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RELIGION AND LIFE

"Nothing is important except the fate of the soul." So Chesterton begins his Introduction to the Everyman's Library edition of "The Old Curiosity Shop."

Chesterton expresses in hyperbole what mankind has always believed. The welfare of the soul is the concern of religion. Religion is universal and has often determined world history. Contemporary efforts to eradicate religion are really attempts to transfer religious attitudes and values to temporal institutions and ideals. The people who deny religious realities are really changing the content of their convictions and the forms of their response. They give religious values to different objects. They serve other gods. The only real irreligion is indifference to religion. The truly unreligious creatures are the sub-human animals. They show that they have no religion by their lack of response to its existence.

Because of its importance religion should control the whole of life. Our temporal affairs are too large a part of our life to be left without direction, and their relationship to the eternal fate of the soul is too close for religion to have no share in their direction. It is the business of religion to provide the principles of life, to teach principles approved by other-worldly considerations and applicable to this world's concerns. Religion proclaims ideals of universal and eternal validity, and promotes the desire and ability to make those ideals actual realities. Religion relates men to God and to one another in the sight of God.

It should be noted that it is religious principles that are to direct and control the lives of men, not the prophets and teachers of religion as such; and furthermore, that laws and regulations are not to be enacted in the name of religion to be enforced by temporal power.

A tradition about Muhammad which has been preserved in several versions illustrates the first point. The text of one of the three accounts given in the *Sahih* of Muslim (Istanbul 1332, vol. viii, p. 95) may be translated as follows:

"The Prophet passed by some people who were fecundating the palm trees and said, 'If you should not do that it would be all right.' But a poor crop of dates resulted. Then he passed by them and asked, 'What is the matter with your palm trees?' They replied, 'You said such and such words.' He said, 'You know better about your worldly affairs.'"

One of the versions in the *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal says (vol. iii, p. 152),

"When it is something pertaining to your worldly affairs, you know better about it; when it pertains to your religion, then come to me."

The tradition teaches a division of the affairs of men into secular and religious which did not become part of the Sunnah or orthodox custom of Islam. Rather the *shari'ah*, or Muslim law, became in theory totalitarian. It sought to provide precise rules and regulations for all the activities of all Muslims. The divine law did not confine itself to matters dealing with theology and worship, but it undertook to regulate everything and to put all the interests and actions of man under the direction and control of religious authorities. Islam became a system of life under religious law, that is, law whose authority rested upon divine revelation.

That is the Muslim theory and it is still the ideal of the Muslim theologians and lawyers. But it never was and never could be carried out completely in practice. It was impossible to expand or to expound the *shari'ah* so that it would regulate all life everywhere and always. Islam outside Arabia encountered and absorbed numerous foreign

elements, for the foreigners who became Muslims kept many of their old customs. The "sciences of the ancients" conflicted with the divine *shari'ah* of the Arabs, but they could not be neglected by the Muslims.

Ibn 'Arabi (d. 638/1240), the master mystic of the Muslims, taught that there was specialization and gradation of knowledge and service among the prophets, and he used the tradition about the date palms to show that Muhammad did not know or occupy himself with that particular secular science (*Fusus al-Hikam*, Cairo 1321, p. 258). But Ibn 'Arabi professed strict allegiance to the *shari'ah* and never advocated the separation of religious and political functions in society.

Likewise, as Browne has told us in his "Arabian Medicine" (Cambridge 1921, p. 13), another great Muslim thinker quoted the same tradition as sanction from Muhammad for secular science and life. Ibn Khaldun (d. 808/1406), the Muslim pioneer of sociology, sought to separate the science of medicine and the common practices of ordinary life from the scope of the *shari'ah*. The mass of Muslims, however, continued to acknowledge the authority of the canon lawyers and theologians, and have ever tried to extend and apply the multitudinous prescriptions of the Islamic law to the details of their daily life.

This orthodox attitude of Islam explains the constant opposition of the theologians to the legal reform and extra-canonical courts throughout Turkish history. It is the basis of the consternation in the rest of the Muslim world over the procedure of the Turkish Republic in separating religion and government. Orthodox Islam does not recognize as part of itself any secular state. In Islam the government exists to defend and extend the state religion and to administer the divine law. After Turkey exchanged secular codes for the *shari'ah*, it was logical and honest to remove from the Constitution the article that kept Islam the official religion of the Republic. If Islam and the *shari'ah* are really inseparable, then the Turks can no longer be Muslims. Actually, the Turkish government is

making possible a new type of Islam. The government has abolished some religious organizations and has suppressed some institutional religious activities. It has deprived all religious authorities of power to control the secular conduct of others. Turkey is thus the first Muslim nation to give Islam an opportunity to become a purely spiritual religion.

This in truth represents a great step forward in the history of Islam. It makes the principles and spirit of religion, and not temporal power, the effective influences upon the thought and conduct of men. It restores the early Quranic declarative injunction, "Let there be no compulsion at all in religion" (2: 257). Al-Baidawi tells us some said that that verse was abrogated by the command, "Fight the infidels" (9: 74; 66: 9). The early Makkan attitude has now become general in Islam, not because the numerous "verses of the sword" have been abrogated or superseded, but because world conditions have relegated them to a happy state of innocuous desuetude. The world has learned to renounce international war to spread religion. Most nations have learned to abandon force to enforce religious conformity. Christendom and Islam are learning to expect religion to secure its objectives by spiritual means. In Christendom this has already meant the loss of the mediaeval temporal power of the Church. For Islam it means following Turkey in adopting secular laws for secular purposes in the place of the *shari'ah*.

It is worthy of note that the Ahmadiyyah and other groups that are promoting Islam throughout the world minimize the importance of the *shari'ah*, and emphasize a few cardinal principles and practices as adequate for admission into Islam, while Ibn Su'ud, the king of Su'udi Arabia, requires a three years' probation period before admitting European converts as pilgrims to Makkah.

Orthodox Islam has never regarded all the elements of the divine law as equally valuable for religion, nor held that all the prescriptions about religion itself are of vital importance. For instance, the regulations for the performance of the ritual prayer say that the worshipper should

sit with the heel of the right foot up and the tip of the great toe pointing towards Makkah. But the validity of the worship does not depend on those details. It does depend, however, upon the major elements of standing, bowing, prostrating and sitting, unless special circumstances demand their modification. Moreover, many Muslim leaders have taught the spiritual nature of the act of worship and have emphasized the inward aspects of all religious duties. Nevertheless, hitherto orthodox Islam, in its religious, political and social aspects, has always been a totalitarian, legalistic system of rules and regulations; its essential characteristic has ever been submission to its prescribed beliefs and practices.

The Christian religion is centered in Christ. Jesus Christ taught that God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. He introduced not a system of laws and ordinances, but a religion of personal principles and relationships. An essential characteristic of Christianity is its spiritual nature. The doctrines of Christianity are accepted by faith, which can be real only when it is voluntary. Ideal principles, rather than specific rules, are what determine and direct Christian conduct. Christianity, like Islam, includes all of life within its scope, but it teaches control by personal, inward, spiritual influence, not by any external pressure, temporal sanction, social advantage or economic expediency.

"Render unto Caesar" enjoins secularization of government and avoids all systems of theocracy. "Render unto God" puts all life under spiritual control and avoids secularism of life and legalism in religion.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

The articles in this number of THE MOSLEM WORLD were assembled by the Co-editor from some of Dr. Zwemer's friends and associates as a tribute to him on his seventy-second Birthday Anniversary. The Co-editor also assembled the frontispiece and articles for the July, 1938 issue.

A PROTESTANT VIEW OF MOSLEM MISSIONS

In this number, a group of Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer's friends unite in congratulating him on his seventy-second birthday. Of course our eyes are concentrated upon the wide and diversely variegated Moslem field to which for almost half a century he has been indefatigable in directing the prayerful attention of the Protestant Churches. After all, what is the reason for the stubborn resistance of this world, closed to the entrance of the Gospel? Might we not expect just here wide open doors and a willing acceptance of our message? Was not the Prophet himself in his creative years in Mecca nurtured to some extent by Christian influences? Was not the Moslem Empire of the first centuries built on the ruins of Christian churches and to a great extent with the materials of the Christian civilization? Have not Moslems through all centuries since then been next door neighbors of the Christians, intermingling with them in war and peace, in all fields of civilization and commercial enterprise? Have not the Moslems as neighbors seen with admiration and wonder the ascendancy of the Christian nations of Europe within a few centuries to a unique position as world powers and empires, surrounded by the glamour of the Christian civilization? Most of all, is not Islam deeply imbedded in the major currents of the three monotheistic religions, where it stands side by side with the Christian revelation, always able and kindly invited to compare its poor duplicate with the original richness and divine truth of the Christian gospel? A good deal of deep thinking has been concentrated by missionaries to Moslems, church historians, and Christian thinkers on the riddle of Islam. May I be allowed to jot down a few remarks.

It has been the advantage and the fate of Islam that it has rightly sensed the main religious interests of every true monotheistic religion and has moulded them to some extent after the Christian pattern, yet then has given them a vulgar humanistic turn, thus depriving them of their revelational purity and elevating power but appealing all the more effectively to the human instincts. We give a few examples. Stark monotheism evidently is the strongest bulwark of Islam. It is well known how Moslem theology has always concentrated its best thought on a broad and perspicuous development of the monotheistic idea, more than three quarters even of the bulkiest systems of Moslem theology being devoted to this major subject. Yet after all, Allah remains the inscrutable sovereign ruler of the universe, enthroned in inaccessible glory and absolutely isolated from every creature, the "quite other" whom no human thought can ever dare to approach. Complete and radical submission to his sovereign will is the only possible human aspect, deadening fatalism being the inescapable result. Unsatisfactory as the Christian trinitarian speculations may be, regarded from a philosophical point of view, they reveal an unending endeavor of the pious Christian mind and soul to reach out to a truly human relation with the Heavenly Father and His only begotten Son.

This Almighty God has revealed Himself to His creatures; Moslem theology is quite right in stressing the idea that revelation is one of the primary attributes of God-head. Yet how has He revealed Himself? In a book written by God before the foundation of the World on the tablet of destiny deposited below His throne, transmitted verbally to the prophet by Gabriel and written down again with unfailing reliability in the sacred canon of the Koran. This crude and mechanical conception of revelation, of course, has stifled all intelligent and scientific research because even the slightest objective comparison with the Bible texts would prove its impossibility. Here again we acknowledge the many perplexities of the Christian conception of revelation and the unsatisfactory results of much

theological thinking. Yet we know that all these are stumbling and faltering approaches to divine truth, radically different from the petrified frame of the Moslem idea.

We do not know how Mohammed got in touch with the Christian idea of the Kingdom of God, yet, at least from the beginning of his life at Medina, evidently the idea of the supreme rule of Allah captivated and fascinated his mind. Allah must be conceived as the sole and absolute ruler of mankind, His revealed will is its law, it is the highest aim of the prophet and of his khalifas to establish this Reign of Allah all over the World; fire and sword are the legitimate weapons in this divinely sanctioned warfare; to build up an empire with the *shari'a* as its sole and comprehensive rule of life is the goal never to be left out of sight. Here again the truly divine scheme of the biblical Kingdom of Heaven is brutally materialized and lowered down to a human and often sub-human level which makes one shudder, yet which after all has always exercised a fanatic élan on the Moslems.

To mention one more instance, heaven and hell are sublime Christian conceptions trying to outline even in dim contours the after-life of man under the aspect of the radically righteous and charitable judgment of Almighty God. We know it is holy ground and treading on it we must put off our shoes. Here again we are deeply disappointed in reading the sensuous descriptions of heaven and the revengeful caricatures of hell in the Koran and in scrutinizing the legendary material of the fantastic after-life with its angels Munkar and Nakir, the sirat-bridge, and the numberless paraphernalia of an exuberant imagination which even so deep a thinker and so pious a Moslem as al-Ghazali has not been able to elevate to a higher plane.

Wherever we look we meet the same distressing fact that primary and deep spiritual needs which are intrinsic in the monotheistic religions are rightly sensed by Islam, yet lowered down to an unworthy human plane where they lose their sublime character and fit in with the average

aspirations of the common people. Yet in spite of this deplorable tendency, we find everywhere in Islam two astounding bulwarks of power which hardly have an equal in Christian tradition: an overwhelming consciousness of superiority, and a unique feeling of Moslem solidarity. We add a few comments on these two points. Moslem theology does not deny that other nations, too, have received divine revelations, yet their own being the last, the most complete and the most authoritative, all former revelations are abrogated, they must be revised and brought into line with this last and most reliable revelation. It is the same tendency only in a superheated form which many Christians feel with regard to Judaism. It is a *capitis diminutio* for a Moslem to become a Christian. It was a fateful endeavor of the Prophet immediately after the *hegira* at Medina to bind his followers together in a brotherhood transcending the strong clan tradition of the Arab Bedouin. It is one of the astounding achievements in human history that one of the strongest urges of mankind, the associative drive, has been forced artificially yet with overwhelming success into a new channel of a religious community and has been retained in this new bed for more than thirteen centuries. This anomaly is one of the deep mysteries of Islam. We see, of course, that the *hajj* to Mecca has helped immensely in this new type of solidarity. Apparently the invincible and victorious course of the Moslem armies in the first centuries, the glamour of the Baghdad empire of the Abbasids, of the Great Moghuls at Delhi, of the Turkish Sultans of Istanbul have done much to strengthen it. At present we sense its declining power in many directions; the failure of the *jihad* in the World War, the secularization and nationalization of Turkey and Iran are outstanding examples. Yet after all, this haughty feeling of superiority and this impenetrable group solidarity are the iron walls which bar the entrance of the Gospel. Have we a chance to overcome them?

In the last century much ingenuity was used to provide missionaries to Moslems with an appropriate armor for

their hard work. There are some scores of objections which are raised again and again with imperturbable persistency against them, such as a Christian tritheism, the falsification of the Bible, etc. It has been a valuable contribution of men like Pfander, in his "*Mizan-ul-haqq*" and of Rice in his "Crusaders of the Twentieth Century" to equip missionaries with weapons proved successful a hundred times in the endless disputations with Moslem *ulama*. Yet this is only a measure of defense, it does not help much for a successful advance. Every missionary to Moslems sorely needs this bulky equipment, just as he needs the knowledge of Arabic and of Moslem theology and must try to get a good insight into the particular structure of the Moslem tradition and life of his special field. Yet he will wish to make as little use as possible of this Saul's armor, as it is the almost universal experience in Moslem lands that theological disputations, though in many cases unavoidable, rarely prove a real approach to the Moslem's heart. And here the very serious question arises: have we found, after one hundred and fifty years of strenuous and prayerful endeavor, the key to the heart of the Moslem to unlock it for the Gospel? It seems an almost disappointing searching of heart to give the answer.

The great attempt to approach the Moslem nations of the Near East by the circuitous road of the ancient oriental churches has failed. The overwhelming impact of Western civilization has produced in all lands a more or less upper stratum of intelligentsia, yet these intellectuals are seldom nearer the Kingdom, most of them have lost their religious interest altogether. And we observe in almost all Moslem lands with outstanding clarity those different trends and currents of reaction by which the Orient, rudely shaken out of the lethargy of many centuries by Western imperialism and exploitation, tries to rehabilitate its former glory. Everywhere group solidarity appears to be the shibboleth of this reaction of self defense. It is rather perplexing to see in what different forms it is functioning. In Turkey a radical race-consciousness even

discards the Moslem tradition to consolidate the nation on a purely racial basis. In British India, in view of the communal basis of the new constitution, the Moslems are lukewarm in their nationalism; they seem to have little racial consciousness, their thinking is honeycombed by modernistic tendencies, yet in their Moslem group solidarity they stick together, as in a rather surprising way the Khilafat question revealed a few years ago. In Egypt, in spite of all modernistic tendencies really flooding the country in connection with the overwhelming Western impact, Islam remains the flag round which the people rally with unquestioned loyalty. In Arabia, in spite of some slight attempts in modern ways, the hoary type of Moslem orthodoxy is ruling supreme. Wherever we look, the general impression is that doors or windows which seemed just ajar a generation ago or opening to let in a few rays of new light and of fresh air are closed again and even barred against any Christian influence. Even the scope of Christian humanitarian institutions like schools and hospitals is restricted more and more by government regulations and other hindrances.

Only two ways remain open, and it needs the faith and the patience of the saints to plod on in them indefatigably: one is the presentation of the Bible as the revealed word of God in a widespread colportage and in faithful preaching without polemics against the prophet and the Koran. The other, apparently under present circumstances just as important, is the Christian personality of the missionary, his character as a messenger of divine truth, embodying it in his life as a truthful and authentic witness of the Lord.

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THE MISSIONARY CONVICTION AND APPROACH

It has often been pointed out, but it needs to be said again and again, that what we think about the religions of non-Christian people is one thing, and what we say about them to those people may be and often ought to be a different matter. Our business is to present the Gospel and to win men and women to faith in Christ. We seek to do this because the non-Christian religions are inadequate, because they "encumber the religious nature of man", as Dr. William Newton Clarke used to say, because they are filled with error which taints whatever truth they contain, because we believe that Jesus Christ is the only Savior and His God and Father the only true God. Our mission and message are positive. We are affirming Christ, and not primarily denying Buddha or Mohammed. And to this end we approach persons with courtesy and consideration and love.

But our consideration of persons does not mean our toleration of untrue or unworthy religions. We believe the non-Christian religions are so filled with untrue and unworthy elements that they are inadequate to meet the needs of men and are doomed to decay, and this conviction enters into our missionary motive. Motive and method, however, are different matters. Our method necessitates an approach to men in the interest of truth which will be as conciliatory and as considerate as we should feel their approach to us should be, were the tables reversed. How would we think a Mohammedan missionary seeking to win converts to Islam in America might most wisely behave? Would the answer not be a right guide to us in our approach to Moslems?

No doubt such procedure as this and such discrimina-

tion between the individual person and the organized religion are specially difficult in the case of Islam. Let the Christian missionary act never so wisely, his very presence and the presentation of the Gospel, be it never so careful and considerate, are bound to result in the collision of ideas, "the agitation of contrary opinions", as the Century Dictionary defines "controversy", and it is hard to keep controversy temperate and considerate in the face of the intense and even fierce sincerity of Islam. And perhaps the difficulty is even greater where, as in the case of St. Paul and Christianity, doubts and misgivings have already begun to arise. The stories of Imad-ud-Din, baptized in India in 1866, and of Dr. Henry Martyn Clark's survival of the death predicted for him in 1892 by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed are interesting indications of the apparently unavoidable polemic character of the contact of Christianity with Islam.

Two of the most efficient missionaries of the last generation in Persia dealt thoughtfully with this issue.

"As to the manner of our presenting the truth", wrote the Rev. S. G. Wilson of Tabriz, "all will accept the common dictum 'Avoid controversy', if by this we mean a contentious wrangling or dispute, a contest in which we strive to beat our opponent in debate. . . . But if we mean by 'controversy' the discussion of a subject by the presentation of argument pro and con, it is simply unavoidable, and if the discussion is carried on in a proper spirit, it is neither necessary nor desirable to avoid it. Indeed, the Muslim, even if he is an honest inquirer, will often present his difficulties in the form of objections and maintain his point in order to draw out the full light on the subject. And this has its advantages, in that the minds of some missionaries are so constituted that their best thoughts and strongest presentation of standard arguments are brought out under the spur of earnest discussion. In fact, many of the great missionaries to Muslims have been aggressive and have not feared proper controversy."

The Rev. William A. Shedd wrote,

"It seems to me that a distinction ought to be made between the attitude towards the individual Muslim and towards Islam. If we are careful to be respectful and courteous in the former, we can be more aggressive in the latter. In order to gain a hearing, it is necessary to be willing to give a patient hearing. In this line comes

the importance of following oriental ideas of courtesy in the forms of address and in the manner of referring to the Prophet and the Qur'an. One ought also to be careful not to impugn the sincerity or the intelligence of the Muslim. If the proper attitude is preserved to the individual, I think that one can generally find the way to present the Gospel freely and fully."

