

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XXVIII.

OCTOBER, 1938

No. 4

CHRISTIAN SERVICE TO MOSLEMS

It is of the essential nature of Christianity that people appropriate its benefits only by sharing them. Its greatest blessing is the love of God. This cannot be experienced without being exercised. "He that loves not knows not God."

Other religions offer their privileges on lower terms. Most of the more primitive cults think that they can purchase benefits by ritual performances. The typical Buddhist seeks salvation by self-cultivation or works of merit. The Moslem obeys commands that are largely external. But of Christianity it has been said that no one can be redeemed who is not also a redeemer. If a person does not desire to share his Christianity it is a proof that he has not got the real thing.

The Christian Church through the ages has transmitted the faith once delivered to the saints, but more by the momentum of its ritual and worship than by aggressive evangelization. The bulk of its membership have never gone out of their way to share their Christian privileges with other peoples. Of all the great religious communities, Moslems have received the least Christian effort.

Before the birth of Mohammed, Ulphilas had evangelized the Goths, and Colomba and his associates had evangelized Scotland. Before Mohammed had his first visions Pope Gregory had sent Augustine to England. In the succeeding centuries Boniface was a spearhead in the evangelization of Germany, and Anskar carried the gospel

to Scandinavia. Though Christianity, as Hitti says, had trickled into Arabia from Syria, there was no such missionary effort as in the case of Europe, no Bible in Arabic as in Gothic. The Christianity of those days was none too bright, but its darker side was turned toward Arabia.

Since then Christendom has been beating off Moslem attacks or advancing at the expense of Moslem political power. Devoted individuals have more worthily represented Christ, but the Christian nations as a whole have been enemies. To many Moslems Christianity stands for political control, economic exploitation, social demoralization, and secularized education. We as Christians feel that this estimate is unjust. How is it possible for anyone to think of us in this way? Simply because contacts with the seamy side of Christianity have been on a large scale, and contacts with the best type of Christianity have been on a small scale.

Two and a half centuries ago the Turks were at the gates of Vienna and the Moslem world covered the bulk of India. Since then Moslem political power has crumbled so that the great majority of Moslems live today under the flags of nominal Christian powers.

An old agricultural and handicraft economy has been invaded by agents of industrialized capitalism who dictate the terms on which they will pay wages. No wonder that Turkey and Iran are suspicious of foreign exploitation. A social system which has attempted to exercise restraint by segregation of sexes and subordination of women is assailed by western standards of freedom. While these enable people to be their best, they also permit them to be their worst. Without basis in Christian principle they are demoralizing.

Modern scientific education is a tool which lends itself to varied uses. It may help to realize the highest purposes. But it may also undermine traditions which have been the support of moral ideals, thus turning believers into skeptics.

We cannot prevent these tendencies from exerting their

influence on the Moslem. What we can and must do is to supply at the same time a type of Christianity which will indicate our sympathy with all worthy political aspirations, our desire for economic justice, the extension of our best family ideals into all social relations, the employment of truth in the interest of the best human welfare, and above all, such a conception of the nature of God as revealed in Jesus Christ as shall draw out the fullest allegiance to His righteousness and love. As Christians we are debtors to all men to share with them all good things. To Moslems this debt has been least adequately discharged. Christian service to Moslems has therefore a primary claim on our effort.

New York City

T. H. P. SAILER.

Roger Craig Cumberland

On Sunday, June 12th, after a glorious sunrise, Roger C. Cumberland was murdered in his home in Dohuk, Northern Iraq, by two Kurds, who called ostensibly for obtaining books, and shot him when his back was turned.

A lover of the people among whom he worked, a master of their language and customs, an ever-sympathetic helper for all who came to him for counsel or assistance, his death leaves a large gap in the staff of the United Mesopotamia Mission, in the field of which he has been working since 1923.

On the last afternoon of his life, while in intense pain, with one leg broken by a bullet and several bullet wounds in his body, he insisted that all visitors be admitted, and gave loving and powerful testimony to his Lord and Redeemer.

His death calls us to prayer for his bereaved family, for the Kurdish people he so dearly loved, and for the consecration of young life to the completion of the task for which he died—the proclamation by life and by the spoken and written word to the Kurdish people of the Lord Jesus Christ as the one divine and all-sufficient Saviour.

Mosul, Iraq

ALBERT G. EDWARDS.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NOMADISM FOR HEBREW ORIGINS

The Hebrews were originally nomads, Bedouins, living according to the tribal pattern of life. As such, from the wanderings of the "exodus" they entered Canaan, only gradually changing to an agricultural-commercial economy and a national political system. Because of their origin, and the nature of Palestine, they retained much of pastoralism. Their laws, religious beliefs, and literary forms and figures are in the main (with due allowance for influences from Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Anatolian, and other sources, including "adjustments" to Canaanite life) to be understood best in the light of such nomadic background. From their tribal concepts, however narrowly conceived, came many of the highest social and religious ideals of the Bible, such as "democracy," brotherhood, the welfare of the common man and of the commonwealth above privilege of individuals or groups.

The purpose of this article is to mention some of the Biblical evidence for nomadic origin, and to plead for more attention to oriental connections in Biblical study, whether mainly archaeological, historical, or religious. For oriental and Biblical studies make an ideal combination, and each lends largely to the other.

It will perhaps be agreed that Ibn Khaldun's pioneer philosophy of social history applies well to life in the Biblical-Islamic world. Most scholars allow for a nomadic era in Hebrew development; and here is a neutral area in which one may, if discreet, draw interesting and instructive parallels between the modern life of the Bedouins, as well as ancient desert life as described in Arabic literature, and that of the ancient Hebrews. Differences of opinion among scholars appear in the estimated length and importance of the wilderness-period of Hebrew history. There is, further, wide disagreement regarding the stage of culture and

religion which the Hebrews reached before entering Canaan.

Arab tribal life is so well known from the familiar books on the subject that it need not be discussed. (Knowledge of it shows that the Arabs are the typical surviving example of the ancient Semites, and not the Jews, as is asserted in some textbooks.) Despite the nationalistic and national-religious coloring of the story of the exodus wanderings and the conquest and settlement, the general features of the nomadism of the Hebrews can be seen clearly from the age of the Patriarchs to that of the monarchy. So that the earlier Old Testament history gives us a splendid picture of oriental life—and the study of oriental life richly informs us and truly “orients” us, as we seek to understand the Old Testament.

Characteristics of the Bedouins give us insight into the character of the earlier Hebrews, who were themselves Bedouins. Lammens¹ sets forth the anarchy of the Bedouins with persistence of the clan idea; their individualism, with, none the less, submission and devotion of the individual to the will and good of the tribe; the “democracy” and limitations of the sheikhdum which follow from their antipathy toward authority imposed from above; their “self-confidence, dogged determination and tenacious egotism”

In this connection it is of interest, and perhaps of value, to recall the “Meribah” and “Massah” in the wilderness, and the difficulty of finally achieving nationhood, although that was in the line of natural development. Comparison is instructive here, as at many points, with the history of Arab empire. Witness the continuing strife between North and South Arabs, and of parties and sects, from Cordova to Samarkand.

A point of special interest is the possible relation of the Bedouin quality of “dogged determination” to a noted expression of Habakkuk (2:4). Lammens says: “The most indisputable quality of the Bedouin—yet another fruit of

¹ “Islam, Beliefs and Institutions,” tr. Sir E. Denison Ross, E. P. Dutton, N. Y., p. 8ff.

his individualism—is his *ṣabr*. This word must not be translated as ‘patience.’ It is something quite different. It is an indomitable tenacity in struggling against his enemy—nature—against the implacable elements, against the desert beasts of prey, and above all against man” Does not this give us the background of the “just shall live by his faithfulness?” For that is *ṣabr* upon a different plane and against different circumstances, but *ṣabr* still.²

Hebrew historical material covering the earlier age gives a clear picture of Hebrew nomadism. There are excellent summaries by Montgomery, Flight, and others.³

Perhaps the Mosaic-priestly laws are the crux of the whole matter. Were they adopted wholesale from the Babylonian and other ancient oriental codes, or were they developments mainly from indigenous elements of nomadic life—with adaptations, of course, to changing conditions? Certainly the correct method is to seek first to explain cultural developments from within, and only then to have recourse to extraneous sources for what otherwise cannot be accounted for. Morgenstern emphasizes that the affinities and parallels with ancient and modern Bedouin practice are as important as those with old oriental codes, and that the Hebrew laws represent a half-way stage between nomadism and advanced civilization. One may hope that his observations throughout his monographs (as noted above and also in the several numbers of one entitled “The Book of the Covenant”) will be published in connected form.⁴

To note a few points in connection with the Laws: oath and ordeal in trial, blood revenge, the Passover from the original pastoral festival, the lunar calendar to which a solar calendar has been added, the Tent of Meeting and Moses’ offices there, the Urim and Thummim, the general relatively lower status of women before the law than among

² Perhaps we may, not wholly fancifully, apply this to the “miracle” of Hebrew-Jewish history in general; cf. Danby’s review of Baron, “A Social and Religious History of the Jews,” JBL, LVI, part IV, 1937, pp. 395-8.

³ Montgomery, “Arabia and the Bible”, Chap. I. generally, esp. pp. 8f.; also pp. 52-3, 57, and Chap. VIII.; Flight, “The Nomadic Idea in the Old Testament”, JBL, III-IV, 1923, pp. 158-226.

⁴ “The Book of the Covenant”, Hebrew Union College Annual, V (1928) 1-151; VII (1930) 56-63; VIII-IX (1931-2) 1-152; also observations in other monographs.

the Babylonians, the levirate law, family organization, the cities of refuge that developed from tribal places and customs of asylum (*cf.* Musil, "Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins," Chap. VIII, *Vengeance*.) "ascetic strains in early Judaism" which were continued by the Rechabites, Kenites, and Elijah and John, and perhaps many between them—all these things and more show that Hebrew religious and civil laws developed out of nomadic beginnings.⁵

The provisions of one law, that for the remarriage of a woman after divorce, Mohammed in the legislation of the Qur'ān exactly reversed (*cf.* Deut. 24:1-4, and Sura 2:230). One may well question whether Mohammed based this upon Arabian tribal custom, in which case further investigation is needed, or whether he mistook the meaning of a traditional report from the Jewish sources which have been such fertile ground for him (*cf.* Torrey, "The Jewish Foundation of Islam"). At any rate, his followers are said to have often been forced to employ a subterfuge after triple divorce—that of arranging a temporary marriage, scandalous to society and dishonoring to the woman.

The ark resembles the tribal emblem of the Bedouins, especially that of the *Abū Zhūr* (or *Dhūr*) *al-Markab* of the Rwala. The Megiddo cultic objects in the form of a small building, as discussed by Dr. May before the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in 1935, are most interesting. But is it not probable that the Canaanite, Egyptian, and Babylonian arks, as well as the Hebrew, were descended ultimately from objects of tribal usage? (*Cf.* Morgenstern, "Book of the Covenant," I, 116.)

Community-guilt is another very interesting part of Bedouin ethics which was carried over into settled life, and which gave among the Hebrews a community-aspect to sin, in growing theological conceptions. Compare Musil, *MCRB*, pp. 49, 489, with classic examples in the Old Testament: the slaughter of the Shechemites in Gen. 34, or Achan

⁵ *Cf.* Montgomery's article, *JBL*, LI, part III, 1932, pp. 183-213.

and his family after Jericho, or the attempted protection to their fellow tribesmen of Gibeon by the Benjamites and the communal vengeance upon them. This idea is of course included in the laws (Deut. 21) in the responsibility of a *town* or *village* nearest to which is found a victim of murder. Another enlightening instance in nomadic surroundings is found in the popular account by Seabrook, "Adventures in Arabia," pp. 88-91.

Intolerance of images has at least a partial explanation in the general artistic poverty of nomads. The Hebrews' hatred of idols did not come entirely from efforts of advanced leaders to avoid contamination with foreign cults. Nor was that of the Arabs borrowed entirely, along with their more insistent monotheism, from the Hebrews. And here again is an interesting parallel between Hebrew and Bedouin and Islamic life. For intolerance of images and representations among them came out of original artistic poverty and in turn caused retardation or absence of sculptural and pictorial art—at least over wide areas and in long eras.

Clan particularism continued long after the "conquest." It was strong in the Northern rancor over passage of the sceptre to Judah, and discontent with the favoritism of Solomon to the South. It is discernible in the difficulty of establishing the royal succession, and the ease with which a non-royal hero like David could become king. It is the explanation of the journeys to northern tribal centers like Gibeon or Shechem to receive the oath of loyalty of the "elders" or *sheikhs* of the tribes in that populous and powerful area. It operated in the division of the kingdom, and laid the basis for Judaistic particularism toward the "Samaritans," and thus for their historic cleavage.

David's forced but easy reversion to Bedouin life (I Sam. 27:8f.) and the Bedouin "racket" he sought to work on prosperous Nabal (I Sam. 25) furnish another truly oriental picture. His raiding from Ziklag is spoken of in perfect desert phraseology. As to his census and the catastrophe following, are we far from explanation of the

popular estimate of it as a sin arousing divine anger if we refer to the Bedouin suspicion of and aversion to such governmental processes as enrolling and taxing? It is said the (British) Palestine government had to send trusted mediators to live with tribes of the Negeb for weeks, before they could be reconciled to census-takers after the World War!

Absalom, with his fatal tresses, is plainly a counterpart of the Arab *walad yenṣōb*, or *jāhil*, whom Musil (*MCRB*, 115) describes. In Bedouin battles often "the hair is the snare," and we may wonder, in connection with II Sam. 18:9f. whether the Hebrew *rōsh* was not like the Arabic *ra's* used metaphorically for the *hair of the head*. Marring the beard for insult is directly parallel in Bedouin life, when we compare II Sam. 10 and I Chr. 19 with Musil, p. 116f. The removed sandal in the story of Boaz and Ruth has precedents in nomadic customs.

The client or vassal relationship of the Gibeonites to the Hebrews is similar to many instances in modern Bedouin life, as well as in the classical Arabian age as pictured by the great Arab historians. The obligations of kindness and protection to the stranger within the gates are based upon similar obligations toward the stranger, the *jār*, *dakhil*, *maulā*, *qaṣīr*, within the tribe (see Musil, ch. IX; Hitti, "History of the Arabs," 27). "We are strangers and sojourners before thee, even as our fathers were," is a remarkable example of the way nomadic life supplied typical figures of speech for Hebrew literature. The meaning of this, one of the most frequently used metaphors in the Bible, is: God, the ruling *sheikh* of this circuit of earthly wandering and pilgrimage (or God the divine king of the world, as the Semites conceived him), has allowed us to come into the protection and blessing of his land and presence, where we dwell until we pass on to the world of the shades.

Prophecy came with the Hebrews from nomadic life, and the prophet, who "was aforetime called a seer," developed from the *kāhin*-seer-exorciser-soothsayer still to

be found among the Bedouins. Musil gives brilliant examples of the exorcising of spirits, the seer's powerful and dreaded curse, employment of music in inspiration (cf. II Kings 3:16, I Sam. 10:5), resuscitation of the dead or apparently dead (remarkably like both Elijah and Elisha) counsel on war and domestic matters, casting lots and observing portents to give divine answers, possessors of familiar spirits, the angelic messenger who appears with a word which must not be changed.

As for Hebrew wisdom, too much attention has been given again to outside "sources," mainly Egyptian. But it would be valuable to examine the natural background of the Hebrews to discover what may be indigenous. Musil, and any good anthology of Arabic poetry, will furnish examples of Arab gnomic poetry closely like that of the Old Testament. The wisdom of the Hebrews, like their prophecy and their laws, was their own, developed mainly from within, though of course with borrowings.

From the Phoenician Ugaritic materials has come interesting new light on the Psalms. But while we probably must regard Hebrew devotional poetry as of a higher cultural stage, doubtless influenced by the literary and liturgic forms of more than one of their advanced neighbors, here again Biblical interpreters must avoid the extremes shown in the search for extraneous influences on law and wisdom. Fundamentally, there must be kept in mind the general poetic genius of desert peoples. Poetry is as characteristic of the nomads as camel, tent, wandering, and raids. It appears the Hebrews were especially gifted when we survey the prominent place of poetry in the Old Testament, patriotic, prophetic, devotional, and gnomic. (See Montgomery, "Arabia and the Bible", pp. 6, 10-11, 53; and Macdonald, "The Hebrew Literary Genius", generally.)

The Hebrews did not live in a vacuum at any stage, and influences were always passing mutually between desert and settled peoples. But neither were they an amorphous vapor which could only find form in vessels prepared by others. The study of the Old Testament has been and will

continue to be greatly enriched by work in archaeology in the Bible world and related lands. The archaeologists, especially those who are at the same time experts in linguistics, are outstanding in the importance of their work. But while there has not been, and can not be, too much devotion to Egypt, Babylonia, and other sources of influence, there must be more consideration of nomadic backgrounds. Exclusive attention to archaeology, criticism, and history in graduate teaching, and to religion, criticism, and history (and sometimes literature) in seminary, leads to popular presentation of the Bible by college teachers and preachers, which may be accurate but which is partial. In the future there should be a closer union between Biblical and oriental studies.⁶

"Origins" are as elusive as the horizon and as illusive as a mirage. And there is never a hard and fast line between sedentary, semi-nomadic, and nomadic (*cf.* Hitti, "History of the Arabs," 23.) "Pan-Babylonianism," "Pan-Egyptianism," and "Pan-Hellenism" in Biblical study are each recognized as one-sided; not overlooking any of these important influences, we must also consider the relationship of the Hebrews to their nearest surviving sociological relatives. With this significant statement Dr. Montgomery closes his book, "Arabia and the Bible": ". . . Not from the wisdom of the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek civilizations came our Western religions, but out of Arabia."⁷

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⁶ Barton's splendid "Archaeology and the Bible", for instance, could be made even more useful to its wide public if revised to include less of what is not clearly known about the Hittites and more of what is coming to be known of ancient Arabia and the little-changed life of the Arabian and Syrian deserts. So far as this throws light on Hebrew and Biblical background, this, too, is archaeological study.

⁷ Prof. W. F. Albright, in an article entitled "Archaeology Confronts Biblical Criticism," in *The American Scholar*, vii, 2, 1938 (pp. 176-188), writes as follows:

"Wellhausen . . . one of the foremost Arabists of his day . . . greatly exaggerated the resemblance between the Hebrews of the Mosaic age and the pagan Arabs of the 'Time of Ignorance', nearly 2,000 years later. We now know that these Hebrews were not nomadic Bedouin at all, but belonged to a distant group of semi-nomadic type whose wanderings were restricted to relatively settled areas."

And again, p. 185: "Of particular interest is the discovery by Speiser and Gordon of many striking social and legal parallels between the stories of the Patriarchs and the Horite documents from Nuzu . . . dating mainly from the 15th century B. C."

Although feeling incompetent to assert that this delimits the "Hebrews" too narrowly from several points of view, one may, again following Morgenstern, hold that the nomadic heritage of the clans, presumably once entirely nomadic, was the greatest influence.

ORIGINS OF THE MOSQUE

622-650

On arriving at al-Madinah Muhammad considered building a house. He remained four days in the suburb of Qubā'. This was in the second half of September 622.¹

He entered one Friday morning riding a camel, rode through the city and stopped near a stable. As his master did not dismount, the beast got up, walked about and returned to the same place. Then he stretched his neck on the ground in the attitude of rest. Muhammad, seeing in the conduct of his mount a divine sign, sought hospitality of the house there. Urged to go elsewhere, the prophet answered, "Where a man's camel-saddle is, there he must stay."²

Although hospitality was willingly proffered he did not wish to abuse it, but bought a piece of land hard by, and, without any religious intention, in the wonted style of his compatriots, constructed a *dār*, the Arab house of the time, that is to say, some primitive huts to house the women, against one of the faces of the square court yard provided with walls. Thus did all heads of families.

In proportion to the increase in the number of wives or children, or on the marriage of sons, new houses would enlarge the first number to such an extent that the space inside, at first free for the movements of dogs, donkeys, camels or poultry, would be taken up. The women, with no room left for weaving, cooking or laundry-work, would complain to their master, who would ask his oldest son to build a house a little removed.

¹ Muhammad had fled from Makkah on September 20th, but one must date the *hijrah* from the preceding (sic, but the word should be omitted. Ed.) Arab year which had begun July 16th. cf. Wüstenfeld, *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, IV *et seq.*

² Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, pp. 1f.

Muhammad counted on a numerous offspring. He set out a square of fifty meters a side, (one hundred cubits), enclosed with a wall of dried brick, three meters high (six to seven cubits). It is even known that these bricks came from Bir Ayyub. Muhammad himself put hand to trowel, aided by the Ansar, the Makkan refugees who had followed him into exile, to whom he was giving hospitality for the time being.

Muhammad made payment for his plot in good silver, although it had been urged upon him as a gift.³ Since the ground was taken up with tombs and palms, he respectfully transported the bones elsewhere, and, as for the palms, cut them down and utilized the trunks as we are about to tell: when his companions complained that the sun inconvenienced them during prayer, Muhammad prepared against the north wall a shelter roofed with plaited palm-leaves and earth. The felled trunks served as columns.

At first only two houses were built because Muhammad had only two wives, Sawdah and 'A'ishah, the walls jutting outside the square, but the houses with only interior doors. The first two houses were built, as the walls were, of sun-dried bricks, and the next two likewise; the rest of them, as many as nine, the number of Muhammad's wives at his death, were made, for economy, of simple wattle reeds coated with mud. All, for the sake of equality, so important in these difficult households, were of the same dimensions, three and a half meters each way. The opening into the court was closed only with a hanging of heavy black goat-hair material. And the height was so humble that the ceiling was within reach of the hand.

Inside were to be seen mats on the floor and vessels (goatskins) full of water, milk or butter, hung on the wall.

Muhammad used to say his prayers under a door-shed in front of 'A'ishah's hut, his only shelter.

³ This urging does not indicate on the part of him who offers a fixed determination to make a gift; "my house is thy house," "my purse is thy purse" being everyday formulas. The end is often only to leave the buyer, supposedly generous, to fix his own price and that at a higher figure than the seller might propose. This is an ancient procedure, of which Genesis offers us a curious example in the twentieth century B. C., when, after the demise of Sarah, Abraham wanted to bury her at Hebron. (*cf.* Gen xxiii:7-20).

Later these dwellings were esteemed as sanctuaries. There were bitter tears for them when the Caliph Walid II had them done away with for the construction of the splendid mosque which required so many masons and Christian mosaic-workers. "If only they had been left as they were the whole world would have come to see what simplicity sufficed the Prophet!"

Almost all these particulars are imparted to us by one of the first Arab historians, Ibn Sa'd, 845 A. D., two hundred years after Muhammad.

The building was finished in seven months (August 623). Muhammad entertained many friends, but celebrated no ritual assembly. He passed his time seated on a rug in the courtyard in conversation with those who came to see him. His visitors awaiting introduction slept or squatted talking, while camels took their rest and the very dogs came in to eat the remains of dinner. Muhammad even allowed Negro dances for the amusement of his wives.

I multiply these details to banish from history the legend of Muhammad as builder of the sacred edifice. Caetani, who studied so conscientiously the beginnings of Islam, demonstrated beyond question that never in his life had Muhammad any idea of building a temple to the Deity. A single one, the Ka'bah, was in being, and like God Himself, it was unique. The founder of Islam would rather have agreed with the opinion which I have heard voiced at Cairo: "The only dwelling worthy of God is the vault of heaven." A walled, covered building was suitable for tombs.

Generally speaking, Muhammad was ignorant of architecture and art. But square courts were later found the convenient plan for the prayers in assembly which form the only liturgy essential to Islam. The mosque then was established in a great quadrangle which of necessity resembled Muhammad's house.

When mosques, properly so called, were built, was Muhammad's house thought of? Possibly, but that is another question. The square, and one or more porches

about it for protection from the sun, are the elements which we find in the very beginning, the *sahn* and the *suffah*.

