This may not be surprising. By studying various symbols it may be learned that they have a constant tradition from the Stone Ages to the Middle Ages; for example, the sun wheel, the swastika, the tree of life, the fish, the cross, the so-called anchor, the ship, the ship chariot, the ax, the spiral, and the labyrinth, to mention only those symbols referred to in this paper, continually reoccur. Thus it may be surmised that the Islamic *mihṛāb* is derived from the twig arch or hut. This idea would conform with what has already been said concerning the framework around the Assyrian *asherah*."

The Annual Bibliography is published by the Jerusalem University, covers a wide field, and contains references also to articles that appeared in our own Quarterly. Z.

La Vie de Mohammed. By E. Dinet et El Hadj Sliman ben Ibrahim. G. P. Maisonneuve, Paris, pp. 305.

As a narrative this life of Mohammed is picturesque and vivid, but as history it is altogether lacking in balanced judgment, because panegyric too often takes the place of constructive thought and all is viewed from the romantic rather than the rational standpoint. For instance, Arab culture is represented as the inspiration and source of European civilization (see Chapter x—particularly p. 280), but L. March Phillips in his interesting book "The Works of Man" draws a very different conclusion saying: "What Europe awoke to at the Renaissance was the value of intellectual culture, the value of thought and reason. She went forward on these lines; and the chief characteristic of the civilization which has ensued has been that rational quality in it which, whatever else it may have done, has secured for it coherence and durability. But every step taken in this direction was a step away from the Arabs. Their mental activity was never of this kind. It was not indeed activity of the intellect so much as activity of the fancy and imagination, and altho it blossomed with incredible swiftness into many imposing results, yet

these were all infected from the beginning with the instability of half-fanciful creatures."

This fanciful element is found in Dinot's life of Mohammed, for while discarding the miracles attributed to him the author retains certain legends, claiming (p. 4) that it is "*un incomparable moyen d'expression.*" . . . etc., see p. 27, 33, 108, etc. Whilst on the one hand, therefore, one finds imaginative additions to history, on the other, there are omissions. The home-life of the prophet is glossed over. No mention is made of his marriage with Saïdah so soon after Khadijah's death, or of his disgraceful treatment of Rihanah the Jewess. Nor can I find any mention of attack on pilgrims.

In trying to justify the institution of the Holy War, the authors misinterpret Christ's words (p. 123) and would make the One Who said, "Resist not evil" (Matt. 5:39) and again, "Love your enemies" (Matt. 5:44), to agree with violence and the use of force.

The claim that Islam may yet become the universal religion (P. 295-296) is not supported by the facts today. Missionaries from different parts of the world agree that there are no signs of a resurgence of Islam. X.

The Syrian Desert: Caravans, Travel Exploration. By Christina Phelps Grant. A. C. Black & Co., London; Macmillan Co., New York. pp. 410, 16 plates and 4 maps; 18 sh.

Here is treasure indeed for the increasing number of those who have crossed the Syrian Desert by airplane or motor from Damascus to Baghdad. The author has read exhaustively and spent four years in research on the history of this highway of the nations since the days of the incense-trade when the wealth of Ormuz and Ind passed by the northern route. The result is a fascinating story, documented not with disturbing footnotes but with a very full bibliography carefully annotated for each chapter, and a wealth of maps, illustrations and diagrams.

She makes clear the historical importance of this ancient trade route, its vicissitudes of decay and revival, until the new era of mechanical transport by air and motor and the modern pipelines across the once weary desert waste of the camel-caravan.

There are chapters on every aspect of the subject: the geology of the desert, the character of its inhabitants, the historical background of caravan travel, the story of the early and later explorers, the Hajj to Mecca, the dromedary post, and the establishment of motor-transport when the dream of a Bagdad railway was dissolved in the World War. As the author remarks: "Certain deserts divide countries and civilizations inexorably; others unite them. The Syrian Desert is one of those which unites adjacent lands; and during the last twenty years the uniting of those lands has acquired a new importance." Only in the chapter on the Pilgrim caravans does the writer betray a lack of sufficient background for accurate description. She confounds the Kaaba with the Black Stone (p. 219), speaks of "Hajjet-al-Islam" and of "el-Beit Allah" and of a merchant called "Ali Cogia", etc. But these are minor errors in a very scholarly and most interesting study, a real introduction to all the classics of desert travel in Northern Arabia. Z.

The Arabs: The life-story of a people who have left their deep impress on the world. By Bertram Thomas, O.B.E. (Mil.): Ph.D. (Cantab): D. Litt. (hon.) Bristol: D. Sc. (hon.) Acadia, Nova Scotia: . . . Prime Minister to the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. pp. 372. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 1937. 21s.

This is an outline of the history, religion, medieval civilization and later-day politics of the Arabs, based on researches made for a series of lectures at the Lowell Institute, Boston. There are twelve chapters dealing with the rise of the Arabs, their civilization, their decline and revival, together with a discussion of the prospects for their future political federation. There is an appendix on the racial origins of the Arabs, a brief bibliography of the sources used and four sketch maps.

The information on the Arabs of antiquity in the first chapter will satisfy the general reader to whom the book is addressed. The account of the Prophet Muhammad is favorable, rather than impartial. It does not mention actions which are recorded in Muslim sources and repeated with serious disapproval in western biographies. So much unwarranted prejudice against Muhammad has been manifested by western writers that favorable consideration is needed to balance the account. Still there is no warrant to promote statements contrary to the facts on either side. Neither the Qur'an, that is to say, Muhammad's own utterances (cf. Surah 33:51), nor the convictions of the Muslims throughout the centuries will confirm the belief that A'isha was "Muhammad's only real wife except the Copt slave-girl Mary" (p. 66). This belief is not said to be shared by the author and perhaps is mentioned only to indicate a modern Muslim feeling about Muhammad.

The exposition of Islam would be more adequate if it were less brief. The author says the English word for the Arab's religion, Muhammadanism or Muhammadan, is really a misnomer (p. 44). But the Muslims themselves use the term *al-din al-muhammadi*, "the Muhammadan religion." In the Qur'an the word "Muslim" refers to Jews, Christians and other "people of the book" and "Islam" refers to the religion of Abraham, Moses and Jesus. In Turkey there is agitation for a return to the original usage of the word "Muslim" so that the adjective "Muhammadan" is not only valid but needed to distinguish the late system of "Islam" that Muhammad founded.

The accounts of the spread of Islam eastward and westward and the description of the Arabic civilization present the scholarly studies of others in popular lecture form. It is a useful service to bring together the first-hand knowledge that experts in particular fields spend their life-time to acquire.

The last chapters have value for all interested in the Near East because the author draws largely upon his special knowledge and experience. He describes Arabia and the Ottoman Empire before, during and after the World War and discusses the Palestinian problem without prejudice and without claiming to know the solution.

Hartford, Conn.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

La Sagesse Coranique éclairée par des versets choisis reflétant la philosophie morale, religieuse et sociale de l'Islam. By Mahmoud Mohtar-Katirjoglon. Published by P. Geuthner, Paris, 1935. pp. 261. 22 fr.

This collection, published a few weeks after the death of the author, General Mahmoud Mohtar Pacha, constitutes his spiritual testament and is the fruit of years of meditation on the essential parts of the Koran, namely, those which have a lasting value in the history of religion and philosophy. It gives a new translation of about one-fifth of the whole Koran and is followed by a Synopsis of fifty pages of the Teaching of the Koran. A careful index correlates the Synopsis and the text of the translation, so that the book will serve as a useful introduction to the study of the Koran itself. The point of view of the author is that of a devout Moslem, exposing what he has found in the Koran to keep his soul in the way of righteousness.