There is an interesting paragraph in Napier Malcolm's "Five Years in a Persian town":

"It will be felt perhaps by some that more ought to be made of the points in common between Islam and Christianity. The fact is that, when the people come to the missionary, they do not want to find agreement but disagreement, and consequently the missionary gets to think not so much of what they know as of what they do not know. So a missionary writer is, perhaps, inclined to pass over common points, whatever religion he is writing about. In the case of Islam there are really not many to note, and in support of this statement I may relate a story told by an officer of Indian troops. One day a Muhammadan, in the course of a conversation, said to him, 'Of course, Sahib, your religion and ours are very near together. Your Christ is one of our prophets'. My friend replied, 'What do you mean? Of course Christ is one of your prophets, but to us He is more than a prophet; He is the Son of God and the pattern of our lives. Besides, there is hardly a single practical point where Muhammadans and Christians are not entirely at issue.' The man looked up and said, 'Sahib, you have read the Qur'an, and you have read your Bible. I always make that remark to Christians; I made it to a padre the other day; and they almost always say, "Very true; Muhammadanism has a great deal in common with Christianity". Well, Sahib, when they say that, I know that they have not read the Qur'an and they have not read their Bibles.'"

No one could state more sympathetically the good elements in Islam than the late Bishop Lefroy. The four which he said most impressed him were: belief in one living God; belief in the resurrection; belief in the fact of revelation; and the position assigned to Jesus Christ with regard to His Virgin-birth, His sinlessness, His ascension, His second coming and His titles, namely, the Spirit of God and the Word of God. But he saw also the evil. "Nowhere", he said, "has truth been so skillfully and with, so to speak, such fatal effect intermingled with falsehood."

Another of Dr. Shedd's statements regarding the basic

difference even in apparently common ideas between Christianity and Islam is set forth in the best English apology for Mohammedanism ever made, Mr. Bosworth Smith's "Mohammed and Mohammedanism":

"The religion of Christ contains whole fields of morality and whole realms of thought which are all but outside the religion of Mohammed. It opens humility, purity of heart, forgiveness of injuries, sacrifice of self to man's moral nature; it gives scope for toleration, development, boundless progress to his mind; its motive power is stronger, even as a friend is better than a king, and love higher than obedience. Its realized ideals in the various paths of human greatness have been more commanding, more many-sided, more holy. . . . The ideal life of all is far more elevating, far more majestic, far more inspiring, even as the life of the founder of Mohammedanism is below the life of the Founder of Christianity. And when I speak of the ideal life of Mohammedanism, I must not be misunderstood. There is in Mohammedanism no ideal life in the true sense of the word, for Mohammed's character was admitted by himself to be a weak and erring one. . . . Nor are the methods of drawing near to God the same in the two religions. . . . The Musalman gains a knowledge of God—he can hardly be said to approach Him—by listening to the lofty message of God's Prophet. The Christian believes that he approaches God by a process which, however difficult it may be to define, yet has had a real meaning to Christ's servants, and has embodied itself in countless types of Christian character—that mysterious something which St. Paul calls a 'union with Christ'. 'Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God.'"

This so-called Mohammedan controversy has changed greatly in recent years. It is true that there has always been a great element of scepticism in Islam and another of un-Koranic mysticism, but it has been content to remain within the Islamic forms. Today in great areas the old forms are openly repudiated.

"The religion of Islam cannot be acceptable to us, the Turks", writes A. Ibrahim on "The Sentiment of National Religions", "we do not understand its language. In translation it is dry and does not appeal to us. Moreover, it has some superfluous ordinances for worship and it disregards society. It is impossible that an alien religion should live in Turkey any more. . . . Islam is altogether contrary to the principles of Turkey at the present time and in the future. Islam has begun to fade in our country."

"What is the reason for our inability?" writes Agha Oghluon on

"Our Greatest Need", in *Millyet*, February 18, 1935. "It is the egoism that we have inherited from our fathers. We would like things to happen, but not at a cost to our comfort and rest. This attitude of egoism was implanted in our fathers through the religious and state tyranny under which they lived for centuries. Though it is true that we did away with these constitutions, we did not clear *our own selves*."

This is the missionary problem, namely, how to get through and past the encumbering religions to men's "own selves". . . . The aim and the effort inevitably involve a judgment regarding Christianity and the world religions. This was one of the questions raised and unflinchingly answered by Dr. Clarke in one of the best books on missions ever written, "A Study of Christian Missions":

"What does Christianity as a missionary religion propose, with regard to the religions that exist in the world? The answer to this question is, that Christianity proposes to win men away from the other religions by bringing them something better, and to take the place of the other religions in the world.

"The attitude of the religion that bears the name of Jesus Christ is not one of compromise, but one of conflict and of conquest. It proposes to displace the other religions. . . . Christianity thus undertakes a long and laborious campaign, in which it must experience various fortunes and learn patience from trials and delays; but the true state of the case must not be forgotten, namely, that Christianity sets out for victory. The intention to conquer is characteristic of the Gospel. . . . It cannot conquer except in love, but in love it intends to conquer. It means to fill the world.

"That Christianity ought to hold such an aim as this is denied, of course, by that indifferentism which thinks one religion about as good as another, and imagines that each race already has the religion that on the whole is the best for it. But this indifferentism, which would stop Christian missions altogether if it had its way, is grounded in ignorance of what Christianity is, in comparison with the religions of the world. If Christians entertain it, it is because they do not know what they have in Christ."

Christianity must unswervingly hold this ground. But this militant principle must not make the approach of the missionary to the individual harsh or polemic. It must be the approach of love and service. It is love that is to conquer. The victory will be with the best lovers.

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THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL

The Old Testament and the New are often contrasted as the dispensations of the Law and of the Gospel. This contrast is true for the time of our Lord and the Apostles, in the sense that the Law was then the predominant aspect of religion among the Jews. But in the Old Testament itself there is the contrast between the Law and the Prophets, so that if we are to consider the matter historically there are three elements to be taken into account; Prophecy, the Law and the Gospel.

The relation between these three is not merely of antagonism, nor of evolution from one to the other. St. Paul in dating the Law after the Promises had got to a certain extent the right clue to their relationship. Although history cannot be reduced to any rigid system, it is true within limits to say that in each case the prophetic revelation came first, and was followed by legal codification. The prophet first sees the ideal and propounds it. As an ideal it is usually not practical politics; but the law-giver, who is impressed by the prophetic message, incorporates so much of it as he can into a legal system.

Hebrew religion practically begins with Moses, who combined in himself the two characteristics of prophet and law-giver. For he himself certainly had direct revelations from God, and, though we have no certainty as to how much of the earliest codes of law were due to him, we may be certain that he played some part in making or codifying laws suitable to a nomadic people. We have no literary record of the preaching of such early prophets as Elijah and Elisha, but we may be sure that the early codes known as E and J owed something to their preaching. When we come to the eighth century we are on firmer ground,

for the literary remains of Isaiah, Micah, Amos and Hosea are sufficient to give us a very clear idea of their message. It is clear, for instance, that they attacked the social wrongs of their day, and that they saw little value in the sacrificial cultus and perhaps actually condemned it. It was not, however, practical politics to abolish the sacrifices; and the righting of social wrongs is a thing which legislation can accomplish only by degrees. At some time later than these prophets, maybe in the reign of Josiah as is commonly supposed, maybe after Jeremiah, the code of laws was promulgated which formed the kernel of the book of Deuteronomy. Unable to abolish the sacrificial system, this code removed many of its abuses by restricting the sacrifices to one central sanctuary. Unable to right all the social wrongs, it laid down rules which must have materially bettered the condition of the oppressed classes. During the Exile the ideal of a holy nation was put forward by Ezekiel, and the ideal of the nation as Yahweh's Servant by Deutero-Isaiah. Ezekiel's ideal was put in a form which was clearly impracticable; and, much as we might wish that Deutero-Isaiah's words had been followed, we must admit that they could not have been carried out except by a nation of saints. The legislation of the Priestly Code put into practice some of the ideas of Ezekiel, but no legal code could find room for the idealism of Deutero-Isaiah.

Up to this point one might say that the legal codes, produced by more commonplace men than the inspired prophets, followed in the wake of the prophets and brought much of their teaching into practice. But with the advent of Deutero-Isaiah the powers of law to implement the ideals of the prophets were exhausted. The failure of the Jewish Law began when it was no longer able to follow, even at a distance, the ideal of this great prophet. Henceforth began an antagonism between Law and Prophecy. The ideals of prophecy were not dead: they showed themselves in Jonah and in Ruth, and from time to time in some of the Apocalyptic Literature; but legalism was in the

ascendant, and remained the dominant type of Jewish religion in the time of Christ.

In order then to appraise correctly the value of the legalistic Judaism of our Lord's time we have to remember, first that it rested in the last resort on prophetic revelation, and secondly that it was in antagonism to the latest and highest development of prophecy—that of Deutero-Isaiah. These facts will help to explain both the condemnation of the Pharisees that we read in the Gospels, and the defence of Pharisaism by modern Jewish writers.

Then came the Gospel, which is represented in the New Testament as fulfilling the Law and the Prophets. It fulfilled them because, by making the Law internal in the heart instead of external and written in codes, it enabled the Law to catch up with prophetic revelation and to make the prophetic ideals practicable in human life. The Christian Law in the heart is not general, but particular. A Law that is written, and intended for all men generally, cannot foresee the exact circumstances of every conceivable case. The Christian Law is the working of the Holy Spirit in the heart, showing the individual how he, under his particular circumstances and at that particular moment, can carry out the revealed duty of love to God and man. The whole of revelation through inspired prophets, as far as it is known to the individual, is made use of as the Holy Spirit within him guides him to turn those revelations into a Law for himself. The Gospel fulfils the Prophets because no part of their true inspiration is lost. The Gospel fulfils the Law because it successfully achieves what the Law attempted to do, viz., to bring the prophetic ideals into direct relationship with the actual conditions and problems of the individual life.

Islam is a system of law. The origin of this law is not merely of archaeological interest. In so far as it was based on genuine prophetic utterances of Muhammad it may be compared with one of the legal codes of the Old Testament. To be compared does not necessarily mean to be on the same level. The question whether, e.g., the Quranic laws

are higher or lower than the Priestly Code of the Old Testament, will require first a comparison of Muhammad as a prophet with the various Old Testament prophets whose utterances went to the moulding of P, and secondly a discussion of the extent to which the codified laws reflected the prophetic ideals. I do not propose in this paper to attempt these valuations, beyond saying that undoubtedly Isaiah and Amos were far greater prophets than Muhammad, but that the Priestly Code fell far short of incorporating the ideals of Isaiah and Amos, even if it more nearly approached the level of Ezekiel.

The Quran, however, cannot be said to be based entirely on inspirational revelations to Muhammad; for many of his utterances were undoubtedly recollections of Jewish or Christian sayings, and had not originated in his spiritual consciousness.

Further, the system of Muslim Law used the Quran only as one of its bases. For the rest, it was founded on ideas of diverse origin which were current in the Muslim world of the first two centuries. It would be a historical task of no mean magnitude to trace to their origin the elements in Islamic Law which are not directly based on the Quran. But even without such an enquiry it would probably be admitted that a very large part was not in any sense of prophetic origin.

It might very fairly be said that Islamic Law is far less a reflection of the ideals of prophets than is the Law of Deuteronomy, or even than the Law of the Priestly Code.

Even if this were disputed, as no doubt it would be by Muslims, it still remains a fact that Islamic Law is an external law which attempts to lay down general rules to be applied to every conceivable individual need. The framers of the Muslim Law themselves, as is well known, were unable to find a basis in the Quran for all the rules and regulations which they included, and were forced to use the *Hadith* and the inexhaustible sources of *Qiyas* and *Ijma'*.

It must be freely admitted that the requirements of Islam are more easily and readily fulfilled than those of Christianity. But this is no reflection on Christianity, for it only indicates that the demands of Christianity are higher. If the candidates for an honors degree in mathematics were given a paper of simple algebraical equations, they would or might all obtain one hundred per cent. marks. Instead of that they are given a paper of problems in higher mathematics, in which the cleverest candidates can perhaps solve ten or twenty per cent. In percentages the result is lower, but in actual attainment far higher. The Muslim Law, because it is general, cannot lead to the same heights of spiritual attainment as the Christian Law which, when it finds a man of high spiritual attainment, points him still higher. In one sense it is true that Christianity is practicable, for it has once been perfectly fulfilled, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that under the conditions of a wicked world in which the practice of righteousness is obviously more difficult than in a world in which righteousness is the prevailing rule. In addition it must be said that Christians do in fact attain under the Gospel a far higher standard of righteousness and holiness than those who live under the reign of a written law, and that Christian saints, though still falling far short of the perfection of Christ, have risen to heights which are unparalleled in non-Christian human experience. It might not be unfair to add that many of those who are reckoned as the saints of Islam are to be found amongst those who have discerned, despite the orthodox teaching of Islam, a higher law in their hearts than the written *shari'at*.

The conclusion to which we are led is that the evangelist to Islam should not be ashamed of the Gospel, but should boldly proclaim it as the law of the heart, which is dependent for its exercise on the indwelling Spirit of God.

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AL-GHAZALI AND THE ARABIĆ VERSIONS OF THE GOSPELS

AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM

In *THE MOSLEM WORLD* for April 1917 (p. 144-sq.) Dr. Zwemer gathered up the incidents and sayings attributed to our Blessed Lord by al-Ghazali in the *Ihyā 'Ulūm il-Dīn*. These he also published in an Arabic booklet *Maqām ul-Masīh il-Makīn fi Ihyā 'Ulūm il-Dīn* (Nile Mission Press, Cairo), now unfortunately out of print.

Dr. Zwemer at that time pointed out that nowhere does al-Ghazali take the familiar position that Christians have tampered with the text of their accepted Gospels. For him these Gospels are an authority to be wielded in argument, while in the *Ihyā* the *logia* attributed to Christ are used for edification. The study of the whole body of quotations thus conveniently collected for us from the volumes of the *Ihyā* leaves on the present writer the strong impression that, although some of them approach to the text of St. Matthew, and two (*Ihyā* IV, p. 170; Matt. 19:21; *Ihyā* IV, p. 52; Matt. 5:38-41) use the actual words of that Gospel, these are not the citations of a scholar with the Gospel text before him. They have come through some traditional source, strongly ascetic in character, which has wrought a subtle change in nearly all of those *logia* in which we can recognize the Gospel originals, and has added others strange to the Gospels. Nearly all of the latter have a world-for-saking emphasis in agreement with the mental picture of Jesus as the Wanderer, which was for the mediaeval Moslem world His accepted portrait. It would be of intense interest to trace the story of the sources used by al-Ghazali for these references to Christ and to know how far and in what circles these sayings had been carried within the Christian tradition and at what points they entered that of Islam.

That these sayings are not al-Ghazali's own loose and sometimes distorting paraphrase of a text of the Gospels open before him becomes clear as we observe the scrupulous exactitude of his quotations from the Gospel text when he had the opportunity of consulting it.

In the library under the roof of Aya Sufiya at Istanbul lie two manuscripts (Aya Sufiya 2246 and 2247), the one apparently copied from the other, both of which contain a hitherto unpublished work of al-Ghazali entitled *al-Radd ul-jamīl li ilāhiyat 'Isa bi sarīḥ il-Injīl*, a treatise resultant on the study of the biblical text, and containing many direct quotations. In both cases al-Ghazali's *opuscule* is bound up in a little volume with another anti-Christian work by his master Abū 'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd ul-Malik Juwaini, Imām ul-Ḥaramain.¹—The two are in the same handwriting and the colophon of the second work says that it was copied at Cairo by M. b. 'Isa b. 'Abd il-Qādir al-Shafā'i in 672/1273.

In an article of intense interest, *Le Christ dans les Évangiles selon al-Ghazali* (*Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1932, p. 523) Monsieur Massignon very fully describes the contents of this treatise by al-Ghazali, making clear its high importance for those who concern themselves with the sad history of the relationship between Islam and Christianity. We permit ourselves to translate a few sentences from the article referred to:

"From the viewpoint of textual criticism Ghazali, like the Ismailians, loyally accepts the *textus receptus* of the Gospels; he does not accuse the Christians of having tampered with the text, but rather believes himself to be attacking their false interpretation of it. (*tahrīf* not *bi'l lafẓ* but *bi'l ta'wīl*.)

"Ghazali, who is neither interested in the discrepancies of variant readings, nor in 'antilegomena', tries to seize on the leading ideas of a passage without spending time like his master Juwaini or yet more like Ibn Ḥazm, over the question of the trustworthiness of the text. He has set himself, with the admirable freedom that one expects of him, to consult the original texts. In three instances, deserving of special study, he quotes fragments from these originals: one in Hebrew (Exod. IV:6); another in Aramaic,—perhaps from

¹ *Shifā'ul 'ālī fi bayān ma waqa'a fi'l taurāti wa l'injīl*.

a transcription in Coptic letters (Mark XV:34); and a third in Coptic (John I: 14). The provenance of the Arabic version from which al-Ghazali draws the rest of his quotations has yet to be studied."

It was clear from Monsieur Massignon's article that we had here the polemic work of a noble and reverent mind, making one or two important and unusual concessions to the Christian standpoint and it is therefore with great pleasure that we have learnt of a critical edition of the text, by the Rev. R. Chidiac, S. J.,² now in the press in Paris, and of an English translation of the treatise now in preparation by Miss K. Henrey of Beirut. These two works will place *al-Radd ul-Jamil* within the reach of us all.

Monsieur Massignon's article keenly stirred the interest of the present writer in another direction. Might not this Muslim treatise help to throw light on the puzzling story of the Arabic Bible versions? The date of al-Ghazali's New Testament quotations gives them special interest, for we have all too few extant MSS. of the Gospels in Arabic as early as al-Ghazali's lifetime. Massignon suggests that al-Ghazali's study of the Gospels and the writing of the resultant treatise belong to his stay at Alexandria after his retreat at Jerusalem, about the year 495/1101. Was the version that he studied, then, a Copto-Arabic translation in use by the Church in Egypt at that date? This would be of peculiar interest owing to the great dearth of material on the early story of the translations in use in Egypt.

During a recent visit to Istanbul it was possible to consult the MSS. and to copy the biblical texts there cited, and the following notes, concerned only with those of al-Ghazali's quotations which are drawn from the Gospels, are set down in the hope that someone with more claim to scholarship may throw further light on the question.³

Al-Ghazali quotes all or part of the following verses:

² To be published as Vol. 54 of the *Collection de l'Ecole des Hautes-Etudes* of the Sorbonne.

³ I owe gratitude in Cairo to His Beatitude the Coptic Patriarch for freedom of access to the Arabic MSS. under his care, and to my friends Tawfiq Effendi Iskarous, and Yassa Effendi Abd el Masih, Librarian of the Coptic Museum, for their generous cooperation. In Jerusalem my thanks are due to His Grace the Archbishop of Antipatris Acting Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, for permission to use the Arabic MSS. of the Patriarchal Library, and to the Librarian, His Grace the Archbishop of Askelon and his assistant the Deacon Evlampios Voulgaris for their kindly welcome and assistance.

Matt. 11:27; 16:18, 19b; 18:18; 23:8, 9; 26:39; 27:46. Mark 11:12, 13, 21-23; 13:32. Luke 6:35, 36. John 1:1-3, 6-10, 12, 14; 5:24; 8:28, 39, 40, 56-58; 9:5; 10:30-36; 11:41, 42; 12:44-46; 14:1; 8-12; 15:1; 17:1-3, 11, 17-22; 20; 17; 21:15.

Divisions of the Text.

Al-Ghazali was apparently using separate volumes (not necessarily from the same translation) for the Gospels and the Epistles, since he introduces two of his quotations from the Epistles (one Pauline and one "Catholic") as "in the Book of the Epistles".