The Christians had long followed the custom of prayer facing the East. Christ is designated as "East" by the prophets. At Makkah, they say, the worshipper always used to face Jerusalem, and without doubt the Muslims owed this custom to the Jews. The Jews had great influence upon Muhammad. At al-Madinah they were proprietors and nobles, so the reformer exerted himself to win them over. He struck iron obstinacy. After eighteen months of fruitless conciliatory efforts he decided upon a break. The solution seems to have come to him during prayer, January 11, 624. Muhammad had just made the second prostration towards Jerusalem, and here came a revelation (*cf.* 2:138 *et seq.*):

"We appointed the *kibla* which thou formerly hadst, only that we might know him who followeth the apostle, from him who turneth on his heels: The change is a difficulty, but not for those whom God hath guided.⁴ But God will not let your faith be fruitless; for unto man is God Merciful, Gracious. We have seen thee turn thy face towards every part of Heaven; but we will have thee turn to a *kibla* which shall please thee. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque, and wherever ye be, turn your faces toward that part. They, verily, to whom 'the Book' hath been given, know this to be the truth from their Lord: and God is not regardless of what ye do. Even though thou shouldest bring every kind of sign to those who have received the Scriptures, yet thy *kibla* they will not adopt; nor shalt thou adopt their *kibla*; nor will one part of them adopt the *kibla* of the other. And if, after the knowledge which hath come to thee, thou follow their wishes, verily then wilt thou become of the unrighteous. They to whom we have given the Scriptures know him—the apostle—even as they know their own children: but truly a part of them conceal the truth, though acquainted with it."⁵

⁴ These views give probability to the saying of Ibn 'Abbas: "If the change presents some difficulty," if it is distressing, it is because the custom at Makkah had long been to turn elsewhere. Whither, but to Jerusalem? The stay at al-Madinah had only lasted six months. If the custom only dated from the *hijrah* it would have been easy to change. The East of the Christians was not in question. The pagan Arabs had no thought of it. The custom of prayer faced toward Jerusalem must have preceded the Christian era with them, and that by a long time.

⁵ The Christians and the Jews are here thrice accused of ill-faith. This procedure is familiar in Muhammad's apologetic.

(This is quoted from Rodwell, not translated from the French.)

This passage informs us that the direction, hither or thither, was considered of great importance.⁶ From this time on believers are forbidden to turn towards Jerusalem.

After Muhammad had uttered these words he himself and his friends, facing towards the North, turned right around and finished the prayer looking towards the South, to the *Haram* (Sanctuary).

But since it is necessary to turn towards the Haram, it is necessary everywhere to know its direction; hence the introduction of the first piece of furniture in the mosque, the *qiblah*, at first any object you like, perhaps a mark on the wall, showing the whereabouts of Makkah.

In his house Muhammad had the door on the south walled up so as to put in its place the mark which showed the Haram. A door was pierced in the north wall to replace the one walled up.

The shelter was also transported from north to south and, in token of contempt, when one prayed one turned one's back upon the Jews' temple.

All religion has its preaching and for convenient preaching a pulpit was needed. Here is the third piece of mosque furniture, the pulpit or *minbar*.

Had the house of Muhammad a *minbar*? Yes, but only at the end of Muhammad's life, that is to say, when more and more friends put in appearance and he began to address his speech to them in groups.

A sort of stool with three high steps was made without art by Bakum, a carpenter of Greek origin.⁷

Furnished with this *minbar* the Prophet sat on the top step with his feet on the one below. The *minbar* was the leader's seat, quite other than the preacher's pulpit. In

⁶ All peoples have a place towards which they may address their prayers. *cf.* 2:143.

⁷ It is important to note that neither does Muhammad here think of a sacred object consecrated to the service of God, whose majesty would deserve some splendor. Any mark you like—and there is your *qiblah*. A stool made by the first carpenter to hand—and there is your *minbar*. No care to find an artist! As for the qualification "Greek," do we not find this something strange? All the workmen are foreigners. For the Arab and especially for the *badawi*, to fight or to herd, these are the only labors worthy of a man. The author knows this all the better for having been sent into the desert to film the handicrafts of the Arabs; he was everywhere answered, "We have none. We leave handicrafts to the Christians."

current thought the secular meaning took precedence of the religious because in Islam, unprovided with priests, the sacred function was thought of as a derivation of power from the state.

As Lammens has pointed out,⁸ the heads of *junds*, military provinces, often used the *minbars*. Generals are seen haranguing their troops before the battle, or even directing operations from the top of a portable *minbar*, as in 683 at the Battle of al-Madinah. Moreover Cresswell asks, "Does he attach the *minbar* to the parade seat of the tribal chief?" The directing authority speaks from it to the crowd in remarkably energetic terms:

"I take God to witness: I hold kinsman responsible for kinsman, the man of peace for the rebel in flight. If ever you find me forgetful of my threats, from that day I recognize your right to disobey me. Woe to those who are met by night outside their own houses. I will off with their heads. Woe to him who raises the cry of blood feud—he shall have his tongue cut out. You have invented unheard-of crimes; I will invent a punishment to fit each crime. If any throws water on his fellows, I will drown him. If any pierces the wall of a house or burns it, I will burn him or pierce his heart. Violators of tombs shall be buried alive. I expect you to obey, and I recognize your right to demand justice of me. I see more than one head, which every one desires to keep his own, tremble upon its shoulders."⁹

This somewhat dogmatic argument seems to prove that the religious origin of the *minbar* may be set aside. We do not see, therefore, to explain the *minbar's* presence in the mosque, any need to have recourse to the abbot's throne of the Copts, or to ecclesiastical usages of the "Days of Ignorance." We hardly believe that the form of Moslem pulpits was influenced later by that of the Christian pulpit. While the Christian pulpit is mounted from the side by a ladder of gentle ascent, ending with an ambo with supporting rail, the *minbar* is to be reached by steep steps and ends in a narrow platform. The speaker has to turn around to speak and finds himself facing the abrupt pitch he has just climbed. The *minbar* then has a characteristic side-view, different from that of the pulpit. One would willingly

⁸ Lammens: *Le Califat de Yazid*, 1921, p. 243.

⁹ *Discours de Ziad Ibn Abihi*. cf. Lammens, *Etudes sur les Omayyades*, p. 62.

believe that the Arab artificers would have wished to avoid confusion of the two styles.

Prayer, common if possible, is the principal bond of the believers. Their rites are private acts, to which the public execution of the performance by assembly adds nothing, no solemnity nor edification.

"We were at Beyrout undergoin a tedious quarantine. At noon a whole ward of the *lazaretto* was taken up with a large crowd of Muslims. The muezzin regularly used to give the call to prayer. One of my Muslim pupils came to lead me to that quarter: 'Come and see how beautiful are these hundreds of men at prayer.'" (Author's note, 1902).

But for prayer to be made by all at the same moment a signal must be given. What was Muhammad's practice? Already he was admitting the call to prayer. The angel Gabriel, he said, had counselled him thus, while 'Umar, at the same time, gave him the idea. Billal, his herald, used to ascend to the roof of the house next door to make himself better heard, because Muhammad's huts were too low. The Prophet did not live to know any other minaret, for the end of his life was at hand (June 8, 632). He was sixty-three. He had lived in al-Madinah for ten years. He was buried in his house. Abu Bakr, chosen caliph, occupied the Prophet's dwelling; and 'Uthman likewise, and was there assassinated (755 *sic*, 655 *tr.*) The sacred character of this relic of the founder of Islam asserted itself only when al-Madinah ceased to be the capital of the state, which happened after 755 (655, *tr.*) under 'Ali who moved the capital to Kufah (January 657). Three years later Mu'awiyah, his conqueror by force and by guile, fixed it at Damascus.

The wonderful conquests of Islam, especially those of the Umayyads, put the churches of half Christendom into the hands of the Muslims. They used their success with moderation, contenting themselves with taking in each town one sanctuary and leaving the others to their own cult. It might happen that they would share the same sanctuary with the Christians, if not in Damascus (a

question in dispute) at any rate in Homs. In certain places the churches were utilized almost without alteration. Elsewhere they were adapted to the "convenient plan" which we have described. The adaptation might last for centuries. The transformation of the church at Hama, taken in 636, was only completed in the eighteenth century. Mostly they confined themselves to piercing a door on the north and introducing what we have called the furniture: *qiblah*, *minbar* and *suffah*. For the protection of the speaker (and that was not without need, since the first four caliphs were assassinated) the *maksurah* around the *minbar* was introduced. The minaret was easy to erect near the building.

In new cities where the mosque was built from the ground up after Islamic ideas it was the plan of Muhammad's house which prevailed.

Basrah was taken in 635, finally occupied in 637, at first simply a crowd of tents and huts of mud-coated reeds. In the center a square was arranged without walls, marked on the ground and afterwards surrounded with a wall of reeds. The architect—there had to be one for such a construction—was called 'Utbah ibn Ghazwan.

At Ctesiphon in 637 an ornamented room was used, the great Iwan, (whose walls were) covered with paintings of animals and men, which caused no alarm to the victors, lukewarm enough Muslims who had not yet the horror of images which later inflamed them.

At Kufah, where the conquerors took refuge out of fear of the Ctesiphon mosquitoes, an archer took up his position in the midst of the land set aside for the mosque and shot an arrow in each of the four cardinal directions. The places where they fell determined the location of the ditches which bounded the space. It was, therefore, two bow-shots either way, (nearly one hundred meters). On the south near the *qiblah* the shelter was erected, supported on marble columns taken from the Lakhmid palace at Hira. The roof was made like that of the Greek churches, a wooden roof with two slopes. Later on this mosque was built against the palace wall, which had been separated

from it by a lane only. The arrangement seemed a happy one, which, without becoming universal, was quite often adopted.¹⁰

This year also, 638, 'Umar enlarged the court of Muhammad's house at al-Madinah. It would henceforth be one hundred forty cubits instead of one hundred twenty. The east wall was respected because of the Prophet's widows. Since in prostration the believers soiled their hands and foreheads, the Caliph had the idea of paving the surface with cobble stones. The roof of the *suffah* remained of palm leaves and mud.

Such is the development of the mosque until 749 (649, tr.). To speak at this time of art, except in the adaptation of Christian edifices, would be exaggeration. If we go into a mosque at this period, we enter by a north door a square courtyard, the *sahn*; at the far end is the covered porch, the *suffah*, where a mark showing the direction of Makkah, the *qiblah*, is to be distinguished; at the right of the *qiblah* is the *minbar*, or pulpit.

Only later was the mosque carried to final form and adorned. Nothing can vindicate a religious origin for it.

C. SAARDA, S. J.

(Translated from *En Terre d'Islam*, September, 1937)

¹⁰ At Basrah, Baghdad, and Ibn Tulun at Cairo. This same year on the occasion of his Makkan pilgrimage, July 638, 'Umar, distressed to see the Ka'bah overthrown by a flood, resolved to rebuild it, using for it the "convenient plan." So he bought a great number of houses, and had them pulled down, which gave him room for a vast *sahn*. The cloister wall had only a man's height.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS AND THE RELIGION OF ISLAM

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century a German professor of the University of Halle, Dr. Callenberg, became interested in the question of the evangelization of Islam, passing on his enthusiasm to certain of his students to the extent of composing for them a set of four conversations in the Damascene colloquial of the time, that they might make themselves understood when passing through the city. But he did more than this, and among the "more" was the reprinting of certain books of the New Testament from the London Polyglot, with Muslim readers in view.¹

The books selected by Dr. Callenberg for this purpose were, the Gospel according to St. Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles to the Romans and to Hebrews. It seems likely that he chose these four books as containing "a special aptness in the appeal to prophecy, history, dialectic and the Person of Christ". If Dr. Callenberg made this choice because of his knowledge of the Muslim mind, it may be worth while to probe into the reason for his choice of "Hebrews", which he had published both separately and bound up with "Romans".

May we not claim that a very real similarity in thought exists between the Creed of Islam and many of the important notes struck in the Epistle to the Hebrews? "I believe in Allah, and His angels and His books and His prophets and the last day, and in predestination, both good and evil from Allah Ta'ala, and in the resurrection after death". Do not these credal clauses originate in the same broad circle of ideas as we find in Hebrews? Canon Sell actually suggested many years ago that Muhammad "probably got the idea of the angels worshipping the first-

¹ THE MOSLEM WORLD, Oct., 1933, p. 398 ff.

born indirectly from Hebrews 1:6, only he thought that the first-begotten meant not Christ but Adam.”²

I. The writer to the Hebrews gives eleven references to angels in the first two chapters. His opening argument almost falls to the ground without that strong belief in angels which Judaism passed on to Islam in considerably greater measure than to Christianity. St. Paul inherited the belief in angels; he knew furthermore how to use it to good effect both in erstwhile Jewish and in pagan company.³ But he shows nothing like the doctrinal significance that meets us in “Hebrews”. In the Acts there are some twenty allusions to an angel or angels, most of them occurring in narrative, but one in argument, much in the same way as in Gal. 3:19.⁴ But once again there is nothing fresh about the angels in Acts. The fact seems taken for granted. In Hebrews, however, they become a very important issue for the writer’s Christological argument. He apparently felt the incumbency of proving as soon as he could the superiority of the Son to the angels. We in these more modern days rather wonder why, for we are better content to read the verdict of the Psalmist as given in Heb. 1:7 to mean that God can make the winds His angels and the flames of fire His ministers.⁵

But there was a much bigger issue for “Hebrews” to tackle. What was the problem before the little Christian community in Rome or wherever it was, that it needed an argument of this nature? In his commentary Dr. Moffatt asks:

“Were his readers, like the Colossians to whom Paul wrote, in danger of a deference to angels in their religion, a deference which threatened to impair their estimate of Christ? Or is he developing his argument in the light of some contemporary belief about *angels and revelations*? Probably the latter, though this does not emerge till 2:2.”⁶

Here the reference is to the “word spoken by angels” proving steadfast. In *THE MOSLEM WORLD* for April, 1937 there is an article by Dr. Zwemer on “The Worship of

² “The Faith of Islam,” p. 279. Note i.

³ Gal. 1:8; 3:19; 4:14 and 11 other passages.

⁴ Acts 7:53. *cf.* 33.

⁵ Ps. 104:4.

⁶ *Ad loc.* page 9.

Adam by angels", in which he reaches among others the following two conclusions:

A. The angelology of Islam is mostly borrowed from post-exilic Judaism, but the story of the angelic worship of Adam has elements from the Midrash and also from *Judaeo-Christian Tradition*.

B. The quotation in Heb. 1:6 from the Septuagint is used by a writer who was familiar with the *Gnostic and Philonic Interpretation* of the double creation story in Genesis.

What concerns us is the claim that Islamic angelology has been borrowed from "Judaeo-Christian Tradition", in the atmosphere of which the writer of Hebrews was at home, as well as being well-versed in Gnostic and Philonic interpretations.

Angel-worship is of course condemned unequivocally in the New Testament both in Hebrews, Colossians and the Apocalypse, to say nothing of St. Paul's practical experience in Galatia. Angels may be ministering spirits, but not beings to whom worship is due. So far the New Testament, but the fact remains that the angels were for some people objects of worship, whose position or whose calling may have seemed to warrant their being entitled to receive it. Says Professor Gwatkin:

"The later Jews, in their anxiety to keep God from contact with the world, had introduced a ministry of angels for the creation and the giving of the Law, though they never allowed it to obscure the fundamental doctrine that God is the true Creator."⁷

And Dr. Charles says that in the first century B. C. the belief in the intercession of angels was apparently general among the Pharisees. It was hard to get rid of the angels; they did have a ministry. It is always easy to introduce extraneous elements into your worship, if you want to do so; it is much harder to leave them out, if they become popular. The angels had become so. This surely is the purport of the reference in Heb. 2:2.

"If the *word spoken through angels* proved steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward". Two further texts in the New Testament bear on this point. The last words of Stephen

⁷ "Early Church History." Vol. ii. Page 27.

to the Sanhedrin were: "Ye who received *the law as it was ordained by angels* and kept it not."⁸

The thirty-eighth verse is as explicit, in reference to Moses and the angel who spoke to him on Mount Sinai. This, with the verse in Gal. 3:19., more closely approximates the inspirational method of Muhammad. This runs: "*The law . . . was ordained by angels* through the hand of a mediator". Thus St. Stephen, St. Paul and the unknown writer agree in the fact that in accordance with Judaeo-Christian tradition the giving of the law was made possible through angels. In Acts 7:38, one angel only is mentioned. At one end of the process is the Creator, the Giver of the Law; then come the angels (in the case of Islam certainly only one, Gabriel)—then the mediator (for the Torah Moses, as for the Qur'an Muhammad), and so to the people.

The question, however, arises as to whether this theory would have any meaning for the Galatian readers, who were not presumably brought up in the Judaeo-Christian atmosphere, i.e., the folk in Lystra and Derbe as opposed to those in Antioch and Iconium. The answer to this question may perhaps partially be found in the experience in Lystra to which Barnabas and Paul were subjected, when they were taken to be Jupiter and Mercury. This incident is probably referred to by St. Paul when he reminds the Galatians that some at least received him as *an angel of God*, even as Christ Jesus.⁹ Was there not therefore a belief in the ministry of these intermediate beings that was not confined to Judaism? In somewhat the same way the *Jinn* in the days of Muhammad were not inhabitants of Arabia only. The folk in Lystra called Paul *Hermes*, because he was the principal speaker. In his article on "The Influence of Judaism on Islam" in the "Legacy of Israel" Guillaume calls Gabriel "The Hermes of Islam". It seems therefore that Moffatt is right in saying that the author of Hebrews is probably developing his argument in the light of some contemporary belief in angels and revelation, that was *not confined* to Jewish circles. The same milieu of

⁸ Acts 7:53.

⁹ Gal. 4:14.

ideas was in vogue in the days when Islam took its rise, and if still the common view of both Arabian Judaism and Arabian Christianity, as that of the Judaeo-Christian circles of the centuries immediately after Christ, we need not be surprised to find the Islamic theory of inspiration depending on the Jewish.

It is interesting to make the further deduction from these data and suggest Philo and Alexandria as the ultimate source of the doctrine, since this theory fits in with the significant fact that when St. Stephen faced his judges with those memorable words, his trial had been brought about through his powerful and graceful ministry among the people, which first attracted the antagonistic notice of the synagogue in Jerusalem frequented, among others, by the Jews who came from *Alexandria and Cilicia*.¹⁰ It would seem that it was in connection with this synagogue that St. Stephen first met Saul of Tarsus. It was Alexandria that made the angels safe for Judaism, safe for the earlier centuries of Christianity at least, and so safe for a central place in the intellectual creed of Islam.

II. The next object of belief for the orthodox Muslim is the books of Allah. There is a natural sequence of thought here to the mention of the angels. The whole of the short creed is really a combination of two Quranic quotations. In *Surat al-Baqara*¹¹ we have:

"The Apostle believed in what was sent down to him from his Lord—and the believers too—each one believes in Allah and His angels and His books and His apostles, and we make no distinction between any of His apostles."

A verse in *Surat an-Nisa'* is still more to the point. This runs:

"O ye who believe, believe in Allah and His apostles and the book which He sent down upon His apostle and the book which He sent down previously; and whosoever disbelieves in Allah and His angels and His *books* and His apostles and in the last day, he has wandered a long way off."¹²

The only other occurrence of *kutub* comes in *Surat at-Tahrim*, where a distinction is drawn between the believing

¹⁰ Acts 6:8 ff.

¹¹ 285.

¹² 135.

and the unbelieving women; and in the former group is "Mary, the daughter of Imran", who "accepted the truth of the words of her Lord and His *books*".¹³ There are just these few instances of *kutub* in the Qur'an, while there are something like two hundred references to *kitāb* in the singular. Jews, Christians and others are styled "people of the book" rather than "the books". What would seem to have been common knowledge was the fact of the *book* rather than its contents. This for Arabs generally and not only for Muhammad. Professor Bell suggests that "perhaps we are too ready to follow Moslem commentators and traditionists in assuming that the idea of the book sent down from heaven and revealed to him by the intermediary of the angel Gabriel was in Muhammad's mind from the very beginning."¹⁴

There is no real evidence for this in the Qur'an itself. In the earlier sections the *book* means the judgment scroll, such as will be held by every soul either in the right hand or the left, according as to whether it has done good or bad—an idea that corresponds more or less to the phrase in the Apocalypse about the "books being opened". This would be the kind of book kept by a recording angel; it was only at a later stage that the book as an archetype in heaven of the Qur'an came to be the belief of Muhammad's followers.

It is further possible that even in those references to the Glorious Qur'an in a preserved tablet, the interpretation should not be of the Qur'an of the Muslims, but of the books of the Jews and Christians, which had been so carefully looked after. The Qur'an *as a book* of course did not exist for Muhammad. He was for many years far more concerned in making proof of the inspiration of his revelations rather than in the composition of a book. He was anxious to get his people to recognize his revelation as on an equality with that of the Jews and Christians. After all, the contents of the revelations in Mecca, so far as they concerned the Creator, heaven and hell and the judgment, owed a great deal to the previous revelations. What

¹³ 12.

¹⁴ "The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment," page 93. The whole section is indebted to Professor Bell.

the Qur'an accordingly became more and more was the sum of Allah's revelations to Muhammad through Gabriel. It is just as hard to separate Gabriel, the Qur'an and Muhammad, as it was to separate the angels, the Torah and Moses. This may even have been the accepted case with all other divine revelations contained in *kutub*. The Qur'an's specific mention in this connection of the Torah "revealed after the time of Ibrahim and Isra'il, and afterwards confirmed by 'Isa; the *zabur* revealed to David; the *injl* revealed to 'Isa; and further the scrolls of Musa and Ibrahim and the books in general"¹⁵ is surely to the point. They all came in the same way; the last element in the succession was the Qur'an. "Belief in the books", says Abu 'l-Muntaha, "means an absolute belief that they exist and that they are the speech of Allah".¹⁶

The repeated refrain in the Old Testament about the word of the Lord coming unto the prophets must be at the back of this Islamic conception. The later doctrine of "abrogation" by which the position of the Qur'an was assured, chiefly meant that the doctrine of verbal inspiration, which at one time or another has been the dogma of most of the religions of the world, and in which Judaism and Christianity have not been exceptions to the rule, had become entrenched in Islam in such a way that it would be extremely difficult to dislodge it. The dogma was, of course, to reach its *ne plus ultra* with Islam's *pièce de résistance* of the Qur'an being the uncreated word of Allah. The arguments were apparently those which had been the weapons of orthodox Christendom in its declaration of Jesus as the uncreated Word of God; or as Hebrews put it so very forcibly that "God had spoken in His Son". Orthodox Christianity expressed its conviction with regard to Jesus chiefly because of the justification that was based on certain direct statements of the New Testament. The title of the Word of God is unhesitatingly applied to Jesus Christ both in the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel. May it not, however, have been the author of Hebrews who

¹⁵ Cf. Bell, page 94. Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed," page 202.

¹⁶ Quoted by Wensinck in "The Muslim Creed," page 202.

really made this title a possible one for our Lord more than any other single factor? The "Word of the Lord" was a familiar phrase to Jewish ears. The prophets from Moses and Samuel had all been mouth-pieces of the Almighty. Perhaps we even get echoes of this in the early stories of Jesus in Mark, "where there was no more room for them even about the door and *He spake the word unto them*"; or with "many such parables *He spake the word unto them as they were able to hear it*".¹⁷ Neither of these delightful touches is reproduced in Matthew or Luke.

We are back again, however, in the prechristian pious Jewish circles of Palestine, when the angel Gabriel introduced himself as having been sent to *speak* to Zechariah; when the Magnificat closes with the reminder, "as He *spake* to our father, to Abraham and his seed for ever" (a significant comment on the opening clauses of Hebrews) —words that were echoed in Zechariah's parenthesis in the Benedictus, "as He *spake* by the mouth of His holy prophets which have been since the world began".¹⁸ The fourth Gospel has several allusions to this thought, so dear to the people of Palestine and the lands around, of God speaking. "He whom God hath sent speaketh the words of God". "An angel spake to him". "Now ye are clean through the word that I have spoken unto you".¹⁹ Our familiarity with these and similar sayings may have tended to make us overlook their content and significance for the Semitic World. The constant repetition of the "Word of God" all through the New Testament is witness to the fact that right round the Eastern Mediterranean the early church was as convinced as any group of Jews had ever been that it possessed the very word of God—in such wise that Muhammad, who does not seem ever to have seen the inside of a New Testament, realized there was an indefinable something with the Christian, as with the Jews, that made them *ahl ul-kitab*. And may it not again have been the author of Hebrews and his school, who with their wider Hellenic vision gave a broader and more daring meaning to phrases

¹⁷ Mk. 2:2; 4:33.

¹⁸ Luke 1:19, 55, 70.