E. I. M. BOYD.

Among the Faithful. By Dahrís Martin. Published by Michael Joseph, London, 1937. pp. 288. 12/6. Illustrated.

This is an autobiographical account of a visit paid by two American ladies, the one an artist, the other an authoress, to the Arab quarter of Kairouan. While the artist painted, the writer visited the family connections of a self-constituted Arab guide. She tells of the inside life of the city with much charm and evidently won the confidence of her hosts and hostesses, although she knew no Arabic to speak of. The description of a Djinn party in Chapter V shows how these phantoms exert an influence over the learned and ignorant alike. "Kalipha, who could not read or write his own name, believed implicitly in them, but so did young Ramah, a graduate of the Sarbonne, so did our merchant friend, who made annual trips to the Continent." (p. 71) Miss Martin kept Ramadan, and so strictly as to wear "the face of Ramadan", and won much appreciation by learning to recite "the Adan exactly like a Moslem." Her diary of the long summer is full of details of the inner life of Kairwan. No mention whatever is made of missions, Protestant or Roman Catholic, but the book might well serve as a picture of the desperate spiritual need of North Africa.

E. I. M. BOYD.

Many Days in Morocco. By John Horne. London, 1936. pp. 256.

The great merit of this book is that it describes vividly the author's impressions, undefiled with information drawn from secondary sources or from the experiences of others. In fifteen chapters the Moroccan landscape rises before our eyes, with all its Islamic and non-Islamic features, supported here and there by the explanatory remarks of a typically European observer. One is made aware of the fact that, with Algeria and Tunis, Morocco forms a large geographic unit—the *Jazīrat al-Maghrib* of Arab writers, the Barbary of Europeans, though not enough emphasis is laid on the fact that the bulk of the indigenous population was and remains Berber. Of course it is true that in the plains the Berbers have adopted Arabic and Islam but Morocco on account of its geographical situation, has been less influenced than either Tunisia or Algeria, from the eastern Mediterranean.

The reader is not touched with anything that might be rightly termed "learned" or "profound." Scientific technique is ruthlessly disregarded to the extent that even the value of an index has not occurred to the author. A lengthy array of Arabic words, wrongly reproduced in their colloquial forms, can be corrected in the next edition. The author is apt to indulge in generalities concerning the entire Moslem and Arab worlds, mainly derived from his contacts with society as organized in North Africa. In some cases he is right but often he is led astray, as in the chapter entitled *Drifting* (p. 114 *seq.*). References to Arabic sources appear in the course of the text in a form so confusing that it repels rather than attracts the reader to such sources.

Mistakes abound throughout the volume. *Kazimin* and *fondak* should be *al-Kāzīmāyn* and *funduq*. The form *mueddīn* as such is certainly unfamiliar.

Sixteen beautiful illustrations and a map accompany the text.

The Institute For Advanced Study,
Princeton, N. J.

EDWARD J. JURJI.

India Reveals Herself. By Basil Mathews. Oxford University Press, New York, 1937. pp. vi, 192. 5 shillings net.

In this his latest book, and his first one dealing with the Indian Empire, Mr. Mathews has given to the readers of the West a stirring and very faithful interpretation of the living drama that is being enacted before our very eyes. Fortified with a deep interest in India and her people, which had developed from wide reading over many years, the author came to this land with something of a mystic anticipation, and effervescent expectancy intent on discovering how India was likely to shape her future.

The book is frankly an impressionistic study of India, as it could hardly be anything else on the basis of a three months' stay in the country. But nevertheless Mr. Mathews managed to see so many of the "key" people in the present-day, moving Indian drama, and to get their point of view, that in these pages one rather vividly *sees* the things that are happening here. As the guest of Gandhi and Jawahir Lal Nehru he caught the spirit of Indian nationalism; and his estimate of Nehru and the problem facing Britain is singularly penetrating. He is convinced that the solution of the Indian problem "is only by Britain taking on her shoulders the responsibility of a great gesture of renunciation that this furious emotional complex can be eliminated and co-operation reached."

Mr. Mathews' touch with the Moslems of India was limited to a very few of the outstanding personalities. He was deeply impressed with Begum Shah Nawaz of Lahore who is undoubtedly the outstanding Moslem woman in Indian public life, and in a very real sense the living prophecy of the great transformation that is sooner or later bound to overtake Moslem womanhood here as in Turkey, Persia and Egypt. He was charmed by the urbanity of Sir Akbar Hydari the leading statesman of Hyderabad State, and was deeply impressed with the Osmania University there which gives university education in Urdu, with English relegated to a position of secondary importance. But his soul was most moved by the dynamic personality of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, India's most prominent Moslem

poet and philosopher. Nevertheless, even in the presence of Sir Muhammad himself, the author's balanced judgment was on its guard, for he remarks, "I came away glowing with admiration for the penetration, the brilliance, and the warmth of feeling that make Sir Mohammed Iqbal's work so creative. I could not help feeling, however, that when he talked of Islam in relation to Turkey or to modern philosophy, there was some danger of his being like a conjuror who pulls out of a hat the rabbits he has himself put in" Of Islam in India as a problem for Christian missions he has nothing to say.

While Mr. Mathews discusses the great movements and personalities in India in a manner that would give the casual reader the impression that there is nothing left to be said, and no significant movement omitted, one who knows India well is amazed that he has not directly dealt with the uprising of the Depressed Classes, and its significance for Hinduism and Christianity alike. He has not mentioned the great Christian Mass Movement, except very casually; nor did he even take the trouble to see Dr. Ambedkar, who is the leader of the most amazing revolt against orthodox Hinduism that India has ever known. One wonders about this significant omission. If Mr. Mathews failed to sense this situation then India did not reveal herself to him fully. Perhaps his next book on India will make up for this deficiency.

Budawn, India.

M. T. TITUS.

Judaism and Christianity. Vol. I, The Age of Transition, edited by W. O. E. Oesterley. Vol. II, The Contact of Pharisaism with other Cultures, edited by H. Loewe. London, Sheldon Press, 1937. 10/6 and 12/6.

These two volumes, written by a number of authors Jewish and Christian, are of great importance. Students of Islam will naturally wish to compare Islam with the two other great monotheistic religions, and it is noteworthy how many of the great scholars of Islam have also been scholars of the Old Testament and of later Judaism. Beyond giving a very strong recommendation to our readers to study these two volumes I do not wish to review them as a whole. Volumes of essays are notoriously difficult to review, and, while I have read the whole with great interest, I cannot claim to be competent to appraise or criticize the greater number of the essays. I wish however to draw the particular attention of our readers to Chapter IV of Vol. II on "Islam" by Dr. E. Rosenthal. Since the publication of the books of Tor Andrae and Richard Bell on the Christian influence on early Islam we have perhaps paid less attention than is due to the influence of Judaism, though we are not forgetful of Rabbi Geiger's important work of a century ago. Dr. Rosenthal does not marshal his evidence for Jewish influence with the same consciousness of certainty that we find in the works of Andrae and Bell. This should not, however, blind us to the value of his observations. Among the points on which he speaks with conviction we may quote the following: "In general, it may be noted that the laws governing ritual purity and ablutions, etc., were accepted by Islam in the form in which they were practised by the Jews, whereas Muhammad rejected most of the dietary laws, which he

considered as a punishment for the Jews." "In the conception of an all-embracing religious Law, we find not only striking parallelism with Judaism but also actual Jewish influence, both in general principles and in concrete examples." One point may be mentioned where it appears that the author is not quite as careful as usual. Referring to Islam he says, "If we assume a common Semitic attitude to religion." This of course we cannot do, for while Mohammed and the Arabs were Semites, the religion of Islam as we know it developed amongst people of whom the vast majority were non-Semites. In seeking for Jewish parallels to Islamic ideas the author intentionally leaves aside possible Christian influence, and though this method tends to clarity, it leads in some cases to error. For instance, there may be something in Judaism partially corresponding to *ijma'*, but the Christian parallel in the general consensus of opinion, as expressed by Vincent of Lerins and in the creeds, is so exact that we need to seek no further. This point is all the clearer because of the complete absence of creeds in Judaism or of any statements defining orthodoxy and heresy. The distinction between Moslem and Jewish Law is very well put in the following words: "One of the reasons why Muslim Law succumbed to the danger of formalism more easily than Judaism is certainly that the *Shari'a*—caused by the political development of the Islamic state—soon became purely theoretical and ideal; another reason is that the study of Muslim Law was reserved for a class of experts, whereas Judaism makes it a duty for every Jew to engage in the study of the Law as the authoritative manifestation of the Divine Will." The essay does not pretend to be either exhaustive or final, but it serves an extremely useful purpose in drawing attention to possible or probable cases of the influence of Judaism on Islam, and in quoting largely from modern scholars who have written on the subject.