His chapter enumerations (with the exception of one in St. John numbered out of order in regard to his other numerical references from the same Gospel, probably by a slip in transcription) follow that ancient division of chapters apparently widespread as early as the fifth century (and found in Cod. Alexandrinus and Cod. Ephraemi) according to which the number of the chapters is Matthew 68, Mark 48, Luke 83, John 20. This varied from the Coptic arrangement which was Matthew 101, Mark 54, Luke 68, John 46.

We need not however conclude from this that al-Ghazali's Arabic Gospels were not a translation from the Coptic, because the Copto-Arabic versions generally use this Greek chapter arrangement for what they call "the great chapters", marking also "the little chapters" (*al-fusūl al-sighār*), their term for the shorter divisions (Matt. 353, Mark 236, Luke 342, John 232), arranged by Eusebius who took the hint from Ammonius of Alexandria, for use with his "Ten Canons", which are frequently prefixed to the Arabic Gospel MSS. of Egypt.

In quoting John 14:8, instead of his usual numerical reference which would here read "at the beginning of Chapter 33", al-Ghazali introduces his quotation by the reference "at the beginning of the chapters of the Paraclete". Does this represent any Christian usage?

Arabic Gospel Manuscripts earlier than 1100.

In spite of the writer's lurking hope that al-Ghazali's

copious quotations might be from Coptic sources it seemed necessary first to clear the ground by enquiring into the text of any Arabic Gospel MSS. now extant, which were already in existence at the time when he was writing. These are few enough and may be noted according as they are translations from the Greek or the Syriac.

From the Greek there is a notable group of MSS. with related text:

Vat. Arab 13 (now Museo Borgiano).

Museo Borgiano K. II 31 (possibly of eighth century).

Vat. Arab 71 (written in 888).

Tischendorf's Lectionary (9th and 10th century) from the convent of Mar Saba.

These were all held by Ignazio Guidi to be of South Palestinian origin.⁴ From such specimens of the text as I have been able to see, it seems impossible however that these represent al-Ghazali's version.

The connection of South Palestine with Arabic was a close one even before the Moslem conquest, owing to the fact that the spice caravan route here debouched on Gaza. Guidi's theory that the Church in South Palestine was the earliest to Arabize its sacred literature is borne out by the Arabic MSS. in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai which call for careful study. We submit a photograph of a page written by a certain Stephen of Ramleh in 896 A.D. (See opposite page.)

Another Arabic translation from the Greek, of about a century before al-Ghazali, is represented by the MS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai catalogued by Margaret Dunlop Gibson as No. 75.⁵ Although this codex was photographed by Mrs. Lewis and, on the basis of the handwriting, was pronounced by Dr. Robertson Smith and Professor Karabacek of Vienna to belong to the 10th century, it has, I believe, never been printed and I have not yet been able to see a specimen of its text. Yassa

⁴ See his rich and interesting paper which marked an advance in such studies—*Le Traduzione degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Etiopico in Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* 1888. Series 4, Vol. 4., p. 25. Dr. Curt Peters in *Proben eines bedetsamen arabisches Evangelientextes* (Or. Christ. 3.11. S.188) has thrown further light on the classification of these translations.

⁵ In *Studia Sinaitica* No. 3 "A Catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai."

لا يسمي الله الحكيم ولا يوحى عنده من من الرجايا •
• كل من يظن الخير و اياه فليقن انما هو لموته اليه
العالم الا انه لكتفا ترجع في مدح الناس ما هيا
• ان الجهل بالاله هو موت النفس • ان الصوم الخفاف
هو الشئ عن كل غير اعني صيكة الصار و اما ك
العصب و احتجاب النفوس و النفيمه والكذب
والخلف بالله و العفة عن كل دنس • ان العفة في الخير
تست بعفه و لكنما يجوز عن الرضا و ليس يقال للعاجز
عن الله عن عظيمه ان كنت لا تكف عن الخطيه الا من
• ان الحمد للضعف لا لا لا تمدح الا من حسنت
نفسه في الخير و ليس يمدح من ترك الصبر عما هو به
• كذب العاطل المصغر الضعيف الا يتم اصطفا
• و بالمره اذ الله و انما باح اذ كونه في طود
الامر و اقامك عن نفسه و اسمعك الصوت الذي
انتهى المحبوب القابل تعالى و يا صار في اية دنو
• ملك القد لكم من قبل انسا العالم مع ما بينه
من قوله الذي لا يخلو موحود و الخوه لا يفسد
• لا يفسد لا يفسد الله • و كتب المصغر
في انتم الحكم في اول قصه اذ اذ و يكون من
• حيا منكم العالم على ما لا يفسد كفيه بين
الامر من الفهمه العظيمه • من منه سبت الامر
• ما بينه و نفسه و ما بينه • سنة • 7115 •
• و من من القود في صفو الصبر من منه اذ يع
• ما بينه و ما بينه • ربح الله من ربح
• كذب • و عبد المقتني الفهم و الحفظ للو هيا

Colophon of MS. Sin. Arab, No. 72, dated 896 A.D. Photograph supplied by Mr. Taufiq Iskarous of Cairo, late curator of Christian books at the Sultanieh Library. The photograph, hitherto unpublished, was taken by Dr. Moritz. Mr. Taufiq Iskarous also supplies the following information from an unpublished report in Arabic by Dr. Moritz, to the Egyptian government on the Arabic MSS. in the Library of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai: "The oldest of the Christian Arabic MSS. under the heading Biblica is The Book of the Four Gospels, arranged according to the divisions of the liturgical year of the Greeks. It was written in a late Kufic hand by Istipana, known as al-Ranli, A. Mond. 6389=A. H. Muharram 284. On parchment, 119 pp. of 26 lines, 13x19 cmm."

This colophon with its reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre supplies further evidence for an early Arabic Christian literature in South Palestine.

Effendi Abd el Masih of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, supplies the following details concerning this codex:

"The four Gospels with indication of the portions for reading according to the Greek rite. 219pp. Parchment. Written in a clear kufic hand. Following the Gospels are proofs that the world has a Creator, controverting those who do not believe in the existence of God, and in the book also are 'testimonies' from the Taurat and the Prophets and Psalms concerning Christ and His affairs. Some pages are cut (torn?). Made a *waqf* of the Sinai Monastery by Tumūr, Bishop of that monastery, in 392 A. H. (1001/2 A. D.) It contains a marginal note to the effect that the moon was eclipsed on the 14th day of Rajab and the sun on the 28th of the same month in the year 380 A. H."

All these mediaeval Arabic codices are precious for the light they throw on the inner life of those parts of Christ's Church that were living in comparative isolation, whether through formal secession or by reason of the surrounding Islam. These MSS. show us the Scriptures which nourished those Christians, the prayers that sustained and uplifted them, the other books they valued enough for the labour and cost of copying, together with little glimpses of life and personality to be found in preface, colophon or marginal note. Mt. Sinai 75, in addition, would seem from its date to do something to fill one of the bad gaps in the story of the Arabic Bible and it is to be hoped that it may soon be given to the world by a competent scholar.

Other Arabic Gospel MSS. in Mt. Sinai and calling for study are No. 63 dated 428/1066 and No. 12 which Dr. Moritz considered to be of the 3rd and 4th Islamic centuries.

From the Syriac.

Could al-Ghazali's version have been made from the Syriac? We have perhaps insufficiently appreciated the links of faith and scholarship between the Syriac-speaking Christians of Mesopotamia and Syria and the Copts of Egypt. The great and versatile Nestorian scholar Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallah Ibn al-Ṭayyib⁶ who died in 1043, left a

⁶ "In A. H. 435 (which began in the month of August of A. D. 1043) died Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdallah Ibn al-Ṭayyib of Iraq, a distinguished philosopher, who studied ancient books and discourses and wrote works explaining the books of antiquity, whether Dialectics or the other branches of Aristotle's philosophy, or in medicine the books of Galen. He expends many words in explanation in order to teach, seeking always to render what he explains more easily grasped." (Translated from Assemani *Bibl. Or.* Vol. 1. Part I. p. 544, quoting from Barhebraeus, *Historia Dynastiarum*.)

deep impress on the Egyptian Christian mind. Even within our twentieth century, Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentary on the Gospels has been reprinted by a Copt.⁷ Indeed a very slight study of the contents of the Coptic Patriarchal library suffices to bring conviction of the friendship in Christ that existed throughout the centuries between the Syriac-speaking Christians of Iraq and the Copts. In our own generation a young monk of the Eastern Syrian community in Jerusalem was sent to study at the Coptic Clerical School, Cairo.

In the quarter of a century before al-Ghazali's birth Ibn al-Ṭayyib was giving to the world his Arabic translation of Tatian's Diatessaron⁸ and the Arabic Gospel commentary referred to above, based on a text distinct from that of the Diatessaron. In the century after al-Ghazali's death, when Copto-Arabic Gospel MSS. are numerous, we find a general habit in Egypt of referring to the work of Ibn al-Ṭayyib. Translations are checked with his, and he is quoted, if for nothing else, as the authority for the number of letters and words in each Gospel. Ignazio Guidi in the paper already referred to suggests that the translation of Pharisee by *mu'tazil* was due to Ibn al-Ṭayyib. It is probable, then, that Ibn al-Ṭayyib's work, so deeply rooted in Egypt in the 13th and 14th centuries, reached that country soon after its completion, and either in Syria or in Alexandria it might have been at al-Ghazali's disposal. But a very brief comparison is enough to show that the Gospel quotations of the latter are from quite another source.

From the Coptic.

The Copto-Arabic MSS. of the Gospels are so numerous in the 13th century—a moment of rest for the much-harassed Coptic Church and a period of considerable activity in the way of Christian book-production in Egypt—that it is disappointing to be unable to lay hands on a MS. of al-Ghazali's date or earlier. And yet these must

⁷ *Tafsir ul Musharif* ed. Yusef Minkurius, Cairo 1908 and 1910, two vols. The editor does not however print the text upon which Ibn al Ṭayyib's commentary was based, but that of the American Press, Beirut.

⁸ Edited by Cardinal Ciasca and published by the Propaganda, Rome 1888, and recently in a new edition by A. M. Marmadji O. P., Imprimerie Catholique, Beirut. The review of this edition by Dr. A. Baumstark of Munster and Utrecht in *Oriens Christianus* contains valuable material on the version.

have existed in no small numbers. Professor Georg Graf⁹ has pointed out that the need for Arabic translations began to be felt in Egypt in the 9th and 10th centuries. We have Hibatallah Ibn al-'Assāl's very interesting description, in the preface of his famous recension of the Gospels,¹⁰ of the state of affairs in his days, by which time (mid-13th century) the Church of the Convent of St. Macarius was noted for its conservatism in using nothing but Coptic in the Liturgy. Most men knew the Bible only in Arabic translations, and in the churches it was the general custom (as it is the universal custom today) to follow a Gospel reading in Coptic by reading the same passage in Arabic. So general a use of Arabic Scriptures cannot have come about suddenly, and it is therefore disappointing to find no trace of a Copto-Arabic Gospel manuscript so early as al-Ghazali's lifetime and no extant translation referred back to that date. The famous scholar already mentioned, Hibatallah Ibn al-'Assāl, is the Othman of the Copto-Arabic Gospels, and versions earlier than his famous recension of 1252/3 are hard to come by. The commonest version contains his text without his apparatus criticus.

A comparison of al-Ghazali's quotations with this Vulgate of the mediaeval Coptic Church showed that we were dealing with the right family of manuscripts; al-Ghazali's citations were far closer to Hibatallah Ibn al-'Assāl's Copto-Arabic recension a century and a half after his time, than to versions from Greek or Syriac. It was possible, then, that al-Ghazali was using one of the Copto-Arabic translations on which Ibn al-'Assāl's famous recension was based, and al-Ghazali's rich quotations might help to show how Ibn al-'Assāl treated the earlier texts in making that great recension. Since there were no examples of such Copto-Arabic texts available in MSS. written before al-Ghazali's time, were there any written between al-Ghazali's time and that of Ibn al-'Assāl, and which might prove to contain the version al-Ghazali used?

⁹ Dr. G. Graf (of Munich). *Die Christlich-Arabische Literatur*. Freiburg, 1905. p. 60.

¹⁰ Coptic Museum Library, Biblica No. 62. At present the MS. is in the Monastic School at Helouan.

Hibatallah Ibn al-'Assāl himself tells us of no earlier Copto-Arabic MS. used by him than that written in the year 1204/5 A. D., by Amba Stefān b. Ibrāhīm of Damanhur and collated with "an ancient codex" in Jerusalem. It was on this Copto-Arabic version that he principally relied.

At this point my attention was turned to the very important MS. (Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns) Vatican Coptic No. 9, which Ignazio Guidi describes as "Fundamental to the text of Erpenius and the Roman edition." This also was written in 1204 or 1205 A. D. and one is tempted to wonder whether it could have been the very codex used by Ibn al-'Assāl!

The magnificent new catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the Vatican Library¹¹ quotes two Arabic notes found in this MS. which partly explains the scarcity of early MSS. of the Copto-Arabic Gospels. The first note was written in Old Cairo at the Church of St. Mercurius ("Abu Seifein") by the 77th Coptic Patriarch, Gabriel, known as "The Syrian", who reigned from 1268-1271. He records the donation of this manuscript as a *waqf* to the Monastery of St. Anthony in the Desert of the Arabs, by "the Christian Archon, the Sheikh and Deacon Mikhail the Physician." The Patriarch orders the fathers and brothers of the monastery to remember the donor of the book, beseeching Christ to have mercy on him. Gabriel then strictly forbids anyone to take the book out of the monastery church. It is not "like the rest of the books" to be taken away into the tower or concealed, but is always to be in the Church with the other books for liturgical use, and on Sundays and feast days at evening and morning prayer and at the liturgy they shall read from this book. If any monk desires to take it temporarily to his cell for purposes of study or collation he may do so provided that he returns it to the church.

The second Arabic note was inserted two and a half centuries later in the year 1506 A. D. by the then Coptic

¹¹ *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codices Manuscripti Recensit Tomus I. Codices Coptici Vaticanae*, 1937, by A. Herbelynyck (Hon. Rector Catholic University of Louvain) and Canon A. van Lantschoot, (Scriptor of the Vatican Library.)

Patriarch John, 1484-1524. It is written to loose the bonds of the *waqf* by which his predecessor had bound the book to the Church of St. Anthony's Monastery, for the very good reason that the monastery was now "empty without inhabitants, the Arabs having sacked it" and stolen the Gospel book, which had afterwards been "taken from the hands of the Arabs." The Patriarch does not tell us whether the treasure was restored through a counter raid or bought back from the robbers. Such was the dangerous life of Copto-Arabic codices.

The Rev. Canon Arnold van Lantschoot, Scriptor of Coptic MSS. at the Vatican Library was so kind as to write out an extract from the Arabic version of St. John in this precious MS. for comparison with al-Ghazali's Johannine quotations, and these proved to agree word for word. Comparison of the remaining quotations by Father Chidiac, however, showed variations. Al-Ghazālī's MS. then, though not identical, is closely akin to Vatican Coptic G¹² which, from the honour given to it at St. Anthony was probably one of the principal Egyptian versions. Al-Ghazālī's quotations provide us with the earliest example yet known to us of Bible translation from Coptic to Arabic.

Ibn al-'Assāl did not claim to make a new translation. He was a man fascinated by the massive structure and meticulous details of Arabic grammar and distressed at the weak Arabic in the Scripture versions used by his countrymen. "I saw" (he says in his preface) "that most of the Arabic Gospels consisted of a codex which someone who knew Coptic but had no scientific knowledge of Arabic had translated from Coptic, or a codex which had been translated from Greek or Syriac under similar conditions."

When in 1252/53 A. D. someone challenged Ibn al-'Assāl to produce a sound Arabic text, he seems to have hesitated, because with a scholar's candour and modesty he acknowledged that his Coptic was far from strong:

"I reflected that a translator had need of a complete

¹² From the fact that al-Ghazali quotes a phrase from St. John 1:14 in Coptic (Bohairic) one wonders whether he was using a volume exactly like Vatican Coptic 9 with Coptic and Arabic in parallel columns.

mastery of the two languages and that he should have acquaintance with the ideas of the book which he is translating . . . and though I had a scientific knowledge of part of Arabic, of the other part I had no knowledge; and though in the Coptic language I know, for instance, the signs of the subject and object and the genitive and 'state' and such like, yet of the most of Coptic I have no knowledge, so besides reliance upon God *I could only rely upon the translations of others*".

He frankly explains concerning the MSS. which he so carefully collated that they were not originals in Coptic, Greek or Syriac, but translations from each: "When I say Coptic I indicate only the Coptic codex which I have and which was translated¹³ from that language. When I say Greek I mean similarly only the codex translated from the Greek which I have; so, too, when I say Syriac."

In the course of his work Hibatallah held as far as possible to the Coptic text (which means, as we have shown, the Arabic translation from some current and probably official Coptic version), only allowing himself to make slight verbal improvements, and to note, sometimes in the margin, sometimes between the lines, any variants, omissions or additions which he found in the translations from Greek and Syriac. If, as seems possible, Vatican Coptic 9 gives us the "Coptic text" above referred to, in comparing it with Ibn al-'Assāl's recension, we can almost watch the mind of an Egyptian Christian Arabic scholar of the thirteenth century on his life-giving task.

Jerusalem

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¹³ Here I have ventured to differ in the reading of one word from that adopted in the translation of this preface given to us by Professor D. B. Macdonald in *Ibn al-'Assāl's Arabic Version of the Gospels*. (Homenage a D. Franc Codera in su Jubilation del Professorado p. 391 sq.) Ibn al-'Assāl's preface is translated by Dr. Macdonald from Brit. Mus. Or. 3382. He has rendered the unvowelled *trjmt* as *tarjamt*—"I translated". I render it *turjimat*—"it was translated", as being more consistent with the context. I might not have ventured to differ from one so infinitely my superior in knowledge had I not been encouraged to find that Professor Georg Graf, to whom we owe the catalogue of the MSS. in the Coptic Patriarchal Library, was of the same opinion. In his paper *Die Koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulad al-'Assal* (*Orientalia* 1932 fasc. 1 and 2) he says roundly "As he (Hibatallah Ibn al-'Assāl) was not a sufficiently good Coptic scholar, he had to forego making a new translation from the Coptic and build up his eclectic recension only on Arabic translations."

A MODERN REVINDICATION OF ISLAM

The years 1798-1801, when the French through the political and military genius of Napoleon occupied Egypt, have been of great significance to Islam as a religion and as a system of life. It was then that the modernization of Egypt started its course, increased steadily in impetus, and forced Islam to confront itself with Western civilization.¹ This confrontation became in the last decades of the nineteenth century a world-wide phenomenon. This is the main cause why since that last period there have been published, especially in Egypt and India, the two chief intellectual strongholds of Islam, a number of books that aimed at the defence or the justification of Islam before the bench of modern, i.e., Western, civilization, then so supremely victorious and self-confident. The best-known modern apologists worked in Egypt, viz., Muhammad Abduh and his teacher Jamāl addīn al-Afghānī, to mention only some of the most famous.

In India, however, there have flourished also some defenders of Islam, who demonstrated in their publications great learning and acuteness of mind. Amongst others I refer to Sayyid Ahmad Khān, the noble founder of Aligarh University, and Maulavi Cheragh Ali, the author of that highly interesting book, "The proposed political, legal and social Reforms in the Ottoman Empire and other Muhammedan States" (1883).