¹⁹ Jno. 3:34; 12:29; 15:3, *et passim*.

like the "word of God" and the "speaking of God"? Then these phrases had come to mean so much that they were adopted by Muhammad and his followers, without their really grasping their full meaning. In Hebrews we meet with "The word spoken by angels was steadfast", and soon after with "the word preached did not profit them", ²⁰—curiously reminiscent of those Quranic passages, where Muhammad refers to the absence of success that attended the missions of Hud and Salih to the tribes of 'Ad and Thamud, ²¹ to say nothing of the reception meted out to him by the Quraish in Mecca. Once more in Hebrews: "The word of God is quick and powerful". "The word of the oath appoints a son, who is made perfect for ever". "They that heard entreated that no word more should be spoken". "They who have spoken unto you the word of God". ²²

To these we ought to add besides the great opening passage, the "salvation which had first been spoken of by the Lord"; Moses speaking nothing concerning priesthood; Abel, who being dead, yet speaketh; and the blood of Jesus that speaketh better things than that of Abel. Nearly all the ideas, in other words, that range round the subject of inspiration, that we find in the circle of ideas amongst which Muhammad lived, are found in their widest bearing in Hebrews.

There is one even more specific. On two occasions, on which the writer refers to the Old Testament Scriptures, special mention is made of the Holy Ghost. A citation from the Psalms is introduced by "Even as the Holy Ghost saith"; while later on, "The Holy Ghost also beareth witness" prefaces the quotation from Jeremiah. ²³ We remember in this connection that in the Qur'an, reference is made both to Gabriel and the Spirit as the source of Muhammad's inspiration. We even have the detail of the "scroll of the book", ²⁴ so that there are parallels to all the phrases that became familiar to Arabs, who heard Muhammad—a

²⁰ Heb. 2:2; 4:2.

²¹ *i.e.*, in Suras 7:71-7; 11:52-63.

²² Heb. 4:12; 7:28; 12:19; 13:7.

²³ Heb. 3:7; 10:15.

²⁴ Heb. 10:7.

familiarity due to what one scholar calls the "Jewish Foundation" and another the "Christian Environment" of Islam.

III. So we come to the prophets, the third factor in the transmission of the message, and the third phenomenon common to the background thinking of Hebrews and the early Muslims. One of the things that strikes the reader of the Qur'an is the lists of names of prophets that occur sometimes rather suddenly in some of the suras, as well as the particular stories that are attached to certain of the names. The most typical is that in Sura 6:84-87:

"This was our argument we gave to Abraham against his people; We exalt in dignity whom we please; surely your Lord is knowing, wise.

And we gave to him Isaac and Jacob; each did we guide and Noah did we guide before, and of his descendants David and Solomon and Job and Joseph and Moses and Aaron; and thus do we reward those who do good to others: And Zecharias and John and Jesus and Elias; everyone of them was good; and Ishmael and Elisha and Jonah and Lot."

This is somewhat of a reminder of Heb. 11:32, even to a certain disregard for chronology! "Time would fail me if I tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah; of David and Samuel and the prophets". All these after the fuller description of the great figures of the Pentateuch and Joshua previously—Abel (also at 12:24), Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Joseph, Moses, and, as rather an anticlimax, Rahab. For Muhammad these great figures of the past were prophets and apostles; so too for "Hebrews" and apparently for Stephen. Two interesting points emerge here. It is Stephen only among the New Testament authors, who uses the word "*prophet*" in direct reference to Jesus,²⁵ although in quotation; and it is the writer to the Hebrews alone among New Testament writers who speaks of Him as the "*apostle of our profession*".²⁶ "Hebrews" again includes women in his list of prophets in this sense, if we may take it that he draws no distinction between those who had a message of faith

²⁵ Acts 7:37.

²⁶ Heb. 3:1.

on the ground of sex. His pair are Sarah and Rahab, and, according to Klein, though a prophet as a rule must be a male and not a female, Miriam, Eve *and Sarah* "are admitted by some to the list of prophets".²⁷

It may be worth calling attention here to the story of Cain and Abel and its apparent vogue in the Near East. They are not mentioned by name in the Qur'an, but their story seems to have gripped people's imagination. There are two references in Hebrews; our Lord also referred to the murder, according to "Q"; the story is told fairly fully in Sura 5:30ff, in a way that indicates a debt to the Mishna, where the story of the Raven burying its mate appears, the only difference being that Adam was the one shown how to dispose of the corpse. The probability is that Muhammad borrowed the tale from oral tradition rather than from any written document.²⁸

Of course Muhammad wanted to be impressive with his references to prophetic history; and there does seem to be the same happy, rather patriotic spirit anyhow at the start of Stephen's speech, as in that of St. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia—something that finds its highest expression, so far as the New Testament is concerned, in Hebrews 11. The appeal to the whole gamut of heroes and prophets of the past, both for inspiration and authority, is perhaps stronger in the Semitic world than further west. There is this difference, however, between Muhammad and "Hebrews". The latter waits to make this appeal till he has fully proved the absoluteness of Jesus Christ, and then, as it were, brings the sacred history of the heroes of Israelitish faith to bear upon the subject as subsidiary rather than fundamental. For Muhammad perhaps it was more fundamental, because it touched his own prophethood in Arabia so closely. Arabia herself could only provide him with Hud and Salih, and possibly Luqman; hence his concentration on the prophets of the nation that was found in scattered groups around him; and his intense interest in Abraham and Moses might almost be compared

²⁷ "The Religion of Islam," page 74.

²⁸ Walker: "Bible Characters in the Koran," page 39.

with that of "Hebrews". Abraham, for any Semite, could never be divorced from faith and belief. He is still the "Friend of God" in Hebron, for Jew and Muslim alike. There is surely here the sharing of a common tradition. That God had spoken by the prophets was not original with Muhammad, and may it not have been something that came from Christianity as well as from Judaism to him? The writer of Hebrews realized the highest historical revelation in the Son; Muhammad seems rather to have reckoned on the prophetic inspiration of a single family.²⁹ But the main idea of the use of the authoritative past is a common factor with them both—an authoritative past that was inseparably connected with the prophets.

The stress upon the prophets leads on to what was an integral part of their message, namely Judgment. Some Christians would pitch on this as being one of the main emphases of Hebrews. We cannot deny that this subject comes in for very full treatment in the Meccan suras. Muhammad's teaching on this feature of the Islamic credo was most insistent. And who can deny that this insistence on the coming judgment was another borrowing from the teaching of current Judaism and Christianity? The Arabic word *din* is probably not original, but in itself a loan-word from Aramaic or Syriac.³⁰ The "last day" was by no means a first-hand thought of Muhammad. As a synonym for the judgment it has New Testament warrant in the Gospels as in St. Paul. In Hebrews the references to judgment are strong: "How shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?" "It is appointed unto men once to die and after that the Judgment." "If it beareth thorns and thistles, it is nigh unto a curse; whose end is to be burned". " . . . a certain fearful expectation of judgment, and a fierceness of fire". "Much more shall we not escape, who turn away from Him that warneth from heaven". "They watch on behalf of your souls, as they that shall give account".³¹

All the ideas that we have come to associate with Islam

²⁹ That of Imran.

³⁰ Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1., page 975.

³¹ Heb. 2:3; 9:27; 6:8; 10:27; 12:25; 13:17.

on the subject of Judgment are here in their germ; the difference in Islam largely being that they have come to be reckoned out of all sense of proportion; but all the accompaniments of the Last Day are here—the fearful expectation of judgment; the giving of account; the warning; the fierceness of the fire; the difficulty of escape. Further the writer of Hebrews calls his work a “Word of exhortation”.³² Muhammad continually alludes to himself in Mecca as a warner.³³ The attitude of both to apostasy is strongly tinged with Semitic feeling. “If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him”.³⁴ Here the similarity perhaps ends. The way of escape for the Meccans was the acceptance of Islam—the acceptance of a purely credal formula; for “Hebrews”, as for other Christians, the acceptance of the Lordship of Jesus. If the Muslim creed has the merit of being short and to the point, the original creed of Christendom would seem to have been shorter, “Jesus is Lord”—and we haven’t really fathomed it yet!

This brings us to the ideas in common as regards faith and belief. For faith in the experience of the writer of Hebrews was an intellectual concept as well as an attitude towards God. Thus: “We which have believed do enter into rest”. “To whom sware He that they should not enter into His rest, but to them that believed not”? “Rahab perished not with them that believe not”. “We are . . . of them that believe to the full finding of themselves”.³⁵

And most significant of all in its relationship to Islamic thinking: “Whoso cometh to God must believe that *He is*, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him”.³⁶

If for St. Paul faith implied personal devotion to Jesus Christ, for “Hebrews” it meant the realization that God was the same in the seen as in the unseen; it was essentially a matter of adventure. Jesus Himself is the author and finisher of faith: it was faith which had been one of the

³² Heb. 13:22.

³³ *e.g.*, 67:26; 74:2.

³⁴ Heb. 10:38.

³⁵ Heb. 4:3; 3:18; 11:31; 10:39.

³⁶ Heb. 11:6.

fundamentals of the life of the Christian community and of the same sort that had been the secret source of strength for all the men and women of old. But there is the distinct similarity with the Islamic creed too. "Hebrews" has the fact of affirmation in common with Islam. There is a something to be intellectually appreciated. "There is no god but God". And "Hebrews" says just as emphatically, "*He that cometh to God must believe that He is*". Only the fool says "*No*". For "Hebrews" Jesus was not only the object of faith, but Himself the pioneer of it all, the Great Believer, *par excellence*. At all events the emphasis on *iman* in Hebrews is great enough to suggest something in common with the intellectual background of the Islamic creed. With Christianly mental reservations this writer could have said in very truth:—"I believe in God and His angels and His books and His prophets and in the day of judgment". But here "Hebrews" parts company with Muhammad and the framers of the Muslim Creed. It seems unlikely that he could have accepted with anything like the same degree of intellectual sympathy the clause dealing with predestination to good and evil. For him Christ had become the author of good things that had come and were coming; the surety and mediator of the better covenant; able to save to the uttermost them that come unto God by Him. With the Resurrection taken, as he took it, for granted, what did away with the need for predestination was the possibility of being made perfect in every good work to do God's will.³⁷

It may be true, however, that Islam and "Hebrews" have other things in common, for instance the idea of intercession, but his attitude to this and the Intercessor is akin to that of St. Paul in Romans rather than to that in the Qur'an. "He ever liveth to make intercession for us".³⁸ His interest in His brethren is neither a thing of the past nor of the ultimate future. And it is He who intercedes, and He alone. Subsequent Christianity has by no means been true to the New Testament in this matter. Angels,

³⁷ Heb. 13:21.

³⁸ Heb. 7:25; cf. Rom. 8:34.

patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, come into this question of intercession. *Ora pro nobis*. The Mu'tazilites objected to all this as interfering with the justice of divine retribution, as we may be fairly sure "Hebrews" would have concurred. "Vengeance is mine".³⁹ Popular Islam and popular Christianity have both been somewhat pagan in this respect and less true to their better selves than their more intellectually honest leaders. Islam lost out when the Mu'tazilites were put out of court; Christianity is never at its best when the New Testament is secondary. Jesus is not only unique in intercessorship; there is no other intercessor. "When the apostles mention the sacred function of intercession," says Dr. Denney, "they do so with a kind of adoring awe, which is quite peculiar even in the New Testament".⁴⁰ The intercession of Jesus "is not prayer but life".

We can leave the matter here with the suggestion that Dr. Callenberg was justified in selecting Hebrews as one of the four books in the New Testament, which he desired to put first into the hands of Muslim seekers after God. We can both appraise and appreciate his choice. Here is Transcendence; here are the angels, the books, the prophets through whom God has spoken—much that Islam held and holds in common with Judaism and Christianity in their intellectual approach to the religious quest. But most vital in Hebrews is something that neither Islam nor Judaism has yet got, Jesus Christ, one with His brethren, the other sons that He has brought to glory, one with them alike in the "days of His flesh" as in the eternal intercession of His endless life.

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ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

³⁹ Heb. 10:30.

⁴⁰ Quoted in "A Priest for ever" by T. P. Alexander.

MOSLEM WOMEN OF CHINA

The Japan Incident (which is not a war!) has given China frontpage news interest. One might feel the time inopportune for the consideration of a comparatively small portion of the population—Moslem women; but Moslems, one of the “five peoples” of the Middle Kingdom, will have their say in the new China, and their women can give us the clue to understanding them.

This minority in the land of Confucius cannot accept without question the moral standards of Islam, as is shown in stories told by Chinese Moslems about Mohammed and his wives. Instead of killing a former husband, or demanding divorce, Mohammed is represented as reluctantly accepting the will of Allah in taking each virginal wife. She, on her side, refuses marriage until divine leading shows the perfect man to whom she may be a helpmeet. This has naturally made for more stability in the marriage bond than is found in most Moslem lands. On the whole it is probably true to say that a Moslem wife is as well off in China as anywhere. One has been offered expensive presents in the hope that a bribe would make it possible to cure the wife of a Moslem; but, in the same province, the story is told of a wife of eighteen years, dying in agony because her husband would not “trouble” to take her to the mission hospital, where he knew help was obtainable. As in old China, a young woman is of little account, but the mother of sons has power in the home.

In all talk of Moslems it must be noticed that in the northwest the condition of women approximates most nearly to that of their sisters in lands ruled by Moslems, and towards the south and east more to ordinary Chinese standards. This is due to the large and bigoted colonies

of Moslems in the northwest, and to less intermixture of Chinese blood. We must, however, remember that most of the small Moslem communities in the eastern provinces have been little or only superficially investigated by westerners.

In appearance the women are not so markedly un-Chinese as the men. There is sometimes a Turkish look with the "high nose", and a proud erect bearing to mark them out. On the other hand, there are many who can scarcely be distinguished from Chinese. In some places we are told, "Each Moslem has at least one or two Chinese wives, bought from Han (i.e., ordinary Chinese) homes", so that in visiting a Moslem home one must distinguish between these proselytized "Han" women and true Moslems.

The clothing of the Moslem women is seldom distinctive. Some wear an adapted "veil" which does not cover the face, but may be a headdress like a hood, flowing down the back and fastened under the chin, or a large handkerchief wrapped round the head, and (apparently most important!) covering the back of the neck. White head-coverings are worn in women's mosques, where these exist. Often the girls' feet are bound, though it may be more loosely than Chinese custom ordains. In some places they have never been bound, and, of course, in all China now the custom is ceasing among all girls. In fact, the national law, which is strictly enforced, forbids it under severe penalty. Those who watch carefully can distinguish differences in the trimming of garments, and the usual Moslem amulets are probably more widely worn than is realized. In Ninghsia, green trousers and red jackets are common among Moslem girls, and have now been copied by fashionable Chinese girls; in other places also brighter colors are seen among Moslems, a bride in the northwest being seen "riding, with bright green headdress, blue gown, red trousers, purple ankle-bands, and brightly embroidered shoes." In some parts of the northwest baggy trousers and shoes with turned-up toes give an impression of old Turkey.

Education in the modern sense has been one of the

great aims of the Chinese Government in recent years, so that Moslem girls have, with others, attended schools in the larger towns. This may in time lead to assimilation in some degree, but at present many women as well as men have a slight difference in accent from their neighbors. Naturally religious terminology is different; the most ignorant Moslem woman would not use a Chinese term for God, for instance; more Arabic gutturals are learned by girls aged from seven to eleven who attend Mosque schools in some places, and even a slight knowledge of this language affects their accent to some degree. A few girls learn Arabic as well as the Ahung. We have met a bride, the daughter of an Ahung, who was able to read Arabic fluently, but this is rare, and resulted from the real love of a father for his daughter. To return to more common Moslem terms heard among women, we have mentioned the term for "God." "Allah" is seldom heard, "Khuda" is common in some districts, but in talking to a woman "Chen Chu" (True Lord) is always understood. Chinese translations of other expressions are common, as "Prayer for protection" (e.g., before a journey), "Prayer for forgiveness" (at Ramadan, etc.) and "To trust God one must know God."

Apart from this, the names of the children reveal them as Moslem, at least in predominantly Moslem districts; elsewhere one may hear an ordinary Chinese "baby-name" given by a Moslem mother. A missionary says, "One child was called 'Jesus', and as I had heard him swearing I had a good opportunity to speak to the women of the Sinless One Who bore that Name." This is no uncommon name in some districts, and the girls may be "Mary", "Ayesha", or "Fatima" commonly.

Food is an important point of distinction, and women are as particular as the men about accepting anything to eat from a non-Moslem. Some will take nothing at all, but most will accept raw fruit, unpeeled, or unshelled nuts. We have even known generous and loving Moslem women to offer us unshelled nuts, in case our religion made it

impossible for us to eat their food! As a rule, however, they will offer tea to visitors, though they may not accept it from us. The more secluded woman of a wealthy home is naturally less ready to break her isolation than the freer woman of a poor family; also a large community imposes a stricter observance of rules than scattered groups.

Regarding religious observances, we again find the northwest most particular. In Kansu all keep Ramadan strictly, except sometimes the sick or nursing mothers, while further east there is more laxity. Prayers are usually said regularly by the older women; in Honan and some other parts of Central China they worship in women's mosques. One mosque visited by the writer was an ordinary courtyard, the large main room being adapted to form the mosque. The woman Ahung (Imam) read prayers in sonorous Arabic, and about a dozen women (probably widows, or at least those who had daughters-in-law to attend to home duties) slipped soft leather coverings over their small, bound feet and went in to follow her prayers and genuflections. All talked with friendliness to the foreign visitor, both before and after worship, but the Ahung was quick to turn the conversation if it seemed to be getting deeper than surface friendliness.

It is said that Moslem women are hasty compared with the Chinese, but most are very friendly to Christians. Their scorn of idolaters makes them consider us as in the same class as themselves. They do not seem bigoted because they have not understood the essential difference in our beliefs. The few well educated ones may argue, but a woman visiting women will have a courteous and even interested hearing for her message, except in the before-mentioned circles of religious elderly women. Those who go to mission schools (a very small number in the aggregate) have often been impressed, and some seem to be truly converted. In visiting, however, when a man appears interest apparently declines. In school work, when the girls go home, fear is usually too great for them to take an open stand. In East China we have heard of a school

girl who said that in her Moslem home "persecution drove her nearer to her Lord Jesus"—may she go on to lead others into the liberty which fears none who can only hurt the body! In the west a girl who confessed Christ at home would not be allowed to see or communicate with her Christian friends, and indeed the power of life and death is in the hands of the Ahung. What would the death of a girl matter? In the northwest one says "a woman who accepted Christ would be divorced and cast out. We are continually praying for *families* to be converted."

Woking, Surrey.

OLIVE BOTHAM.

An Early Convert in Persia

A book was recently published in Iran containing an account of the early English Embassy in the days of Shah Abbas. It tells the story of a Persian who became a Christian, traveled to Spain and remained there:

"The following excerpt is noteworthy because it is now possible to narrate frankly in the Iranian press the story of the conversion of a Moslem. After the arrival of the embassy at the Spanish capital, the writer says: 'At this time something happened which much displeased the Ambassador. One of the secretaries of the embassy, Ali Qoli Beg, nephew of the Ambassador, was captivated by the doctrines of the Christians, so that he began to follow their customs and habits and even to put on European dress. At first it was thought that he did this for amusement, but later it was plain that God Almighty wished to show His power and, just as He split the moon with His mighty hand, and brought the children of Israel without any fear of drowning through the Red Sea, so He showed His eternal will by bringing men from one side of the world to the other in order that, though their hearts were as cold and hard as iron, the brightness and warmth of the Gospel might make them as clear and soft as wax. Ali Qoli Beg determined to become a Christian and to be baptized, and, separating himself from us, he entered the society of the Jesuits in order to learn the Christian doctrines and sacraments and the deeds which a Christian must perform.'"

DEMOCRACY IN ISLAM

In these days when democracy is being so tested and so contested, the eyes of the world are focused upon the three countries commonly associated with democracy—Great Britain, France, and the United States. The weaker nations of the world look with concern especially to these nations for the future of democracy. Yet the future of democracy does not rest solely on the fate of those three nations. Islam—representing some 250,000,000 people scattered throughout many countries—is a power that cannot be ignored.

It may seem strange to look for democratic strength within Islam—a religious body usually associated with the denial of freedom, with dictatorial methods of government, and with many totalitarian practices. In spite of this popular conception, there are inherent in Islam principles that are basically democratic. In many cases, abuse has crept in and authoritative measures have so prevailed that Islam has come popularly to be regarded as the antithesis of democracy. Notwithstanding Islam's totalitarian aspect, the fact remains that fascist powers have gained their greatest strength from Christian, rather than from Moslem, countries.

The purpose of this paper is to try to point out why democracy may find a strong, though unsuspected, ally in Islam. The arguments presented are intended to illustrate that Islam, for its own adherents, is in spirit and intent fundamentally democratic. The fact that abuse of these practices has crept in, so that in some cases what was once democratic is now autocratic, does not exclude the prospect of Islam as a democratic ally any more than it would to accuse Christianity of being undemocratic because in-

dustrial autocracies have arisen within its boundaries. In spite of abuses, the fundamental and original intent is still valid. Undemocratic practices in Islam may be even more apparent to us than the equally undemocratic practices of lynching and industrial oligarchy in this country, but those abuses, either in Moslem or Christian countries, do not deny the basic intent of Islam or Christianity to be democratic. As Christians we have probably digressed as far from the original principles, teachings, and spirit of Jesus as the Moslems have from Mohammed, but inherent in both Christianity and Islam, considered as religions, is this bond of democracy.

Students of Islam, today, are endeavoring to get back to the spirit and prime purpose of Mohammed, as sincerely as Christian scholars are endeavoring to interpret our Scriptures in accord with the original intent of Jesus. In other words, in Islam as in Christianity, the real test comes not so much in current practices as in the original purpose and intent of the respective founders. If the basic and original spirit of the leaders was democratic, and if there is a real desire to get back to root sources, then there is a real and powerful source of democratic strength to be found in Islam. Unsuspected as it may be, the countries of Great Britain, France, and the United States (commonly considered to be the great democracies of today) will undoubtedly find support for their democratic principles among Islamic countries. There is, at least, that democratic basis within Islam to which one can appeal and on which one can build.

A striking illustration to show that this spirit of democracy is still alive within Islam today comes from the American University at Cairo, where sheikhs from El Azhar University and Christian ministers have stood on the same platform and publicly discussed the relative merits of Islam and Christianity.

Perhaps it will be well to convey what is meant by this fundamentally democratic spirit of Islam by a few illustrations.

Until the time of Islam the conquered peoples had always been regarded as being absolutely at the mercy of the conqueror, regardless of the religion or nationality of the victors and victims. Yet the Moslems theoretically regarded all conquered people who embraced Islam as co-equals. Those who preferred to keep their own religion might do so, provided they paid a tribute to help pay the cost of their defence. The Shu'ubiyah controversy is supporting evidence: the non-Arabs desired to have the equality which was their right as Moslems, but which the pure-blooded Arabs were unwilling to give them.

To be sure, taxes on unbelievers did later become exorbitant, but that abuse does not deny the extraordinary democratic principle of Islamic culture.

Another illustration: The world in which Mohammed lived had its classes of freemen and slaves. Indeed, slavery had long been an established institution of society, accepted from time immemorial by Jew and Christian. Mohammed himself is accredited as discouraging these class distinctions and regarding goodness as the only valid test of superiority. Mohammed's opposition is clearly shown in the teachings ascribed to him:

"Your brethren are they who are your servants, God having placed them under your care; and he whose brother has been placed under his care must feed him with that which he eats, and clothe him with what wherewith he clothes himself. Do not ask them to do more than they can, and if you have assigned them a task greater than they are able to cope with, then give them the help they require." ¹

Indeed, this democratic temper was actually put into practice by some of the caliphs.

"Had not the first Caliph gone to the lengths of dividing the spoils of the raid equally between young and old, slave and free, male and female, for were not all believers brothers? Had not the second clothed himself in coarse linen and sandals and fibre; had he not on that historic visit to Jerusalem to receive its surrender entered the city walking, while at his side his servant rode the horse that they had shared between them turn by turn, on their journey thither?" ²

¹ "The Arabs", by Bertram Thomas, p. 148, British edition. Also to be found in al-Bukhari, *al-Sahih*, *Kitab* 49, *Bab* 15.

² Bertram Thomas, "The Arabs", page 118; American Edition.