L. E. BROWNE.

Archiv Orientalni: Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, Prague. Edited by Bedrich Hrozný. Vol. IX: 1 and 2. Apr.-June, 1937, pp. 298.

This Oriental review bears witness each quarter to the sound scholarship and the wide interests of the Southeastern European peoples in the Orient and in the comparative study of religion. The present issue contains several articles of special value to students of Islam. That on "Aramaic and Mandaic Magic Bowls affords close parallels to the well-known magic-bowls used by the Moslems of Egypt and points to the possible origin of this curious superstition. Professor K. Jahn writes on "Früh islamschen Brief-wesen" and gives a full account of epistolography in the first three centuries after the Hegira.

Among the book-reviews there are no less than sixteen that deal with Islamic subjects. Most of the articles are in German or in English. Z.

Unhappy Spain, by Pierre Crabitès; Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1937. \$2.50.

The author of this book seeks to penetrate to the historical antecedents of the conflict now going on in Spain. Special reference is made to the centuries-old cleavage between the "Grand

Orient" Masonry and Spanish Catholicism. But the author does more than give the historical facts of movements and conflicts. He shows how all that has happened, and is now happening, is a characteristic expression of life and thought in the Iberian peninsula and that "the terms Fascist and Communist are convenient tags, rather than true divisions based on historical development."

JESSE R. WILSON.

The Arabian Knight: A Study of Sir Richard Burton. By Seton Dearden. Arthur Barker, London, 1936. pp. 334.

This volume, though it does not pretend to be a complete biography, unfolds a wide range of valuable material illuminating the nineteenth-century life of Burton, the British Orientalist, explorer and consul. Thus the man Burton emerges in all his wild, resentful and essentially vagabond traits, intolerant of convention and restraint, with the gipsy dominating the whole panorama of his otherwise illustrious career.

Yet here is a man who was the first among his countrymen to explore Somaliland, the first to discover the great lakes of central Africa and one of the first to enter Makkah. Before middle age he had compressed into his life "more study, more hardship, and more of successful enterprise and adventure than would have sufficed to fill up the existence of a half-dozen ordinary men."

In the rendition of the "Arabian Nights," his crowning achievement, Burton followed Payne's translation except in the poetical parts and in the particular portions which he tried to improve. The author of the book under review does not fully recognize that this translation is by no means exact in scholarship or faithful to the original text, though it reveals a profound acquaintance with Moslem vocabulary and customs as well as with the foul language that is characteristic of certain medieval producers of literature.

The book is also open to criticism at various points where the author fails to understand Oriental culture; a general tone of self-esteem seems to dominate its pages, which, after all, are an attempt to preserve the remarkable events of a life whose greatest enrichment was derived from the Orient. Aside from this general discrepancy the author abides by no system whatsoever governing the transliteration of Oriental terms and expressions. For instance *Nafud* (p. 44), *Yambu* (p. 47), *El Ayhar* (p. 68) should be *al-Nufud*, *Yanbu'* and *al-Azhar*.

Though deficient in several respects the work offers a delightful account of the daily life of a man whose greatness is beyond question.

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EDWARD J. JURJI.

Moslem Schisms and Sects: (Al-Farq bain al-Firak), being the history of the various philosophic systems developed in Islam by Abu-Mansur 'Abd-al-Kâhir ibn Tahir al-Baghdadi (d. 1037). Part II. By Abraham S. Halkin. Tel-Aviv, Palestine Publishing Co., 1935. xviii+260pp.

The first part of this important source book was translated, although somewhat uncritically, by Mrs. Kate Chambers Seelye in

1919. Here is the second part, bearing all the marks of careful scholarship together with a photostatic copy of the original *MSS*. The printing, however, is often faulty and inelegant. Z.

Le Passé de L'Afrique du Nord: les siècles obscurs. By E. F. Gautier. Paris: Payot, 1937. 458 pages; illustrations and maps. 40 fr.

Professor Gautier tries to answer the question of the causes of the great changes in North Africa between the Roman epoch and the Arab invasion. He traces the history back to the Carthaginian period and believes (to quote from a very careful review in the *Geographical Journal*) "That the penetration and vitality of Carthaginian civilization is to be gauged by the fact that the Punic language was widely spoken in Saint Augustine's day, and that Procopius records it as still spoken by the country people in the sixth century A.D. Are we to regard the history of North Africa as a duel between Western and Oriental influences, Latin and Christian Africa, great though its achievements were, being a mere episode of a few centuries between two millenniums of the Orient?"

The author finds valuable demographic evidence in the fauna of ancient Maghreb. The presence of elephants throughout the Roman age and the export of wild beasts to fight in the circus games must mean that the population was small and that there were vast areas of uninhabited forests which later became cultivated lands or were peopled by nomadic pastoral tribes. Carthaginian Maghreb must have been three-quarters empty of people. The Roman age of peace and good government peopled the empty lands. Why did not this solid Roman work of civilization enable Latin and Christian Africa to survive?

The author finds the answer in the introduction of the camel. He gives chapter and verse for their first appearance in Julius Caesar's day, and gradual multiplication until the Roman general Anmianus Marcellinus was able to requisition four thousand camels in Tripoli in A.D. 363. "Among all the great benefits conferred by Rome on North Africa, the fatal gift of the camel brought her ruin. While it extended North African trade into the Sahara and the Sudan, it also gave an immense impetus to the strength and numbers of the nomad tribes, who in every age have been robbers and destroyers. From the sixth century onwards the history of Maghreb becomes more and more a struggle between the civilization of the towns and the savagery of nomads, between the sedentary peasants who cultivated the soil and the tent-dwelling pastoral tribes who found buildings useful merely to supply stone props and wood fuel for their kettles." Here is food for thought indeed.

The whole story as here told is of fascinating interest and the work is well documented. Z.

The Qur'ân Readings of Zaid b. 'Ali. By A. Jeffery. Tip. della R. Accademia Naz. dei Lincei del Dott. Giovanni Bardi, Rome. pp. 249-289.

This is an extract from Vol. 16 of the "Rivista Degli Studi Orientali". Professor Jeffery has here collated all the various readings from this source in his study of the textual criticism of the Koran. His conclusion is given as follows:

"It will be noted how few readings there are where Zaid b.

'Alī stands by himself. Some of the readers who agree with him in particular readings are later than him in time, and may possibly have learned their readings from his tradition, though this is not likely in very many cases. The much more likely theory is that he and they are both drawing from a common tradition. The impression one gains from a consideration of Zaid's reading as a whole is that he was not attempting to form a special tradition of his own, as may be said of the Seven or of such Readers as 'Isā b. 'Umar or al-Jahdarī, but made independent choice of what he considered best among the various types of oral tradition current in his time."