In studying these older Moslem defences of Islam in the face of the modern world, one is struck by a remarkable difference in tenor and temperament between the Egyptian and the Indian representatives. Both parties are driven by the desire to uphold essential Islam as the universal and true religion, notwithstanding the inevitable unrest and

¹ cf. C. Cherfils: "Bonaparte et l'Islam," 1914.

crisis that have come over Islam in consequence of its fateful meeting with the modern world. Both sedulously try to make a synthesis and reconciliation between Islam and modern civilization. However, their accent and spirit differ in a rather high degree. The Egyptian apologists are most deeply concerned about the "honour" of Islam, about its former political greatness; to put it succinctly, they hold to the genuinely theocratic spirit of Islam, and therefore, notwithstanding their acceptance of some of the fruits of modern civilization, are keeping aloof from this modern civilization. They openly and secretly feel it to be the great and dangerous foe of the Moslem outlook on life. The Indian apologists on the other hand, although they honestly and lovingly cling to Islam as the religion of their ancestors and of their own choice, evince a sincere admiration for modern culture. Their defence of Islam has a distinct tendency towards persuading their fellow believers of the inestimable value of modern culture as the surest way towards achieving a regeneration and rehabilitation of Islam. I. Goldziher in his "Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung" tried to express this difference by saying that the Egyptian books about the defence of Islam are more purely theological, the Indian ones more purely cultural.²

This cultural tendency of Indian Moslem apologetics, is still more evident in such writers as the well-known Sayyid Amīr Ali,³ and especially in Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh,⁴ who was an all-around, cultured man in the modern sense of the word, still sentimentally attached to Islam as a *cultural* phenomenon, but very outspoken and daring in his criticism of present-day Islam and of the theocratic system of Islam. It is noteworthy that even today there has not yet appeared in Egypt such a radical and daring criticism of Islam as his that was published as early as 1912.

Every attentive student of present-day Islam knows

² p. 321.

³ cf. "The Spirit of Islam."

⁴ cf. "Essays, Indian and Islamic."

that in 1930 there was issued in Lahore a book, entitled, "Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam." The author was Sir Muhammad Iqbal, one of the most outstanding Moslems of India. This book was the outcome of a series of lectures he delivered in 1929 on "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam", at the request of the Madras Muslim Association. In 1934 a new edition of the book, under the last-mentioned title, came from the Oxford University Press. This second issue was exactly like the first with one important difference, to wit: there was added to it a seventh chapter, called: Is religion possible?

Iqbal died in the year 1938, and this may justify us in returning to his most remarkable production. Indian Islam has lost in him its most gifted son, a man of great breadth of mind, a truly great poet, a philosopher of universal culture and originality of mind. He studied philosophy and Oriental culture in Cambridge for three years, stayed for a short time in Germany, where he obtained the degree of *doctor philosophiae* at the University of Munich on a thesis: The Development of Metaphysics in Persia. In 1908 he returned to India, and lived there till his death. His Urdu poems, although not easily understood, stir the minds of Indian Moslems deeply, because they remind them in vigorous language of the past glories of Islamic culture. His Persian poems, of which his friend, the Orientalist Nicholson, translated the *Asrār i Khudī* complete, and the *Payān i Mashriq* in part, are philosophical through and through, but in the style of the mystics. Jalāl-al-dīn Rūmī was one of his favorite models, whom he strove to emulate. From his poems, and from the above-mentioned book which we propose to consider briefly, it appears clearly that his mind was not only nurtured by Islam and Persian and Arabic literature, but also not less by Goethe, Shelley, Nietzsche, Bergson, etc. As far as I can judge from the specimens of his *Payān i Mashriq*, that appeared in English translation in *Islamica I* (1924), he meant this poem, the

title of which signifies: "Message of the Orient", to be an answer and parallel to Goethe's "Westöstlicher Divan".

I doubt whether his book on the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam has had due recognition. It stands quite alone as a revindication of Islam by a man whose mind had drunk deeply from the springs of modern culture and science, and who was at the same time a passionate and sturdy Moslem. By the first feature he continues in the line of the older Indian apologists, with this great difference—that his European philosophical culture was really remarkable and greatly excels theirs; by the second feature he demonstrates that he belongs to a more militant age than theirs. Iqbal was spiritually a cosmopolitan, and tried to combine that with the fact that he was also an ardent Moslem. He really knows what modern science is; he is fully informed about the revolution that has occurred in the field of natural sciences about concepts such as matter, time, energy and space. He is deeply interested in the fundamental philosophical problems, which are the outcome of this new orientation, especially the problem whether a mechanic or an organic interpretation of the universe is most true to the facts as science sees them now. Psychology and biology, which also exercise such a great influence in this domain, do not escape his searching mind. The outcome of this is that his reconstruction of religious thought in Islam is founded on a remarkable blend of ideas and notions. One can detect three strands in it. In the first place he offers a set of philosophical ideas, deduced from his erudition in the fields of modern science, psychology and biology. In the second place, these ideas are shot through with conceptions that have been born out of his sympathetic apprehension of Bergsonian intuitionist and Nietzschean vitalistic ideas. In the third place, these two strands he combines and synthetizes with some fundamental conceptions of Islam. This short introductory description may suggest what a curious and interesting venture this reconstruction of religious thought in Islam really is. How modern a man

he was is plainly expressed in the title of the chapter which he added to his lectures in the second edition, viz., "Is religion possible?" Such a question can only be put by a man who has entered into vital relation with modern life. To a Moslem who only superficially knows about the trend of modern thought and life, this would only be an absurd question.

One of the great starting points in Iqbal's thinking is the idea that concrete thought, which means the inductive, empirical method of thinking, is the characteristic of our time. The demand for a scientific form of religious knowledge, consistent with this "concrete thought", is what our time stands in need of. Now—and this is the constantly recurring theme in Iqbal's book—the Koran, stressing action and not thinking, in an impressive way embodies this concrete thought. With this first leap Iqbal, in trying to reconstruct religious thought in Islam, reaches the position that the Koran thus appears to be thoroughly modern. The diatribes and exclamations in the Koran about the value that may be attached to nature and history as signs of divine activity in, and preoccupation with, the world, Iqbal conceives as demonstrations of this modernity of the Koran. On this ground he defends also the pet thesis of many a Moslem apologist, viz., that Moslems are the real inventors and inaugurators of modern science, and not Greece. To him, Greece represents exclusively abstract, deductive thinking, the enemy to concrete thought, the only right species of thinking. The greatness of the Koran consists in the fact that it has proclaimed the empirical way of thinking, which is practised by observation and experiment, as the normative and divinely willed attitude towards the world. From this background it is quite natural that Iqbal declares with fervor: "The Koran is anticlassical".

The fundamental ideas around which Islam, if taken as a purely theological system, centres, can be expressed in a triad. They are God, prophetism and the Holy Book. It is, therefore, not at all amazing that besides the starting point already mentioned—viz., the concrete thought

of the Koran as the source and inspirer of modern concrete thought—Iqbal takes his other starting points from the other two of the triad.

The Moslem theistic conception of God, argues Iqbal, is the result of divine inspiration, which produced a vision of reality entirely commensurate with the vision we obtain through modern intuitionist philosophy and the organic conception of the world, which obtrudes itself upon us on account of the overwhelming testimony of modern science.

The Moslem conception of prophetism, and its idea that Muhammad is "the seal of the prophets", are intuitive anticipations of the modern conception, that there are various and equally valuable ways to obtain knowledge about Reality, to wit: the mystic and the inductive way. As modern psychology has revealed to us the structure of the mystic way, this way has become superfluous. That is what Islam means when it proclaims Muhammad the last of the prophets. Nobody who reads this will deny that this is an explanation of this well-known tenet of Islam, which is conspicuous by its daring originality. All the reasoning of Iqbal has one focus only—"Reality", what is it, what is its structure, how can we obtain knowledge of "Reality", what is our relation to it, and how do we form an organic part of it? Knowledge of ultimate Reality is the driving power in his reconstruction of religious thought in Islam.

The first two chapters of his book on "Knowledge and religious experience" are pervaded with the atmosphere I tried to indicate briefly in defining his three starting points. The third chapter: "The conception of God and the meaning of prayer", can afford us another typical instance of the way in which he conceives the reconstruction of Moslem religious thought. Iqbal of course knows about prayer as a means to practise communion with God. Yet this is not a true and adequate estimate of it. Prayer is, if well understood, another way toward knowledge of Reality, yea, a participation in Reality. "In fact", he says,⁵

⁵ p. 86.

"prayer must be regarded as a necessary complement to the intellectual activity of the observer of Nature", and "All search for knowledge is essentially a form of prayer".⁶

In his sixth chapter: "The principle of movement in the structure of Islam", Iqbal turns from Islam as a religious and philosophical way of conceiving life towards Islam as a social structure and a rule of life. Just because Iqbal presented in the preceding chapters the Koran as the original source of creative scientific thinking, the rigidity of Islam as a social system becomes a difficult problem. Iqbal does not deny this rigid character of the Religious Law (*sharī'a*) of Islam, but he attributes it to three factors, which historically speaking have nothing to do with the genesis and structure of the social system of Islam. These three factors are: dread of the extreme tendencies of rationalist philosophers, the world-denying attitude which Sufism (according to Iqbal a thoroughly un-islamic growth) infused into the body of Islam, the destruction of Baghdad in 1258 which had such paralyzing consequences. He virtually treats the *sharī'a*, too, as an illegitimate expression of the spirit of Islam, because this spirit finds its legitimate embodiment in the principle of *ijtihād*, which shows that Islam in its essence is dynamic movement. He suggests, though guardedly, that the *sharī'a* is to him more a sociological than a religious entity. Drastic changes in the *sharī'a* may be justified in certain circumstances. He openly declares his sympathy with the abolition of the khalifate by the Turkish Government, in doing which he deviates from most of his Indian fellow-believers. To him a republic is the right form of Moslem Government, and he recommends modern legislative bodies as fit expressions of the principle of *ijmā'*.

It is very curious to note, however, that in practical matters he constantly advises steering a prudent and moderate course. His reflections in regard to this crucial problem of the *sharī'a* and the problem of where the limits of its validity and adaptibility to new conditions lie, he

⁶ p. 87.

sums up in the sentence that the fundamental idea of Islam is that "there can be no further revelation binding on man", and consequently the Moslems ought to be the most emancipated race in the world. The ideal of Islam is to establish "a spiritual democracy".

I hope I have succeeded in conveying through this brief survey some intelligible idea of this remarkable reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. It is a performance quite *sui generis*. It clearly bears the stamp of being the production of a unique mind. Repeatedly in this book one meets with brilliant and fascinating passages. Yet, in pondering over its ingenious constructions, one irresistibly becomes filled with doubt whether it may be rightly called a reconstruction of *Moslem* religious thought, as well from the standpoint of the non-Moslem observer as from that of the Moslem system itself. We will confine ourselves here to mentioning a few points in order to substantiate this doubt.

It seems that Iqbal falls into the same trap as so many other modern apologists of Islam, because he endeavors to achieve what others before him tried to achieve along other lines of thinking. He strives after a revindication of Islam by identifying this religion with a dominant tendency of the modern world, in his case by making it the primary source and highest realization of the inductive and empirical attitude of mind. As we remarked in the beginning, he has immersed his mind in the stream of modern vitalistic and psychological thinking. However, he forgets that one of the most marked traits of recent philosophical thinking in Europe is that it has turned from the subjective to the objective. In saying this we want to stress a fact which is of extraordinary significance to *every* religion which claims universality, and which, because it lives in a revolutionary world, is forced to face the problem of adaptation to a radically changed material and spiritual environment. If such a religion conceives adaptation as coterminous with *identifying* its own essence with the dominant ideas of the day, instead of trying to establish an intelligent and organic *relation* with this

changed environment, it loses its own character. It is impossible, in studying Iqbal's highly interesting book, to avoid the impression that he has passed the due limit.

Iqbal glorifies "concrete thought" as the essential attribute of Islam and also of the modern way of approaching Reality. Although he makes frequent fascinating remarks on this subject, if one weighs their substance critically, one remains dissatisfied. His whole reasoning on this subject is vitiated by one great flaw. Concrete thought in regard to Islam is a thing entirely different from what it is in modern culture. If one applies the term "concrete" to the Koranic way of thinking—the right to do so is undeniable—it simply means the direct, realistic way of thinking which is germane to all genuine religious thinking. This, however, is something quite different from the concrete thought as performed in inductive and empirical reasoning. To mention only one difference: the first rests on the presupposition that the realm of the eternal is a self-evident fact which needs no demonstration; the second views this realm as a mode of human consciousness. They represent two worlds separated by an unbridged gulf.

It is undoubtedly Iqbal's *intention* to fortify and deepen religion. In reality, however, he destroys it, because he converts it simply into a sentimental form of science.

These observations are made from the standpoint of a critical non-Moslem observer. If one takes, however, into consideration the dominant ideas of Islam as a religious system, one is still more weighed down by doubt whether Iqbal's reconstruction can justly be called a reconstruction of *Moslem* religious thought. He uses Moslem terms and reinterprets them, but he does it in such a way that their real content evaporates. His justification of Moslem theism in modern terms does not compel conviction. God is Ultimate Reality, which is a "continuous flow of directing energy". This is quite different from the rigid form of transcendental monotheism Islam professes. Iqbal's God is an energetic principle which is very close to Spinoza's *natura naturans*, and Spinoza knew why he combated the monotheistic conception of his ancestral religion. Iqbal

identifies God and the "ideal nature" of man.⁷ If he likes to do so, nobody has a right to find fault with him, but the decisive point is that the theocentric character of Islam, in which is so deeply embedded the conviction that there is an impassable gulf between Creator and creature, forbids this identification. So, in the line of Iqbal's thinking, prophets are not really men, who have been *sent* by God to mankind, but organs of creative life, in whom new sources of apprehension of knowledge break through. Islam clings exclusively to the first conception, and excludes entirely the second. Prayer, therefore, becomes with Iqbal a meditative form of apprehending knowledge, and the Moslem cult, which is a disciplined homage of the Lord of the worlds, he reinterprets as a means by which "the Ego reaffirms itself".⁸ Again, worlds asunder.

As an intelligent disciple of Nietzsche, Iqbal affirms that the fundamental principles of Islam are: self-respect, self-maintenance and fighting for your race, the overmastering will to live and the healthy desire to attain power. Not only Nietzsche but probably also the Indian communal situation is the reason that Iqbal gives such a vigorous expression to these ideas. We are here, however, in an atmosphere quite different from that which is magnificently formulated in the well-known Moslem expression: *Allāhu akbar*.

Many more points could be adduced in order to substantiate the contention that Iqbal's reconstruction of religious thought in Islam is in fact a destruction of the real religious habitus of mind in Islam. His conscious aim undoubtedly is a defence and revindication of Islam, because he was, with all the fibres of his being, a fervent member of the Moslem community. His book is a very able and brilliant production, but, when viewed objectively, it is—against his intention—more an instance of the worldwide secularization of thinking than a reconstruction of Moslem religious thought.

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⁷ p. 140.

⁸ p. 88.

THE QUALITIES OF THE PLANETS

ASTROLOGY IN ISLAM

Translated from the *Nafā'is al-funūn fī 'arā'is al-'uyūn*, an encyclopaedia of Muslim arts and sciences, which was written early in the fourteenth century by Muhammad ibn Mahmūd al-Āmilī, lith. Teheran, 1898, vol. 2, pp. 176 ff.

Know that in the fundamental laws of nature (*uṣūl-i-ṭabī'ī*) it is established that heavenly bodies (*ajrām-i-falakī*) are essentially free and separate (*mubarrā wa munazzah*) in all particulars. Accordingly, that which the astrologers say, that such a star is *warm* and *dry*, and that such another star is *cold* and *wet*, has the meaning that the influence of some stars makes for heat and drought while the influence of others is for cold and dampness. In explaining the means whereby heat and cold proceed from them the authorities differ. Some have said that all stars are living (*hai*) and rational (*nāṭiq*), and that actions take place through their agency by their own choice and will. Others have said that it is rather their nature to produce such effects, as it is the nature of fire to give forth heat, and the nature of water to produce cold, and that the variation they show as effective causes is in direct proportion to the size of their bodies, the strength of the light they give, their rate of movement, and their proximity or distance from the earth.

For in the case of the Sun (which is considered as a "moving star" or planet), though it is exceedingly large, and its light is great, and while it is but average in its rate of movement and in its proximity to the earth, yet it must be granted that its effects on the earth are more powerful and its heat is vastly greater than is the case with Saturn. For although the size of Saturn's spherical body is huge, it is at such an exceedingly great distance, and its move-

ment is so excessively slow, that, along with the change of its color, its rays do not have any great influence in bringing heat to the earth. They say, therefore, that Saturn's influence is to cause cold. Mars on the contrary, although its bulk is small, yet by reason of its rapid movement and its red color, like the redness of fire, exercises an influence in giving forth heat that is tremendous, i.e., when its heat is added to that of the Sun, then the heat on the earth becomes excessive. It is not thought that Mars' own heat is greater than that of the Sun.

Furthermore, it is known by experience that whenever Saturn is in the ascendant at the beginning of the year, and not in conjunction with Mars or another star, in that year there will be unusual cold. But if Mars is in the ascendant at the beginning of the year, appearing without Saturn or any other star, then the cold of cities in the North will be moderated and the heat of cities in the South will be so intense that animals and vegetation will be seriously injured or destroyed.

If, at the beginning of a particular season, Jupiter and Venus appear with the Sun, and without any other star, the temperature of that season will be moderate, but if the star Mercury is in the combination, then there will be greater fluctuation in temperature.

When the astrologers say that Saturn and Mars are of bad omen, it is because the effect of the influence of Saturn is extreme cold and the effect of the influence of Mars is excessive heat, for it is perfectly evident that these extremes cause the destruction of animals and vegetation. Saturn has more power for evil, however, than Mars, for Saturn causes the earth to be cold and dry, whereas Mars makes it hot and dry, and the basis of life is heat.

Jupiter and Venus, on the other hand, are of good omen, for they cause heat and dampness, both of which qualities contribute to life. Since they are distinguished for moderate temperature and the blowing of favorable winds, and these characteristics are beneficial for animals, they are considered to be of good omen. But in so far as

Jupiter gives greater heat and Venus more moisture, whereas heat is an active quality (*kaifiyat-i-fā'ilah*) and moisture is a quality that is passive (*kaifiyat-i-munfa'alah*), since the assistance (*ma'ūnat*) of the active exceeds that of the passive, they have therefore made Jupiter *the most fortunate* (*sa'd-i-akbar*).

Mercury they regard as fortunate when in combination with other fortunate stars (*su'ūd*), and unfortunate when accompanied by unfortunate stars (*nahūs*). This is because they have found Mercury to vary in its influence, whereby they recognize that it does not produce its effect by its own nature independently. For if that were the case the effect would not fail to occur in case of the discontinuance of the known effecting agent (*ibkā'yi mu'aththir*). For they found that when Mercury was with another star the effect of that star would be greater, and so it was that they recognized that it had the value (*salāhiyyat*) of taking to itself the effect of another star. Hence their conclusion that with a fortunate star it is fortunate and with an unfortunate star it is unfortunate.

When Jupiter, the star of best omen, fails to appear because of contrary conditions, they say that "fortune is overcome by misfortune". At other times, when it does appear, they remark that "misfortune is changed to fortune". For example, it is the nature of Jupiter to give the effect of moderate heat, which signifies the continuance of existence (*kawn-i-wujūd*). The nature of the day (*nahār*) is the same, for day is conducive to motion and life, whereas night leads to rest and death. Whenever Jupiter is above the earth and in the East, and at the sign of the day, and the place considered is in line with its proper course, then it indicates assured good fortune, but if it is below the earth in the West, and at a sign of the night, and the places in question are not in accord with its course, it will fail to give good fortune. On the contrary, what it gives will be evil and may mean destruction.

The Sun and Jupiter and Mars are masculine (*mudhakkār*), for they cause heat and heat is an active quality. There are those who have maintained that Mars is not masculine, because its dryness exceeds its heat, and dryness (*yabūsat*) is a passive quality. This statement, however, is discredited, for dryness is indeed almost of the nature of heat, because of its lack of impression (*infī'āl*) from external causes.