Their religious tolerance, which is pre-eminently a quality of democracy, is further evidenced by the fact that although the Arabs had ruled Egypt for nearly a century Egypt was still predominantly Christian. Religious intolerance did not characterize the pure and early Islam; it was only as secular power and personal ambitions crept in that intolerance and cruel oppression came to characterize Islam.

The Arabs at their best were liberal-minded. It was later that their laws became reduced to rigid forms that led to stagnation. Originally they were great reformers. Indeed, their laws are regarded as being centuries in advance of their European counterparts.

Judge Pierre Crabitès, formerly³ an American judge in the Cairo mixed courts, once said to me that he believed that Mohammed was probably the greatest champion of women's rights the world has ever seen. To quote him, who speaks from years of experience in trying Mohammedan law cases:

"Muhammed's outstanding contribution to the cause of woman resides in the property rights that he conferred upon the wives of his people. The judicial status of a wife, if so technical a term may be pardoned, is exactly the same as that of a husband. The Moslem spouse, in so far as her property is concerned, is free as a bird. The law permits her to do with her financial assets whatever she pleases without consulting her consort. In such matters, he has no greater rights than would have any perfect stranger."⁴

Not only that, but the traditional triple utterance, "I divorce thee", actually was designed to allow the interval between utterances (three months) as a time for reconciliation. This practice was not intended to encourage hasty and easy divorce, but rather to encourage delay and reconsideration. No matter, too, how many times a girl may marry she still retains her maiden name and a legal personality of her own.

Surely, such reforms would be regarded as progressive and extraordinarily democratic. As the followers search more and more for root meanings they will discover these

³ See *Asia*, January 1938, page 1.

⁴ Bertram Thomas, "The Arabs", page 138f. British Edition. Page 126f. American Edition.

original principles of freedom, which, as they are truly Islamic in character, will tend to motivate their actions the more.

What Betram Thomas has said in "The Arabs" is pertinent:

"The social structure (of Islam) while containing features repellent in a twentieth century view, must in fairness be compared with other systems contemporary with itself. More depends on the spirit of a social system than the letter of its regulations, and in the Middle Ages eastern enlightenment was pre-eminent in the world, and the religion of the Arabs insisted with the greatest emphasis on humanitarianism.

"To conceive of the Arab system as being in the likeness of our own, with a grafting on to it of its less pleasant features, is wholly misleading: it had another and wholly differing *ethos* . . .

"If, under the Arabs, women as a sex enjoyed less social and political liberties than they enjoy under modern European civilization—mixed dancing, mixed bathing, and the like are still objectionable, of course, to the orthodox—yet no woman went unmarried and was thereby unnaturally debarred from motherhood, and motherhood was held by Arabs of all time in the profoundest respect. If slaves were deprived of all political privileges there is still less difference, by far, in the material rewards of life between freeman and the slave in 'subsistence cultures', such as in Arabia today, than between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' in our European civilization. This is said in no way to slur over those features in the medieval Arab way of life which in a twentieth century view are repugnant, but as an indication that in practice it had a humanity of its own, a humanity untainted by the worst features of our modern economic industrialism. Without a wide humanity, indeed, the old Arab system could scarcely have displaced the earlier systems of so many different peoples across the medieval world from the Himalayas to the Atlas, and survived in a large measure down to this day.

"'What struck me even in the decay and poverty', wrote an Englishman a few years back, 'was the joyousness of that life compared with anything I had seen in Europe. These peoples seemed quite independent of our cares of life, our anxious clutching after wealth, our fear of death. And then their charity! No man in the cities of the Moslem empire ever died of hunger or exposure at his neighbor's gate.'"⁵

In times of crisis, all great powers, in an attempt to recapture the original purity and driving power of its days

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 152f. British edition.

of early growth, tend to go back to the root sources in its beginning. The true strength and vitality and stamina of any great movement, like that of a human being, are represented in the physique with which it is endowed in infancy—its inborn capacity! When one considers that the original precepts of Islam—to which their leaders are now turning more and more—were so progressive and democratic, there is in that fact a bond which can unite Christians and Moslems in world emergencies. Thus far, significantly enough, Fascism and Communism have not found a kindred spirit in Moslem countries. The common bond of democracy may now well serve as a link to bring together these unsuspected allies of democracy.

Throughout this essay it has been extremely difficult to distinguish between civil, religious, and political equality and democracy. All within the Moslem State has not been on political equality. Slaves, for instance, had a religious, but not a civil equality. Women, neither in the Koran nor in the later Islamic law, had actual social equality with men, even though they did have civil and religious privileges.

Some of the strongest statements ever made about the indissoluble connection between equality and democracy were made by Daniel Webster. Among them somewhere is this statement: "A great equality of condition is the true basis, most certainly, of a popular government."

In dealing with this fundamental attitude of democracy in Islam, references have been made indiscriminately to civil, religious, and political equality evidenced within its domain, but no attempt has been made to magnify civil, religious or political equality as such—rather to point out that running underneath them all is this democratic tendency.

Politically, of course, Islam is not democratic, but it is bound together by a brotherhood and by an equality of condition that is stronger than political ties. This brotherhood may express itself in civil, religious, or political phases of equality. What particular expression this democratic spirit of brotherhood takes is of little consequence here,

but it is significant that it is virile and active. Similarly, the fact that there is no caste in Islam is another evidence of dynamic and fundamental equality of conditions indissolubly connected with democracy. These common bonds of democracy may transcend political, civil, and religious loyalties and be instrumental in bringing kindred souls together.

This limited presentation is not an exhaustive study. By its very brevity it lends itself to refutation, for exceptions abound; but it is hoped that this thought of democracy in Islam may serve to stimulate others to consider the possible Islamic support to world democracy in these crucial days.

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PAUL SIMPSON McELROY.

Motor Buses for Iraq

We read in one of the London papers that rapid progress is being made with the initial measures for the establishment of a modern motor-bus service in Baghdad. A board is to be set up called the "Metropolitan Passenger Transport Board," which will control passenger transport in Baghdad. It will have a capital of £200,000, in the form of a Government loan.

Tenders are to be issued shortly for the supply of 100 buses, and it is anticipated that the service will be in operation towards the end of next year or at the latest in the spring of 1940. At the present time nearly 200 buses are serving Baghdad and the neighborhood, but this competition will cease with the arrival of the new buses.

"I TAKE REFUGE WITH GOD"¹

The very first utterance of a Muslim in the mosque, as he enters upon the ablution ritual to begin his prayer-rite, is one of the cries of frightened humanity—*a'ūdhu bi'llah*, "I take refuge with God".

The verb here used, *'ādḥ* appears to have as its root meaning *clinging, as of flesh to bones*, and hence expresses clinging to someone for refuge from some person or some cause of fear.

The first form of the verb is the one constantly used in phrases like *a'ūdhu bi'llah*, and its verbal noun *i'yādh* is used, also that of the third form, in a phrase equivalent to "God forbid". So:

"Should one of us, which God forbid (*wa 'l i'yādh bi'llahi*) go to sleep nursing rancour, envy or grudge"²

The root has become closely enmeshed with the thought of charms and amulets (for which the words *'ūdha*, *ta'widh*, *ma'ūdḥ* or *ma'āwidḥ* can be used) and that is perhaps why it is consistently avoided in the Beyrout American translation of the Bible, though its essential thought is one that belongs in a marked way to the Psalms. The following refuge-taking (although both the words for refuge are also associated with the use of charms) is strongly reminiscent of the Psalms: (cf. Ps. 31:2, 20.) *Allahumma 'j'alnī minka fī 'iyādhin munī'in wa ḥirzīn ḥaṣīnin min jamī'i khalqik* (Set me, O God, in

¹ (The writer, believing that in a most practical sense *lex orandi* is *lex credendi*, has for some years used her leisure for a study of the small manuals for Muslim devotion (*aurād*, *aḥsāb* and *ad'iya*) which she found to be on sale in our day in the cities of Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Amman, Tunis and Algiers, together with others kindly sent by friends from the Muslim bookshops of North India, Omdurman and other centres.

These are of very various dates and histories, just as a similar collection of Christian devotional manuals in use to-day would undoubtedly contain not only yesterday's books but some going back, let us say, to St. Augustine or that other whom we know as Thomas à Kempis. And even yesterday's books would be soaked in phrases from the Bible and from the long and various experience of the Church throughout the ages. With these Muslim manuals the writer's first aim has not been the disentangling of their history, fascinating as that might be, but an effort to grasp the devotional thought and attitude of those who use the words to-day.

The present article is a slight study of the use of phrases connected with the root *'ādḥ*, written in the hope that it may help other beginners in this branch of Arabic study.)

² *Al-Husūn al-sab'a al-munīra*. Muḥammad al-Faṭḥī al-Murākishī.

an inaccessible refuge of Thine appointment and a fortress-shelter from all Thy creation.)³

Two beautiful uses of the root carry one to desert pastures. The first is the collective noun *'awwad^h* or *'uwwad^h*, meaning a flight of frightened birds flying for shelter to clefts of the mountains, inevitably reminding us of the phrase in Ps. 11:1, "How say ye to my soul, Flee as a bird to your mountain?" The second delightful out-of-door use is in the word *mu'awwid^h*, meaning a plant that, by growing among thorns or in a rock cranny, has found itself a refuge from grazing beasts.

But in our devotional manuals the constant use of the root on pious lips is in the innumerable phrases embroidered round the words *a'ūd^hu bi'llah*, "I take refuge with God." The action of saying this, or of seeking the protection of amulets or talismans, is expressed by the form *ta'awwad^ha*. Yet another form, *a'ād^ha* or *a'wad^ha* is used for taking refuge with God on behalf of another person, i.e., commending him to God's protection or to the protection of an amulet. Thus in a tradition quoted in the manuals and which in its rhyming form might go back far into desert life, Muḥammad is made to say to Ḥasan and Ḥusain:

a'id^hukumā bi kalimāt illāhi 'l-tāmma min kulli shaiṭāni wa hāmma wa min kulli 'aini lāmma. ("I put you both under the protection of the perfect words of God, against all demons and noxious reptiles and against every evil eye") and he further adds "and it is said that your father (Abraham) used to seek refuge through these words for Ishmael and Isaac."

Al-kalimātu'l-tāmma are always explained as "the words of the Qur'an", which assorts strangely with the fact that Muḥammad is made to refer this *ta'awwad^h* to a dim past. Many of the justificatory traditions for devotional usages are altogether too pat, and bear the mark of the factory; but refuge-taking is so natural and primitive an instinct that these words awaken a question as to whether the tradition may enshrine some scrap of the ancient religious life of the desert.

³ *Al-wirdu 'l-āmm*. Muḥammad al-Faṭḥi al-Murākishi. p. 90. Cairo 1340.

Quranic Uses.

All the modes of Muslim devotional life have to find a basis, even though slight, in the Qur'ān. In the case of *ta'awwudh* there is no need to juggle with texts for justification; the idea is well embedded in the very stuff of the Qur'ān. The root '*ādḥ*' occurs in some ten passages,⁴ three of which have been formative in Muslim devotion. These three are:

1. When thou readest the Qur'ān have recourse to God (ista'idh billahi) for help against Satan the stoned.

Sūratu 'l-Naḥl, 98.

In accordance with the direction of this verse, *ta'awwudh* is placed in the heart of every repetition of the *ṣalāt*, for in this rite the recitation of *sūras* from the Qur'ān is an essential part. The *ta'awwudh* before this recitation is called a *sunna bi'l-ittifāq* (a generally-accepted rule of procedure) and "the preface (*muqaddama*) to the recitation." What might have been an occasional cry thus becomes one of the main utterances of the Muslim soul, a part of its habitual life.

This formula for refuge-taking, from *Sūratu'l-Naḥl*—"I take refuge with God from Satan the stoned"—is the most used of all and is to be said at all performances of the *ṣalāt* "including funerals", while the primary school child is taught to use this form at the beginning of his ablution before the prayers.

2. & 3. The two short *sūras* that end the Qur'ān, *Sūratu'l-Falaq* or Daybreak, and *Sūratu'l-Nās* or Mankind, are original examples and patterns in Islam of *ta'awwudh* and are known as "the two Refuge-Seekings", *al-Mu'awwidhatāni*. They are so short that they have lent themselves not only to use as inspired cries for help, but also as script for amulets, and are constantly carried about the person. *Sūratu'l-Falaq*, one of the earliest taught to children, provides a cry for protection against night dangers and against the envious eye. It forms part of the famous and widespread devotion found in many of the

⁴ References: *al-Baqara* 67, *al-A'rāf* 199, *Hūd* 48, 49, *al-Naḥl* 98, *Maryam* 18, *al-Mu'minūn* 97, 98, *al-Mu'min* 27, *al-Falaq*, *al-Nās*. Translations are given in Rodwell's version.

manuals and known as *al-Musabba'ātu'l-'Ashar*, the Ten Sevenfold Cries. These consist of six Qur'ān quotations either short sūras or selected verses, and four other short acts of worship, each to be repeated seven times. *Sūratu'l-Nās* can be used as a cry for refuge from men and devils, from temptation and from spooks, and is the most acceptable cry in such cases. Al-Ghazzālī recommends its use before the performance of *ṣalāt*,—a safeguarding of the rite. *Sūratu 'l-Falaq* perhaps supplies justification for an idea, which constantly seems to underlie the use of *ta'awwudh*, that the creation with which we are surrounded is not neutral in our regard but that material things or sets of circumstances as well as living beings have all active principles or influences *both of good and evil*. (One is carried back to the nursemaid who slaps the table-leg, saying "Naughty table", when the child has bumped against it!) Whence came this conception of the universe? It is not the climate of the Old Testament, though it has affinities with thoughts in Ecclesiastes, still less of the New Testament. Nor is it, outside these *sūras*, the official Muslim attitude. But it is the very atmosphere of these acts of *ta'awwudh*. Is it a strain from some old world of magic? We quote two that are typical:

When putting on a new garment.

O God, to Thee be praise who hast clothed me with this. I ask Thee for the good of it and the good for which it was created, and I take refuge with Thee from the evil of it and the evil for which it was created.⁵

On entering the market.

O God, I ask Thee for the good of this market and the good of what is in it, and I take refuge with Thee from the evil of it and the evil of what is in it. I take refuge with Thee lest I let fall a false oath or conclude a wrongful bargain.⁶

Traditional Uses of the Prophet.

These little psalm-like *mu'awwidhatāni* are cries for help, blessed not only because of their place in the Qur'ān, but because of the place claimed for them by tradition in the life of the Prophet:

⁵ Adhikār al-Nawāwī. Cairo 1348. p. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 133.

The Messenger of God used to "take refuge" from jinn and from the eye of the envier (by various formulae) until the descent of the *mu'awwidhatānī*, after which he began to use them and to forsake all other forms.⁷

A tradition ascribed to 'Ā'isha tells how the Prophet took the virtue of these *sūras* for the nightly protection of his own body:

'Ā'isha said of the Prophet that when he lay down to sleep each night he would put his hands together and breathe into them and recite *sūrat ul-ikhhlāṣ* and the *mu'awwidhatānī*, then pass his hands over as much of his body as he could reach, and rub his head and face and the nearer parts of his body repeating the action three times.⁸

The Qur'ān, then, gives a strong basis for *ta'awwudh* and supplies pattern forms; the *ṣalāt* makes it incumbent daily on every practising Muslim, and tradition adds to the strength of the practice by showing it as part of the life of the beloved Prophet. This last justification is always sought (and no doubt has sometimes been created) for the devotional usages of his people, and for *ta'awwudh* he is shown as using not only the two refuge-seeking *sūras* but other forms as well:

If the Prophet feared a company of people he would say, O God, we make Thee the arrow that pierces their necks, and take refuge with Thee from the evils of them. (*innā naj'aluka fi nuḥūrihim wa na'ūdhu bika min shurūrihim*).⁹

The following tradition refers to an attack of the evil one when the Prophet was at his prayers:

The Prophet said, Iblīs the enemy of God came with fiery darts to cast them into my face. And I said three times, "I take refuge with God from thee." And three times, "I curse thee with the utter curse of God from which there is no refuge". Then I was about to seize him, and by God had not our brother Sulaiman pleaded for him, I would have tamed him so that the children of the people of Madina could safely play with him.¹⁰

So in *ta'awwudh* his people appeal to their Prophet's example:

We take refuge with Thee from those things from which

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 139.

⁸ Khātima to Al-Huṣūn al-sab'ah al-munī'ah. Muḥammad al-Faṭḥī al-Murākishi, in *Majmū'at al-wird al-'amm*. Cairo 1340. p. 137.

⁹ *Adhkār al-Nawāwī*. p. 99.

¹⁰ Al-Kalimu'l-ṭayyib min adhkār al-nabī. Taqī al-dīn abu'l-'abbās al-Damishqi. Cairo 1349. p. 54.

Thy servant and Thy messenger Muḥammad used to take refuge.¹¹

But, as usual, the thought of Muḥammad's people does not stop there. They cannot think of him only as a fellow-petitioner on earth. Is he not the great friendly power next the Throne?

Muḥammad through whom he who seeks for refuge finds it.¹²

Introductory Ta'awwudh.

We turn to consider the special occasions that demand safe-guarding with *isti'ādha*. While the phrase rises unbidden, a cry of the heart on occasions of danger (and especially the danger of *praise*, which exposes the praised one to the assaults of the evil, envious eye), it is formally enjoined or recommended by the *sunna* of the Prophet on many particular occasions. Like the *basmala*, it is a safe-guard that should not be neglected at the beginning of an undertaking. We have already referred to the use of the form from *Sūratu 'l-Nahl* before beginning the ablutions. The same form should be used on first entering the mosque against the temptations that befall worshippers and the danger of errors in the performance of the prayers. One should say:

"I fly for refuge from Satan the stoned to the Mighty God and to His benevolent Countenance and His eternal Sovereignty."¹³

Al-Nawāwī, that rather gossippy compiler of traditions on religious etiquette, gives other first moments when *ta'awwudh* is especially propitious:

On first waking. (Said to be part of a devotion used at that moment by the Prophet.)

¹¹ Majmū' tabārūk. (Collection for use in Ramaḍān, no compiler given) Cairo 1338. (Found also in al-ḥizb al-Kabir attributed to 'Abdu 'l-Qādir al-Gilāni, and many other references in the prayer manuals.)

¹² Al-durru'l-fā'iq fī'l-ṣalāti 'alā aṣḥrāfi 'l-Khalā'iq. Muṣṭafā 'l-Bakri. (d. 1688, Damascus.) Included in numerous manuals.

¹³ Adḥkār al-Nawāwī p. 16. In spite of such a beginning there might have to be further refuge-takings in the course of the prayer, as the following tradition shows:

'Othman b. Abi'l-'ās said, "I said, O Messenger of Allah, Satan came between me and my prayer-rite and between me and my Qur'ān recitation to make them unreal to me." And the Prophet said "That Satan is called Khanzab, the evil one. When you perceive his presence, take refuge with God from him and spit three times to your left." And I did so, and God sent him away from me. (Al-kalimu 'l-tayyib. p. 55.)

Anyone sensitive to the buzzing inrush of the world at the conclusion of a religious service will sympathize with the following:

The Prophet said "When one of you desires to leave the mosque invading hosts of Iblis gather together swarming from all parts as bees swarm round their queen; therefore on reaching the door of the mosque let a man say 'With thee O God I take refuge from Iblis and his hosts', for if he say this they will not harm him." (Adḥkār al-Nawāwī. p. 16.)

O God, in Thee I take refuge from the anguish of this world and the anguish of the Day of Resurrection.¹⁴

(To be said ten times. Then follows the dawn *ṣalāt*.)

On going out of the house. (Reported to have been habitually said by the Prophet.)

In the Name of God. In God put I my trust. O God, I take refuge with Thee against straying or being led astray, against baseness or being abased, against tyrannizing or being tyrannized over, against being foolish or being made a fool of.¹⁵

On the marriage night when the bride is given to her husband, or when a new slave or beast has been bought. The prophet is reported to have said:

When one of you marries a bride or buys a slave, let him say, O God, I ask Thee for the good of her and the good of the disposition Thou hast given her, and I take refuge with Thee from the evil of her and the evil of the disposition Thou hast given her. And when he buys a camel, let him put his hand on the summit of its hump and say likewise.¹⁶

Ta'awwudh at moments of Fear.

The most natural, and no doubt original use is as an exclamation at moments of fear. The following are recommended:

On waking in terror from a nightmare, or when one is afraid at night by reason of solitude:

The Apostle of God used to teach them to say against terror: I take refuge in the perfect words of God from His wrath and the evil of His human creatures, and the attacks of demons, that they may not gain access to me.¹⁷

This formula is based on *Suratu'l-Mu'minīn*, verse 98, and has also been widely used:

Ibn 'Amr used to teach these words to all his children who were capable of learning them, and for a child not yet able to learn them be used to write them and hang them on the child's person.¹⁸

On entering a privy (always a demon-haunted place).

The Prophet used to say: I take refuge with Thee from male demons and female demons.¹⁹

When a high wind rises (desert winds carry whirling dust-clouds, the home of roving demons.)

¹⁴ *Adhkār al-Nawāwī*. p. 11.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 124.

¹⁷ *Adhkār al-Nawāwī*. p. 46.

¹⁸ *Al-Kalimū 'l-tayyib*, p. 23.

¹⁹ *Adhkār al-Nawāwī*. p. 14.

We ask Thee, O God, for the good of this wind and the good of what is in it and the good that Thou hast ordained through it, and we take refuge with Thee from the evil of this wind and the evil of what is in it and the evil that Thou hast ordained through it.²⁰

Probably the *isti'ādha* of nightfall should be included among those at moments of fear:

I take refuge with Thee from the evil of this night and the evil which this night contains, and the evil that went before it and the evil that will follow it.²¹

Ta'awwudh against ill-will and the evil eye.

We have already quoted the form said to have been referred by the Prophet to Abraham and used also for the protection of Ḥasan and Ḥusain. With so many loved associations this is naturally felt to be a word of power on behalf of loved ones. A general and characteristic *isti'ādha* against the evil eye is the following:

I take refuge with Thee from the tyranny of every tyrant and the cunning of every deceiver and the oppression of every oppressor and the magic of every magician and the envy of every envier and the defection of every traitor and the snare of every ensnarer and the hostility of every enemy and the calumny of every calumniator and the backbiting of every back-biter and the ruse of every trickster and the malice of every malicious one and the secret rancour of every grudge-bearer.²²

Ta'awwudh from sin and judgment.

One of the commonest forms to be said at evening and found in many of the manuals is the following:

I acknowledge Thy graciousness to me and I acknowledge my transgression. Forgive me, for none forgives transgressions but Thyself. I take refuge with Thee from the evil of my deeds.

(A tradition ascribed to the Prophet says that whoever recites the above before sleeping and dies that night, will enter Paradise.) "The evil of my doings" is enlarged in the following form, equally common in the books of devotion:

My God, I take refuge with Thee from the evil of what I have done and from the evil of what I have not done.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 80.

²¹ Wirdu 'l-ghurūb (included in many manuals) Mustafa al-Bakri.

²² Al-ḥizbu 'l-saifi. Aḥmad al-Tijāni. (Included in numerous manuals.)

And this may be carried further to a far fuller form though not necessarily implying such a sense of guilt as its use on Christian lips would mean, because that all-permeating idea already referred to, of the inevitable evil principle alongside of a good one in all created things may be operative as the refuge-taker regards his own life and doings. Yet even so the words have something of the truth that

. . . They who fain would serve Thee best
Are conscious most of wrong within.

I take refuge with Thee from the evil of my hearing and the evil of my seeing; from the evil of my tongue and from the evil of my heart and from the evil of my sexual life.

I take refuge with Thee, O God, from unprofitable knowledge and from a heart without reverence, and from an ever-demanding self, and from unheard petition. From these four I take refuge with Thee.

I take refuge with Thee from hunger, the worst of bedfellows and from treachery that ruins friendship, and I take refuge with Thee from the evil suggestions of the breast and from the frustration of affairs and the temptation of the grave.

O God, with Thee do I take refuge from Thy torments on the day when Thou shalt raise Thy servants, from a speedy torment and a harsh judgment, for Thou art swift in punishment.²³

This is but one example of the numerous refuge-takings from the terror of the Last Things. So the timorous mortal seeks for refuge from Judgment and the wrath to come. But to whom shall he fly for refuge from God? To none other than God Himself. And the great and significant phrase, one of the greatest in all Islamic worship, is developed: "I take refuge with Thee from Thyself." Like all the great phrases of devotion it is given a Prophetic setting:

The Prophet said: When thy time of lying down is come, make thy ablution as before the prayers and lie down on thy right side, then say, O God, I resign myself to Thee; I turn my face to Thee; I confide my affairs to Thee; to Thee I turn for refuge; hope and fear look towards Thee. Nowhere can we turn for shelter or refuge from Thee except to Thee.²⁴

Or again in a tradition attributed to 'Ā'isha:

²³ Majmū'at al-Wird al-Tamm. pp. 87, 88.