"That the text tradition was still fluid in his time is perfectly clear, but it will be noticed that his textual variants show far fewer cases where the variant depends on a different consonantal text from that current today, than is the case in the variants collected from the Codices of Ubai and Ibn Mas'ūd. Indeed it will have been noticed that there are not a few instances where his readings have the appearance of being corrections of a written text that lay before him. This postulates a definite stage in the process of crystallization of the tradition, but as there were various types of written text current at an early period in Islam, it is not necessary to assume that he must have had before him some early form of the present 'Uthmānic text." Z.

Das Bild des Früh Islam in der Arabischen Dichtung von der Higrā bis zum Tode des Kalifen 'Umar. 1—23 D. H. und 622-644 N. CH. von Omar A. Farrukh, B.A. August Pries, Leipzig; Luzac & Co. London. pp. 142. 7/6.

This doctor's thesis by a Syrian Orientalist, for the University of Erlangen, is worthy of careful attention because it opens a new field of investigation regarding the character of early Islam. From the outset historians have used Arabian poetry as a third source next to the Koran and the Hadith. The author considers this source of extraordinary value and in his own words has made the attempt "to portray the spread and influence of Islam in Arabia during the first half-century of the Hegira from the witness of contemporary poets," such as are quoted in Ibn Hisham and listed to the number of nearly two hundred. As Wellhausen remarked, "the question of the genuineness of this poetry is not supremely important since doubtless it portrays the life, ethics, and thought of Pagan Arabia, faithfully for us."

After a classification of the sources, we have here a fourfold picture of earliest Islam based on this material: (1) The creed, i.e., the names and attributes of Allah, the doctrine of angels and demons and the eschatology of Islam. (2) The relations between early Islamic poetry and the Koran-text. (3) Ethics, i.e., the significance of such terms as *Din* and *Birr*, and of the ritual and of social duties. (4) Islam in its relation to Arabian nationalism.

The author seems to be master of his source material and well acquainted with the work of earlier writers on the subject. The Arabic text is given in every instance with translation and there are comparative tables on the use of terms as well as a very good index. The chapter on the names of God (pp. 10-34) gives evidence

that the terms *Allah*, *Rabb*, *Al-Rahmān*, and *Malik* were in use before Islam, and all referred to the Supreme Deity. Aside from its critical value the book furnishes an admirable anthology of the earliest Arabic religious poetry. Z.

Triumphant Pilgrimage: an English Muslim's Journey from Sarawak to Mecca. By Owen Rutter. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. pp. 296. \$2.50.

The jacket bears this comment from the *London Times*,—"A strange book"—, and this reviewer is tempted to let his opinion rest with that same observation.

The author, who has written other books about the East, purports to get the facts for the narrative from the lips of that rather nebulous character, the English pilgrim, and his Malayan wife. But what is fact and what fiction is not very evident.

What it has to say about Islam is about what might be expected from one who would use religion as a force to further political ends. The greater value of the book lies in its description of Malay life and the difficulties incident to the journey to Mecca. It is not free from misstatements concerning the faith of Islam. The prevailing dialog style makes it easy to read and perhaps as easy to forget.

JAMES CANTINE.

The Gates of Jerusalem. By Jacqueline Cockburn. J. Murray, London, 1937. pp. 300. 7s. 6d.

"Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord? or who shall stand in his holy place? He that hath clean hands and a pure heart; who hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity" Jerusalem, the hill of the Lord, holy city of three faiths, draws to itself earnest zealots from each, men and women who are jealous for their God. To each, the manner of life of every other faith is but vanity, unworthy of the holy city. We are shocked by the riots of Jerusalem, perpetrated in the name of religion. Yet behind some of this violence is a pathetic faith, a childlike simplicity that would bar the vanities of every other sect than its own. Jacqueline Cockburn, in "The Gates of Jerusalem," has through fiction presented much truth. Nine chapters, each artistically complete, reveal the thoughts and motives of the strangely divergent people of the city. Orthodox Jew and Zionist, fiery Muslim, penniless Russian, lovable Franciscan, ambitiously cunning European and practical Britisher—with sympathy and kindness the incongruous population of the Holy City is presented. Others have described the political and economic problems, but here we have the souls of those who compose the contending factions.

From those who believe that religious differences are soluble only in more religion, will come the most serious criticism of this book. We should like to meet some of the people of reconciliation, Jerusalem's greatest hope for the future.

This is a work of rare insight and literary fascination, a treat for all who love Jerusalem.

Hartford

MOSES BAILEY.

The Dangerous Sea: The Mediterranean and its Future. By George Slocombe. The Macmillan Company, New York. pp. 286. \$2.50.

"No stretch of water in the world compares with the Mediterranean in historic, in ethnographical, and in human interest." And few authors have been able to treat so comprehensive, provocative a subject with such concise brilliance. In the brief history of the sea at the outset of the book, the author builds a background with swift, deft strokes. The main body of the book is a statement of the position today of every nation and dependency on the shores of the Mediterranean. At the end of each chapter dealing with an independent nation, a table shows the strength or weakness of the naval forces of that nation.

To students of Islam statements such as these will stimulate thought: "The Moslem world from Morocco to Syria is a sensitive sounding-board which magnifies the least whisper of impending political disintegration or class conflict in Western Europe. The mass strikes, the wholesale occupation of industrial plants, and the disorganization which preceded and followed the formation of the first Popular Front Government in France seemed to many Arab minds, more familiar with the ancient Oriental notion of despotic power than with the myriad uneasy manifestations of democracy in evolution, the precursor of the downfall of the West. The civil war in Spain has provided an even more dramatic symbol of the apparent disintegration of the Christian world."

The prophetic last chapter, which is called "The Cradle of Civilisations—And Their Tomb", is confused and bombastic. Empires will rise and fall again, says the writer, sounding another knell for democracy. Imperialism has been and still is a predominant force in Asia as well as in the Mediterranean; whether this will always be true is open to question. Certainly the facts given in this book do not encourage an easy optimism. The end papers of the book are copies of good maps of the region under discussion, available for quick reference.

Columbus, Ohio.

MARY M. BRITTAIN.

Palestine at the Crossroads. By Ernest Main. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1937. pp. 309. 7/6.

Within the space of one year two books have appeared bearing the same title and treating of the same subject. The first, by Ladislav Farago, has been reviewed by the present writer in the *MOSLEM WORLD* (July, 1937). Both of these works have been written by journalists, not scholars, both are definitely biased, and both beg the question. Of the two, however, Mr. Main's is by far the superior. Mr. Main is the better journalist.

This does not mean that the second "Palestine At The Crossroads" adds more to our knowledge than the first, excepting perhaps where the author takes up the British imperial policy in the "Middle East." Mr. Main has shown his intimate understanding of this subject both in this present work and in his previous work on Iraq (reviewed by the present writer in the *MOSLEM WORLD*, January, 1937). Mr. Main has also taken cognizance of the bearing which the problems facing

world Jewry as a whole has on Palestine. But it does not occur to him that Zionism, as a means for the amelioration of Jewish distress in Europe, inflicts upon the Arabs of Palestine the very same ills from which the Jews themselves are justifiably seeking to escape. The Palestine question is not religious, nor racial, nor economic, nor political, but moral. And the moral standards of imperialism, British or otherwise, are dubious in the extreme.

The imperious question in Palestine today is whether one people, no matter how "backward," should be dispossessed by another, no matter how "civilized," through the active aid of a ruthless imperialism and a callous and unscrupulous propaganda, to the sentimental appeal of which a large portion of the Christian world has succumbed.

Princeton University

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Muhammad—A Mercy To All Nations. By al-Hajj Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy. Luzac & Co., London, 1937. pp. 389. 7/6.