Saturn is also masculine, for cold is its prevailing characteristic, and cold is an active quality. But since heat is more active than cold, we must conclude that Saturn is weaker in its masculinity. This is why hermaphrodites (*mukhannathān*) and men who have no offspring are attributed to Saturn.

Mercury, with dryness as its prevailing quality, and lacking impression from external causes, they consider masculine on account of the likeness of its nature to heat, but it too is weak in its masculinity. For this reason boys who have not yet reached adolescence, and eunuchs are attributed to Mercury. But when Mercury is in conjunction with another star, if that star is masculine, then Mercury will be masculine also, and if feminine, then Mercury will be feminine.

Venus and the Moon are both feminine, for they cause dampness, which is a passive quality. As they say of the Sun and Jupiter that because they bring about heat they belong to the day, so the Moon and Venus are of the night because they cause dampness. Mercury is of the day if it appears in the East, but if in the West it is of the night. Since Saturn produces cold and cold is contrary to heat, though the two are alike in some particulars, there are those who say that Saturn also is of the day. Because Mars produces dryness, the opposite of dampness, it is of the night. Others there are who do not venture to say whether they are of the day or of the night.

Authorities in this science (*ṣanā'at*) divide existing things among the stars. Some of them say that a particular star indicates one special thing, but the majority claim that

two or more stars, because of two or more qualities, are related to the elements (*ajzā*) of an object. For example, opium is related to Saturn on account of its cold and to Mercury by its dryness; the pomegranate is related to Mars by its heat and to Venus by its dampness, for they have attributed all odoriferous herbs (*riyāḥīn*) to Venus on account of their moistening fragrance. Jupiter is Venus' partner with the narcissus, as Saturn is with the myrtle, Mars with the rose, the Sun with the water-lily (*nīlūfar*), the Moon with the violet (*banafsha*), and Mercury with the basil-royal (*shāh-param*). So also in the tree there is partnership, for the trunk is related to the Sun, the roots to Saturn, the thorns, bark and branches to Mars, the blossoms to Venus, the fruit to Jupiter, the leaves to the Moon, and the seeds to Mercury.

Besides this we may go on to say that Saturn gives indications for old ruins, deep wells, salt deserts, and the places where cattle are tied. Saturn also has to do with cities in India and Zanzibar and Abyssinia, and the land of the Copts, and Yemen, and Arabia. Moreover Saturn rules over mines for lead and iron ore and hard stones. And it is Saturn that has to do with cloves (*ḡaranful*) and pepper and chestnuts (*shāh-balūṭ*) and olives and sour pomegranates and lentils (*'adas*) and linseed (*kitān*) and hemp-seed (*shāh-dāna*). Under the rule of Saturn are such trees as the gall-apple, the citron, the walnut, the olive, the almond,—over every tree in fact whose fruit has a hard shell. Food that is left on the plate after the appetite is satisfied (*shubā'at*) is effected by Saturn, as is any food that has astringency or acidity, or a detestable smell. As a general rule, in relation to spices and narcotics, Saturn governs whatever is cold or dry in the fourth degree. The animals that are affected by Saturn are the cow, the goat, the ostrich, the sable (*samūr*), the ermine (*sinjāb*), the cat, the mouse, the large black-snake, and also fleas and beetles. And Saturn has influence on such fowls as the duck, the crow, the black swallow, and all birds that feed at night. There are parts of the human

body that are affected by Saturn, such as the hair, the skin, the nails, the bones, the back, the testicles, the buttocks and the intestines. Of the different periods of life, Saturn governs old age, and of the several religions, Saturn favors Judaism. Other preferences of Saturn are for clothing that is black, for relatives such as father's ancestors and older brothers, and for men such as craftsmen, vagrants, thieves and eunuchs. Of the various human dispositions, actions and conditions, Saturn fosters mental concentration, self-conceit, seclusion, rebellion, deceit, long separation, extreme poverty, miserliness, treachery, rancor, general disagreeableness and misanthropy (*bad khāhī bi mardum*). The forms and shapes that Saturn fancies are homely faces, frowning brows, dark skin, largeness of head or feet, smallness of eyes or fingers, breadth of mouth, and thickness of lips and shoulders.

Jupiter, (the "most fortunate" planet), rules over places of worship, notable stations on roads of travel, and residences of teachers; presides over the cities of Babylon, of Khurasan, of Turkey and of western Barbary; is the patron of mines for tin, split agates, diamonds, the marcosite stone, tutty, sulphur, red arsenic, and every other stone that is white or yellow. It has to do with grains such as barley, rice, corn, peas, and sesame. It has control over trees such as apples, sweet pomegranates, figs, peaches, apricots, plums, and every tree in fact that bears sweet fruit. To Jupiter also are ascribed odoriferous herbs such as the rose, foods that have sweetness, things also that are bitter but with a good odor, and such aliments and spices as are moderate in their heat and dampness and that are useful and enjoyable. Animals also, such as mankind, domestic animals, cattle that have a good color and tender flesh, and such lions, leopards and panthers as may be tame, are all under Jupiter. Of family relations Jupiter acts in behalf of children. He rules over birds such as pigeons and doves and peacocks, also over roosters and hens, in short, over every bird with an even bill and that pecks its food, providing it is not black in color. The

members of the body that are subject to Jupiter are the arteries, the *sperma hominis*, the brain, the thigh, the intestines, the throat, and the womb. The stage of human life that is particularly under the influence of Jupiter is that stage when one begins to turn grey. Of religions Jupiter favors Christianity. He prefers white clothes. He exercises special authority over men who are kings, viziers, judges, religious devotees, scholars, and those who are generous, wealthy and of noble birth. Of human natures, actions and dispositions, Jupiter fosters integrity, understanding, readiness to give assistance, good humor, liberality, sublimity, ambition, readiness to help others, conciliation, the disposition to command what is legal and to prohibit what is unlawful, showing the truth, desiring the right, readiness for laughter, sex affection, play, the desire for durable properties, and self-respect. He has to do also with figures that are of comely appearance, light and symmetrical, and with those persons who have large eyes.¹

Meshed, Iran

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

¹ The remainder of this section, which is not included here, deals in the same way with the qualities of the other planets, according to the teaching of astrologers who flourished before the days of modern science.

A VARIANT TEXT OF THE FĀTIḤA

Sūra I of the Qur'ān bears on its face evidence that it was not originally part of the text, but was a prayer composed to be placed at the head of the assembled volume, to be recited before reading the book, a custom not unfamiliar to us from other sacred books of the Near East. The Qur'ānic style, as is well known, is that in it, from beginning to end, Allah is addressing man. In the *Fātiḥa*, however, it is man addressing Allah, and the common explanation that the word "Say!" is to be understood at its beginning, is obviously due to the desire to bring this first Sūra into harmony with the style of the rest of the book. The Sūra, moreover, when we examine it, proves to be more or less a *cento* of ideas and expressions taken from other parts of the Qur'ān. It is possible, of course, that as a prayer it was constructed by the Prophet himself, but its use and its position in our present Qur'ān are due to the compilers, who placed it there, perhaps on the fly-leaf of the standard Codex. Its division into seven members in orthodox Muslim tradition, has suggested the idea that it was put together as an Islamic counterpart to the Lord's Prayer.

The peculiar nature of the *Fātiḥa* has been recognized by Western scholars¹ from Nöldeke downwards, but it is not merely a hostile Western opinion, for Fakhr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī² quotes Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm († 313)³ as saying that he considered it not to be part of the Qur'ān and apparently the oldest Commentaries began with *Sūrat al-Baqara*. It is also well-known that the *Fātiḥa* was not in-

¹ Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, I, 110.

² *Mafātih al-Ghaib*, V, 281.

³ Ibn al-Jazari, *Tabaqāt*, No. 3943 (vol. ii, p. 404). He was Imām of the mosque at Wāsit, and a great authority on the *isnāds* of the Kūfan reader 'Aṣim, and one of the teachers of Abū Bakr an-Naqqāsh.

cluded in the Codex of Ibn Mas'ūd. ⁴ It is said that some early Kūfic MSS. of the Qur'ān are to be found which commence with the second Sūra, and if they have the *Fātiḥa*, have it only at the end, but the present writer has never seen such an exemplar.

It should not surprise us then if the *Fātiḥa* should have been handed down in somewhat different forms. One such variant form has for long circulated in Shī'a circles. In the *Tadhkirat al-A'imma* of Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (edition of Teheran, 1331, p. 18) it is given:

*Nuḥammadu'llāha, Rabba'l-'ālamīna,
'r-raḥmāna'r-raḥīma,
Mallāka yaumi'd-dīni,
Hayyāka na'budu wa wiyyāka nasta'īnu,
Turshidu sabīla'l-mustaqīmī,
Sabīla'lladhīna na' 'amta 'alaihim,
Siwā'l-maghḍūbi 'alaihim, wa lā'ḍ-ḍāllīna,*

which we may translate:

We greatly praise Allah, Lord of the worlds,
The Merciful, the Compassionate,
He who has possession of the Day of Judgment.
Thee do we worship, and on Thee do we call for help.
Thou dost direct to the path of the Upright One,
The path of those to whom Thou hast shown favor,
Not that of those with whom Thou are angered, or those who
go astray,

Last summer in Cairo I came across a similar variant version. It is given in a little manual of Fiqh, whose beginning, unfortunately, is missing, so that we do not know the name of the author. It is a quite unimportant summary of Shāfi'ī Fiqh, written, if one may venture a judgment from the writing, about one hundred and fifty years ago, perhaps a little earlier, in a clerkly hand, and the variant version is written on the inside cover under the rubric—*qirā'a shādhḍha li'l-Fātiḥa*. The MS. is in private possession, and though the owner was willing to

⁴ Abū 'Ubaid, *Fadd'ih*, fol. 43r. That Ibn Mas'ūd knew the *Fātiḥa* as used liturgically, however, is clear not only from the fact that we have several variants in it from him (see the present writer's *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, p. 25), but also from the story coming from al-A'mash († 148) that Ibn Mas'ūd was asked why he did not include the *Fātiḥa* in his Codex, and he answered that if he had included it he would have put it in front of every Sūra (Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, I, 115). This statement shows quite clearly that he considered it to be a liturgical piece to be recited before reading the Qur'ān. Late copies of Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex made in the next generation or two, added the *Fātiḥa* at the beginning (*Itqān*, 152, 187; *Fihrist*, 26).

let me copy the passage, and use it if I saw fit, he was not willing that his name be revealed, lest he come into disrepute among his orthodox neighbors for allowing an unbeliever to see such an uncanonical version of the opening Sūra of their Holy Book.

The text of this variant has certain similarities to that already given, and runs:

Bismi'llāhi'r-rahmāni'r-rahīmi.
Al-ḥamdu li'llāhi, Sayyidi'l-'ālamīna,
'r-razzāq'i'r-rahīmi,
Mallāki yaumi'd-dīni,
Innā laka na'budu wa innā laka nasta'īnu,
Arshidnā sabīla'l-mustaqīmi,
Sabīla'lladhīna mananta 'alaihim,
Siwā'l-maghḍūbi 'alaihim, wa ghaira'd-ḍāllīna.

which, being interpreted, means:

In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
 Praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds,
 The Bountiful, the Compassionate,
 He who has possession of the Day of Judgment,
 As for us, to Thee do we worship, and to Thee we turn for help,
 Direct us to the path of the Upright One,
 The path of those on whom Thou hast bestowed favors,
 Not that of those with whom Thou art angered,
 Nor that of those who go astray.

Under the text follows the statement: *Riwāyat Abī'l-Faṭḥi'l-Jubbā'i 'an shaikhihi's-Sūsī 'an an-Nahrawānī 'an Abī's-Sa'ādātī'l-Maidānī 'an al-Marzubānī 'an al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad.*

On the readings in the two texts we may note: *Sayyid* for *Rabb* is merely a case of replacement by synonym. *Sayyid* is used in Sūra xii: 25 for Joseph's master down in Egypt, and in iii: 34 of John Baptist, who is announced as a *sayyid*, a chaste one, and a Prophet, and the plural form is used in xxxiii:67 for the chiefs whom the infidels followed and were led astray. It is not, however, used of Allah.

Ar-razzāq occurs as a title of Allah in li: 58—*inna'llāha huwa'r-razzāq.*

Mallāk is a reading attributed to the third Kūfan

Reader among the Seven, al-Kisā'i († 189), cf. al-Alūsī, *Rūḥu'l-Ma'ānī*, I, 78 and Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr*, I, 20. It is curious that both the variant texts agree in this reading. *Mallāk* is perhaps more precise and emphatic than the alternative forms *malik*, *mālik* and *malīk*, the first of which is perhaps the best attested reading, and the second is the TR.

Innā laka. This, and *hiyyāka*, *wiyyāka*, *ayyāka*, *iyāka* and the *iyyāka* of the TR, seem all to be independent attempts to interpret the unvowelled, unpointed skeleton form that stood in the original Codex. *Hiyyāka* or *hayyāka* was the reading of Abū's-Sawwār al-Ghanawī (c. 180) and Abū'l-Mutawakkil († 102); *wiyyāka* or *wayyāka* was read by Abū Rajā' († 105).

Arshidnā means much the same as the *ihdinā* of the TR and was the reading in Ibn Mas'ūd's Codex (az-Zamakhsharī *in loc.*, and Ibn Khālawaih, p. 1). This imperative does not occur elsewhere in the Qur'ān, but other forms from the root are commonly used, and the Shī'a variant uses the imperfect of Form IV.

Sabīl is a commoner word than the *ṣirāṭ* of the TR, and is much more commonly used in the Qur'ān, though both are foreign words, borrowed through the Aramaic. *Ṣirāṭa'l-mustaqīm*, taking it as in *idāfa*, where *al-Mustaqīm* is a title of Allah, i.e., "the Upright One", was the reading of Ubai, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar, so that it has very early and good attestation. It is a possible and appropriate reading, even though *al-Mustaqīm* is not one of the Ninety-nine Names. That *sabīla'l-mustaqīm* should occur in both these texts is curious.

Mananta and *na' 'amta* are simple replacements by synonym for they do not affect the meaning. Form IV of *n'm* is more common in the Qur'ān than Form II, which is used only once in lxxxix: 14, but *manna*, with much the same meaning, is used still more often.

Siwā for *ghair* is a similar replacement by synonym, though *siwā* is not used elsewhere in the Qur'ān.

Ghair for *lā* was the reading of 'Umar, 'Alī, Ubai, Ibn

az-Zubair, 'Ikrima and al-Aswad among the early Codices, and was supported by Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and Zaid b. 'Alī, so that it has respectable authority for a claim to be the original reading. It makes no change in the sense.

It will have been noticed that the sense of the *Fātiḥa* is precisely the same whether we read the TR or either of these variants. There is no ascertainable reason for the variant readings. They are not alterations in the interests of smoother grammatical construction or of clarity, nor do they seem to have any doctrinal significance. They are just such variants as one might expect in the transmission of a prayer at first preserved in an oral form, and then fixed later when the Qur'ān was assembled.

The second variant form comes from Khalīl b. Aḥmad, who as a Reader belonged to the Baṣran School, though he is said to have taken *ḥurūf* from both 'Āṣim of Kūfa and Ibn Kathīr of Mecca, among the Seven, and is even noted as the one who transmitted the variant *ghaira* from Ibn Kathīr (Abū Ḥayyān, *Baḥr*, I, 29; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 177, 275; Ibn Khālawaiḥ, p. 1). But he was also known to have transmitted from 'Īsā b. 'Umar († 149) (Ibn Khallikān, II, 420) and was a pupil of Ayyūb as-Sakhtiyānī († 131), both of whom were Baṣrans and famous for the transmission of uncanonical readings. It is thus quite possible that Khalīl had access to good old tradition as to the primitive reading of the *Fātiḥa*. I can make nothing of the rest of the *isnād* from Khalīl to al-Jubbā'ī, and possibly it is much later than the *matn* from Khalīl.

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THE FORTY (TWO) TRADITIONS OF AN-NAWAWI

This Damascene scholar, who was born in Muharram of 631 A.H., is well known to Moslem scholarship both for his work as a lawyer and as a traditionist. It is probable that his ultimate selection of forty or forty-two traditions out of the whole corpus of Traditions has been commented on more than any other small selection. His popularity, too, is by no means a thing of the past. He was one of those comparatively rare bachelor scholars of Islam; but he left a record behind him for a critical attachment to *Hadith*, that still brings pilgrims to his tomb.

It may be worth while to analyse his collection of traditions, editions of which are still appearing, sometimes with his short introduction preceding the text; sometimes with a short commentary or footnotes following each tradition.¹ With the *isnad* subtracted, the traditions do not take up much space, and, with the bare mention of the original reciter and the introductory formula, are equal in bulk to a pamphlet rather less than a third the size (in Arabic) of the Gospel of St. Mark.

The traditions could be analysed in one of several ways in order to arrive at some sort of reason for an-Nawawi's choice. They can be referred to the collections in which they first appeared; they can be classed according to the reciter who first produced them in accordance with their *isnad*; they can be grouped from their subject matter, more or less in the same way in which Form Criticism today approaches the problem of the origin and reason for the inclusion of the particular stories of Jesus Christ which are enshrined in the Gospels. In this connection we need,

¹ Quite a number seem to have been on the market at the beginning of the century. Two different second-hand pamphlets were found in Damascus, Sept., 1938. The most recent edition of the text so far discovered is dated two years ago.

too, to remember that it is the Gospels which are commensurate not with the Qur'an but with Mohammedan Traditions. "In both of these the basis is narrative or reports of sayings". *

An examination of the collections on which an-Nawawi drew for his "forty-two" reveal the fact that his great preference was for the *Sahihan*. Twelve of his selections come from Muslim; another dozen can be traced jointly to Muslim and Bukhari, while four are from Bukhari only. Though an-Nawawi seems to have reckoned Bukhari as the more correct traditionist, he had apparently his personal preferences for Muslim.² This devotion to the great pair accounts for a whole two-thirds of his selection; and the remaining third is divided up between Tirmidhi, who also has four to his credit; and one each from an-Nasa'i, Abu Dawud, Ibn Maja, Ibn Hanbal, ad-Darimi, Malik ibn Anas and a few other less important people. He did not regard the collection of ad-Darimi as canonical; this means that in all he admitted to his select group at least seven traditions coming from what he considered to be uncanonical sources. These are numbered 27, 28, 30, 32, 33, 39, 41. In many cases, too, these traditions originate with lesser known Companions.

When we come to a discussion of the original reciters of the forty-two traditions, we find that twenty-five different individuals have been pressed into service, two of the Ahadith, the eighteenth and the twenty-first being vouched for by two people together. The opening pair go back to 'Umar bin ul-Khattab, which gives an air of respectability to the pamphlet as it sets off on its way. His son Abdallah is responsible guarantor of three; and from the immediate circle of the prophet come 'Aisha and al-Hasan with one each; and his cousin Abdallah ibn Abbas with five. Nine are attributed to Abu Huraira; two each to Malik ibn Anas, Mu'adh ibn Jabal and Abdallah ibn Mas'ud, while Jundub ibn Junada al-Ghifari shares the

* [But the contrast is far greater than the resemblance, as Temple Gairdner proved in his article, "Mohammedan Tradition and the Gospel" (MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. V, pp. 349-379)]—*Editor*.

² See the article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. iii, pp. 844f.

responsibility of one with Mu'adh, and has two to his own credit besides, though his full name occurs in neither of the shortened *isnadat*. Of the remainder each has a single originator, as a rule one of the companions, sometimes an *ansari*. Among these is yet another Abdallah, son of the famous conqueror of Palestine and Egypt, 'Amru bin ul-'As.