²⁴ Khātima to Al-husūn al-Sab'a al-Munī'a. p. 130.

I missed the Prophet one night and felt for him, and my hand lighted on the soles of his feet, for he was prostrating himself and his feet were in a vertical position. And he was saying: O God, behold I take refuge with Thy good pleasure from Thy wrath and with Thy pardon from Thy punishment, and I take refuge with Thee from Thyself. It is beyond me to express Thy praise. Thy own praise of Thyself alone can express what Thou art.

In the above form the prayer is constantly found, its sacredness increased by a tradition that it was first uttered during that Night of the *Mi'rāj* round which the mystical thought of Islam has ever played. In the sequence of its sentences an ascent of the spirit has been traced:

It has been said that the Prophet only pronounced these words on the Night of the Ascension between Paradise and the Fire, when he said, I will not turn to Paradise, for, had Paradise any virtue in itself, Adam would not have made his slip there. And I will not turn to the Fire, for had it possessed any burning power in itself Abraham would not have been cool and peaceful in it. But I will forsake Thy Paradise and lay hold on Thy pardon, I will forsake Thy Fire for the fear of Thy punishment.

. . . And when he remembered that Paradise only existed through the good pleasure of the Lord and that the Fire only existed through the wrath of the Lord, he turned away from both Paradise and the Fire to the attributes of the All-Powerful King. And it came into his heart that, just as the existence of Paradise depends on God's good pleasure, and the existence of the Fire depends on His wrath, so good pleasure and wrath are themselves two of His attributes, and the attribute only has existence through the one to whom it is attributed.

He turned away, therefore, from the attribute of the Owner to the Owner of the attribute, saying, I take refuge with Thee from Thee . . . Had there been any other than Thee, I should have fled for refuge to him, out of fear of Thee. But since none but Thee exists I can only take refuge from Thyself with Thee.

And the *bā'* (of *bika*—"with Thee") is a conjunctive particle. It is therefore as though the Prophet had said, "I seek refuge from separation in conjunction"; the prayer amounts to "If Thou tormentest me, torment me not with the degradation of separation from Thee"

"I fly for refuge with Thee from Thyself" is outwardly a cry of distress and inwardly a thanksgiving, for the meaning

of the cry is 'Thou art necessity to me. To whom but Thee shall I go?'

The three first sentences of this prayer are praise mingled with petition. Now when a man is making a petition he is concerned with himself; so he put himself aside and turned his eyes away from self, saying, I cannot express Thy praise. Then when his consciousness had died to all save God and dwelt in God, he said, Thou art as Thou hast praised Thyself.²⁵

Soaring as these thoughts are, and true as they are in the recognition that God is the sinner's only hope, the prayer on which they are based yet contains an unresolved discord between that wrath from which man flies and that mercy to which he betakes himself. In less worthy forms than those quoted, such refuge-takings give the impression of juggling with God's attributes and playing off His mercy against His righteousness. These prayers await the resolution of their discord, in the revelation of reconciliation made on Calvary when "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself". Before that Cross we can say, no longer looking to two groups of facts or persons nor even to two disparate divine attributes, but to one Divine Sufferer, "Behold, Brethren, the goodness and the severity of God." These, as other incompatibles, "He reconciled"—not in a syllogism but "in one body . . . on the Cross." So for the Feast of her Redeemer's Birth the Church chooses to sing that psalm which says "Mercy and truth are met together, righteousness and peace have kissed each other."

Inclusive Ta'awwudh

Finally we must mention those refuge-takings which try to attain perfect inclusiveness, securing in one use of the formula immunity from all types of danger. This love of inclusiveness is a prevalent note of Arabic Muslim devotions, which again and again strain language almost to breaking point in the effort to make one *Astaghfaru 'llah* cover all kinds of transgression, one act of praise sum up all praise, or one divine *ṣalātu 'alā 'l-nabī* carry with it every known or unknown blessing.

²⁵ Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzi, *Lawāmi'u 'l-bayānāt*. pp. 36, 37.

We quote an example of this effort to use one *isti'ādha* as an insurance policy covering all possible emergencies:

I take refuge in the perfect words of God from the evil of what He created, and from the evil of what comes down from heaven and of what ascends to heaven, and from the evil of what is blown over the earth and what comes forth from the earth, and from the temptations of night and of day and from the augurers with pebbles by night and by day, except him who shall augur my good, O Merciful One.

Another in which the petitioner "looking before and after" tries to make his one *ta'awwudh* cover all time and eternity is:

I take refuge in Thy magnificence and power and in Thy perfect words from the evil of what was and of what now is, today and in the time to come, until the Day of Resurrection, in this world and the other, in pre-eternity and the eternity to come, from everlasting to everlasting, world without end, from the evil of what may yet be or has been.²⁶

Christian ta'awwudh.

There is the *ta'awwudh* of Islam. Whence came it? Surely so natural and instinctive a cry of frightened human nature must have been part of the desert religion before the seventh century A. D. We have noted how congenial is *ta'awwudh* to the Psalms even where the root is avoided in Arabic translation.²⁷ The Christianity of the world into which Muḥammad came,—a demon-haunted world—must have made use of similar cries, and indeed we find them in plenty (whether or no they ever took Arabic form) in the services of the Syriac-speaking Church. Such phrases as "and in Thee do we take refuge", "who take refuge in the Name of thy Majesty" are common, while the thought is further developed and Christianized in such a sentence as "May . . . thy cross be a high wall and house of refuge to us, and under its wings may we be protected from the evil one and his hosts, at all seasons and times, Lord of all."²⁸

In the western world the office hymn for Compline, *Te*

²⁶ Al-wirdu 'l-āmm. p. 89.

²⁷ In the Beyrout translation of Ps. 31: 20 the words rendered in English "In the covert of thy presence" go into Arabic as *bi' sitri wajhika* reminding us that a common Muslim form of *isti'ādha* is *a'ūdhu bi wajhika 'l-karīm*.

²⁸ See Maclean: East Syrian Daily Offices. p. 17 etc.

lucis ante terminum, earlier than the eighth century, is an *isti'ādha* before sleep. But how can the Christianity of any century be without its *ta'awwudh*, since man in every age has to face the terror of the universe, of loneliness, of conscience, of the Last Things! Some hymns of *ta'awwudh*, unliterary cries of the soul, have been complained of as a selfish and craven refuge-taking. But it is to be remarked of Christian *isti'ādha* (not always or often beyond criticism in its expression) that craven though the soul may be that flies like an *'awwādh* to the Rock of Ages, the spiritual tone induced by such flight is not craven but strangely virile, facing the world, time, bereavement, martyrdom, the Last Things with a confidence in no sense self-regarding.

Jesus my heart's dear Refuge,
 Jesus has died for me,
 Firm on the Rock of Ages,
 Ever my trust shall be.

Perhaps we who seek to live for Christ in these lands that have produced the innumerable Muslim *isti'ādḥāt* should make more use of the hymns and prayers of the early centuries of Christianity when she lived in a magic-haunted demon-ridden world. One of the greatest of these is that hymn of the Celtic missions in the dim spirit-haunted world of the west, known as St. Patrick's Breastplate. This hymn, already in use in those western lands when Muḥammad taught his people the two Refuge-Taking *sūras*, is a perfect example of early Christian *ta'awwudh* which, though in form almost an amulet, is so spiritual as to defy superstitious use. Oh for a perfect rendering from an Arabic pen in the Arabic language of its essential spirit!

I bind unto myself today
 The power of God to hold and lead,
 His eye to watch, his might to stay,
 His ear to hearken to my need.
 The wisdom of my God to teach,
 His hand to guide, his shield to ward;
 The word of God to give me speech,
 His heavenly host to be my guard.

Against the demon snares of sin,
The vice that gives temptation force,
The natural lusts that war within,
The hostile men that mar my course;
Or few or many, far or nigh,
In every place and in all hours,
Against their fierce hostility,
I bind to me these holy powers.

Against all Satan's spells and wiles,
Against false words of heresy,
Against the knowledge that defiles,
Against the heart's idolatry;
Against the wizard's evil craft,
Against the death-wound and the burning,
The choking wave, the poisoned shaft,
Protect me, Christ, till thy returning.

Christ be with me, Christ within me,
Christ behind me, Christ before me,
Christ beside me, Christ to win me,
Christ to comfort and restore me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ in quiet, Christ in danger,
Christ in hearts of all that love me,
Christ in mouth of friend and stranger.

Jerusalem

CONSTANCE E. PADWICK.

IS THE MOSLEM HELL ETERNAL?

Muhammad Ali, in his work, "The Holy Qur-án, Containing the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary,"¹ argues strongly that the Koran rejects the doctrine of the eternity of Hell. His argument is largely based on the meaning of the words *khalada* and *abadan*. *Khalada* can be used either in the sense of remaining, without any indication of the length of the period, or in that of remaining for ever. But Muhammad Ali is not quite consistent in his treatment of this root. For example, in xx: 120 (118)² he translates *shajarat al-khuld* as "the tree of immortality", whereas he translates *dār al-khuld* in xli:28, where it applies to Hell, as "the house of long abiding." Yet it should be remarked that *jannat al-khuld* in xxv: 15 (16) is translated as "the abiding garden." Are we to infer from this that Paradise is not eternal?

He discusses the word *abadan* at length in Note 1201. He says, "This abiding in hell (*abadan*) is mentioned thrice in the Holy Qur-án, in iv: 169 (167); xxxiii: 65; and lxxii: 23 (24). On all these three occasions I render the words as meaning *for a long time*." But exactly the same Arabic words are used of the blessed in Paradise in iv: 57 (60), 122 (121); v: 119; ix: 22, 100 (101); lxv: 11 (9); xcvi: 8 (7), and in each instance he translates by such a phrase as "to abide in them for ever." This seems unjustifiable. *Abadan* surely cannot have different meanings in similar contexts. It would therefore seem that the translation is due to a predilection rather than to sound linguistic reasons.

But Muhammad Ali does make appeal to linguistic authority to justify the translation of *abadan* as "for a long

¹ Second Edition, Lahore, 1920.

² In quoting the Koran I give the numbering of verses used by Muhammad Ali, adding in brackets, where there is a difference, the numbering commonly used by European scholars.

time," and he is correct in stating that the dictionaries give the meanings of "for a long time" and "for ever". He is mistaken, however, in assuming that one is free to use either arbitrarily, for it is extremely unlikely that the same word would be used in similar contexts and be left to the ingenuity of readers to recognise that in one place it has one meaning and in another a different meaning. The words *khālidīna fihā abadan* must surely always mean the same thing, whether they apply to the blessed or the damned.

A seemingly more effective line of argument is taken when Muhammad Ali quotes lxxviii: 23, where it is said that the unbelievers shall abide in Hell for long ages (*aḥqāb*). He says, "If *abad* in the case of Hell signified *eternity*, the word *aḥqāb* could not have been used." But early commentators interpret this verse as meaning that the unbelievers will spend eternity in Hell. Ṭabarī (d. 923) quotes Sa'īd ibn Qatāda as saying that the long ages refer to a period with no ending, for, whenever one age ends, another begins. He also gives an alternative explanation, which Muhammad Ali mentions and rightly rejects, viz., that the long ages refer to the period during which they shall not taste coolness or drink (see v. 24). Zamakhsharī (d. 1144) gives the clear interpretation that whenever one age passes another follows it, and so on to all eternity. He says that the word *ḥuqb* is used only when a continuous succession of times is intended. *Baiḍāwī* (d. 1286) is stronger still. He remarks that the phrase cannot be said to indicate that the unbelievers will come out of Hell, since, whether a *ḥuqb* lasts eighty years, or 70,000 years, there is nothing to hinder an endless succession of *aḥqāb*. This has been the conventional method of interpreting the verse, and there seems to be no cause to question its reasonableness. The word *aḥqāb* is indefinite, and so may rightly be understood as referring to an endless succession of ages. One can well imagine that those who first heard these words spoken would not see in them any suggestion that the period was to have a termination. For practical purposes "long ages" expresses the same idea as "for ever."

Notice should be taken, however, of two pairs of verses where a distinction is made between the blessed and the damned. In lxiv:9 f. *khālidīna fihā abadan* is used of the righteous, but when the fate of the wicked is mentioned, the words are simply *khālidīna fihā*. Also in xcvi: 6 (5) *abadan* is omitted when speaking of the wicked, but in 8 (7) it is added when speaking of the righteous. If these two passages were the only ones we had, there would be every reason to argue that there is a distinction between the duration of the reward and that of the punishment. But we must take into account four other passages: ii: 81 f. (75 f.); iv: 13 f. (17 f.); vii: 36 (34), 42 (40); x: 26 f. (27 f.). In each of these passages Paradise and Hell are mentioned, the root *khalada* being used both of the righteous and the wicked without *abadan*. No distinction is made, so what are we to conclude? Are we to say that the righteous and the wicked are to stay in their respective abodes only for a long time, or are we to assume that the duration of the stay is eternal both for the righteous and the wicked? We certainly cannot conclude from these verses that there is any difference between the two parties regarding the length of their stay.

Surah xi:106-8 (108-10) is a very interesting passage. I give Muhammad Ali's translation. "So as to those who are unhappy, they shall be in the fire; for them shall be sighing and groaning in it: Abiding therein so long as the heavens and the earth shall endure, except as *your* Lord please; surely *your* Lord is the mighty doer of what He intends. And as to those who are made happy, they shall be in the garden, abiding in it as long as the heavens and the earth endure, except as *your* Lord please: a gift which shall never be cut off." Muhammad Ali points out in Note 1201 that a similar limitation on the duration of abiding in Hell is also given in vi: 129 (128), where it says, "except as Allah is pleased." It will be noticed, however, in the verses translated above, that "except as your Lord please" is used both of the wicked and of the righteous. But Muhammad Ali argues in his note that it does not have the

same meaning in both instances. When used of the unbelievers, it shows that Hell is not everlasting; but when it is used of the believers it is followed by the phrase, "a gift which shall never be cut off," and so, instead of expressing limitation, it is "used only to express the unbounded power and greatness of the Divine Being."

This is an interesting interpretation, and there are grounds for it in the actual words of the passage; but one wonders whether Muhammad Ali is not reading into the verses more than is intended. Further, this interpretation is not in keeping with the traditional manner of interpreting these words. Regarding the exception which is made, Ṭabarī says in his commentary that a number of traditions prove that the meaning is that believers in the one God who had committed major sins will be sent to Hell for a time. Other traditions say the verse means that some people who properly belong to those destined for Hell will not be sent there at all. And one tradition, which is credited to Ibn Mas'ūd, says that a time will come when no one will be in Jahannam, that being after its inhabitants have been in it for ages. This is in keeping with Muhammad Ali's views, but it is not accepted as authoritative by Ṭabarī. He prefers the explanation which says that only believers in the one God who had been sent to Hell for a time for punishment will be taken out of it. His reason is that Allah has threatened the infidels with *khulūd* in Hell, and that there can be no exceptions among the unbelievers. Evidently he understands *khulūd* in the sense of eternal remaining. In dealing with the exception expressed regarding the blessed, he explains the phrase as meaning "besides what your Lord wills," suggesting that there are other blessings prepared besides that of Paradise.

Zamakhsharī, in his commentary, explains the exception as meaning that the punishment of Hell (the fire) is not only by means of fire, but also by means of intense cold and other varieties of punishment, the harshest of all being God's anger and the humiliation to which He subjects the wicked. Similarly those in Paradise (the garden) will have

something more than the garden, viz., God's good pleasure, and such blessings as God alone knows. Being a Mu'tazilite, Zamakhsharī does not accept the view that believers who committed great sins will be transported to Paradise after a period in Hell.³ He strongly rejects the tradition which speaks of a time coming when Jahannam will have no inhabitants, calling those who believe in it misguided.

Baidāwī generally follows in his commentary the lines of Zamakhsharī, except that he holds with Ṭabarī that believers in the one God who have been sent to Hell for major sins will be taken out of Hell when the punishment is over.

The Waṣīyat Abī Ḥanīfa⁴ is quite clear on the subject of the eternity of Hell. Article 20 says, We confess that Paradise and Hell are a reality and that they are created and existing at present, that neither they nor their inhabitants will vanish, since the Scripture says regarding the Faithful: "It [i.e., Paradise] is prepared for the God-fearing", and regarding the infidels, "It [i.e., Hell] is prepared for the infidels". They were created with a view to reward and punishment respectively. Article 27 says, We confess that the inhabitants of Paradise will dwell therein for ever, and that the inhabitants of Hell will dwell therein for ever, as the Scripture says regarding the Faithful: "They are the companions of Paradise, they shall dwell therein for ever", and regarding the infidels: "They are the companions of the fire, they shall dwell therein for ever." The Koranic passage here quoted is ii: 81 f. (75 f.), and it is worthy of note that this creed evidently does not see any difference between the duration of the reward and of the punishment.

The Fiqh Akbar II⁵ is also quite clear on the eternity of Hell. Article 21 says, Paradise and Hell are created, and are in existence at the present time; they will never cease to exist.

Muhammadian Tradition, which comes second in authority to the Koran, gives good reason for believing that

³ Cf. A. J. Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed" (Cambridge, 1932), p. 182 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 129 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Islam teaches the eternity of Hell. Muslim⁶ gives the following: "Allah's apostle said, Allah will cause the people of Paradise to enter Paradise and the people of Hell to enter Hell; then an announcer will arise between them and say, O people of Paradise, there is no death, and O people of Hell, there is no death; each one remains for ever (*khālid*) in that in which he is." Another version of this tradition says,⁷ "Allah's apostle said, When the people of Paradise come to Paradise and the people of Hell to Hell, death will be brought and placed between Paradise and Hell and slaughtered. Then a crier will cry, O people of Paradise, there is no death, and O people of Hell, there is no death. Then joy will be added to the joy of the people of Paradise and sorrow to the sorrow of the people of Hell." A longer form of this tradition is given by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal⁸ and Ibn Māja,⁹ the latter version ending thus, Then will be said to the two parties, (You will spend) eternity in what you find (yourselves); there is no death in it for ever (*abadan*).

Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal¹⁰ gives the following tradition which speaks of the two classes of those who go to Hell: "Allah's apostle said, As for the people of Hell who are (really) its people, they will not die and they will not live. And as for the people to whom Allah wishes (to show) mercy, He will cause them to die in Hell and bring in intercessors for them." Traditions are also found in Bukhārī¹¹ and Ṭayālīsī¹² regarding those who will be taken from Hell, the assumption obviously being that the others will remain in it.

From another point of view Tradition makes it clear that Hell must be everlasting. Muslim¹³ says, "Allah's apostle said, No one will enter Hell who has in his heart the weight of a mustard-seed of faith, and no one will enter Paradise who has in his heart the weight of a mustard-seed

⁶ *Ṣaḥīḥ* (5 vols., Cairo, 1283), V, p. 374 f. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* (6 vols., Cairo, 1313), IV, p. 130.

⁷ Muslim, V, p. 375. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, II, 369.

⁸ II, p. 369.

⁹ *Sunan* (2 vols. Cairo, 1313), II, p. 305.

¹⁰ III, p. 5.

¹¹ *Ṣaḥīḥ* (4 vols., Cairo, 1318), IV, p. 175.

¹² *Musnad* (Haidarabad, 1321), Nos. 419, 2137.

¹³ I, p. 172. Cf. Ibn Māja, I, p. 16.

of pride." Bukhārī ¹⁴ gives a tradition which does not go so far as to say that no one who has in his heart the weight of a mustard-seed of faith will enter Hell. It says that Allah will command that such should be taken out of Hell. In another version ¹⁵ it is said that people in Paradise will pray for friends in Hell, and that those who have in their hearts a mustard-seed of faith will be taken out. But Bukhārī's traditions give the same impression as that quoted from Muslim, viz., those who do not have this qualification will remain in Hell. Another tradition of the same type as that quoted from Muslim is given by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal ¹⁶: Allah's apostle said, No slanderer will enter Paradise.

Such traditions make it clear that the Moslem community accepted the view that Hell was eternal and so attributed to the Prophet himself sayings which leave no doubt on the matter. This could never have been done if the community had been convinced that the Koran taught merely a temporary punishment in Hell. The authenticity of the traditions quoted does not come under review in the present discussion; they are accepted as authentic by the Moslem community, and that is enough for our present purpose. It is possible that members of Muhammad Ali's school may wish to throw doubt upon some of the traditions, but it should be noted that if they do so, they are going against the clear teaching of the community of which Muhammad is reported to have said, "My people will never agree upon an error." It is clearly taught in Tradition, as also in the Koran, that for some Hell will serve the purpose of the Roman Catholic Purgatory, but it is not taught, as Muhammad Ali would have us believe, that this applies to everyone.

To those who are familiar with the general teaching of Islam it may seem that this article is merely an attempt to prove the obvious, but it is necessary that something should be said on the subject. Muhammad Ali represents

¹⁴ I, p. 7.

¹⁵ IV, p. 173.

¹⁶ V, p. 402.

a school which is regarded as heterodox by most Moslems, but it is the chief form in which Islam is presented to the western world, and therefore account should be taken of its teachings. Muhammad Ali, both in his commentary on the Koran and in his more recent book, "The Religion of Islam,"¹⁷ expounds his doctrine in a manner which suggests that he is giving western readers a fair account of what the Moslem community teaches, whereas no indication is given to show wherein the Ahmadiyya doctrine differs from that accepted by the vast majority of Moslems. The present article is therefore an attempt to deal briefly with one point in which Muhammad Ali parts company with the generally accepted belief of the Moslem community.

Glasgow.

JAMES ROBSON.

The Moslem World on the Screen

The Intercollegian and Far Horizons, of April and May, 1938, gives us this bit of timely news:

"*The Moslem World*" is the name of the three-reel motion picture which is the joint production of the churches on a mission study subject this year. Reel I, "Lands of the Camel," surveys the geographical and cultural likenesses among the principal Moslem countries, the primitive conditions of life, and the beginning of modern influences. Reel II, "Out of the Desert," suggests some of the effects of desert life and philosophy upon Islam, traces its rise and spread, and indicates its present status. Reel III, "Christianity Faces Islam," notes the problem and methods and progress of Christian missionaries in Moslem lands. Groups interested in using "*The Moslem World*" should write their mission boards.

¹⁷ Lahore, 1936.

TURKISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE KORAN

In January, 1932, for the first time in Turkey the Koran (Sura Ya Sin) was read in Turkish as a part of the Friday mid-day service. The following year a law was put into effect requiring that the Call to Prayer given five times a day from the minarets of all mosques must be in Turkish only. These developments, together with the fact that Turkish is now written with modified Latin letters, adapted as the national alphabet, give Turkey a position of preeminence in a movement away from the traditional, strictly Arabic character of Islam. It will perhaps be of special interest, therefore, to have brought together the following list of printed translations and transliterations of the Koran into Turkish. (Since much of this material is printed in the new Turkish letters, it has seemed best to preserve the same system in transliteration from the Arabic and old Turkish in the case of the earlier translations also.)

I. TRANSLATIONS WITH COMMENTARIES, ARABIC LETTERS.

Tefsiri Mevakib, a translation from the Persian of Hüseyin Vaiz el Kaşîfî, by Feruh Efendi, Matbaai Amire, 1246 (1830). Large 8vo, 2 vols. Pagination: 493 incl. 2 p. introduction; 525 inc. a 2 p. prayer at end. A translation and commentary accompanying Arabic, verse by verse. Arabic text pointed.

Tefsir ül Tibyan by Ayıntabî Mehmet Efendi, Boulac, 1266 (1849), 4vo, 4 vols. 471, 378 pp. A free translation and commentary accompanying the Arabic, phrase by phrase. Arabic text unpointed.

Tefsiri Mevakib by Feruh Efendi, Matbaai Amire, 1282 (1865). Large 8vo, 2 vols. Pagination: 493 incl. 2 p.

introduction; 527 incl. a 2 p. prayer and a 1 p. colophon. Translation and commentary accompanying Arabic, verse by verse, verses being clearly numbered. Identical with 1846 edition save for colophon.