Twelve centuries have passed and the *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* of ibn-Ishāq (d. 768), as we have it in the rescension of ibn-Hishām (d. 833), is still the best biography of Muḥammad. The present handiwork of Mr. Jairazbhoy has not superseded that of old ibn-Ishāq. In fact, the interested scholar as well as the cultivated layman will benefit more by ignoring this "modern" biography and reading the classic of ibn-Ishāq.

Mr. Jairazbhoy's biography is made up of a series of apologies in defense of Muḥammad against the multitude of charges which were levelled against him from the time of abu-Lahab down to the present time. The author leans over backward and gives us a distorted picture of the Prophet. Strange as it may seem, the non-Moslem writers who have addressed themselves to the task of writing a life of Muḥammad have given us a more human, healthier and stronger representation of Muḥammad than that which the present author makes.

In chapter xxxiii the author presents selections from the Old Testament, the Gospel, the Purāṇas, the Atharva Veda, and the Parsi scriptures which purport to foretell Muḥammad and his mission. With incredible naïveté the author quotes one of these "prophecies" from the *Dasātīr*, a work described by Browne in his "Literary History of Persia" (New York, 1902), p. 53, as "one of the most impudent forgeries ever perpetrated." The *Dasātīr* was based on a treatise composed in India about the middle of the seventeenth century of the Christian era.

It is clear that the author of this book has undertaken his task with commendable enthusiasm, but it is also apparent that he was totally unfitted from a scholarly standpoint to carry it out.

Princeton University

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

It is Hard to be a Christian. By Samuel Marinus Zwemer. Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd., London and Edinburgh. pp. 160. 3/6.

Every production from the pen of Dr. Zwemer evidences his loyalty to Scripture, his unclouded faith and his devotion to the

Gospel of Christ. In this most recent publication he considers "Some Aspects of the Fight for Character in the Life of the Pilgrim." Such, indeed, is the sub-title of the book. It discloses the pictures which lie in the background of the author's mind, namely, scenes from Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Each chapter is prefaced by an extract from this immortal allegory and the subsequent discussions breathe the atmosphere of conflict, of effort, of struggle, but also of victory and of triumph.

"It Is Hard To Be A Christian", as Browning states in the first line of his poem on "Easter Day." Selecting this line as the title of his book, the writer proceeds to show wherein the difficulties lie and how these can be overcome.

The "Factors in the Fight" are found in Personality, Heredity, and Environment, but the supreme factor is supernatural. It is Regeneration, "our hope, our only hope."

"Conscience" is an unfailing guide for "Conduct", but it must be "a renewed conscience", the standards of which must be adjusted to the character of Christ as revealed in the Gospels. When in Eden, by disobedience to God, conscience had been polluted, there was given the gracious promise of a Redeemer who was to come. The "Cross" of that Redeemer is "The Searchlight of God", revealing secret sin and leading to penitence and to pardon.

In the life of every Christian there is the "Tragedy" of conscious weakness due to the "flesh", but also the "Glory" of "Unconscious Power" due to the indwelling Spirit of God.

To serve Christ truly one must avoid "the spirit of the hireling", and must be impelled solely by love for his Lord. It is possible for the Pilgrim to live as did Enoch and Noah, "Two Who Walked with God". We must believe in God's providences which veritably are "The Wheels of Life" as symbolized in the vision of Ezekiel. We must be "Sons of Martha", willing to serve, even in the drudgery of the commonplace, yet without being "anxious and troubled". Indeed, we must be ready so to sacrifice for the sake of Christ that his "Scars" may be our "Pattern". We must be willing to stand alone and to share something of the "Loneliness of Christ", but thus we shall find Him to be our close companion and friend.

Such are the titles and such in part the message of these inspiring chapters. They make us realize that the Christian's journey is beset with hardships and peril, but they encourage us to believe that triumphant progress is possible, and that the Celestial City can be attained by everyone who, as Bunyan sings, "will labour night and day to be a Pilgrim".

Princeton, N. J.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Umbruch im Morgenland. By G. Stratilssauer. W. Richard Linder Verlag, Leipzig. 128 pp.

A German view of the stupendous economic social and political changes in the Near East and their effect on the religion of Islam and its votaries. The author lays stress on the effect of rapid transport by motors in unifying and awakening the peoples. Z.

Moslem Editors say—(A Selection of Excerpts from the Moslem Press of Iran, Syria, Palestine, Turkey and Egypt). Compiled by Herrick B. Young. Friendship Press, New York. pp. 48. \$.25.

This little book offers source material for anyone who desires to speak on the present conditions in Moslem lands. It has two parts: one on the political and social ferment; and the other on the religious confusion resulting from the impact of modernism and Christianity. Here are open windows to the thought life of Islam. It is with regret that we note the compiler has made no comment on any of the excerpts. It is true that they speak for themselves, but to the average reader they will need an interpreter. Z.

Asking them Questions. Compiled by Ronald Selby Wright, St. Giles, Edinburgh. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936. pp. 243, with subject index and glossary. \$1.50.

How many of us are aware of the problems of our religious faith and life that arrive in the minds of our young people? Here we have over two score such questions that actually have been asked; and the answers given by men of distinction in the church circles of England and Scotland. A valuable book for parents, teachers, and pastors.

JAMES CANTINE.

CURRENT TOPICS

Turkey and Religion

The Grand National Assembly made certain amendments to the Constitution of the Turkish Republic on the 5th of February last. Article 2 especially was changed and now reads (in part), "The Turkish State is Republican, Nationalistic, Populist, Laic, Etatist and Revolutionary!" These six principles are the fundamental planks in the platform of the People's Party.

It is of special interest that the State is declared to be Laic. The term implies that the State does not recognize an official religion, nor does it stand to support any particular religion. In the old Constitution an Article stated that "The Religion of the State is Islam"; this is no longer so; no one now interferes with another's religion, each respects that of the other; in religion as in intellectual and political matters fanaticism has given place to mutual tolerance.

The deputy Bey Nejib Ali, writing in *Ulus*, the official organ of Ankara, warns the Turkish people, however, that freedom of conscience is not a limitless freedom. The State may interfere in certain situations. He says that children under eighteen may in foreign schools be subjected to a kind of spiritual compulsion in religion, and this in fact has happened and cannot be tolerated. But after passing the age of eighteen every individual is free to choose his religion, provided this does not disturb the social order. "The State is Laic, and everyone can think and believe as he likes, but the young must not be dragged into Catholicism, and thereby a culture foreign to our thought and feeling be permitted to spring up in the midst of the Turkish people."

—*World Dominion News.*

The Bible in the Sahara

The National Bible Society of Scotland is circulating the Scriptures among Touaregs, Arabs and the French military forces who hold the fortified posts in the Sahara. In a recent journey between Morocco and Tamanrasset in the Algerian Sahara, 400 copies, chiefly in French and Arabic, were sold. Soldiers in the Foreign Legion—Russians, Germans, Belgians, Poles, Swedes and a few Britishers—were eager to receive Scriptures in their own languages. The Society is stocking a Bible shop at Tamanrasset in all necessary languages, including two Gospels in the Tifnagh script of the Touaregs, the first Scriptures yet translated into that tongue. In this Saharan town Père de Foucauld—soldier, missionary and mystic—lies buried, and his tomb is becoming a place of pilgrimage for devout Roman Catholics.

Increase of Population in Palestine

"Palestine may in justice claim to be unique in its birth-rates. The Moslems, who are by far the largest section of the country's population, had a birth-rate of 53.14 per 1000 in 1936, a rate far in excess of any other people in the contemporary world. Although the Jews are considerably less fertile, their birth-rate of 29.74 per 1000 is far higher than the average Jewish birth-rate abroad (estimated at about 17 per 1000). As both the Moslem and the Jewish death rates are comparatively low (19.97 and 8.82 per 1000), Palestine's natural increase is a world record. The Moslem annual natural increase is 33.17 per 1000, and the Jewish 20.92 per 1000.