It is easy to pick holes in an analysis of this kind, whether of the collections on which an-Nawawi drew or of the first links in the chain of guarantors. Some of these were over young, when Mohammed died; the list only includes one of the four first Khalifas; individual people, Abu Huraira and Ibn 'Abbas are credited far beyond their deserts. We must therefore try the third method of analysis to discover the intrinsic value, if possible, for the inclusion of these specific traditions. The authority of *isnad* may account for the presence of such-and-such a tradition in a particular collection that runs into many thousands, but it cannot account for the much smaller group that an-Nawawi or anyone else gathers together. The reason for the excerpts rests on internal evidence. An-Nawawi was concerned, as Dr. Dibelius would put it, with the choice and limitation of the tradition material, not with the original moulding, still less with the many persons, known and anonymous, who always share in passing on traditions, which though promulgated perhaps by an individual, are the inalienable possession of a group.

We come therefore to a translation of the forty-two, omitting for the sake of brevity the names of the first reciters which come at the start and the names of the collection(s) from which each tradition was culled, as also the pious expressions, used customarily after the mention of Mohammed's name or of certain of his followers. A few notes will be added to some of the traditions, as this seems suitable in certain cases.

1). "Actions are (to be judged) only in accordance with intentions; and everyone gets only what he intended; hence he whose emigration is for the sake of Allah and His apostle, his emigration is for the sake of Allah and His apostle; and he who emigrates for

a worldly thing, to get it; or for a wife, to marry her; so his emigration is for that for which he emigrated."

This looks rather like a saying to which possible interpretations were added later. Intention is the standard of action. The root "nawa" never occurs in this meaning in the Qur'an, though common in later days.³

2). "It was one day when we were sitting with the apostle of Allah, that a man came towards us with very white clothes and very black hair. The traces of travel were not seen on him, and not one of us recognized him. He sat down by the prophet and propped his knees up against his knees, and placed the palms of his hands on his thighs, and said, 'O Muhammad, tell me about Islam'. And the apostle of Allah said to him, 'Islam is that you should give witness that there is no deity except Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah; and you should perform the prayer ceremony, and give alms, and fast in Ramadan; and pilgrimage to the house, if you can manage it'. He said, 'You are right'. We were surprised at his asking, and saying he was right. He said, 'Tell me about faith'. He said, 'You should believe in Allah and His angels and His books and His apostles and in the last day and in predestination (both good and evil).' He said, 'You are right; tell me about *ihsan*'. He said, 'You should worship Allah, as if you saw Him; for although you do not see Him, he sees you'. He said 'Tell me about the hour'. He said, 'The one who is questioned does not know more about it than the questioner'. He said, 'Tell me about its indications'. He said, 'It is that a female slave will give birth to her master (or mistress); and that thou wilt see the barefoot and the naked and the destitute and the shepherds going so far as to build'. Then off he went and I waited a long time. Then he said, 'Do you know, 'Umar, who the questioner was?' I said, 'Allah and His apostle know better'. He said, 'It was Gabriel. He came to teach you your religion.'"

This is an important tradition, and puts the basis of the Islamic system on a very sure foundation. Gabriel is connected with Hadith as he is with the Qur'an. But there is no reference to *Jihad*. The section dealing with the "hour" looks like a rather poor version of parts of the *Magnificat*. There is an alternative reading of "master" or "mistress". The former is more striking, if there is any connection with Christian origins. Here too Gabriel comes

³ For what can happen when the community interprets the original "tradition", cf. E. F. Scott: "The Validity of the Gospel Record," p. 56, in discussing Luke 17: 3; Matt. 18: 15-17.

in. This is the first tradition in the selection made by Goldsack.⁴

3). "Islam is built on five points:—the witness of there being no deity except Allah, and of Muhammad being the apostle of Allah; the performing of prayer; the giving of alms; the pilgrimage to the house; and the fast of Ramadan".

This is the same material as in Tradition 2, only in shorter compass and from another reciter, though in the same main collections of Bukhari and Muslim. There is no reference again to Jihad; nor any to the "day" or "hour"; but the following tradition dealing with predestination covers the ground well.

4). "The creation of anyone of you is when he is compressed in his mother's womb for forty days as a speck; then he becomes a clot in the same way; then he becomes a coagulation in the same way; then the angel is sent to him, so he breathes the spirit into him: and the angel is bidden to write up his sustenance, the allotted span of his life, his works, and whether he will be wretched or happy [after death]; and by Allah (than whom there is no deity) indeed anyone of you will work the work of the people of Paradise, so that there is only a yard between him and it, and then that which is written overtakes him, and he works the work of the people of the fire and enters it; and indeed anyone of you works the work of the people of the fire, so that there is but a yard between him and it, and then that which is written overtakes him, and he works the work of the people of Paradise and enters it".

The salient feature of the complete and absolute authority of that which is *written* surely had to have an early position in Hadith. There does not seem to be anything much more explicit than these words in the Qur'an itself, for instance, Surat al-Qamr.

5). "The one who introduces (as from himself) into our affair that which has nothing to do with it is a reprobate".

This is found both in Bukhari and Muslim, while the latter only has the negative point of view as well:

"The one who works a work which does not have our sanction is a reprobate".

The main point here seems to be against *innovation*, always a horrible possibility to the Semite! But is it possible to recognize in this tradition an idea as well that

⁴ Christian Literature Society for India, 1923.

seems to have Mark 9:40 and kindred sayings at the back?

6). "What is lawful is obvious, and what is unlawful is obvious; and between them are matters which are ambiguous and of which many people are ignorant. Hence, he who is careful in regard to the ambiguous has justified himself in regard to his religion and his honour; but he who stumbles in the ambiguous has stumbled in the forbidden, as the shepherd pasturing around the forbidden (land) is on the verge of pasturing in it: is it not that every king (of the Arabs) has protected land, and is not the protected land of Allah that which He has forbidden? Is it not the fact that there is in the body a clot of blood; if it is in good condition, the whole body is too; and if it is in rotten condition, so too is the whole body; is not this the heart?"

There is at least a relationship between ideas expressed here and certain verses of the New Testament (Matt. 6:22, 23; Mark 7:23; James 2:10).

7). "Religion is (good) advice". We said, 'Whose?'. He (the prophet) said, 'Allah's and His Book's and His apostle's, and the Imams of the Muslims, and the generality of them'."

The reference to a singular book and a singular apostle is not in accordance with Tradition 2 *supra*: but more interesting is the emergence of *ijma'*—the "*consensus fidelium*."

8). "I have been commanded to wage war upon people until they witness that there is no deity except Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah; and that they perform the prayer and give alms. Then if they do that, so far as I am concerned, their lives and property will be protected, (from me) unless in conflict with the rights of Islam; and their account is with Allah Ta'ala."

Here is the first tradition in the collection which might he held to justify *Jihad*, though it is not mentioned by name.

9). "What I have forbidden you, avoid; and what I have ordered you, comply with to the utmost of your ability; for what destroyed those who were before you was only the quantity of their (unnecessary?) questions, and their differences over the matter of their prophets."

Ash-Shabrakhiti illustrates the *questions* by reference to that put to 'Isa about the Lord bringing down a table from heaven; and to Musa about making gods.

10). "Allah Ta'ala is good; He accepteth only what is good; and Allah gave to the believers the same command that He gave to those whom He sent. For the Almighty said, 'O apostles, eat of the good things and do that which is good'. And the Almighty said, 'O ye who believe, eat of the good things that we have granted to you'. Then he remembered the man on the long journey, dusty and with dishevelled hair, stretching out his hands to heaven and saying, O Lord, O Lord; while his food was forbidden and his drink was forbidden and his raiment was forbidden; and he was fed on that which was forbidden—then how should answer be afforded him?"

Here we seem to have a combination of two traditions. The narrative section does not seem to have much bearing on the subject-matter. On the other hand, if it is a whole tradition, it is interesting as having the narrative on which it is hung appearing not as an introduction but as an interlude.

11). "Let go the things in which you are in doubt for the things in which there is no doubt".

This is the first example of a maxim and has possible affinities with some of St. Paul's *obiter dicta*.

12.) "Leaving alone things which do not concern him is one of the good things in a man's Islam".

For this tradition compare Rom. 14:2, I Pet. 4:15.

13). "No one of you is a believer until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself."

Here is the Golden Rule in its Islamic dress. The context is considerably narrower; and the juxtaposition of "brother" and "believer" is interesting.

14). "The blood of a Muslim man is not lawful but for one of three (reasons);—an adulterous married person; an avenger of blood⁵ and the one who leaves his religion, that is, splits the community."

The position of the pervert is precarious. Ash-Shabrakhiti says that perversion may take place in the heart or in intellectual belief or in action, such as prostration before an idol.

15). "He that believes in Allah and the last day, let him speak good or hold his peace; and he who believes in Allah and the last

⁵ Arabic: *An-nafs bin-nafs*.

day, let him honour his neighbour; and he who believes in Allah and the last day, let him honour his guest."

16). "A man said to the prophet, 'give me a command'. He said, 'Do not get angry'. (The man) repeated the question several times, and he said, 'Do not get angry.'"

The same sort of story is related of St. John at Ephesus, when he told his disciples that it would be enough, if they would pay full heed to the command to love one another.

17). "Allah has prescribed *Ihsan* for everything; hence, if you kill, do it well; and if you slaughter, do it well; and let each one of you sharpen his knife and let his victim die (at once)."

18). "Fear Allah, wherever thou art; and follow up bad actions with good, so as to wipe them out; and behave in a decent way to people."

19). "I was behind the prophet one day, and he said, Young man, I will teach you a lesson (words); Keep hold on Allah and He will keep hold on you; keep hold on Allah, and you will find him in front of you; if you ask anything, ask it from Allah; if ye seek help, seek it from Allah. And know that the nation, if it has agreed in benefitting you in anything, will not benefit you in anything, save in what Allah has written for you; and if it has agreed on harming you in anything, will not harm you in anything, save in a thing Allah has written against you;—the pens are discarded and the pages are dry."

This tradition has some variants as follows:

"Keep hold on Allah and you will find Him in front of you; get acquainted with Allah, when things go well, and He will recognize you in distress; and know that what did not 'hit' you was not (meant) to befall you, and *vice versa*; and know that victory (lies) with patience; that relief goes with misfortune, and along with trouble comes ease."

The final clause is a quotation from Sura 97.

20). "Among the things which people comprehended from the material of the first prophecy (was), If you are not ashamed, then do whatever you wish."

The tradition itself admits that certain matters must be common to all religions. Ash-Shabrakhiti says that this principle was first established in the *shari'at* of Adam.

21). "I said, 'O apostle of Allah, tell me something about

Islam, which I could not ask of anyone except you'. He said, 'Say, I believe in Allah; and then go straight.'"

22). "A man asked the apostle of Allah and said, 'Is it your opinion, that, if I pray the prescribed prayers; and fast in Ramadan; and believe firmly in what is allowable; and shun what is forbidden, and do not do anything more than that, I shall enter the garden?'. He said, 'Yes.'"

Both the above traditions are introduced with the minimum of historical data; and seem to be complementary, because the first is only concerned with belief in Allah and practical life, while the second goes more fully into the prescribed ritual of Islam.

23). "Purification is part of religion (faith); and 'Praise be to Allah' fills the scales; and 'Allah be exalted' and 'Praise be to Allah' fill what is between heaven and earth; and Prayer is Light; and Almsgiving is a proof; and Patience is Brightness; and the Qur'an is an argument in your favour or against you; and everyone (?) goes about his business at the beginning of the day and sells his soul: he either frees it or causes it to perish."

Like the two preceding traditions this one comes from Muslim, and perhaps the third member of the trilogy is intended to fill up the matters that concern Religion, that did not find a place for one reason or another in the first two. It seems rather involved; and the last phrase looks like another version of Mark 8:35ff. and parallel passages.

24). "It was when he was relating things about his Lord, that he said:

"O my servants, I have forbidden myself wickedness, and have made it a forbidden thing in the midst of you, so do not do injustice to one another.

"O my servants, everyone of you is in error, except the one I have guided, so ask guidance from me and I will guide you.

"O my servants, everyone of you is hungry, except him, whom I have fed; so ask food of me and I will feed you.

"O my servants, everyone of you is naked except him whom I have clothed; so ask clothing of me and I will clothe you.

"O my servants, you sin day and night; and I pardon your sins; so ask pardon of me and I will pardon you.

"O my servants, you will never reach harming me, so as to harm me; and you will never reach benefitting me, so as to benefit me.

"O my servants, were the first of you and last of you, both of men and *jinn*—were they in accord once with the most godly heart of a single man amongst you (? as good as)—that would not add aught to my kingdom.

"O my servants, were the first of you and the last of you, both of men and *jinn*—were they according to the dissipated heart of any single man amongst you (as bad as)—that would not diminish aught from my kingdom.

"O my servants, were the first of you and the last of you, both of men and *jinn*—were they to rise up in a single spot on the surface of the earth and to ask me something and I gave to each one what he asked, that would not diminish aught from me, except as the needle does not diminish anything from the sea, when it is thrown in.

"O my servants, it is only your works that I take account of for you; then I recompense you for them; and he who finds good, let him praise Allah; and he who finds otherwise, let him blame himself alone."

This tradition is put into the mouth of Allah, as the introductory matter here differs from the others. It comes from Abu Dharr, but was among those things which he (the prophet) relates from his Lord, may He be praised and exalted. The form of address "'Ibad'" includes men and women. There was a difference of opinion over the meaning of the first clause, as between the Orthodox and the Mu'tazila, the latter saying that Allah was "*Qadir 'ala zhulm*". The former said He had no connection with wickedness so far as His attitude to His "'Ibad'" was concerned.

25). "Some of the Companions of the prophet said to him: 'The people of wealth brought rewards, praying as we pray and fasting as we fast, and giving alms from the superabundance of their properties'. He said: 'Has not Allah appointed for you of what you should give alms. Surely in every act of adoration there is almsgiving; and in every *takbir* there is almsgiving; and in every *al hamdu lillah*, there is almsgiving; and in every *Hallelujah* there is almsgiving; and in every bidding to do what is right there is almsgiving; and in every prohibition of what is forbidden there is almsgiving; and in the marriage of anyone of you there is almsgiving'. They said, 'O Apostle of Allah, will anyone of us reach his desire, and there be in it a reward for him?' He said, 'Do you think that, were he to put it among the forbidden things, it would be a sin

for him; and likewise if he put it among the allowable things, there would be a reward?' "

26). "Almsgiving is incumbent upon every 'bone' of people each day that the sun rises; it is almsgiving if you make adjustment between a couple; and if you help a man in the matter of his riding-animal and mount him upon her or lift his baggage for him upon her. A good word is almsgiving; and in every step you walk towards prayer there is an act of almsgiving; and it is almsgiving when you ward danger off the road."

The above pair of traditions are an obvious case of the juxtaposition of traditions dealing with the same subject. The first of the pair comes only from Muslim, while he shares the second with Bukhari. The former has a short introduction.

27). "Righteousness is goodness of character; and sinfulness is what is woven in the soul, and you hate that people should ascertain (the matter)."

"I went to the apostle of Allah, and he said: 'You have come to ask about righteousness'. I said, 'Yes'. He said, 'Ask your heart to decide; righteousness is what the soul and the heart feel tranquil about; and sinfulness is what is fixed in the soul, and roams about in the breast, even if people give their decision in your favour over and over again.' "

There seem to have been two forms of this tradition, the second as given above coming from Wabisa bin Ma'bad, and appears in the collections of Ibn Hanbal and ad-Darimi. The shortened form only comes in Muslim.

28.) "The apostle of Allah exhorted us with an exhortation, by which our hearts were distressed and our eyes flowed down with tears; and we said, 'O Apostle of Allah, it is as if it were a farewell exhortation; give us a "last will and testament". He said, 'My behest is your being piously disposed towards Allah (may He be praised and exalted), listening and obeying, even if a "slave" is invested with authority over you. Indeed the one who lives from you (i.e., after) will notice a big "discord"; and it is for you to keep my *sunna* and the *sunna* of the rightly-guided Khalifas; cling to them (as) with your molar teeth; and beware of novel affairs, for surely all innovation is error.' "

The anachronistic reference to the Khalifas needs no further comment. The general Semitic apprehension of *innovation* is interesting. Compare No. 5. This must be

one of the traditions which brought *sunna* on to the inspirational level of the Qur'an.

29). "I (Mu'adh) said, 'O apostle of Allah, inform me of a work which will bring me into the garden and keep me far from the fire'. He said, 'You have indeed made enquiry about something great; but indeed it is easy for one for whom Allah facilitates things; you should worship Allah without joining aught with Him; you should perform Prayer, give alms, and fast in Ramadan; and make pilgrimage to the house'. Then he said, 'Shall I not indicate to you the doors to good. Fasting is a protection, and almsgiving quenches sin as water quenches fire, and the prayer of a man at the dead of night.'"

"(Then he recited "Their sides draw away from their beds", down to "they did").

"Then he said, 'Shall I not tell you about the "pith" of the matter, and its base (pillar) and the apex of its prominence?' I said, 'Of course, O apostle of Allah'. He said, 'The "pith" is Islam; and its base is Prayer and apex of its prominence is Holy War'. Then he said, 'Shall I tell you how to get all this?' I said, 'Of course, O apostle of Allah'. So he took hold of his tongue, and said 'Control this'. I said, 'O prophet of Allah, we are indeed to blame for what we speak with it'. So he said, 'Your mother is bereft of you; will people be toppled into the fire on their faces (or he said "on their noses") except for the harvest of their tongues?'"

The quotation in the middle of this tradition is from Sura 32:16, 17. The latter part of the tradition has obvious affinities with James 3:5ff.

30). "Allah Ta'ala has enjoined ordinances, and you must not neglect them; and has laid down limits, and you must not transgress them; and has forbidden certain things which you must not violate; and has been silent over certain things as an act of mercy towards you, not out of forgetfulness, so do not investigate these."

31). "A man came to the apostle of Allah and said, 'O apostle of Allah, indicate me a work, which, were I to do it, Allah would love me for it, and people would love me too'. And he said, 'Be abstemious in the world, and Allah will love you; and be abstemious in what belongs to people, and people will love you.'"

32). "Let there be no injury (in the world) and no requital."

33). "If people were granted their claims, then men might claim the possessions and blood of any group of people but the burden

of proof is on the one who stakes the claim; and the oath on the one who denies." ⁶

34). "Whoever of you sees something of which Allah disapproves, then let him change it with his hand; and if that is impossible, then with his tongue; and if that is impossible, then with his heart; and that is faith of the weakest kind."

35). "Do not be envious of each other; and do not outbid each other; and do not hate each other; do not oppose each other, and do not undersell each other; and be, O slaves of Allah, as brothers. A Muslim is a brother to a Muslim, not oppressing him and not forsaking him; not lying to him and not despising him. Here is true piety (and he (Muhammad) would point to his breast three times) —it's quite bad enough for a man to despise his brother Muslim. A Muslim's life, property and honour are inviolate to a Muslim."

Possibly the pointing of the hand towards the breast was a characteristic trait of Mohammed.

36). "He who dispels from a believer one of the griefs of the world, Allah will dispel for him a grief on the day of Resurrection; he who cheers up a person in difficulties, Allah will cheer him in this world and the next; he who shields a Muslim, Allah will shield him in this world and the next. Allah is there to help His slave, so long as he is out to help his brother, and he who walks a path seeking therein knowledge, Allah will make easy for him a path to Paradise through it. And when a company meets together in one of the houses of Allah to pore over the book of Allah and to study it together amongst themselves, the Shechinah comes down to them and mercy overshadows them; and the angels surround them; and Allah remembers them among them that are his; and the one whose work makes him procrastinate will not be hastened along by (the nobility of) his ancestry."

37). "Surely Allah has written down good deeds and evil ones; then He made that clear, so that he who is concerned about a good deed, but does not perform it, Allah has written it down with Himself as a perfect good deed; and if he is concerned about it and fulfils it, then Allah has written it down with Himself for ten good deeds up to seven hundredfold—exceeding manifold; and if he is concerned about a bad deed and does not fulfil it, then Allah has written it down with Himself as one good, perfect deed; and if he is concerned about it and fulfilled it, then Allah has written it down as a single bad deed."