Tefsiri Cemali by Muhammad Cemaleddin, Boulac, 1294 (1877). Large 8vo, 4 vols. Pagination: 209 incl. 1 p. Table of Contents; 236 incl. 1 p. Table of Contents; 228; 235 incl. 2 p. colophon. Arabic pointed text with translation, phrase by phrase, and with brief commentary.

Zebdetül Asar, el Mevahib ve el Envar by Ali ve Suleyman. Lithographed on Riza Efendi Press, Istanbul, 1294. 12mo, 2 vols. 448; 463 pp.

Tefsiri Tibyan by Ayintabî Mehmet Efendi, Matbaai Amire, Istanbul, 1306-07 (1888-89). 8vo, 4 vols. Pagination: 488 incl. introduction of 3 p.; 435; 390; 379. A free translation and commentary accompanying the Arabic, phrase by phrase. Arabic text unpointed.

Tefsiri Tibyan in 4 vols., published by the Çenberli Taş Vezir Han Press, Istanbul. (I have been unable to get details on this edition.)

Tefsiri Tibyan ve Tefsiri Mevakip, latter on margin of former. Published by Mehmed Tahir ve Hasan Hilmi, printed on Arif Efendi Press, Istanbul, 1318 (1900). 8vo, 4 vols. Pagination: The fourth vol. has 517 pp. plus 1 p. Table of Contents. I have been unable to find copies of the other 3 vols. Arabic in both is unpointed.

Tefsiri Tibyan ve Tefsiri Mevakib, latter printed on margin of former. Published by Mehmed Mehdi, printed on Arif Efendi Press, Istanbul. Two printings, in 1323 and 1324 (1905, 1906). Large 8vo, 4 vols. 368; 356; 304; 320 pp. Both unpointed.

Tefsiri Tibyan ve Tefsiri Mevakib, the latter printed on the margin of former. Published by Yusuf Ziyaeddin ve Ahmed Naili ve Şürekâsi. Printed on Şirketi Saha-fiyei Osmaniye Press, Istanbul, 1320-24 (1902-06). Large 8vo, 4 vols. I and II, 1320; III and IV, 1321;

4th volume and perhaps others reprinted in 1324. Pagination: 427, 390 plus 2 p. introduction and Table of Contents at end; 398 plus 1 p. Table of Contents; 344 and 1 p. Table of Contents. Arabic pointed in the *Tibyan* and unpointed in the *Mevakib*. Verses clearly numbered in both and so arranged that same verses of both commentaries are discussed on the same page. The best edition of this combined work.

Safvetül Beyan fî Tefsirül Kuran by Şeyh ül Islam, Musa Kâzım, Matbaai Amire, 1335 (1916). 8vo, 1 vol. through Bakare sura only. Pointed Arabic text, free translation (*icmal manasi*) and commentary.

Hulasatül Beyan by Mehmed Vehbi Efendi, former Delegate from Konya, Evkaf Press, Istanbul, 1st printing 1340-42, 2nd 1341-43, 3rd 1928. 8vo, 15 vols., each volume about 300 pages. A verse by verse translation following Arabic in pointed letters, and accompanied by a long and detailed commentary.

II. TRANSLATIONS, WITHOUT COMMENTARY, PRINTED WITH ARABIC LETTERS.

Tefsiri Şerif, Anvari Kuran by Bereket Zade İsmail Hakki on Selanik Press, 1331 (1903). 8vo, 1 vol. through *Bakare* Sura only. 353 pp. Arabic pointed text with Turkish translation.

Nurül Beyan, a translation of the Koran by a committee, based on reference to various commentaries. Publisher İbrahim Hilmi, Istanbul, 1340 (1924). Large 8vo, 2 vols. Pagination: 1-600 incl. 2 p. preface by Shaikh Muhsin Fanî and 12 p. *Basi İzahati Mühimme* (Some important explanations); 600-1147 and 35 p. *Tefsiri Surci Mülk* (Commentary on the *Mülk* sura) by Mehmed Übeydullah at end. A verse by verse translation, Turkish following the pointed Arabic.

Kurani Kerim Tercümesi ve Tefsiri by Süleyman Tevfik, Maarif Kütüphanesi 1925. 8vo, 160 p. A Turkish translation somewhat free and explanatory, following the Arabic verse by verse. Completed only through the third, *Al-İ-Umran*, sura.

Türkçe Kurani Kerim by Süleyman Tevfik. Published by Maarif Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 1926. 16mo, 808 pages. Abbreviated from a commentary named *Tefsir ül Beyan*, prepared in 1323 (1905) by a commission. A Turkish translation only, Arabic not given.

Türkçe Kurani Kerim Tercümesi by a committee, the translation corrected by İzmirli İbrahim Hakki, published by İbrahim Hilmi, Istanbul, 1344 (1926). 12mo, 944 pp. incl. 4 p. Publisher's Preface. Turkish translation by suras, with occasional very brief notes.

Maanii Kuran, Kurani Kerim Tercümesi by İzmirli İsmail Hakki published by İbrahim Hilmi, Istanbul, 1343 (1927). Small 8vo, 2 vols. Pagination: 2 p. Preface and 494 pp. incl. 6 p. Introduction by İsmail Hakki Efendi; 631 pp. incl. 30 p. Topical Index. Turkish translation, with first words of each verse given in unpointed Arabic, together with brief foot-notes.

Türkçe Mushafı Şerif by Süleyman Tevfik (S.T.) Published by Sühulet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 1927. 8vo. Pagination: following 5 unnumbered pages of Preface with Translation and Table of Contents, 719 pp. Turkish translation alone, with occasional footnotes.

Tercümeli Kurani Kerim by a committee under the chairmanship of Osman Reşid Efendi, corrected by Süleyman Tevfik Bey. Published by Maarif Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 1927. 8vo. Pagination: p. 2 Biography of Cevdet Paşa, pp. 3-5 Cevdet Paşa's *Kurani Kerim Tercümesinin Mukaddemesi* (Introduction to the Translation of the Koran), p. 6 Publisher's Introduction, p. 7-8 Table of Contents, Translation pp. 2-576, followed by 15 pp. *Lûğati Kuraniye hakkında Lahikai Serife* (Supplement Concerning Vocabulary of the Koran) by Cevdet Paşa. Unpointed Arabic text on one side of page, Turkish translation beside it.

Türkçe Kurani Kerim, translated and published by Cemil Said, two editions 1926, 1928. 8vo. Pagination: of 2nd edition (undated) Introduction 1-6, translation

8-720. A Turkish translation with rare, very brief foot-notes, based on Kazmiriski's French version.

Varna Edition. About 1914 there was a translation of the Koran published with the New Testament on opposite pages by an Armenian Christian of the German Mission, the printing being done by Dobri Todoroff and Co., Varna. 8vo. Pagination: 1-443 Koran and New Testament through John's Gospel on opposite pages, 444-637 continuation of Koran translation, 638-782 Acts, Romans, Epistles of James, Peter, John, Jude and Epistle to the Hebrews. The book bears no date nor title nor name of publisher.

III. TURKISH TRANSLATIONS PRINTED WITH NEW TURKISH LETTERS.

Türkçe Kurani Kerim Tercümesi by İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, published by İbrahim Hilmi, İstanbul, 1932. 8vo. Pagination: *Naşirin İfadesi* (Publisher's Explanation) 2 pp. unnumbered. Translation 1-926; *Kurani Kerimin Tarihi* (History of the Kuran) 927-940; *Kuranın Tahlilî Fihrist* (Analytical Index) 941-962. First translation published in new Turkish letters. A transliteration of the 1927 Maanii Koran, but with some changes in the foot-notes.

Tanrı Buyruğu (God's Command) *Kurani Kerim Tercüme ve Tefsiri* by Ömer Rıza, published by Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, İstanbul, 1934. 8vo, sold in one-volume and two-volume sets. Pagination: I-LX Introduction, including chronological outline of Muhammad's life, Topical Index etc., 1-923 translation. Arabic text in small page reproduction, with Turkish translation in Turkish letters accompanying, and with brief notes at bottom of page.

Hak Dini, Kur'an Dili, Yeni Mealli Türkçe Tefsir by Elmalılı Muhammad Hamdi Yazar, published by Diyanet İşleri (Bureau of Religious Affairs), printed on Matbaai Ebüzziya, 1935-38. 8vo. In process of printing, probably to be completed in 8 volumes.

Pagination: Introduction 7-32, Translation and Comments.

3-1008,	Table of Corrections	1009-1016;
1009-1857,	" "	1858-1860;
1861-2655,	" "	2657-2660;
2662-3544,	" "	3547-3553;
3557-4326,	" "	4327-4330;
4334-5137,	" "	5139-5144.

An ambitious work prepared by the Government Bureau of Religious Affairs for the special purpose of use in all the mosques of the country. Detailed explanations; large letter, Arabic pointed text; literal translation, followed by long, detailed commentary.

In addition to the printed translations listed above, it is understood that the celebrated poet Mehmet Akif Bey, who died in 1937, made at the instigation of the Diyanet Isleri (Bureau of Religious Affairs) a translation which has never appeared, it is said because of author's objection to its appearing in the new letters.

IV. TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC KORAN.

Kur'ani Kerim, Cihan Kitaphanesi, Istanbul, undated (1930?) 8vo, 719 pp. plus 8 pp. of typographical corrections. Arabic Koran transliterated into Turkish letters.

Kur'ani Kerim, transliterated by Muallim Hüseyin Kâzım Bey. Published by Sühulet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, 1932. 8vo, 496 pp. Printed in Arabic, but with Turkish letters.

Kur'ânîkeriym, Maarif Kitaphanesi, Istanbul, three printings 1936, 1937, 1938. 8vo. The Arabic Koran transliterated into Turkish letters by Bay Naci.

Elkuran Elmushafüşşerif, Hilmi Kitabevi, Istanbul, 1937. 8vo. Pagination: 465 pp. incl. 2pp. *Mühim Bir Rica* (An Important Request) by publisher Ibrahim Hilmi at end. The Arabic Koran transliterated into Turkish letters.

Istanbul, Turkey

JOHN KINGSLEY BIRGE.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World. By Hendrik Kraemer.
New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.00; London: Edinburgh House Press.
8/6. 1938. pp. 455.

At the request of the International Missionary Council Dr. Kraemer has produced this remarkable book to serve as material for the coming meeting of the Council at Madras in December, 1938. Church leaders have immediately recognized the book as being a distinctive contribution to the philosophy of missions. It was the April selection of the Religious Book Club, and it will undoubtedly be a landmark in the literature dealing with missionary work. It is almost impossible to write an adequate review of the book, but a number of its outstanding features will be pointed out.

After a number of years of very successful missionary service the distinguished author became Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Leiden, Holland. His breadth of knowledge and experience are brought to a focus in this book and enable the reader to see the basic principles of the whole missionary enterprise.

A fundamental note is struck when he says that Christian missionary work must "issue directly from that apostolic urgency of gladly witnessing to God and His saving and redeeming Power through Christ." The Church, both in the West and in the East, must recapture the vision of God's purpose for the Christian Community—"a fellowship of believers, rooted in God and His divine redemptive order, and therefore committed to the service and the salvation of the world."

The great Eastern systems of life which confront Christianity are "solid blocks of social and spiritual life of extraordinary strength and tenacity." They are cultures and civilizations as well as units of religious principles and practices. Through thousands of years of development they have dominated life in Asia and Africa. Christian missionary effort must be aware of this social and cultural solidarity of the great non-Christian religions as it seeks by moral and religious persuasion to reach these peoples with the Christian message.

Dr. Kraemer's statement of the nature of Christian faith and life is clear and strong. There are many who will not follow him all the way in his theology, and some may be inclined to dismiss it lightly as being a restatement of Barthian ideas. Yet in its content his theological position is worthy of earnest study; and in its loyal devotion to God's will and in its resultant ethical idealism it is worthy of the admiration and emulation of all. God has, by an act of divine condescension, revealed Himself incarnate in Christ to accomplish the restoration of mankind and the world. Divine judgment

and divine salvation are God's answer to the guilty disharmony of man's life. This divine self-revelation is not the fulfilment of the highest developments of natural religion or natural theology. It is true, however, that man's deepest aspirations and intuitions find their fulfilment in Christ.

"Biblical Realism" is a favorite term of the author. The Bible is "radically theocentric." In its direct realism it presents no theology; it gives the witness of prophets and apostles. The prime motive and ultimate end of the Christian ethic is not to be found in a *summum bonum* or in the happiness of man, but rather in doing the will of God.

As he writes of the great non-Christian religions as systems of faith and living the author combines a sympathetic understanding of them with an unbounded loyalty to the Christian life and message. Since Christianity bears witness to what God has done rather than to what man has achieved, we have no right to consider ourselves superior to peoples of other faiths; but we must try all our lives to "see the non-Christian faiths under the light of the revelation in Christ", and then "to be obedient to the light that shines in Christ."

Dr. Kraemer summarizes the principal ideas of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Islam, and Judaism. He points out clearly the religious situation which now obtains in the non-Christian world, and gives an accurate picture of political and social movements which are taking place at the present time. In the light of these present-day conditions he discusses the missionary approach to the different groups with the Christian message.

The readers of this magazine are particularly interested in the author's discussion of Islam. Islam is a prophetic rather than a naturalistic religion. Although religiously rather superficial, Islam has a mighty grip upon its followers and gives them a strong feeling of superiority over all others. This is due to its radical theocentricity. "Allah in Islam becomes white-hot Majesty, white-hot Omnipotence, white-hot Uniqueness The ideal believer is, so to speak, personified surrender and nothing else."

Islam alone among the non-Christian religions is experiencing "a great extension of its territorial and spiritual dominion amongst the 'primitive' peoples." In the near future the various tribal religions of Africa and of the Dutch East Indies will give way to either Christianity or Islam. New Moslem states are finding in Islam the power that unites them amid all the changes that are taking place. It is their symbol of group-solidarity. Egypt desires to become the center of Moslem consolidation for the whole Moslem world. Turkey uses Islam as a tool to accomplish its political and secular ends. Islam has been starved and weakened in Iran, but is still powerful.

The missionary approach to Islam is very difficult for many reasons. Islam offers stubborn resistance to any break in its social solidarity. It explicitly rejects some cardinal Christian facts such as the Sonship of Jesus and His death on the Cross. Political developments in Moslem lands are severely hampering Christian activity. The great need is for such vital Christian living as will unite the quarrelling Christian Churches which the Moslem world knows into a living brotherhood. Only the Christlike life of Christian individuals and churches can win Moslems.

Many students of Islam will disagree with the author when he says, "Original Islam has no connection whatever with mysticism. . . . The core of Islam is thoroughly anti-mystical and unmystical." It is undoubtedly true that much of the later development of Islamic mysticism came from Greek sources through the channels of Eastern Christianity and Neoplatonic philosophy. But yet it seems hardly possible to eliminate all mystic elements from the Qur'ân and from the life and experience of Muhammad.

Dr. Kraemer's book is worthy of a wide circulation, and should receive careful study. It is not easy reading, but will richly repay the reader who will work his way through it. It is much deeper and more fundamental than the widely-read "Laymen's Report." The warm missionary zeal of the author is always present as he presents the attitude that he would have the Christian Church adopt toward non-Christian faiths as "the combination of a prophetic, apostolic heraldship of truth for Christ's sake with a priestly, apostolic ambassadorship of love for His sake."

Luxor, Egypt

W. J. SKELLIE.

Islam in the World. By Zaki Ali, M. D. Shaik Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, India, 1938. pp. 420. 7/6.

This is an unusual book by reason of its composition and its contents. The author is an Egyptian physician and ardent nationalist. It is dedicated to the late Khedive Abbas Hilmi (1832-1914), its preface was written in Geneva and the work was instigated and published by Mohammed Ashraf of Lahore, India. Were it not for many absurd statistical exaggerations, historical inaccuracies and the curious special pleading which bears the trade-mark of the Ahmadiyya propaganda, the volume would be of permanent interest and value. It is a very excellent attempt by an educated Moslem to sketch the place of Islam in history and in the world today. Dr. Zaki Ali has consulted many excellent sources but his fairly large bibliography is characterized by the omission of many important books which if consulted would have kept him from error in statement. The Preface and the Appendix would in that case not speak of 400 million Moslems, of which impossible estimate he places one million in the Philippines and Australia, five million in Ethiopia, fifty million in China, thirty million in the U.S.S.R., etc. The first two chapters on the Prophet and the rise of his religion are wholly uncritical, as witness such statements as the following: "Islam in contrast with Christianity has always remained identical with itself; Mohammed could neither read nor write; the system of Islamic ethics is unsurpassed as an incalculably valuable inheritance; seclusion of women is not a Koranic precept; all the Prophet's marriages were dictated by honorable motives; polygamy is almost prohibited in Islam," etc.

The most valuable chapters in the book are those on Islamic Polity and Islamic civilization. Here we have frank testimony on the totalitarian character of this religion, *vide* pages 56-57:

"There is a widely spread misconception about Church and State in Islam. Western historians, scholars and critics have assumed the distinct existence of these two elements in Islam, as they are in Christendom, and that the idea of their separation is identical. But

this is a fallacy. If there is any apparent separation or distinction between Church and State in Islam it is and can only be functional; whereas in the Western sense this separation is an organic one. In the Islamic conception it is impossible to draw a sharp and fast line of demarcation between religion and politics, seeing that in the Islamic society religion pervades and permeates every individual action, both in the spiritual and in the material domain. In other words, both religion and politics exist in Islam in a perfect *symbiosis*. It may be, therefore, safely assumed that there is no Church, as such, in Islam; at least, in the Western sense of the word. Also, it may consequently be assumed that Islam is the State and the State is Islam. If in some Islamic countries which have drawn up their Constitution along Western lines, Islam is declared the religion of the State, this should, in my opinion, be regarded as superfluous and as being only a formality. In the Islamic State politics is a *symbion* which, together with religion, forms one entity."

There is an excellent summary of the important contribution made to culture and civilization by the Arabs. Here the author leans heavily on the recent work of Professor Hitti. The account of the Caliphate is less satisfactory but the two chapters that follow on the Expansion of Islam and its inner Evolution are well written and free from serious blunders. The second part of the book consists of four chapters and deals with Islam today, under the headings of its present awakening, its emancipation and international relationship.

The author uses the word "emancipation" as a euphemism for disintegration because the chapter deals quite accurately with the secular revolution in Turkey and its effect; with the partition of Palestine and the present conditions in North Africa. For example, when he says that in French North Africa the Press has been gagged and freedom of speech denied, one would scarcely imagine that this is emancipation of Islam. Even in the sketch of the rebirth of Arabia, there are features which contradict the title of the chapter.

As for the Mohammedans in Russia, we would scarcely speak of emancipation in their case when the author truly writes on page 356: "The 'Godless Movement' energetically works for the destruction of the Islamic beliefs throughout the Soviet Union. They preach their atheism with vigour."

Altogether this book is both a disappointment and an attraction. It cannot be neglected if we would understand Moslem thought today.

S. M. ZWEMER.

The Wisdom of the Qur'ān. By Maḥmūd Muhtār-Kāṭircioḡlū and John Naish. Oxford University Press (Oxford, 1937); pp. lx plus 146. \$2.00.

To set forth the wisdom of the Koran and convey the moral, religious, and social philosophy of Islam, Maḥmūd Muhtār-Kāṭircioḡlū, better known to the Arabic-speaking world under the name Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha, decided to let the Koran speak for itself, and, therefore, selected for that purpose some of its best verses. Under the title *La Sagesse Coranique*, a French translation of these selections appeared in 1935. At the death of the author in the spring of the same year, his widow invited Dr. John Naish, chief

oriental reader, the University Press, Oxford, to render the work into English, and requested him "at the same time not to attempt any reinterpretation of the author's thought by comparison with the Arabic original of the Sacred Text". The result, despite the assurance of the English translator, is far from satisfactory.

A concrete example will illustrate my point. The famous *āyat al-kursi* (ii:256) is very familiar and will serve the purpose. The Arabic original of the Sacred Text is as follows: *Allāhu la ilāha illa huwa 'l-hayyu 'l-qayyūm, la ta'khudhuhu sinatun wa-la nawm, lahu ma fi 'l-samāwāti wa-ma fi 'l-arḍ, man dha 'l-ladhi yashfa'u 'indahu illa bi-idhnihi, ya'lamu ma bayna aydihim wa-ma khalfahum, wa-la yuhitūna bi-shay'in min 'ilmihi illa bi-ma shā', wasi'a kur-siyuhu 'l-samāwāti wa-'l-arḍ, wa-la ya'uduhu ḥifzuhuma wa-huwa 'l-alīyu 'l-ʿazīm*. Muhtār's own French translation of the verse reads: "Dieu! il n'y a de Dieu que Lui, le Tout-Vivant, le Toujours-Actif. Assoupissement et Sommeil n'ont aucune prise sur Lui. Tout ce qui est dans les cieux, comme tout ce qui est sur la terre, est à Lui. Qui donc jamais oserait intercéder auprès de Lui sans Sa permission? Il connaît ce que les hommes produisent et ce qu'ils ont acquis. Ceux-ci ne possèdent de Sa science que ce qu'il Lui plaît de leur dévoiler. Sa Domination embrasse les cieux et la terre. Il ne Lui coûte aucun effort de les conserver. Et, c'est Lui, le Très-Haut, le Sublime." The English translation of this French translation as it appears in *The Wisdom of the Qur'ān* is as follows: "God! There is no God but He, the All-Living, the Everywhere-Active. Weariness and slumber have no part in His existence. Every being celestial, even as every being terrestrial, lieth fast in His Hand. Who then would dare ever to intercede in His presence without permission from Himself? He knoweth all that men produce and all that they acquire. To nothing of His knowledge may they ever attain except what it may please Him to unveil to them. His Power embraceth all like the skies and the earth. No virtue goeth from Him in His conserving of the same. And verily it is He, the Most High, the Sublime!" The standard translation is as follows: "God! There is no God but He; the Living, the Eternal; slumber taketh Him not, nor sleep. His is what is in the Heavens and what is in the Earth! Who is he that intercedeth with Him save by His permission? He knoweth what is before them and what is behind them: yet they comprehend nought of His knowledge save what He willeth. His throne encompasseth the Heavens and the Earth, and it tireth Him not to uphold them both; He is the Exalted, the Great."

A close scrutiny of these different versions will confirm the fact that any translation, no matter how excellent, will inevitably differ from the original in form and quality; while a translation of a translation accentuates the disparity. In this particular case the English translation of the French translation is so far removed from the original Arabic that it can hardly be recognized. It, therefore, fails to accomplish its purpose.

Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Christianity explained to Muslims: a manual for Christian Workers.
By L. Bevan Jones. Y. M. C. A., Calcutta, 1938. pp. xv+225. Rs. 3/-.

It is not too much to say that the publication of this book will mark a new era in missions to Muslims. Much of what is written will of course be familiar to many people who have attended the lectures of the Henry Martyn School, but even they will be glad to have the book with fuller detail than could be delivered in lectures or recorded in lecture notes. For others there is now made available in print for the first time a point of view of the presentation of Christianity to Muslims, and a large array of facts bearing on that point of view. The difficulty of the author must have been to decide what to leave out, for it becomes increasingly clear that the missionary to Muslims must have a good knowledge of Islam, and something more than a good knowledge of Christianity. It would have been easy to go on writing in an attempt to describe the whole of Christianity, and to refute all in Islam that is opposed to Christianity. The result would have been a book of nearer two thousand than two hundred pages. Mr. Bevan Jones has limited himself by discussing only those points which Muslims of the present day actually raise in controversy. The objections are not dealt with separately, but each chapter is prefaced by a series of actual Muslim objections or difficulties, which then become the subject matter of the chapter, presented as far as possible positively and as little as possible controversially. A very large proportion of the objections come from the Ahmadis or Qadianis, and though this is inevitable because of the vast propaganda carried on by these sects, it may possibly be criticized by missionaries working in countries where the prevailing form of Islam is more orthodox. The author quotes very largely from the Qur'an, and scarcely refers at all to the three other bases of Islamic doctrine, Hadith, Qiyas and Ijma. The reason for this preference is clear: all Muslims put the Qur'an as the first basis of Islam, so that it is fairly safe to assume that any Muslim will accept a statement of the Qur'an as true, though there may be differences of interpretation. Attention is drawn to the few cases where Ahmadis actually contradict statements of the Qur'an and are not satisfied with merely giving new interpretations. This procedure of the Ahmadis may cause the missionary some confusion, because it is not clear what position the Ahmadi is out to defend; but it is a sign of far greater confusion amongst the Ahmadis themselves, and of the very unsatisfactory state of their present position, for it is evident that they have no clearly thought-out system of the basis of their faith. A valuable part of the book consists of the bibliographies at the end of each chapter. Mr. Bevan Jones has taken great pains, not only to discover the difficulties and arguments of Muslims with regard to Christianity, but also to express the relevant doctrines and facts of Christianity in a way that is consonant with the latest thought of outstanding Christian theologians. Christian missionaries, even with a good theological education, will be as grateful for the clear and accurate accounts of Christian doctrine, as they will be for the presentation of Muslim difficulties. In his preface the author thinks of the possibility of the book's being read also by Muslims. Muslims will not find it easy reading,

but if any are persevering enough to read it carefully and thoughtfully they will find most of their difficulties fully dealt with. But we would not recommend it to be put into the hands of Muslims, because it is not written for that purpose, and the order of the subject matter and its emphasis has the missionary in view rather than the possible convert.