Assuming a standstill in immigration and a continuation of the present rates of natural increase, the Moslem population would double in 21 years, and the Jews in 33 years. It goes without saying that such a forecast is of little practical value since neither birth-rate nor death-rate is likely to remain constant, nor is a cessation of immigration to be expected. Yet these figures illustrate the advantage held by the Arabs as regards population increase. More so, as the apparent favourable Jewish fertility is highly delusive, being the consequence of an abnormal age-distribution characteristic of countries of large immigration. Properly analysed, Jewish fertility in Palestine differs little from Jewish fertility in Poland or America. This applies especially to the Ashkenazim—the Sephardim still adhere to the prolific tradition of their ancestors, if not to their Oriental surroundings. Numerous surveys of urban and rural settlements are quite conclusive on this point, more than two children per couple being unusual. This is especially the case in most of the co-operative settlements (Kibbutzim). There is little doubt but that these admirable centres of the Jewish revival would substantially decrease before long were it not for the constant influx of newcomers."

—Vol. I: 1—*Bulletin of Economic Research* (Jerusalem)

Evangelical Opportunity in Albania

The Turkish yoke upon Albania which had kept the country in a backward state for five centuries was broken in 1912. King Zog was proclaimed in 1928 and his accession was followed by a recovery which was marked by an uprising of the national spirit. National unity in every domain was insisted upon and the welding forces of religion and education were applied all over the country.

Albania is the most Moslem country in Europe. Moslems constitute 70 per cent of the people, next come the Orthodox, numbering 20 per cent, and lastly the Catholics totalling 10 per cent, out of a population of about 1,000,000. Divisive propaganda by these three prevailing faiths has been stayed, by the expedient of showing patronage to the two most important of them, thereby bringing their leaders into the scheme of national unity.

Protestant work is represented by a relatively weak Evangelical Mission at Kortcha. Its particular work of preaching, Sunday Schools, circulation of the Scriptures and religious literature enjoys the benevolent regard of the authorities. The mission, however, has no legal status.

Model Housing for the Egyptian Fellah

The Royal Agricultural Society of Egypt, which is occupied in investigating the country's agricultural problems, has of recent years undertaken some practical experiments with a view to improving the lot of the Egyptian *fellah*. Thus the Society has established within the area of its experimental stations two model agricultural farms ("*Ezbehs*") where special attention is given to the question of housing for agricultural workers. One block of houses contains 30 flats for workers, 3 for officials, a mosque, a school, public hall and bath house; each apartment has its own sanitary installation. On this farm there are two types of houses, a roomy house, and a smaller-sized one. The smaller type costs L.E.125, and the larger one L.E.196.

In order to meet still more modest requirements, such as are in keeping with the earning power of the *fellah*, the Society has erected on its second farm a row of houses of a much simpler type, yet far superior to their present standard. The cost even of these is still higher than that of the poor dwellings now in use. The price of these houses, which are built of rough bricks, is L.E.25 each.

The above figures show that it will be some time yet before the *fellah* or the agricultural worker will be in a position to enjoy such housing conditions, the expenses attached to their erection being far beyond their financial means.

Nevertheless, the initiators of these schemes are confident that this exhibition will have an appreciable effect on the housing conditions of the Egyptian *fellah*.

—*Bulletin of Economic Research* (Jerusalem)

Arabia in the Stream of Progress

The Hadramaut is being opened up by new road construction. A beginning has been made by a one hundred mile route from the port of Sheher (north of Mukalla) to Tarim. Cars will displace the slow-moving camel caravan. The Governor of Aden, Sir Bernard Reilly, opened the road on July 19th, accompanied by the Alkab Seyyids, a prominent local family who met its entire cost of £24,000.

Umm-el-Qura (published at Mecca) of May 28th, announces the formation of the Automobile Society of Nejd with offices at Er-Riyadh with a capital of £15,000. During the pilgrimage to the Holy Cities it will have the monopoly of transporting pilgrims from the ports and frontiers posts of Nejd and Hejaz, and will assure a passenger service at other periods of the year.

Islamic Ceremony in Chicago Hospital

The Moslem press (Ahmadiya) gave prominence to the following "special despatch" from Chicago. It is very significant to the student of Islam to note that the '*Aqiqa*' ceremony was observed here also:

"Sufi M. R. Bengalee, Muslim Minister to the United States, celebrated a blessed event in the arrival of a baby girl, born to his

wife Attiyya, on April 21st, at the German Deaconess Hospital here.

"In all probability, this was the first time in the history of the nation that a Muslim child was born under the complete ritualistic customs of Islam. The dramatic details of Sufi Bengalee's visit to the hospital at 2 o'clock on the morning of April 21st, were told by him in an address at the Mosque, seven days after the birth of the child, at which was held the customary killing of the goat. A large and variegated congregation of people attended this function, including many Muslim Arabs, East Indians, white and coloured Americans.

"The hospital attachés and attending physician, although not of Muslim persuasion, aided in the observance of *purda*, throughout the time Attiyya was confined to the hospital. In this, a great step was established in creating a sympathy of understanding for the traditions of Islam among American people.

"The German Deaconess Hospital is one of the largest and most modernly equipped of its kind in Chicago. Its staff of physicians, surgeons and nurses is great in number and they, almost in entirety, because of their interest in the birth of a Muslim child, which they had never heretofore witnessed, took great pains to see that Muslim rituals were adhered to and that Attiyya was made comfortable in every way.

"Shortly after one o'clock on the night of the 21st of April, Sufi Bengalee arrived at the hospital. The baby had just been born and the nurses and doctor were going about their work quietly and efficiently. The proceedings were temporarily interrupted, when Mr. Bengalee took the new-born baby in his arms and whispered the *Azan* into its ear. When this was finished, more prayers were whispered into the other ear of the child. The baby stirred, as if touched by some spiritual urge. The nurses stood about in awed silence, themselves affected by the beauty of the ritual. Then, the child was given back to the nurses, who put him to sleep in his basket in the maternity ward with the other babies."

Muslim Women and Apostasy

Under the above heading the following letter appeared in the Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, dated June 27th, 1937:

"Sir,—In your issue of June 9 there appeared an announcement about certain Resolutions and Bills to be presented to the Punjab Assembly by Mian Abdul Aziz. 'The first Bill seeks to provide a definite law for the eradication of apostasy among Muslim married women in the Punjab. At present the mere allegation or declaration of a change of religion by a married woman is sufficient to dissolve her marriage. The new Bill seeks to change this law.'

"Women who read this announcement were horrified to learn that such a Bill could be brought forward in the very first session of the Punjab Assembly. The fact is, Muslim women at present have no hope of ever getting a divorce except by changing their religion, and now, as a Muslim contemporary says, 'Mian Abdul Aziz wants to close this door also on her, which means that the only door left to her to get rid of a villain would be to commit suicide.'

Incidentally, all men and women have a God-given right to worship Him as their hearts and consciences dictate, yet this inherent right also is to be denied to Muslim married women in the Punjab. Surely it but confirms the contention of women that more seats should be allotted to them, when a man in this 20th century seeks to introduce a Bill which will thus wrong his own woman-folk.

"We expect better things though from other Muslim men in the Assembly and trust that Begum Shah Nawaz and other ladies will strongly oppose this Bill.

"In the All-India Women's Conference, 1935, Muslim women claimed 'that the right of divorce as conceded by the Islamic Law to Muslim women should be recognized by British Courts.' If this were done, or if the Assembly passed a Bill of Divorce, then no Muslim women would need so to demean herself as to pretend to change her religion, which she holds in high honour, merely to get release from some impossible situation.