⁶ The latter phrase first occurs in the extant literary remains of Quss b. Sa'ida, Bishop of Najran. See (for instance) *Al-wasit*, p. 36. Perhaps "plaintiff" and "defendant" might suit in translation.

This tradition has an extra phrase at the beginning after the "Isnad"; and at the close after the statement that this tradition occurs in Bukhari and Muslim, there is the following note, which is presumably addressed to the reader:

"So look, my brother, may Allah prosper us, and have a mind to the great kindness of Allah Ta'ala, and consider these words; and His saying 'with Himself' is an indication of His care about it; and His saying 'perfect' is for emphasis and for the greatness of His care about it; and with regard to the bad deed over which 'he was concerned' and then left it, 'Allah has written it down with Himself as a perfect good deed', He emphasized it with 'perfect'; and 'If He did it' He wrote it down as a single bad deed, He emphasized its being reckoned meagre by 'a single', and He did not emphasize it with 'perfect'; so to Allah be praise and grace, may He be hymned; we do not reckon His praises; and in Allah is prospering."

This is the only one of the Forty-two, where this little explanation of a phrase which might present difficulty is given.

38). "Allah Ta'ala said: Whoever is hostile to a supporter of mine, on him will I declare war; and My slave will not approach me with anything dearer than that which I put on him as an obligation; and he continues presenting Me with matters of supererogation, that I may love him. And when I love him, I am his hearing by which he hears; and his sight by which he sees; and his hand by which he strikes (for Me); and his foot by which he walks. And if he asks Me for anything, I will certainly give it to him; and if he takes refuge in Me, I will certainly give him refuge."

39). "Surely Allah for my sake has overlooked the error of my nation and its forgetfulness, and its being forced to do a thing it does not like."

40). "Be in the world as if you were a stranger or a traveller: when evening time comes, expect not the morning; and when morning time comes expect not the evening; and prepare as long as you are in good health for sickness, and so long as you are alive for death."

A somewhat similar tradition is ascribed to Jesus:—"The world is a bridge, so pass over it and do not inhabit it."⁷ The idea has definite antecedents in the New

⁷ Robson: "Christ in Islam," p. 68.

Testament:—Heb. 11:13; I Pet. 2:11; Eph. 2:19; II Cor. 5:6.

41). "Not one of you is a believer until his passion becomes in line with that which I have brought."

Is this a Moslem version of sayings such as in John 14:23?

42). "Allah Ta'ala said: So long as you call upon Me and hope in Me, I forgive you all that originates from you; and I will not heed, O son of man, should your sins reach the horizon of the heavens, and then you asked My pardon and I would pardon you. O son of man, were you to come to Me with almost an earth-ful of sins, and then you met Me without joining anything with me in the godhead, then would I come to you with an earth-ful of forgiveness."

Jerusalem

ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

The Drink Problem in Palestine

We learn from *The Christian*, London, something regarding the drinking problem in Palestine:

"In a pamphlet issued by the Native Races Committee (10, Victoria-street, London, S.W.1) attention is called to the hold which has been taken upon Palestine by the drink traffic. It is said that drunkenness in public is becoming prevalent, and the fact that intoxicated persons are not an uncommon sight in Jerusalem itself is not surprising in view of the statement that in Christian-street alone there are twenty-three licensed houses within a distance of some three hundred yards. Both Moslems and Jews are among the consumers, and Arab and other women are being employed as bartenders. The anxiety repeatedly expressed by the Permanent Mandates Commission led the Government of Palestine to order an investigation by the Director of Public Health, whose report contained admissions justifying the protests made by the Native Races Committee and others. In a Government report relating to the year 1936 it was noted that there are three distilleries in Transjordan, while the COLONIAL SECRETARY has referred in the House of Commons to the establishment of a brewery in Palestine at Rishon-le-Zion. There is no doubt that as this information becomes more generally known, Christian people will desire to make effective protest against the desecration of the Holy Land by those who have a vested interest in the liquor trade."

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUSLIM DOCTRINE OF SINS AND THEIR FORGIVENESS

Among the earliest of the theological controversies in the history of Islam was that which centered around Allah's judgment of sinners and his forgiveness of sins. The Khārijites who first appeared in the days of 'Alī interpreted political theory in democratic terms, maintaining that any true Believer (*mu'min*), even an Abyssinian slave, might be chosen to the office of khalifa and, with a Puritanic spirit in morals that was consistent with this position, held that one who committed a great sin (*kabīra*) was an unbeliever (*kāfir*). There was no doubt in their minds that the Umayyad rulers were most of them evil-doers and worthy of suffering punishment in the Fire. However there soon rose a school of thought which opposed this extreme position. The Murji'ites believed in postponing judgment on rulers and others who made a profession of Islam and confessed the unity of Allah even though they lived in flagrant violation of the religious and ethical standards taught in the Qur'ān and traditions.

Some time was to pass before the orthodox Muslim doctrine regarding the pardon of sins and questions related to it was formulated in detail. Phases of the problem continued to perplex each succeeding generation of thinkers. The Qadarites in face of the dilemma of the absolute despotism of the Deity who leads astray and who guides aright, and the repeated exhortations to repentance, both of which were revealed in the Qur'ān, believed that the creature possessed power by which he might do good or commit sin and thus determine his destiny. The Wa'idites as a sect of the Khārijites emphasized the punishments and

threats of Allah and denied to sinners the right to be called believers.¹ The Zaydites, a party of the Shī'a sect, were agreed that those who do great sins are never brought out of the Fire and that they abide there forever. The Ibādites, a party of the Khārijites, maintained the same teaching. Some of the Murji'ites believed that Allah's forgiveness of great sins through repentance is by way of a favor granted, while others thought it a merit attained.²

It was because of this problem of sins—in particular the status of a member of the Muslim community guilty of a great sin—that tradition tells us the founder of the Mu'tazilite sect withdrew from following al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who had designated such a one a hypocrite. Between the Believers, who were definitely Muslims and the Unbelievers who were definitely not, the Mu'tazilites posited a third rank, the Evil-doers (*al-fāsiqūn*) who, though they professed Islam and worshipped towards the Ka'ba, were according to them neither Believers nor Unbelievers. In a sense this position logically developed from a consideration of the necessity for delay in judgment proposed by the Murji'ites, who, as we have seen, recognized the anomaly of those who professed Islam yet contravened its precepts. For those who were trying to rationalize the religion of Islam this suggestion of an intermediary rank seemed a solution of their difficulties but it only served to augment discussion and increase speculation.

In considering the forgiveness of sins according to Islam, four points at least call for study: the kinds of sins, the intention of the sinner, his repentance for sins, and the intercession of some one on his behalf. Muslim doctrine on these points as well as many others was greatly influenced by Jewish and Christian ideas and beliefs. Although it is not at all easy to trace the various opinions expressed by Muslim dogmatists to their sources or find analogies in one religion for all the varying positions in the other, no one would deny that there has been considerable borrowing. Like all good theologians, those of Islam found

¹ See al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa l-Niḥal*, London 1842, p. 85.

² Al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, Stambūl, 1929-30, pp. 74, 110, 150.

proof texts in their sacred book. The Qur'ān and precedents from the life and speech of the Prophet are cited by each party as the basis for their own special opinions.

The division of sins into great (*al-kabā'ir*) and small (*al-ṣaghā'ir*) undoubtedly has some connection with the distinction made by the Jews between light and heavy sins and the difference between venial and mortal sins which appeared early in Christian thought.³ In this case it is not a question of the source from which the Muslim theologians appropriated this terminology, for *al-kabā'ir* is used in a technical sense in the Qur'ān. "If ye avoid great things which ye are forbidden, we will blot out your faults and make you enter [Paradise] with a noble entrance" (iv:35).⁴

The word "great sins" has this conventional usage also in the traditions and is usually defined there by the enumeration of certain specific acts that constitute them. There are many texts, too, in tradition that deal with degrees of comparison of sins without using this specific term. They tell that when the Prophet was asked as to the greatest sin, he replied, "Giving Allah a partner." When asked what came next, most texts say that his reply was, "The slaughter of one's child out of fear of having to feed him;" and in reply to what comes next, most of the traditions relate that the Prophet mentioned adultery with a neighbor's wife as the third in degree of severity.⁵

There are many references in the traditions to the great sins as being seven in number, which reminds us that St. Gregory and other Christian theologians gave the same number for the mortal sins.⁶ In many accounts the seven greater sins are specified as, polytheism, magic, unlawful manslaughter, devouring the wealth of orphans, usury, fleeing from war against Unbelievers, and slandering chaste women with adultery, Abū Hurayra being the source of

³ See Chas. Taylor, "Sayings of Jewish Fathers," Cambridge, 1897, pp. 27f.; "The Teachings of Twelve Apostles" (Lectures on Didaché), Cambridge 1886, pp. 23 ff.; The Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV: 5 ff.; The Jewish Encyclopedia, XI: 378.

⁴ Cf. also xlii:35 and liii:33.

⁵ See Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad* I:380, 431, 434; Muslim, *Imān* b. 141; al-Nasā'i, *Tahrim al-dam* 3, 4.

⁶ The Catholic Encyclopedia, XIV: 5 ff.

tradition.⁷ A tradition from Ibn 'Umar makes the list nine rather than seven by adding disobedience to Muslim parents and contravening the ordinances concerning the sacred territory (*al-ilhād fī l-haram*). In another place a list of nine is given as from Ibn 'Umar but usury is substituted for adultery. 'Alī is said to have added to the nine stealing and drinking of wine.⁸

This tendency not to confine the great sins to the seven first mentioned reaches its climax in such statements as those of Ibn 'Abbās who said it would be nearer to the truth to say seventy (al-Bayḍāwī says that he said seven hundred) and Sa'īd b. Jubayr who is quoted as saying that the number is nearer seven hundred.⁹

Ibn Najīm al-Miṣrī in a treatise of fifty-seven pages lists in great detail the things that have been reckoned in Qur'ān and tradition as great and small sins. Printed at Iṣtānbūl in 1304, it is called *Risālat al-Ṣaghā'ir wa l-Kabā'ir*. Most modern writers, however, who discuss the tenets of Islam, such as Muḥammad Abdū, for example, give little consideration to the subject of the kinds of sins and their relative guilt.

Attempts to find some underlying principle or definition tended to lessen the number. Ibn Mas'ūd is the authority for saying that the great sins are four: polytheism, despondency in regard to Allah's mercy, despair of the justice of Allah, and the feeling secure from the plot of Allah. Sometimes unlawful manslaughter is substituted for despondency over Allah's mercy.¹⁰ However, where this substitution is not made it is seen that all four sins have to do with lack of belief in Allah.

Other attempts at generalization make the great sins include all that which Allah has prohibited, all that for which Allah has given a threat of the Fire, all the things forbidden in the first part of the fourth *sūra* of the

⁷ See Muslim, *Imān*, b. 144; al-Bukhārī, *Wasāyā*, b. 23, *Hudūd* b. 44; Abu Dawūd, *Wasāyā* 10; cf. al-Nasā'ī, *Zakāt*, 1.

⁸ Al-Ṭabarī, *Commentary on the Qur'ān*, V:26; al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Aqā'id al-Nasafiyya*, Cairo, 1335, p. 117.

⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *opus cit.* V:27, Abū Ṭālib, *Qat' al-Qulūb*, Cairo, 1310, II:148.

al-Bayḍāwī, *Commentary on Sūra v*:35.

¹⁰ Al-Ṭabarī, *opus cit.* V:26 f.

Qur'ān up to the verse beginning, "If ye avoid great things which ye are forbidden."¹¹

Only mention may be made of mystics and their speculation about sins. In one direction, there was a tendency to further elaboration and classification as seen in Abū Ṭālib's *Qūt al-Qulūb*. Seventeen separate sins are listed, four of them find their seat in the heart, four in the tongue, three in the belly, two in the pudenda, two in the hands, one in the legs and one in all the body.

Other thinkers were antinomian in tendency: as a paradox to those who added to the list of sins they ignored sin. These mystics considered themselves as having reached a state above the law. The statutes no longer applied to them.¹²

By the use of opinion and analogy Muslim theologians attempted a further definition of the relation between great and small sins that suggests a search for some underlying principle, some psychological attitude on the part of the sinner, some inclusive dogma. A great sin was defined as something which corrupted the one who committed it just as did any of the sins mentioned in the lists given in the traditions; or it was defined as that concerning which the law threatened a punishment. A great sin was said to be every disobedience in which the creature persisted, whereas a small sin was everything for which he asked pardon.

The author of *al-Kifāya* said that in reality the two words were relative terms which could not be defined separately. Thus every disobedience, if compared with that which ranks above it, is small; and if to that which is below it, is great. The absolutely great sin is unbelief, since there is no offense comparable to it. Although the term "great sin" is used for many things besides unbelief it alone is the unforgivable sin.¹³

As for the forgiveness of sins, we have already seen that the Khārijites considered a sinner an Unbeliever and therefore in danger of the Fire. Their basis for this was

¹¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *opus cit.* V. 27. Abū Ṭālib, *opus cit.* II:148.

¹² Abū Ṭālib, *opus cit.* II:148; al-Taftāzānī, *opus cit.* p. 148. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, II:925 ff.

¹³ Al-Taftāzānī, *opus cit.* pp. 117 f.; Al-Rāzī, *Mafāhīḥ al-Ghayb*, Cairo, 1324, III:210.

the explicit statement of the Qur'ān as seen in such verses as, "And those who will not judge according to what Allah hath sent down, those are the Unbelievers" (v. 48), and "Punishment is for him who denied and turned his back" (xx:50), and "None shall burn in it except the most wretched who denied and turned his back" (xcii:15-16). Traditions similar to the statement of the Prophet, "Whoever forsakes worship intentionally has become an Unbeliever", were also cited as grounds for their doctrine.

The Mu'tazilites who opposed this teaching as narrow and unreasonable agreed with the Khārijites, however, in making works a part of the real essence of Belief. Because the Evil-doer (*al-fāsiq*) lacked good works they would not call him a Believer and yet because he did not deny Allah he could not be called an Unbeliever. However since there were in the next world only the Garden for Believers and the Fire for the Unbelievers it was necessary for the Mu'tazilites to carry their reasoning further. To satisfy their conception of Allah's justice they made—and they found support in the Qur'ān for their teaching—repentance the touchstone by which the Evil-doer became a Believer and by lack of which he became an Unbeliever. Although al-Shahrastānī in his general statement regarding the Mu'tazilites still speaks of the one who is guilty of a great sin and unrepentant as a Believer, he nevertheless brings out the fact that according to their doctrine such a one deserves to abide forever in the Fire. There is no forgiveness for him, his only consolation is that his punishment will be lighter than that of the Unbeliever.¹⁴

In addition to finding verses in the Qur'ān and traditions to support their position the Mu'tazilites claimed that should the sinner know that he would not be punished for his sin that would only establish him in his sin and incite others to sin. All of this is plainly contrary to the wisdom of Allah in sending Messengers into the world.

The rational view of God's moderation of his punishments and the apportionment of forgiveness would seem to be that the Unbeliever, because of his sin which is the

¹⁴ Al-Shahrastānī, *opus cit.* p. 31.

greatest of the great sins, is denied pardon absolutely and abides forever in the Fire; the unrepentant Believer who has committed a great sin abides forever but suffers a slighter punishment because of his profession of unbelief; the repentant Believer who has committed a great sin is pardoned and enters the Garden; the Believer guilty of small sins only is pardoned by Allah without any demand for repentance. However some Mu'tazilites considered repentance also necessary for the forgiveness of small sins, and they recognized that intercession in the pardon of great sins augmented the reward of the one-time sinner.¹⁵

Logical though this position seemed to be, it did not make sufficient allowance for the absolute will and power of Allah. It minimized the force of such a statement as "He forgives whom He pleases and punishes whom He pleases" (iii:124, ii:284). When al-Ash'arī formulated the theological position which was to be accepted by most Muslims as orthodox he laid down the premise that all Believers would eventually escape from the Fire and that Allah would not leave there any of those who confessed His unity.¹⁶ This meant that Believers might both be punished and forgiven. Since his day in Islam the great majority of theologians have held that the Fire is not merely a place of punishment for the Unbeliever, it is also a purgatory for the sinning Believer.

The Khārijite teaching that whoever commits a great sin is an Unbeliever left its impress on Ash'arite doctrine, but with one stipulation which introduces the very important question of the intention of the sinner in committing the sin. "We teach", said al-Ash'arī, "that whoever commits a great sin such as adultery and robbery or anything like them, holding them to be allowed and not believing them to be forbidden is an Unbeliever."¹⁷ Al-Ṭahāwī a contemporary of al-Ash'arī, but a follower of the Ḥanafite school of *fiqh*, makes a similar statement, but in negative terms in his *Bayān al-Sunna wa l-Jamā'a*.

¹⁵ Al-Taftāzānī, *opus cit.* pp. 122 f.

¹⁶ Spitta, *Zur Geschichte al-As'arī's*, Leipzig, 1876. p. 135. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*. New York, 1903, p. 296.

¹⁷ Al-Ash'arī, *Kitāb al-Idāna*, Haydarābād, 1321 A.H., p. 10.

"We do not impute unbelief to any of the People of the *qibla* because of a sin, so long as he does not make it lawful.¹⁸ The *Fiqh Akbar* (II) which is considered to reflect the teaching of Abū Ḥanīfa and to have originated at about the same time uses almost the same words.¹⁹

It became the accepted practice of orthodox Islam among both Ash'arites and Matūrīdites from that time onward that the Muslim is not to be removed from belief by any overt unlawful act, unless it be by way of making lawful that which the statutes of the *sharī'a* teach as being unlawful. From the standpoint of Allah, doctrine appears to have moved to the extreme right in recognizing that it is His might and power and will which entirely determine the issue of forgiveness. Yet from the standpoint of the creature the accepted position has moved to the extreme left; the latitudinarian view of the Murji'ites prevailed.

On many points of doctrine orthodoxy was inclined to take a mediating ground between extremes; but in this case the Muslim who committed a great sin is neither an Unbeliever (according to the narrow view of the Khārijites) nor an Evil-doer as yet unrelated to belief or unbelief (according to the more lenient view of the Mu'tazilites) but through the mercy of Allah he is reckoned a Believer. This is certainly the broad view which is most lenient in not ascribing guilt to the wrong-doer. Nothing can remove him, save the denial of the unity of Allah or that which signifies unbelief, from the rights and hopes of the Faithful to find eventually a lasting abode in the Garden.

This dogma having firmly fixed itself in Islam, the debates over great and small sins and their comparative heinousness largely give way to discussions about the particular things which by being made lawful constitute a denial of Allah. Some have said, "He is an Unbeliever whoever makes lawful a forbidden thing, such as marrying those of one's kin whom one should not, or the drinking of wine, or the eating of what dies of itself or blood or swine's flesh except when necessity demands. Doing

¹⁸ The Macdonald Presentation Volume, Princeton 1933. p. 138.