Blisworth, England

L. E. BROWNE.

The Cambridge History of India. Vol. IV. The Mughul Period.
Planned by Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig. Edited by Sir Richard Burn.
Cambridge University Press. pp. xxvi+670 with maps and plates. 42s. net.

Nine years ago the writer had the pleasure of reviewing Volume III which dealt with the first period of Muslim rule in India, under the title *Turks and Afghans*; now at long last we have the volume on the *Mughul Period*. But unfortunately the results of this long waiting are rather disappointing. In fact, as compared with the previous volume, it is considerably below the standard expected. Perhaps this is in part due to the method of production. The former volume was largely the work of one man, Sir Wolseley Haig. The latter is the work of three writers: Sir Wolseley Haig, Sir Richard Burn, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, with the exception of five chapters out of the whole eighteen. There is thus a decided lack of unity in the presentation, and, what is more to be deplored, an unforgivable lack of perspective. For the most part the picture of India presented by these writers is one intolerably dull, an uninteresting chronological account of endless invasions, dynastic wars, factions and intrigues at court. There is little to give the impression to the ordinary reader that India during this period was other than a country of wild, untamed barbarians.

Of course India was torn with internecine strife during most of this time, but that is only part of the story. Islam itself contributed largely to a wide-spread revival in Hinduism, which was very definitely tinged with theistic ideas, opposition to idolatry and caste. Then there was the Bhakti movement led by Chaitanya, which had its birth and growth during this same period, and the frequent consorting of mystics of both religions, but the presence of these significant developments in the life of the people is left practically unnoticed by the various writers. Furthermore, it was during this period that the modern vernaculars largely came into being, and their early literatures developed. But we nowhere have any consideration of this important development, with the exception of a valuable note by Mr. Rawlinson on the subject of Marathi literature. Scant attention is paid to the Mughul and Rajput paintings of the period, in spite of the fact that the Timurid rulers were lavish patrons of art.

There is, however, a fair, though scarcely adequate treatment of the development of the Sikhs, as the chief emphasis is put upon their organization as warriors to oppose the Mughuls. Extensive notice is given to Akbar's *Din Ilahi*, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's picture of Aurangzib gives a fearless presentation of this over-zealous Muslim ruler's excesses in his dealings with the Hindu population: the forced conversions, destruction of temples, and the re-imposition of the poll-tax (*jizya*).

Some defects are to be found in other respects as well. This volume, in common with all other histories of India, has accepted the misleading terminology applied to this dynasty by calling the rulers Mughuls, whereas Babur was a Turk and not a Mughul. But such is the force of custom that I presume the common error could not well be corrected. A small error occurs on p. 258, where it is said that when Shivaji sacked the rich city of Surat in January, 1664, the English, Dutch and *French* factories successfully defended themselves. This is impossible, because the French *Compagnie Indes et Orientales* was not formed until August 1664, and no French factory existed in Surat until 1668, according to Chapter III, *Cambridge History of India, Vol. V*. There is a long and well classified bibliography, arranged chapter by chapter and divided into original sources and modern works, but one wonders why Bernier's *Travels* are classified as modern works in one place at least. Nor is any reference made to the fact, for the benefit of the uninitiated, that the factory records of India may now be had in convenient form, without reference to the India office, for they were published recently by the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona.

The best part of the volume is to be found in the chapters dealing with Akbar and Shah Jahan, and one reads both with pleasure and profit the chapter by Mr. Moreland on the revenue system of the Mughul Empire, much of which persists down to the present day. The last chapter (XVIII) by Mr. Percy Brown on the monuments of the Mughul period could not well be improved upon, and the fact that it is illustrated by ninety-eight excellent pictures of the outstanding examples of Mughul architecture brings the book to a satisfactory conclusion.

Budaun, India

MURRAY T. TITUS.

All-Islam! Weltmacht von morgen? By Paul Schmitz. Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, Leipzig. pp. 260. RM. 7.50.

"The author has been living in Cairo for many years, and is intimately acquainted with the basic reasons which led to the awakening rally of the Islamic people, creating one of the most important political problems of our time. This Islam Book shows a danger which is no longer being foreshadowed, but which already exists with burning intensity, though Europe has unfortunately not yet grasped its true significance. Islam today forms a united anti-occidental front, while the front of Europe is torn and uncontrolled. This book is a warning which should not be ignored in the interests of the occident."

Such is the statement on the jacket of this volume. It is one of a series on world events written from the standpoint of the Nazi Government and its world propaganda. The author appends a bibliography which is wholly out of date, and in his description of present-day nationalism in the Near East, he writes as a newspaper correspondent who would be welcome in yellow journalism. The maps and illustrations are striking, but the deductions need to be taken with reserve.

For example, on page 82 we have a map showing the influence of the Wahhabis, which covers all Northwest India, Bengal, Sumatra, all Arabia and most of Central Africa!

The six chapters of the book deal with the theme of Pan-Islam as follows:

I. A new era opened. II. The changed attitude. III. Islamic Nationalism. IV. The Basis of growing political power. V. Islam and the Powers. VI. Between Evening and Morning.

From the last chapter we learn that Mussolini's speech in Libya and Lord Lloyd's counterblast in a London mosque indicate that Italy and England are now conscious of the above Islamic peril.

Much is also made of the steady progress of Islam in Africa, as compared with Christian Missions. There are interesting paragraphs regarding the introduction of Islam in Japan as a political factor, pages 234-239.

Nevertheless our readers will be able to judge for themselves whether the author's conclusions are sober, from this pessimistic paragraph:

"Thus today, after the idea of Humanism has been buried on the battlefields of the Great war, there is no common ideal left which could hold the occident together. Even looked at from the religious point of view, occidental Christian unity no longer exists. The French have closer feelings of relationship for the naturalised Coloured heathen, than for the Christian German across the Rhine. The egotism of State has sacrificed religious unity which was once found in Europe. If in the 19th Century the idea of a 'European Mission' still existed and strove to impart its cultural influence to the rest of the world, particularly to the Orient, this desire has been entirely killed by the fact that Europe is not wanted overseas even in technical respects."

S. M. Z.

Raison et Foi en Islam. Par Louis Gardet. (Extrait de la *Revue Thomiste*, 1937, 1938).

These are parts I and II of an extended article on the problem of Faith and Reason in Islam, appearing in the *Revue Thomiste* (novembre-décembre 1937, pp. 437-478, and janvier 1938, pp. 145-168), which naturally can only be fully reviewed when it is complete.

The author has for the most part used only such Arabic texts as have appeared with European translations, though he at times suggests improvements in some of the translations given of technical theological and philosophical terms. Also, at least in these two parts which have appeared, he has not taken note of a good deal of modern work that has been done by scholars in this field.

The problem was raised for the author by the modernist school in Islam which wishes to open again the door of *ijtihād*, and by modern solutions based on the old material but set forth in the light of the exigencies of the present situation, to reinterpret Islam to a modern world. This of course forces the question of the relation between faith and reason in Islam, and the article takes up the history of the controversy as it first unfolded itself in Islam, then in the rationalism of the Mu'tazilite School which drew its inspiration from Aristotelianism, and in the reaction of the Ash'arite School which finally crystallized into the orthodox theology of Islam. He illustrates the development of thought on the classical problems of

the attributes of God, the freedom of the will, the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'an, eternal punishment, etc., and in the second section comes to a fuller exposition of the solutions as set forth in the teaching of al-Ghazali.

M. Gardet writes easily and pleasingly, and students will be interested in the completion of his essay, which will provide a simple and clearly expressed introduction to the study of a complex subject.

Columbia University,
New York

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Qur'an: Translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs, by Richard Bell. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1937. pp. xii+343. \$6.

This is the first volume, comprising *Sūrah*s I-XXIV, of a new translation of the Koran. It is actually new, differing from other translations not only by several departures in rendition but also by the novel practice of re-arranging the verses within each *Sūrah*.

There is no need to dwell upon the first of these departures, namely, the actual rendition of the text into English. Suffice it to say that Professor Bell is entitled to his own preference in matters of diction and style. On the whole the rendition is accurate; in a few cases it misses the idiomatic meaning through too literal a translation.

The matter of the re-arrangement of the verses within each *Sūrah* is much more difficult to appraise, especially because the translator's notes, owing to the cost of printing, have been suppressed. Frankly the reviewer is a little bit skeptical, but is unable as well as unwilling to pass any kind of judgment without examining the notes. Yet he is the first to admire the painstaking care with which the translator has applied himself to this exceedingly difficult and complicated task. It is therefore earnestly hoped that Professor Bell will, in the near future, be able to publish his notes.

Finally, may I make two suggestions. From the bibliography it would seem that the translator's sources are for the most part secondary. While al-Bayḍawī's commentary is quite useful, it is by no means sufficient. Al-Ṭabari's *Jāmi' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* is, in this connection, indispensable. My second suggestion is that the translator should follow the logical conclusion of his researches and re-arrange the *Sūrah*s themselves. This, in reality, is a minor detail and involves very little work; but unless it is done, the re-arrangement of the verses themselves loses something of its value.

Princeton University,
Princeton, N. J.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Mu'nis al-'Ushshāq. By Shihābuddīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl. Edited by Otto Spies. (Bonner Orientalistische Studien, Heft 7). Stuttgart, 1934. pp. ii+23+67 (text).

It is most commendable that al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl's books be published for the permanent light they shed on the development of Islamic mysticism. He wrote both in Arabic and Persian, though in the latter language this is his first book to be edited. Dr. Otto Spies,

whose edition and translation of three other Persian treatises by the same author, in which he was aided by Dr. S. K. Khatak, has already been noticed by the present reviewer (JAOS, vol. 56, pp. 516-17) seems to be well qualified for the work. The same defects as to the execution of the work which have been pointed out in the aforementioned review would also apply to this volume. The text presents an allegorical story having special significance due to the fact that it is one of the oldest in Persian literature (Introduction, p. 22, 11. 11-13). The story, moreover, contains a treatise on microcosm, that is, the old philosophical theory in which man is conceived of as an epitome of the universe. The mysticism in this text is of the rational type, with a large proportion of esoteric knowledge, only intelligible to the adepts who possess spiritual powers.

The editor, who is convinced that the writings of al-Suhrawardī "are of fundamental importance for the study of the older Islamic mystics", studied in Istanbul in 1929-30, where his attention was drawn by Professor Ritter to this treatise. In the libraries of that city he later discovered seven copies of *Mu'nis al-'Ushshāq*, some of which he used in the preparation of his apparatus of variants, arranged in accordance with the methods employed in the *Bibliotheca Islamica*.

The Introduction would have been of far greater value had it brought out more clearly the relation of al-Suhrawardī, not only to the school of Darwishes known as al-Suhrawardīyah, but also to the whole domain of Islamic mysticism. Nor are the sources of al-Suhrawardī's system of mystical thought adequately studied. This treatise, nevertheless, will be of immense interest both to the student of Islamic mysticism and also to the lover of devout literature. Further, for the history of religion, the document constitutes an invaluable addition to the materials for the study of Sufism and its origins. One more point of criticism is to be made: the system of transliteration used is not consistent.

The book, which has no index, was produced at the Jamia Press, Delhi. The editor, who has been appointed Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Breslau, as the successor of Professor C. Brockelmann, issued his work from the Muslim University, Aligarh. He and S. K. Khatak published an English translation of the treatise, in the Muslim University Journal, Vol. III. (April, 1936.) With M. Umaraddin, he published in the same issue an article on "Suhrawardī Maqtūl's Philosophical Position according to the Works of his Youth."

*The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, N. J.*

EDWARD J. JURJI.

The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible. Edited by Elihu Grant. The American Schools of Oriental Research, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., 1938. pp. 245. \$2.50.

This is indeed a remarkable book which has been edited by Professor Grant and shows vision on the part of the editor. In giving us the present state of studies in various departments of Oriental and Biblical studies, it fills a long-felt need. Each chapter

is written by an eminent specialist in his particular field. The list of subjects treated and the authorities responsible for this work on "the present state" sufficiently attest the importance of this volume: Syro-Palestinian Archaeology, W. F. Albright; Old Testament, G. A. Barton; New Testament, H. J. Cadbury; History of Writing in the Near East, J. W. Flight; Anatolian and Hittite Studies, A. Goetze; Mesopotamian Studies, T. J. Meek; Arabian Studies, J. A. Montgomery; Egyptian Studies, J. A. Wilson; Supplement illustrating ancient Babylonian Business about 2000 B. C. with text and plates, Elihu Grant.

The student of Arabic and Islamics who desires a broad foundation for his work can derive great profit from reading all the sections of this volume. Of special interest to the readers of this journal is the chapter on Arabian Studies by Professor Montgomery, who with his thorough scholarship has for a number of years enthusiastically promoted Semitic studies and guided many students in the Arabic language.

Each chapter has good notes and a valuable bibliography. The book deserves a wide circulation among clergymen, missionaries, students of culture, and Orientalists.

Princeton, N. J.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Alone through the Forbidden Land—Journeys in Disguise through Soviet Central Asia. By Gustav Krist, translated by E. O. Lorimer. Faber and Faber. pp. 271. 12/6.

Central Asia, especially that portion covered by this thrilling narrative, remains almost unknown. There have been other recent books describing journeys through Turkestan, but none that give so intimate a picture of the life of the people, and of the great ancient Moslem centres.

The writer is a young Austrian who saw service in Central Asia during the World War. His motive of travel was sheer adventure, and one can scarcely justify the use of a false passport and open deceit, both in entering and leaving Soviet Asia. The one extenuating circumstance was, of course, danger of discovery, and the writer, to his credit, never disguises the fact, even among fanatical Moslems, that he is a Christian.

From the shores of the Caspian he travelled to Bukhara and Samarqand, then to the borders of the Chinese Republic as far as the Altai range (12,500 ft.). His return journey was along the Surk-Ab river, and again through Merv and Meshed. "Bukhara", he states, "is still the heart of the Moslem world to all Central Asia, and it is now merely a matter of time—and no long time—till the Soviets will have so completely altered the face of Central Asia that there will remain no memorial of the ancient empire of Timur save a few ruined buildings and scanty literary records." These changes have, of course, affected the city populations more than the nomads, but everywhere the influence of Soviet Russia is in the ascendancy. "So you may see a praying-carpet rolled in a corner with a Quran on top of it ready for immediate use, while above these mute witnesses to Islam a red flag flutters, or the picture of a Soviet leader hangs. In Russia proper the anti-god campaign is

vigorously waged by the State, and its dogmas diligently preached, but the religion of Muhammad has remained so far unassailed in the autonomous Soviet republics of Central Asia, and it will probably so remain for a long time to come, though emissaries from Moscow are doing their best to undermine it. In the newly founded schools every effort is made to influence the children against Islam."

The translator has done excellent work, and there is not a dull page nor a wasted word. Krist, whose recent death has been announced, was indeed a gallant explorer, and his tale holds the reader's attention, especially when he sketches the daily life which he shared, during the long winter, on the roof of the world among the Qirghiz tribes. The book contains over one hundred beautiful illustrations from photographs, plans of Bukhara, and an excellent map of Central Asia. There is no reference in this volume to the work of missions in Central Asia; perhaps because the writer did not touch Tashkend, where the Swedish missionaries carry on heroic work.

S. M. ZWEMER.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from Within. Edited by J. A. de C. Hamilton. Faber and Faber, London. pp. 367+xi and map. 10/6.

This publication is a compilation of articles descriptive of the vast country of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, its medley of races and tribes, their religions and folklore, problems and various activities of the administration. These writings are by British administrators who have lived in the Sudan and who have studied the country and its needs while taking an active part in its public services.

The book shows the desire of the administrators to make the change that is inevitable in any land touched by western civilization "as little painful and as little productive of misfits as may be." The part of Missions in the social change is mentioned, and the following quotations voice the attitude of some of the government officials: "Even those who regret that the theological differences and dogmas which have racked Europe are now being transplanted to Africa must find it impossible to see any well-run Mission station without realizing the excellence of the work that is being done." "Since they are both, in their different capacities, engaged in the same task, there should be close liaison between the missionary and the administrator."

Although the book was originally designed for the use of government officials newly assigned to the country, it is of interest to every one in any way concerned with the welfare of The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Readers of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* will find in it information on which they can rely.

Olathe, Kansas

M. M. McCLELLAN.

Stumbling Blocks. By Jens Christensen. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. pp. 65. annas, 6.

Students of Islam owe a great debt of gratitude to Scandinavian writers. Not only such names as Niebuhr and Sven Hedin in the realm of exploration, but Tor Andrae, Buhl and others regarding Islam itself are examples. Missions also have learned much from the pioneer effort of Swedish and Danish missionaries. The latest example is before us in this little book on the Incarnation, Redemp-

tion and the Trinity, from the pen of one on the border-marches of India at Mardan. The Introduction is by Professor Geismar of the University of Copenhagen, who believes that this compact manual "will prove of great value for missions to Moslems."

The argument of the chapters was born out of actual experience with college students. It is concise, logical and persuasive. Mr. Jensen uses theological terms and avoids philosophy. He says: "The science of Theology is different from any other science in this respect, that while other sciences are independent of the persons engaged in them, Theology is inseparable from the founder of the religion and from the adherents of that religion." Therefore his discussion is concrete, not abstract. The Christian doctrine of the Incarnation contains mystery but it is not in any sense of the word mysticism. It is neither illogical nor unreasonable because it recognizes the gulf between God and man, but also is the only religion that bridges it.

In similar way he deals with the Atonement and the Trinity. The facts in each case must be clearly separated from any explanation of those facts. If we confuse, e.g., the monotheism of science or of philosophy with that of religion, we only invite difficulty, and land in an unintelligible paradox. The monotheism of the Jews and of Moslems developed into either anthropomorphism or a negation. The Christian concept is fertile and all-embracing. Here Allah differs from the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Trinity satisfies the human heart.

This little book is worth careful study and wide circulation.

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. Z.

Al-Fārābī. By al-Khūrī Ilyās Farāḥ. Matba'at al-Mursalīn al-Lubnāniyīn, Jūniyah (Lebanon). pp. vi+114.

In this study the author, professor of Arab philosophy in the Frères Institute at Jūniyah, reviews most of the English, French and Arabic works on al-Fārābī, investigates the writings of this Islamic philosopher and reaches the general conclusion that al-Fārābī was more than a commentator on, and disciple of, Aristotle. According to Farāḥ, al-Fārābī was a philosopher in his own right and projected many original theories. Among other contributions he endeavored to reconcile Greek philosophy with religious thought and maintained that they are both derived from the same universal source, the Active Mind (*al-'aql al-fa' 'āl*).

Princeton University

PHILIP K. HITT.

The Master of the Impossible. Sayings, for the most part in parable, from the Letters and Journals of Liliās Trotter of Algiers. Arranged by Constance E. Padwick. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. pp. 220. 3/6.

Miss Padwick, so well known through her biographies of Henry Martyn and Temple Gairdner, has here unveiled for us the soul of a Christian mystic, a lover of the lost, a heroine in the spiritual warfare, who had the joy of the Lord as her strength and was undiscouraged up to the time of death. The book is not a

biography, it is far better, because it throws light on the source of that life which was lived for Christianity in Algiers:

"If every fraction of a second tells on the film of a camera, while 'unveiled' it faces the light, must not something of the same unseen work go on upon our spirits in every moment of unveiling before the Lord? 'When Moses went in before the Lord to speak with Him, he took the veil off'. Bare absolute contact with God's presence."

The material has been arranged not chronologically, but topically. We have here thoughts that penetrate and inspire for every season of the year and of the soul. How the weak become invincible and how the stubborn fight ends in victory to those who are undismayed. What a life of sacrifice, patience, toil and apostleship of prayer is here revealed. All nature speaks of God, and as a book of devotion for workers among Moslems it would be hard to find its equal.

"From that driest sand on our last morning the sweetest rose we ever saw was brought to us by a blue-robed woman; little knowing that she held in hand the fulfilment of a promise of long ago, to us fraught with spiritual meaning for her and for the land, 'The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose'."

We trust the volume will have a large sale.

S. M. Z.

Week-End Caravan. Compiled and edited by S. Hillelson. William Hodge and Company, Limited, London, 1937. pp. 352. 7/6.

This is a very delightful collection of Arabic and Persian anecdotes, love-poetry, proverbs, and folk-lore stories translated into English by different scholars and writers, and compiled by a person who seems to have grasped that ineffable quality which characterizes oriental literature in general and Arabic literary works in particular. He has been unusually fortunate in his selections and faithfully careful in his references. As an introduction to Arabic and Persian letters, this book should interest the serious student; as a light entertainment, it should arrest the attention of all cultivated laymen. The preface (in the Eastern manner) which Mr. Hillelson presents, is one of the best imitations of Arabic literary style I have ever seen in any European language. The compiler should, therefore, be heartily congratulated.

His observations on the spelling of Oriental words and names are sane. But the erratic idiosyncrasies of the late T. E. Lawrence should not be allowed to add to the present confusion. Words which have been naturalized in English should retain their Anglicized form; but words which have not been so naturalized should strictly adhere to a consistent system of transliteration no matter how difficult or unpleasant.

*Princeton University,
Princeton, N. J.*

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Sydarabien og Evangeliet. M. Borch-Jensen. Published by O. Lohse, Kobenhavn, 1937. pp. 206.

The Danish Church Mission is to be congratulated on this very interesting book by one of their missionaries stationed at Aden. He

has visited the interior and recently penetrated as far as Sa'na. It consists of two parts: the first giving an account of the Aden Protectorate, Hadramaut, Yemen and her neighbors. This consists of a popular description of the land and the people with numerous photographic illustrations. The second part deals with missions. We have a sketch of early Christianity in Yemen and Sokotra, of the Nestorian missionaries, of the martyrs of Najran and of the extinction of Christianity by Islam. This is followed by a sketch of early missionary efforts in Southwest Arabia and the establishment of the Danish Church Mission in response to an article appealing for Hadramaut in an American missionary magazine. The Danish Church Mission has increased its numbers and is looking forward to the occupation of other centers. The last chapter of the book is entitled *Fields White for the Harvest*. In addition to numerous illustrations, we have three excellent maps.

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. Z.

A Saint under Moslem Rule. Translated by Justo Pérez de Urbel. Translated from the Spanish by A Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester, England. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. pp. 245. \$2.25.

This is a remarkable and true description of the ninth century period of Moorish domination in Spain and of the conflict of two civilizations, two faiths and two fanaticisms where blood ran hot and a thirst for martyrdom was considered proof of sainthood. It is based on careful historical research, but marred at times by credulous insertion of the miraculous. The hero is Eulogius, who on the eve of his elevation to the dignity of Archbishop of Toledo suffered martyrdom at Cordova on March 11th, 859. Like others mentioned in this chronicle (men and women), he knew that the sure way to a martyr's crown was to speak ill of Mohammed. So when the executioners brought rods to scourge him and let him go, he asked: "'Why did you send for them?' 'To take your soul away from your body,' answered the cadi.

'No', replied the priest courageously. 'Do not imagine that you destroy my body with scourging. If you seek to return a soul to God who gave it, you had better sharpen your sword. I am a Christian as I always have been. I confess that Christ, the Son of Mary, is the true Son of God, and your prophet is an imposter, an adulterer, and a demoniac, who leads you by the way of perdition and prevents your seeing the holy paths of life.'"