"We, therefore, appeal to the chivalrous men of the Punjab to champion this cause, for which they will gain the gratitude of good women of all faiths, for our cause is one, as has often been stated by the International Council of Women.

—A woman who seeks fair play."

Imperialism and Islam

The imperialistic cause is at stake in this century. The Government of the people for the people and by the people is the order of the day. Imperialism had its hey-day but now it seems doomed to die. Imperialists never felt any scruples in adopting any course and identifying themselves with any cause that served their purpose.

Napoleon proclaimed himself a Muslim because he wanted to enslave them. During the Great War the Ex-Kaiser of Germany declared himself a Muslim for he cherished the ambition of becoming the ruler of the region between Berlin and Baghdad. Now Mussolini after his return from Lybia posed himself as the defender of Islam. There are instances of other European rulers also who with materialistic ambitions got themselves converted to Islam only to improve their imperialistic designs. Such renegades renounced their faith not for the love of Islam but only to serve as spies to consummate their imperialistic predilections. There was a time when we Muslims were elated on such conversions but imperialism being opposed to the socialistic principles of Islam, which came to quell and crush individualistic predominance and provide full scope and fair play to all alike without distinctions, we Muslims should never countenance with favour or rejoicings such pretensions.

—*The Muslim Review*, (Lucknow).

Moslems and the Congress of India

The following extract is from the *Statesman* (Calcutta) of August 16th, 1937, and is by the regular contributor 'Ain-el-Mulk':
 "Congress leaders have never tired of assuring the Moslems that the rights of minorities would always be safe in their hands. Now has come the time when the worth of these assurances will be tested.

The brief while that Congressmen have been in power in six provinces has already provided proofs that those assurances will not stand the test. Making a rapid survey one finds that out of a total of thirty-seven Ministers in the six Congress provinces as many as thirty-one are caste Hindus and only five are Moslems, while the scheduled caste Hindus have secured only one ministership. Next, one notices that the Congress flag which does not represent all communities and which Moslems have declined to accept as their own is being forced on everybody indiscriminately as a symbol which they must all honour. The song *Bande Mataram* to which Moslems have the greatest objection has been sung inside the legislatures and even Moslems have been compelled (not physically of course) to get up in their seats in reverence while it was being sung. All this is most disquieting already. Lest European and other readers not conversant with the nature of the so-called 'national song' fail to understand the reason why Moslems object to it, it may be useful to give its genesis in brief. Moslems object to it on two grounds. Firstly, it was originally composed and embodied in a novel by the writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee of Bengal who put it in the mouth of a rebel-hero named Bhabananda. This Bhabananda's sole aim was to turn out the Moslems from Bengal and he is made to express the wish in one place that the time might come when 'mosques might be demolished and temples raised on their sites.' This rebel-hero goes round the country singing the song *Bande Mataram* and using it as a means to fire the imagination of Hindus to rise in arms against the Moslems. Thus *Bande Mataram* was originally a hymn of hate against Moslems and was intended to be an inspiration to violence. This is why Moslems object to it. Secondly, in the course of the song the 'motherland' is compared specifically to several Hindu goddesses and words in worship of such images are freely used. It is, therefore, idolatrous in spirit and expression. Naturally Moslems feel adverse to being a party to its singing and cannot accept it as the national song of India if they also are to be a component part of that nation."

Conviction versus Compromise

The Rev. F. J. Barny of The American Mission in Arabia writes in *Neglected Arabia* on the real relation of Mohammed to Christianity and at the close of a thoughtful article says:

"When there are those who tell us that Islam is a Christian heresy one can only wonder at such use of words. No one has suggested that Mohammed ever was a Christian or that he came out of Christianity. On the other hand, can anything without Christ be called Christian? Certainly Islam is fitted out with all religious doctrines and practices, faith in God, repentance, forgiveness, good works, a final judgment, prayer, fasting, etc. But how different all these are from their Christian counterparts! And when to the above statement the advice is added for us missionaries that we should go to Moslems as brothers, the older and better instructed to the younger and less instructed, one knows that we have here a piece of 'arm-chair advice.' Friendliness has taken the Mission a long way but the limit of friendliness or brotherliness is reached when the subject of Jesus Christ and Him crucified is touched.

“Further, since the Koran denies the two central doctrines of our faith and that denial is unabated in Islam today, there is in this fact a constant call to the church and its missions to defend the faith, ‘the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me.’ I have spoken of doctrines but I do not argue for theological theory or suggest that the practical missionary should teach doctrines. And yet we have the Gospel of salvation to preach, nothing less. I know the temptation one is under continually to preach Christ as the ‘Altogether Lovely’ and to dwell upon his perfect ethic. The text, ‘I, if I be lifted up will draw all men unto me,’ comes to mind readily but we forget St. John’s remark that ‘This he said, signifying what death he should die.’ In view of the known paucity of results among Moslems (at least in the Near East) and of the lamentable instability of such converts as have been won, is it not time to inquire whether we have not failed at the very centre? More and more I am getting critical of remarks by missionaries questioning the applicability to Moslems of the Gospel of the forgiveness of sins through Jesus Christ. But how to preach these things? Well, no message can be vital unless it springs from living experience and when our Lord revealed the mystery of His death and resurrection to the Twelve he also said to them and the rest, ‘If any man will come after me let him deny himself and take up his cross daily and follow me.’ God grant that we Christians at home and on the field may more truly follow him.”

Fast of Ramadan Observed in New York

We quote the following from a New York Daily:

“The call ‘Allah Akbar’ (Allah be praised) is ringing throughout the mosques of the world today where Mohammedans are starting celebration of the fast of Ramedan, which will last until December 5th. More than seventy of the faithful from New York answered the call of the prayer leader last night in the city’s only Mohammedan mosque, at 108 Powers Street, Brooklyn.

“Dressed in red and green fezzes, the worshipers participated in a solemn ceremony before the gold pulpit, decorated with a star and crescent, where Imam Samuel Rafalowich, prayer leader, read from the Koran and led a two-hour chant of prayers.

“The men and women were separated by a green veil about six feet high in the center of the room. A rule of the Mohammedan religion is that a man must be in state of ‘legal purity’ and must not have eaten, drunk or looked in a mirror after he has made his ablutions. Men and women are not supposed to see each other during the service. All of the faithful removed their shoes before entering the prayer chamber.

“Cross-legged, the Imam read the lesson from the Koran while the worshipers sat before him on their prayer rugs. On one side of the golden pulpit was a green flag and on the other a picture of the tomb of the Prophet in Mecca. Most of the Mohammedans present were from little Tartar villages in Northeast Poland.

“During the fast of Ramedan, the only fast ordered by Mohammed, his followers are not supposed to eat between sunrise and sunset. Prayer services will be held every Thursday and Sunday during the month at the mosque.”

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOUTH KURDISH, 1920-1936. C. J. Edmonds. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1937. pp. 487-497).

An "almost" complete list of books, pamphlets and periodicals published, with only two exceptions, in Iraq.

DANS L'AURÈS, CHEZ LES CHAOUIAS. François Verdé de Lisle. (In *Études*, Paris. 5-20 Août 1937. pp. 313-333; 5-20 Septembre 1937. pp. 475-484).

The descriptive journal of a member of a sanitary mission of the Pasteur Institute to malaria victims in Southeastern Algeria.

NOTICE OF AN UNKNOWN ANTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT ARABIC POETRY. S. M. Husain. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. July, 1937. pp. 433-452).

In Baghdad, about the year 1210, Muḥammad b. al'Mubâarak b. Muḥammad b. Maimûn compiled the "Muntaha 'l-Talab min Ash'âri 'l-'Arab", said to contain one thousand Arabic odes, only one third of which can be traced today.

PERSIAN ELEMENTS IN THE ARTS OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. D. Talbot Rice. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1937. pp. 385-396).

Reveals the magnitude and nature of Iran's influence from the 4th century B. C. to the full establishment of Islam.

THROUGH THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS AND THE ARMENIAN CILICIAN KINGDOM. E. H. King. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1937. pp. 591-614).

Detailed account of a journey through the ancient Armenian kingdom, with sketches of historical landmarks.

THE URDU LANGUAGE AND INDIAN-MUSLIM CULTURE. M. Mujib. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1937. pp. 341-353).

Discusses the past and future of the possible "lingua franca" of India, looking forward to the time when separate communities will be united in a single Indian state.

II. ARABIA

ARABIA—TO BE SAVED. Abdullah Philby. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. September, 1937. pp. 333-335).

Since Great Britain "has broken its promises to Arabia," the author hopes that Ibn Saud will do his duty to all his peoples.

IBN SA'UD OF ARABIA. Ameen Rihani. (In *Current History*, New York. September, 1937. pp. 62-64).

Praise and admiration are due this ruler who has consolidated his conquests into a unified whole and, for twelve years, has devoted his energies to introducing social and agricultural reforms.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

AL-MÂWARDÎ'S THEORY OF THE KHILÂFAH. H. A. R. Gibb. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1937. pp. 291-302).

Analyses a famous Sunni work on Islamic political theory, al-Ahkâm as-Sultâniyah.

ARABES ET BULGARES AU DÉBUT DU XE SIÈCLE. M. Canard. (In *Byzantion*, Bruxelles. Tome xi, fasc. 1 (1936). pp. 213-223).

Records the unsuccessful efforts of the powerful Bulgarian tsar, Simeon, (893-927) to subdue Constantinople by forming an alliance with the Arabs of Asia and Africa.

ISLAM IN ENGLAND. W. B. Bashyr-Pickard. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. September, 1937. pp. 345-354).

For proper development of the cult there is need for propaganda, consolidation of gains, a council, a Moslem community, a mosque and a manual of the Qur'an for English readers.

RELATIONS BETWEEN ARAB CIVILIZATION AND FOREIGN CULTURE IN THE PAST AND TODAY. Major J. B. Glubb. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1937. pp. 411-428).

Presents the thought that while European cultural influence is now strong in western Asia, history shows that Asian culture has often penetrated Europe and that the periods of interchange are about equal.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY.

LA CONFRÉRIE D'ÂLI BABA À TCHANKIRI. E. Borrell. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Année 1936, Cahier III, pp. 309-332).

Describes the rites of a now extinct sect which flourished in parts of Anatolia from the 13th to the early 19th century and which concerned itself primarily with moral questions.

THE PROPHET OF ISLAM. The Hon. Mr. M. T. Akbar. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. August, 1937. pp. 301-310).

Moslem intelligentsia must reconstruct their religious thought in accordance with modern ideas and interpret the Qur'an for the present day.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE CUSTOMARY AND STATUTORY LAWS OF MUSLIMS IN INDIA. Hamid Ali. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1937. pp. 354-369).

A survey of legal practices recognized by British-Indian courts of law.

EDUCATION IN TURKEY. L. M. Niksel. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1937. pp. 545-554).

In addition to sweeping changes such as the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the reformation of the language, education in Turkey is free, from the lowest class in the primary school to the highest in the university.

LA FÉODALITÉ ISLAMIQUE. A. N. Poliak. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris, Année 1936, Cahier III. pp. 247-265).

Traces the development of Moslem feudalism through the ages, finding its principal distinction from its Western counterpart in its concentration in towns instead of centering about castles.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION AS RELATED TO SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF EGYPT'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT. Hamed el-Sayed Azmi. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Février-Mars, 1937. pp. 267-303).

Between 1897 and 1936 population has increased about 60% while arable land has gained only 7%, thus causing a wretched state of poverty.

THE MODERNIZATION OF HYDERABAD. B. S. Townroe. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1937. pp. 615-626).

Wise Indian self-government is no myth. This is shown by the remarkable advance in rural and urban improvements in Hyderabad.

EIN RITT DURCH PALÄSTINA IM JAHRE 1869. Prof. D. A. Alt. (In *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Leipzig. Bd. 60, Heft 1/3. pp. 1-132).

A collection of the letters of Albert Socin giving valuable

descriptions of ruined cities and information on the manners and customs of the Samaritans and other natives.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

PALESTINE: A PROTEST, A PROSPECT AND A COMPROMISE. Col. the Right Hon. Josiah C. Wedgwood. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. September, 1937. pp. 257-266).

A scathing refutation of an article by Major Temperly, "The Palestine Report", which welcomed partition as a Palestinian solution and which appeared in the August issue of the *Nineteenth Century and After*.

THE PALESTINE REPORT AND AFTER. (In *The Round Table*, London. September, 1937. pp. 740-754).

Considers the plan of the Commissioners from the angle of its workability and finds in their proposals a solid foundation for further political advance, not only in Palestine but throughout the Middle East.

PARTITION OF PALESTINE. Pierre Crabitès. (In *Current History*, New York. September, 1937. pp. 36-39).

Resents the thought that the Wailing Wall of the Jews, "which is the Holy Burak of the Mohammedans," will be under British mandate, thus antagonizing extremists of both parties.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM IN THE NEAR EAST. Judge Michael Hansson. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. July, 1937. pp. 397-410).

Deals with the plight of Armenian refugees in Bulgaria, Greece, Syria and the Soviet Republic of Erivan.

LA STRUCTURE ÉCONOMIQUE DE L'ÉGYPTE. Dr. Ahmed Souelem el Emary. (In *L'Égypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. Février-Mars, 1937. pp. 187-223).

European capital and consideration have enabled Egypt to reach her present prosperity and are still required to accomplish the development of this now politically independent country.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

ANNUAL REPORT: THE NEAR EAST. (In *The Mission Hospital*, London. September, 1937. pp. 212-223).

Gives glimpses of forward-moving work in all the centers, though Palestinian activities were for a time seriously curtailed by the Arab strikes.

CHALLENGE OF CHINESE MOSLEMS. Claude L. Pickens. (In *The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai. July, 1937. pp. 414-417).

Nestorian Christianity and Mohammedanism both entered China thirteen centuries ago. Today Islam is still well established, while Christianity, non-existent for many years after the fourteenth century, needs unity and strength of purpose to survive.

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN EGYPT. E. E. Elder. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. October, 1937. pp. 514-525).

Surveys the work of the Evangelical Church for the past seventy-five years, emphasizing its constant efforts to develop independent indigenous church bodies.

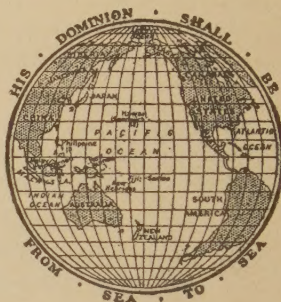
WORK IN ETHIOPIA AND THE SUDAN. Tom Lambie. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1937. pp. 422-423).

Papal and Fascist Rome seem determined to expel Protestant missionaries from Abyssinia, but in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, close to the Abyssinian border, lie many Mohammedan villages affording infinite evangelistic opportunity.

NOTE:—The entire October issue of *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, is devoted to Missions among Moslems, and offers articles by Dr. W. Wilson Cash, Dr. E. M. Dodd, Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson, Dr. Paul W. Harrison, Dr. Frank C. Laubach, Dr. John Van Ess, Dr. S. M. Zwemer and others.

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