A true reflection of passions and prejudices in the heart of Arab conquerors and Mozarab Christians, this book gives a faithful portrait of the society of that period (845-860 A.D.) The religious and civil life of the Mozarabs explains in part the beauty and depth of that Mozarabic liturgy to which all later liturgies are so greatly indebted. We can see how the magnanimous souls of these would-be martyrs, heroes, and heroines here depicted, felt and spoke and thought. Eulogius urged many others, such as Flora the Virgin and Perfectus, to martyrdom, prepared them for it by his visits in prisons and wrote a chronicle of their deaths and tortures in two volumes. He was a great scholar, but not of Islam. His

ignorance of the real character of this rival faith is pathetic. So different is he from Raymund Lull, five centuries later!

"The Koran was for Eulogius a series of ridiculous legends; the Mohammedan religion a consecration of all the vices; its worship, a school of hypocrites and wicked men. He was irritated, above all, by the *almuédans*, who 'like asses, with distended jaws, opening their impure lips preposterously, and stopping their ears with both hands, give forth their monstrous prayer with so horrible and savage a cry that even the prophet himself could not have endured it'.

"He, like Alvaro, saw in the prophet a miserable deceiver, an anti-Christ impersonated, with no more intelligence than the camel on whose back he rode. Mohammed's life was involved in legends, both for Christians and Moslems. Eulogius knew the sources of both, but naturally gave more credit to the accounts of Christian origin. While looking over the books in the library of Leyre, he found in a codex of the Councils, a brief biography of the prophet which he copied most carefully. This curious narrative he reproduces in the *Apologetico*. It is filled with extravagant fables."

Nevertheless, before we condemn these martyrs or their cruel persecutors, it would be well to ask whether present-day lukewarm Christianity is worthy to judge these men of blood and iron,—these burning hearts so valiant for the truth. The church of that day could not keep silence when justice was warped, family life corrupted, shameful passions indulged and the Holy Trinity blasphemed. She protested by the lips of Eulogius and his followers—and by their death. Even when questioning the method of this madness and the useless sacrifice of life, we bow our heads while our souls are stirred to their very depths. These Christians were bearing a yoke that was impossible. They were impoverished, degraded and despised. The story of Eulogius and Flora is also found at some length in Dozy's *Spanish Islam* (pp. 269-286 and 300-307). The great Dutch Orientalist gives the facts much as they are found in this biography, but he writes objectively:

"More than half orientalized, the Christians of Cordova, as a whole, therefore adapted themselves readily to foreign domination. But there were exceptions. National pride and self-respect were not extinct in every breast. A few finer spirits, who disdained to curry favour with the great, and to install themselves by impudence or cunning in their places, shuddered with indignation when they saw their native city—which still prided itself on its ancient title of 'Patrician'—become the residence of a Sultan . . . Very real grievances occasionally intensified these patriotic regrets. The Sultans now and again issued edicts which deeply wounded the pride and religious scruples of earnest Christians. For instance, circumcision was declared to be obligatory for them as well as for Muslims. The priests, above all, chafed bitterly. They instinctively hated the Mohammedans—and the more, because they held entirely false views with regard to Mohammed and his teaching."

It is unfortunate that there is no reference to Dozy in de Urbel's work and that there is no index. The Arabic terms used betray ignorance on the part of the author or the translator, or both.

S. M. Z.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Moslem Woman Speaks Out

In the magazine called *The Light*, Lahore, there appeared a series of articles on the Emancipation of Womanhood. In one of these, Miss Hawa H. Ahmad of South Africa writes as follows:

"Freedom would mean greater responsibilities. Muslim leaders **who have re-awakened the numbed faculties of women**, such as Kemal Ataturk, Reza Shah of Iran, the late King Fuad of Egypt, or King Ahmed Zogu of Albania, have inaugurated cultural and economic progress first to promote the welfare of their countries. The patriot knows that his nation can only succeed or compete in modern life if its women cooperate and assume equal responsibilities. The academic teacher and the scientist know only too well that for a healthy nation the education of the population must begin before it is born—in other words, the natural teacher of the potential citizen must herself be so educated as to train the child properly from infancy.

"This is the essential foundation of the State; for does not 'the wealth of a nation lie in its children?' An infantile, fear-ridden, diseased and weak coming generation is not an asset but a liability to the State. The slave-mentality conspicuous in harem-hidden mothers has been responsible for breeding a whole catalogue of 'feminine virtues' in the harem-bred boys: shyness, timidity, incapability of forming any judgment or thinking for themselves and shrinking from contact with stronger people; introspection, fear, sensitiveness and jealousy are some of the virtues which go to fill up the list, and as the victim grows older and is made to suffer for them, there is bred a tendency to ape their exact counterparts in an indecently exaggerated manner. A child *unconsciously* adopts about 90% of the traits of both his parents, as well as imbibing the background of his home; *i.e.*, the relation between each member of his family to each other, and their attitude to life.

"The paralysed intellect of the women results in the child's first teacher, his mother, implanting in his growing plastic mind ideas foolish and uncreative of originality; and thus the creative impulse, being removed largely from active life, leads to a static state of mind.

"Let us again revert to the question: Is Purdah really and truly an Islamic institution. I could quote authorities galore to prove that it is not, but I have neither the will nor the wish to enter into an interminable theological wrangle with the fanatical Mullah. Instead, I will content myself with proving that even if purdah

were an Islamic institution we have a perfect right to abolish it, should it be to our benefit and interest to do so."

Foreign Converts to Islam and the Caliphate

Al-Insha (Damascus) says that King Ibn Saoud has issued orders touching foreigners who have embraced Islam, and desire to enter the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. They must present to the religious authorities in Jedda certificates attested by those before whom they embraced Islam, such as Moslem Ulama or other high authorities in Islam. Those not furnished with such certificates must stay in Jedda for a period of fifteen days, and after proper examination the Shari'a court may issue to them certificates declaring their sincere adoption of the Islamic religion.

Beirut publishes an article by Amin Said which discusses the suggested revival of the Caliphate in the person of His Majesty King Farouk. The writer believes the idea does not command the adherence of high religious authorities. The conclusion he arrives at is that the times have changed, and if and when the Caliphate is revived, its religious leadership would not carry with it authority over Moslems as a whole. The advocates of a revived Caliphate are, therefore, urged rather to strive for a real leadership of the Arabic-speaking countries contiguous to Egypt under King Farouk by binding the Arabic-speaking countries together in a true unity. Such a union would bring 60,000,000 souls under the leadership of the King and place Egypt in the front rank of the nations.

Islam Demands Sacrifice

Modern Moslems have always found it difficult to interpret the real meaning of their annual festival in commemoration of the sacrifice made by Abraham at God's command. Like the modern Jew, they will not see in this Old Testament story any reference to Atonement for sin or a type of the great sacrifice on Calvary. The magazine called *The Sunrise*, published at Lahore, had an editorial on the subject (February 12, 1938):

"Once again the 'Id-ul-Azha, the great festival of sacrifice, has come to remind us of our duty to Islam and humanity. The whole fabric of our faith is based on sacrifice—the 'killing' of the self for the higher and the nobler. The highest and the noblest end which humanity may strive for is its own betterment, physically and spiritually. The physical betterment of society can be brought about by adjustment of the rights and obligations between man and man, class and class, and nation and nation, on a just and equitable basis; and its spiritual betterment, which is essential to its material well-being, can be brought about by humanity's making peace with its Maker. This is the dual role which a Muslim has to play in his life—the discharging of his obligations to his fellowmen and squaring up his accounts with God: 'The conceding of the "rights" of Allah and the rights of mankind.' Islam furnishes him with detailed rules of conduct in respect to both of these roles.

"Lest there be a misunderstanding about what we have termed 'killing of the self,' be it noticed that Islam does not prescribe a

monastic way of life—an existence detached from the world, in which the individual by ascetic practices and austerities of a hundred kinds tries to kill all aspiration and desire in order to attain a *nirvana*-like deliverance. Asceticism of this type is prohibited by the Prophet of Islam. The Muslims' 'killing' of the self means the employment of the self not for one's own selfish desires but in the service of one's neighbour, in the service of all humanity, so that while on the one hand the self-abnegation of the Muslim constitutes a negation of his own will as against the will and pleasure of God, it is, on the other, a positive emphasis on the need of living for others and not for oneself. It is not mortification or annihilation of the self—practices which have been prescribed by some religions for personal deliverance or salvation; it is the principle on which is based the very existence of society and the individual.

"This is the lesson of sacrifice taught by the 'Id which the Muslim world celebrated yesterday. The festival commemorates a great event in scriptural history. Hazrat Ibrahim having seen in a vision that he was killing his own son, Hazrat Ismail, proceeded to fulfil his vision physically, thinking that such was the will and pleasure of God. The son, being apprised of the father's intention, readily consented and the 'sacrifice' was all but physically accomplished when the divine voice stopped Ibrahim, saying, 'Verily he had fulfilled his vision.' The whole affair was a test for both father and son of their sincerity and faith. Both put a seal on their steadfastness in the way of God—the old father by preparing to kill his grown-up only son and the son by readily consenting to give his life to fulfil a vision which both regarded as an indication of the very pleasure of their Lord. But, while the great human drama was a test of the great love of both—the father and the son—for God, it was meant more as an example and a lesson of sacrifice for the coming generations of humanity. As a symbolic representation of the submission of Hazrat Ismail and Hazrat Ibrahim to the will of God, sacrifice has been prescribed by Islam to serve as a constant reminder of our duty towards the commandments of God: of how every Muslim must devote all his energies and powers, his very life, to the carrying out of the Will of God as revealed in his latest dispensation—Islam. The sentiments of a father killing his son to fulfil what he regarded as a divine command, and of the son consenting to be killed at the hands of his father in fulfilment of the divine pleasure, may well be imagined. That is the ideal and the standard of self-sacrifice held out by Islam to its followers. But how many of us have developed the submission and resignation of spirit which that ideal connotes? Islam means living for others, for the betterment of whole humanity, and resignation to the will of God. We have had a fresh and a most intimate reminder again in this age of our duty to humanity and our duty to God. We have again been made to realise the reality of the existence of God and of His purpose on earth, at close quarters. We have had repeatedly hammered into our brains the great lesson of sacrifice which Islam teaches,—which constitutes Islam itself—by the Khutbas of the Amir-ul-Momineen. Shall we not, when we have been reminded, once again, by the 'Id-ul-Azha we have celebrated, of that great sacrifice of the father and the son, turn to Our Lord and lay, in all

humility, the offering of all our powers, our wealth, our love, and our very life and self at the feet of Islam?"

Evangelism in Northern Iraq

The Rev. Jefferson C. Glessner writes in *The Outlook of Missions* as follows:

"We are in our eighth year here in Kirkuk, and whereas there has been no noticeable accomplishment, yet we try to remain true to the high calling which we have in Christ Jesus. The Christmas season is a time for merry-making and rejoicing, and yet our spirits cannot but be dampened by the thought that thousands at our door are still without the glorious news of the Gospel of grace. The expectation of the harvest is the thing that sets up some dynamic force within us so that, at times, when the flesh seems weak, we keep on going. How shall these thousands hear unless some one bears witness—unless some one brings the Good News to them in their own language and in their own homes?"

"Our main emphasis throughout the year has been on literature production and distribution. Three major tours have been made and a large number of Bibles, Gospels, and portions put into circulation. We have evidence on every hand that God is working in the hearts of men. Lives are being transformed so that many who were once hostile to the work are now receiving us with open hearts and hands. It is gratifying to find each year in some out-of-the-way village, some one whom God has prepared for the message. This all goes to show that there is many a needy soul who is ready to accept the Gospel of Christ if we only knew where to find him and when he is ready. Our aim is to keep our soil fertile and in readiness for the occasion. The work is not all rosy—not all sunshine, nor would we have it so. For as some one has well said, 'Too much sunshine creates a dry, barren desert.' How true this is in all walks of life! It is true in my own garden. Flowers do not thrive in the portion that receives the direct sunshine, but under the grape arbor where the sunshine and shades mingle, the flowers flourish. So let us welcome the tempered sunshine in our work. There is still much suspicion in some of our villages, so that we are unable to work with the liberty one so much covets."

Islam in Japan

Professor N. H. Berlas, M. A., of the School of Foreign Languages, Tokyo, in an Indian Moslem magazine, *The Light*, writes:

"Japan is so much isolated from the mainland and lies so far to the east that the Arabs could not reach the country and deliver the message of Islam to the people. As a consequence the Japanese have been ignorant of the teaching of Islam. The responsibility for the ignorance of these people should be borne by the Muslims themselves, as the Japanese are quick to adopt foreign beliefs and customs when presented to them. As long ago as the second century of the Christian era Confucianism reached Japan from China, and Buddhism was introduced here in the 6th century. These two faiths together with the native faith of Shintoism have so much blended into the

character of the Japanese that they affect their daily life in every detail. Christianity came here with the penetration of the western powers in the latter part of the 19th century and has taken a firm root in the land. As a matter of fact it was introduced here in the 16th century, but was uprooted in the next century on account of political machinations of the missionaries. The western civilization which reached here under the guise of Christian civilization has thoroughly converted the Japanese.

"The whole history of Japan reveals the marvellous capacity of the people to adopt foreign things and adapt them to their own needs. It is rather a peculiar circumstance that Islam has escaped the attention of such an alert nation.

"The Chinese and the Koreans might have taken advantage of their flourishing civilization in impressing them with the splendour of the Chinese empire at the time they introduced Confucianism and Buddhism in Japan, and the magnificence of Europe and America might have similarly influenced the people when the West knocked at their door. The Muslims missed their chance when the Muslim power was at its height. But Islam has a greater chance in the modern world, as this is the age of reason, and Islam is a rational religion.

"The burden of responsibility for correcting the wrong done falls on the shoulders of the Muslims themselves. They shall supply correct information on Islam to the Japanese in the language intelligible to them so that the harm done by false propaganda may be counteracted. A continuation of false teachings in schools is bound to have far-reaching effects. So much is certain, that it can never be conducive to friendly feelings between the Japanese and the Muslims, but is bound to produce hatred in the minds of the Japanese against Muslims who in their turn are sure to react. Statesmen should rise to the occasion and try to remedy the disease slowly eating into the minds of the younger generation. From my personal contact with responsible Japanese I can safely assert that they are alive to the danger and are willing to rectify the mistake."

Conditions in Tunisia

Of France's three North African territories, Tunisia is the easiest to handle, in that its population is the smallest, the most compact, and the most easily subdued by a display of might. On the other hand, it is the most obstreperous, for reasons which do not apply in Algeria or Morocco.

In the first place, it faces east. Contrary to the deduction which a student might draw from a map, it belongs to the eastern, not the western, Mediterranean. Its people scarcely heed developments in Algiers, but are deeply interested in news from Egypt. They read the Egyptian Press; they pick up Cairo on their wireless-sets, and they feel many reverberations of eastern unrest which do not yet penetrate to Algeria and Morocco. The town of Tunis possesses a relatively large educated class, which is nearly as cultivated as its counterpart in Cairo, and which is aware that it is far readier for self-government than is Syria or Iraq. The Tunisians therefore clamour for a "Treaty," though they realise that France is less likely

to grant this privilege to them than to Syria because of the greater strategic importance which she attaches to their territory. They know that she cannot afford to loose her hold on her great base at Biserta.

The effect of this Eastern influence is increased by local characteristics. "*Le Marocain, c'est un lion; l'Algérien, c'est un homme; le Tunisien, c'est une femme,*" says the proverb, and the Tunisian displays his femininity chiefly in his virulent tongue. He devotes his lively intelligence to grumbling, at which he is a past master. He seldom puts forward a constructive idea, but his brain seems to thrive on discontent.

Moreover, his grievances are not all unfounded. Most Frenchmen will admit that Tunisia is the blackest spot in their imperial administration, and that their greatest mistake there has been the education of the Tunisian to a level that qualifies him for government posts, while simultaneously filling most of those posts with Frenchmen. What is more, the Frenchman always gets higher pay for equal work, even when that work is only driving a tram or delivering the letters. That is why the Tunisian, who has been educated in the same school as his French neighbour, and has passed the same examinations, cries "*A bas les privilèges*" in his newspapers, and on the sandwich-boards which he parades during demonstrations.

Nor has his temper been improved by the French custom of awarding colonial governorships in recognition of party merit, and by the consequent reversals of policy which follow every general election in France. In the last three years he has witnessed a violent swing from the iron-handed rule of M. Peyrouton (a nominee of the French Right, who banned the Destour's newspapers and exiled its leaders to the Sahara) to the sweet reasonableness of M. Guillon (an ex-prefect of Lille, appointed by the Front Populaire, who bustles round the territory haranguing illiterate Arab strikers as if their mentality were that of the workers of his home town). No wonder the Tunisian is puzzled and disturbed.

Naturally, the presence of 95,000 Italians in Tunisia does not simplify France's political problem. On the other hand, it does not complicate her dealings with the Moslems. On balance, it probably eases them. For though Frenchmen often accuse Italian agitators of stirring the Moslem crowd, there is another side to the medal. The Moslems may hate French rule, but they hate Italian rule still more. They advocate self-government, but—except when they lose their heads, as they seem to be doing at present—they advocate it *within the French Empire*. Sensibly enough, they realise that they are too weak to stand alone, and they think French "protection" a lesser evil than its alternative, "protection" by Italy.

—*The Spectator*, London, April, 1938.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

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I. GENERAL

ABDAL KHAN, SEIGNEUR KURDE DE BITLIS AU XVII^e SIÈCLE, ET SES TRÉSORS. Arménag Sakisian. (In *Le Journal Asiatique*, Paris. Avril-Juin, 1937. pp. 253-270).

Evlia Tchélébi, a Turkish traveller visiting much of Europe and the Near East and leaving full accounts of all he saw, furnishes a vivid picture of the expedition of the Pacha of Van to reduce the proud Abdal Khan to submission.

THE KITÂB AL-MALÂHI OF ABÛ TÂLIB AL-MUFADDAL IBN SALAMA. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. April, 1938. pp. 231-249).

Argues for the lawfulness of musical instruments and singing and gives legends about the inventors of the lute, wood-winds, pandores, etc.

LETTRES DE CHARLES DE FOUCAULD À HENRY DE CASTRIES. (In *Études*, Paris. 20 mars 1938. pp. 721-737; 5 avril 1938. pp. 15-24).

Touching and intimate revelations of the causes and development of Fr. Foucauld's mission to the Tuaregs.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE HOLY MOSLEM CITIES OF IRAQ. The Rev. C. K. Staudt. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. April, 1938. pp. 185-187).

Shiah fanaticism is subsiding so that "unbelievers" may visit Kadhemain, Samarra, Kerbala and Najaf, the most interesting, wicked and formidable places in Iraq.

IS ISLAM AWAKENING? The Rev. S. M. Zwemer. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. April, 1938. pp. 177-178).

Cites cogent reasons to prove that while there may be a cultural and political future for Islam, its spiritual values have been seriously undermined by its co-religionists in Turkey, Persia, Egypt and elsewhere.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AL-RISĀLAT AL-LADUNIYYA. Abū Hāmid Muḥammad Al-Ghazālī. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. April, 1938. pp. 177-200).

Al-Ghazālī approaches the philosophy of Plotinus in this treatise on the soul, immortality and a trinitarian idea of a godhead.

ESSAI D'OBSERVATIONS SUR LES RITES FUNÉRAIRES EN ÉGYPTÉ ACTUELLE RELEVÉES DANS CERTAINES RÉGIONS CAMPAGNARDES. M. Galal. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahiers 2-3, 1937. pp. 131-300).

Exhaustive study based on data obtained in Sharkia, Behera, Assiut, Assuan and the region near Cairo, with illustrations and a collection of lamentations.

THE VINDICATION OF JEZYAH. M. Y. Khan. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. May, 1938. pp. 187-193).

Discusses the poll-tax levied by Moslems on non-Moslems living in Mohammedan lands.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ARAB WOMEN OF THE PERSIAN GULF. Eleanor Taylor Calverley. (In *Asia*, New York. May, 1938. pp. 304-307).

Considers marriage conditions in Kuwait.

THE BEDOUIN OF TRANSJORDAN. Eliahu Epstein. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1938. pp. 228-236).

Treats of social and economic problems caused by post-war changes in nomadic life.

FOUR CITIES, FOUR ATTITUDES. H. I. Katibah. (In *Asia*, New York. April, 1938. pp. 246-251).

The reactions of Cairo, Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem to westernization.

NOTES ON THE BEDOUIN TRIBES OF BEERSHEBA DISTRICT. S. Hillelson. (In *The Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, London. April, 1938. pp. 117-126).

Part 3 of a study begun in the October, 1937, issue.

THE STATUS OF WOMAN IN ISLAM. Begum Sultan Mir Amir-UD-DIN. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. March 1938. pp. 103-110; April, 1938. pp. 130-135).

Declares that for over 1300 years Moslem women have enjoyed

juridical rights and privileges granted to Christian women only during the last century and that Mohammed's teachings raised womenkind to an exalted and hitherto unknown plane.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

DANS LE MAGHREB QUI BOUGE. Louis Jalabert. (In *Études*, Paris. 20 avril 1938. pp. 164-178; 5 mai 1938. pp. 342-360).

A study of the shifting political and religious conditions in North Africa, which is stirred by the chafings and aspirations of the entire Islamic world.

EGYPT CALLING THE BRITISH ISLES. S. A. Morrison. (In *The C. M. S. Outlook*, London. April, 1938. pp. 76-79).

Great Britain should strive to create intellectual and spiritual bonds to strengthen her political and military alliance with Egypt.

THE KIMONO AND THE TURBAN. Owen Lattimore. (In *Asia*, New York. May, 1938. pp. 273-275).

Discussion of the position of Chinese Moslems in northwestern China in the face of subversive Japanese propaganda.

NORTHERN IRAQ. Capt. C. H. Gowan. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1938. pp. 193-203).

Descriptive account of present conditions in the neighborhood of Mosul and Kirkuk, touching on the Kurdish and Assyrian situations.

THE STORY OF THE EGYPTIAN CRISIS. P. P. Graves. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. March, 1938. pp. 297-313).

Examines the decline of Nahas Pasha and the rise of Mohamed Mahmud Pasha with their political implications domestic and foreign.

WESTERN IMPERIALISM IS DEAD. THE STRUGGLE OF THE LOWLY. Albert Viton. (In *Asia*, New York. April, 1938. pp. 241-245; May, 1938. pp. 317-321).

The Near East has lost faith in the European, the European's conviction in the preëminence of his race and civilization has vanished since the World War, and at the moment a form of partnership between East and West has come into being.

VII. PALESTINE

CAN PALESTINE BE PACIFIED? Albert Viton. (In *The Nation*, New York. April 20, 1938. pp. 496-497).

Believes partition or the formation of a permanent international mandate are the Holy Land's only hopes.

THE DILEMMA IN PALESTINE. The Rev. John Stuart Conning. (In *The Presbyterian*, Philadelphia. March 3, 1938. pp. 3-7).

Surveys the British-Arab-Jew impasse and trusts that partition may solve the problem.

PALESTINE: WHERE IS THE WAY WHERE LIGHT DWELLETH? (In *The East and West Review*, London. July, 1938. pp. 254-258).

Job's question is surely pertinent today when Christian, Arab and Jew are striving to find a happy solution for the Holy Land.

SOUTHERN PALESTINE AND ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR SETTLEMENT. Major C. S. Jarvis. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1938. pp. 204-218).

In the Negeb, agricultural enterprises are well under way and many other resources are being studied and developed.

VIII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

ENCOURAGEMENTS IN WORK FOR MOSLEMS. George Swan. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. May, 1938. pp. 222-224).

Missions to Moslems are of recent growth compared with missions to other lands and have made surprising gains for Christ in their short term of service.

MANSUR SANG—A CHRISTIAN DERVISH. The Rev. J. C. Wilson. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. April, 1938. pp. 182-185).

Anecdotes of the missionary progress of this Iranian, who styled himself the "slave of Christ".

THE MISSIONARY SITUATION IN TURKEY. H. H. Riggs. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1938. pp. 195-200).

The good faith practiced by Christian missionaries in scrupulously observing the limits imposed upon their work by the Turkish government is being rewarded by a growing understanding and friendliness on the part of Turkish leaders and people.

SIGNS OF THE UNDERTOW OF ISLAM. The Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. May, 1938. pp. 220-222).

Age-old superstitions and the power of social custom constantly draw the Moslem back from the advance made possible by his newly acquired nationalism and Christian missionaries must work with these facts clearly in mind.