¹⁹ See Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge, 1932. p. 192.

these things without making them lawful is evil-doing (*fisq*).”²⁰

Al-Taftāzānī in his Commentary on the ‘*Aqā'id* of al-Nasafī gives in detail some of the things that are considered as involving one in unbelief. “Whoever attributes to Allah something that is not fitting or mocks at one of Allah’s names or commands, or denies Allah’s promises of reward and punishment becomes an Unbeliever. So also would he, were he to wish there had never been a prophet, because of contempt or enmity . . . So also would he become an Unbeliever were he to order a man to deny belief in Allah . . . or were he upon drinking wine or committing adultery to say, ‘In the name of Allah.’ So also would he become an Unbeliever were he to worship intentionally towards some other direction than the *qibla*, even though it might really be the *qibla*, or were he to perform worship and in doing so intend not to purify himself.”²¹

As for repentance for sins committed, although this is urged upon Muslims, the absolute will of Allah is above any conditioning of forgiveness on such a requirement. The *Fiqh Akbar* (II) at first glance seems to suggest uncertainty regarding the unrepentant Believer in saying, “As to evil deeds—with the exception of polytheism and unbelief—if he who commits them does not repent ere he dies as one of the Believers, he will be dependent on Allah’s will; and if He willeth He forgiveth him without punishing him at all in the Fire.”²² But if he repents he is also thrown upon the will of Allah. Al-Taftāzānī’s comment of the following passage from al-Nasafī, “And Allah does not forgive the one who joins another with Himself, but He pardons any sin except this whether great or small to whomsoever He wills” is “with or without repentance.”²³

Many consider that a small sin does not require repentance, yet according to orthodox Islam Allah may even punish a small sin. Al-Taftāzānī finds proof for this in a

²⁰ Al-Taftāzānī, *opus cit.* p. 148.

²¹ Al-Taftāzānī *opus cit.* p. 149.

²² *Al-Fiqh al-Akbar* (II) Haydarābād, 1321, p. 30; Wensinck, “The Muslim Creed,” p. 193.

²³ Al-Taftāzānī, *opus cit.* p. 121. Cf. al-Ijī, *al-Mawāqif*, Leipzig, 1848. p. 269.

verse of the Qur'ān, "He does not pass by a small sin nor a great one without counting them" (xviii:47). "Counting", he says, "is only by way of asking about it and giving recompense."²⁴ So the distinction between a repentant and an unrepentant sinner disappears before the absolute will of Him who pardons where He wills; and so also the difference between great and small sins becomes negligible if either may be forgiven or punished, with or without repentance.

On the question of the intercession of the Messengers of Allah for those who commit sins, the Mu'tazilites taught that when pardon is not permissible neither is intercession. In general, they denied its potency for forgiveness, resorting to such verses of the Qur'ān as "the day comes in which there is no barter, and no friendship and no intercession" (ii:255) and "dread the day wherein no soul shall render satisfaction for another soul, nor shall any intercession be accepted for it" (ii:44, 45). Their opponents indicated the certainty of intercession by quoting traditions and citing the Qur'ān, "Ask pardon for thy sin and for the Believers, both men and women" (xlvii:21). This is the position of orthodox Islam as seen in the *Fiqh Akbar (II)* "The intercession of the Prophet on behalf of Believers who have committed sins, even great sins and who have deserved punishment is an established reality."²⁵ Al-Ash'arī states his belief as follows, "We teach that Allah will bring forth people from the Fire after they have burned because of the intercession of Muḥammad."²⁶ But again with the distinction between the different kinds of sins and between repentance or non-repentance, pardon and forgiveness are permissible with intercession and without it. Its efficacy is entirely over-shadowed by the will of Allah.

Students of theology have often remarked that, in contrast to Christian teaching, sin in Islam requires no atonement. In the light of this study must we say that

²⁴ Al-Taftāzānī, *opus cit.*, p. 121.

²⁵ *Al-Fiqh al-Akbar (II)* p. 40; Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed," p. 194 f.; Cf. Waṣfiyat Abī Hanīfa p. 30, Wensinck, *opus cit.*, 130.

²⁶ Spitta, *Zur Geschichte al-Ash'arī's* p. 135, al-Ash'arī, *Kitāb al-Ībāna*, Haydarābād, 1321.

Islam has no doctrine of sin, but only of sins, the great problem being the classification of disobedient acts into the categories of great and small and determining their respective punishments?

To Christian thinkers sin is a state of rebellion against the righteousness and holiness of God. The world is out-of-joint and full of disharmony because of this barrier between man and his Maker. To the Muslim the power and will of the Deity cannot be so resisted as to frustrate His desire. Sins, then, are separate acts which do not conform to various rules laid down, rules for which there is no other integrating principle than the divine *fiat*. These acts, whether great or small, though they are disobediences, do not impair the machine-like smoothness of the ordered movement of things.

The unpardonable sin is not in doing these acts but in assuming that the divine statutes may be countermanded. To declare lawful that which they declare unlawful is to presume to rival the great Lawgiver and is Unbelief.

One may suffer punishment for sins, yet it must be remembered that in order to be forgiven neither repentance nor intercession is required. The various verses of the Qur'ān dealing with sins and their punishment according to orthodox opinion are not to be interpreted independently but in the light of the supreme will of Allah. Everything is subservient to that absolute which challenges all human attempts at understanding it. If He wills He leads aright; if He wills He leads astray. If He wills He forgives, if He wills He punishes.

Cairo, Egypt

E. E. ELDER.

BOOK REVIEWS

Illumination in Islamic Mysticism. A Translation, with an Introduction and Notes, based upon a Critical Edition of Abu'l-Mawāhib al-Shādhilī's Treatise entitled *Qawānīn Hikam al-Ishrāq*. By E. J. Jurji. Princeton University Press, 1938. \$2.50.

This most welcome translation is based upon a MS. in the Princeton University Library (Garrett Collection No. 6130) collated with five other MSS. and the Syrian edition of 1891-2. The author of the treatise, who died in A.D. 1477-8, is referred to as his "master" by the mystic Sha'rānī, who evidently had much respect for his teaching. The title given to this translation refers to the doctrine of *Ishrāq*,¹ of which the first and greatest exponent is claimed to be Ibn al-'Arabī, who taught the doctrine of the illumination of the human soul by the Divine gnosis. The Divine Essence, to him, is the substance of all existent things, and the Divine Consciousness reaches its complete expression in man, through whom God makes Himself known. The doctrine was further developed by Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, in whose teaching Light is identified with Reality, and is the source of all true life. The human soul, partaking of the Divine Light, must therefore seek illumination, drawing ever nearer to the Light of lights, until it becomes one again with that Primal Light. This doctrine, that the ground of the human soul is a Divine spark, which seeks ever to return to the Eternal Flame, is found, in one form or another, in all systems of mysticism, including Šūfism, which frequently dwells on the idea of God as Light.²

The volume under review begins with an interesting introduction on the history of the Ishrāqī school of thought, followed by the translation, which is divided into fourteen Articles dealing with the purpose of the novice on the mystic Way, repentance, sincerity, veracity, watchfulness ("meditation" is perhaps a better translation for *murāqaba*), love, renunciation, poverty, hypocrisy, gnosis, annihilation (*fanā'*), subsistence, saintship, the saintship of the spiritually perfect, and a final section which includes a variety of maxims.

The book contains passages very characteristic of the Šūfī doctrine, e.g., on otherworldliness; the author writes, "This world's flower is quick-fading; he who prides himself upon it is lowly; he who is rich through it is poor, and he whose power rests upon it is frail. This world is a means for reaching the next; consider, therefore, that you do not make the means an end in itself" (p. 51). Again he writes, on the need for inward purification, "Purity of

¹ It is to be noted that *Ishrāqiyyīn* is the name given to the Platonists in the *Dabistān* I p. 83; II pp. 374, 389.

² Cf. my "Studies in Early Mysticism," pp. 199 ff.

hearts is the key of the unseen. Purify your heart, for it is the house of your Lord. The heart is the mirror of manifestation, therefore seek the polishing value of consecration (*takhallī*).³ The heart is the throne of your Lord, the Divine consciousness—Read the tablet of your heart—and it shall reveal your secrets to you” (p. 114).

Of the saints al-Shādhilī says, “The saints of God have parted with the people of this world in spirit, although they dwell among them in their physical bodies. The saints have hearts whose light is brighter than the sun of which we are conscious. Thus they are the stars of the earth in the view of heaven’s people; their light is for us and for them” (pp. 114, 115). The *Šūfī*, the author holds, “is not one who wears wool (*šūf*) and makes pretences; nor one who imitates the precepts of the Law. The *šūfī* is a man who knows and does, one who is purified and travels in the path of enlightenment” (p. 120).

There are verses quoted on almost every page, a procedure natural enough on the part of an author who had himself published a volume of poems (Cf. Introduction, p. 20), and some of these verses are very attractive, e.g.,

I was wont to feel desolate when alone,
But now I revel in loneliness.
Solitude has become a solace to me,
Loneliness, too, a precious company. (p. 60)

It is a pity that the translator has not traced more of these to their sources. The lines on p. 62 are attributed to the ascetic ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Zayd (ob. A.D. 793).

The ways are many, the way to the Truth but one,
And those who travel on the way of Truth, must go on their way alone.⁴

The lines quoted on p. 49 are attributed to Rābi‘a, the woman mystic of Basra, but the third line seems to be mistranslated here: it should run:

If your love were sincere, you would have obeyed Him,
For surely a lover obeys his Beloved.⁵

Without access to the Arabic text, it is difficult to judge fully of the merits of the translation, but at times the translator fails to make the meaning clear to the reader; e.g., “There is no incarnation as regards the reality of the unity of the One because He is a dualism that can not be augmented” (p. 35). *Akbād* used figuratively can be translated as “Hearts” (p. 47). “Your whole life is a twinkling between the two worlds” might be better translated “your whole life is but a moment spent between the two worlds” (p. 51). ‘*Ālam al-ghayb*’ is “the invisible (not the visible) world” (p. 82 note). “Tasteful meanings” does not give the significance of *al-ma‘āni al-dhawqiyya*, the meaning is rather “spiritual experience” (p. 83).

There are a few misprints to be noted: “lightening” for “lightning” (p. 43), *miskāh* for *mishkāt* (p. 52, note 60),

³ al-Sarrāj defines *takhallī* as “the choice of solitude, the preference for seclusion, being continually alone.” *Kutāb al-Luma’* p. 363.

⁴ This is the reading given by Abū Ṭālib. *Qūṭ al-Qulāb* I. 153.

⁵ The verses are given by Suhrawardī, ‘*Awārif al-Ma‘ārif, Iḥyā’* IV. p. 344 margin, and also by Abū Ṭālib. II. p. 169.

'wāmm for 'awāmm (p. 71), *alib* for *alif* (p. 78). On p. 5, note 32 is misplaced, and 84 (note) is a misprint for 34.

The book has been beautifully produced by the Princeton University Press, and it is supplied with a good index.

The thanks of all students of Islamic mysticism are due to Dr. Jurji for this most interesting and valuable contribution to Šūfi literature, which should be read, too, by missionary students; for the Shādhiliyya order, to which the author belonged, and the teaching of which is here set forth, is still a force in modern Islam, especially in North Africa, and not least in Egypt. It is to be hoped that Dr. Jurji will continue his work on the *Ishrāqiyyin*, for whose teaching there is still much material to be studied.

London

MARGARET SMITH.

Al-Ghazali's Boek der Liefde. By Dr. H. H. Dingemans. S. C. Van Doesburgh, Leiden, 1938. pp. 163.

Bijdragen van de Philosophische en de Theologische Faculteiten der Nederlandsche Jezuiten: Elementen voor Geestelijk Leven in de Islam. By J. J. Houben. Vol. 1, part 2, 1938. Centrale Drukkerij Nijmegen. pp. 394-447.

These two Dutch publications bear evidence of the increased interest among Protestants and Catholics in the study of al-Ghazali. The first work is an almost complete translation of the 36th book of al-Ghazali's *Ihya* from the text of the Cairo edition, A.H. 1334, together with an introduction, a chapter on the orthodox and radical views of God's love in Islam, and a synopsis of al-Ghazali's own views. The second is a reprint in which a Jesuit scholar pleads for deeper and wider recognition of the real spiritual elements in Islamic theology; it is carefully documented and has references to a wide literature. The author finds these spiritual elements in the theology and the Christology of the Koran, but more especially in the literature of Islamic Mysticism, e.g., the love of God as in al-Ghazali. In his *Mishkat* we are told this Moslem seeker after God "reveals his very heart and also much of the heart of God"; moreover, we have in this very book of the great Moslem theologian and mystic, intimations of the need for a mediator between God and man.

Dingemans' Introduction pays tribute to Massignon, Macdonald, Gairdner, Carra de Vaux and Asin Palacios, who have all made valuable contributions to the study of al-Ghazali's conception of the love of God. The author tells how much Bar Hebraeus owed to al-Ghazali in his "Book of the Dove," while both in their turn owe a debt to the Hellenistic currents of early Christian mysticism. Then follow sixteen pages giving a clear account of the contrast between the teaching of orthodox Islam, e.g., Baidhawi, Zamakhshari and al-Razi, on God's love and that of the mystics; the former are relentlessly hostile to the Sufi familiarity with Allah, who is the Distant and altogether Other. The references are to their comment on Surahs 2: 160 and 3: 29. Al-Ghazali's conception of the love of God avoids both extremes. Love of God is a sixth sense, it is of the heart and not of the senses. It can be stated in this formula: Knowledge + the heart = highest joy = only true love, that is, love of God.

The author then gives an analysis of the *Kitab-al-Mahabbah*,

which includes *amor Dei* as both subjective and objective; although only one brief section is devoted to God's love to man. All the rest is on the believer's love (devotion, obedience, passionate longing) for Allah. And so the whole of book six of part four of the *Ihya'* still leaves a great chasm between the highest teaching of the most spiritual-minded Moslem theologian and the simple categories of John's epistle or of Paul's vindication of the love of God in Jesus Christ on the cross. Nevertheless, this book of al-Ghazali *can* convict a lukewarm Christian of his negligence of the means of grace. As we read in the first paragraph: "Allah is veiled in glory. Those who draw near to Him are constantly driven between shrinking away and attainment, drowned at once in the sea of the Knowledge of God and scorched in the fire of their love for Him."

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Nadir Shah: A Critical Study based mainly upon Contemporary Sources. By L. Lockhart, Ph.D., pp. 343, 11 plates, 8 maps; Luzac & Co., London, 1938. 21s.

This is undoubtedly the best modern book on the life and work of Nadir Shah, whose dashing career of conquest and aggrandizement won for his country a few months of pride and decades of poverty. It was while Russia and Turkey were dismembering Persia in the North and West, and the Afghan raider, Mahmud of Qandahar, was devastating the South, that Nadir's star rose in the East. As the most capable general of the Safavid Shah Tahmasp, he drove out the Afghans and pushed back the Turks. Furthermore, when he thought the time was ripe for his country to have a more able ruler, he took the throne himself. When on that occasion he reached the camp on the Mughan plain, the 22nd of January, 1736, he found all things in readiness for a vast coronation assembly. Twelve thousand buildings of wood and reeds had been erected, together with mosques, rest-houses, bazaars and baths. There for three or four days the assembled multitude proclaimed his achievements, declaring, "For us there is no Shah but Nadir!"

Among the conditions on which he accepted the throne was the amazing stipulation that "the Sunni faith should be adopted in place of the Shi'a." The Afghan and Turkoman troops in his army, all of them Sunnis, were now in sufficient force to enable him to make this exacting demand, which was absolutely opposed to the religious and political policy of the Safavids. "It may be regarded as certain that one of Nadir's immediate objects in effecting this change was to facilitate a temporary settlement with Turkey," but it is probable also that he had an ulterior motive in seeking to unite the Moslem world, i. e., "to make himself ultimately the head of it."

When later he led his conquering army into India, seizing in Delhi the peacock throne and the Koh-i-Nor diamond, and bringing back treasures to the value of 700,000,000 rupees, which he stored in his favorite fortress at Kalat, then it was that he fully realized that he was following the example of Alexander the Great, of Mahmud of Ghazna, and of Timur. He knew that he had begun to merit the title of "World Conqueror."

He was still baffled, however, with the problem of uniting the two

great factions of Islam. Over and over again, in a period of about ten years, in his negotiations and treaties with Turkey, he urged the Sultan to include in the terms of peace these two significant declarations:

(1) The Persians, having given up their former beliefs and chosen the religion of the Sunnis, were to be recognized as a fifth sect, to be known as the Ja'fari.

(2) Since each of the Imams of the four existing sects (Hanafi, Malaki, Shāfi'i and Hanbali) had a column (*rukn*) in the Ka'ba assigned to them, a fifth column was to be provided for the Imam Ja'far.

On these points, however, the Turkish government was unwilling to yield.

Had Nadir Khan so chosen, "he might perhaps have gained the love, as he had already won the admiration, of his people, but his mind, instead of being fixed upon the government of his realm, was obsessed by dreams of conquest. Despite the lustre which his military exploits gave to Persia, he soon became hated by the majority of his subjects because of his arbitrary ways, his crushing taxation, his supersession of the Safavi line, and his supplanting of the Shi'a religion." Finally, in 1747, when there were revolts of his subjects in all the border regions, he was killed in his bedroom by a group of his own officers.

While Dr. Lockhart's book is based on exhaustive research, includes many details of military history and topography that make it a valuable work for reference, yet the interest and excitement of Nadir Shah's spectacular and tragic career is maintained throughout.

Meshed, Iran.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

Influence of Islam on Indian Culture. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Principal, Kayastha Pathshala University College, Allahabad. The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1936. pp. vi, 327 and 61 illustrations.

Anyone interested in Islam or India should have this book, for in it Dr. Tara Chand gives in ample detail, and with sympathetic interpretation the fascinating story of the mingling and blending of two great cultures: the Muslim and the Hindu.

A good foundation for the study is laid in the first chapter, in which we are given an intimate picture of Pre-Muslim Hindu Culture. Then follows an explanatory chapter, mostly historical, dealing with the advent of the Muslims in India through trade and invasion. The devastating effect of these invasions has been faithfully portrayed, but primarily as a background for what is to follow. The writer ably grasps the significance of Mysticism in Islam, and shows how it was through the influence of the saints and preachers of Islam in India that Hindu religious thought was most deeply affected, and to some extent modified by contact with Islam.

Then follow a series of chapters which portray a long line of successive Hindu reformers in whom can be traced the undoubted influence of the theistic and mystic elements of Islam. To begin with, the author is of the opinion that the great movements of Shankara and Ramanuja in the South "did not grow up utterly regardless of the new currents of thought which then flowed in the country."

But whatever may have been the case with Shankara and Rama-

naja, there is no doubt of the profound influence of Islam on the thought and work of Ramananda, Kabir, Guru Nanak and a host of others of lesser fame, who have left their impress from the Punjab to Bengal, and Maharashtra.

Similarly, Dr. Tara Chand shows the influence of Islam on the modern languages of India, and in two separate chapters discusses the blending of the Muslim and Hindu features in architecture and painting. These last two chapters are profusely illustrated with sixty-one full-page plates which add greatly to the value of the book.

As one who has himself attempted in a smaller way to sketch the mutual influence of Islam and Hinduism in his book *Indian Islam*, the writer deeply appreciates the work of Dr. Tara Chand in giving such a full and detailed account of these important cultural developments. The book is well printed, with few typographical errors, and is made the more valuable by having an index, and a comprehensive bibliography.

Budaun, India.

M. T. TITUS.

Some Aspects of Religious Liberty of Nationals in the Near East.

A Collection of Documents Compiled by Helen Clarkson Miller Davis. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1938. pp. 200.

The writer of this book has been at pains to set forth the facts with regard to legal religious liberty in the Near East. She has searched through the international agreements which have so important a bearing upon large areas of the Near East as well as the basic laws and regulations of the countries themselves. There is a wealth of fact not available elsewhere and well focused upon the problem of religious liberty in countries predominantly Moslem.

Of the 200 pages in the book, just over fifty are occupied by the preface and comments. The rest consists almost entirely of extracts from legal codes, treaties, and other documents. A few of these are historical, as the Turkish law at the time of the Armistice was the basic law in all countries which were formerly part of Turkey (p. 23). This law has only slowly been revised.

The author sees that "another chapter in the story of the development of civil law and the growth of independence from religious law is being written . . . Centuries were needed for this development in England and on the European continent" (pp. 16-17). That this is a deeply social matter is clearly understood. "It is, of course, recognized that legal provisions, important as they are, do not reflect the whole situation. . . . In matters so personal as religious belief and religious affiliation, the effect of these (social) attitudes upon the social status of the individual is of the highest importance" (pp. 9f).

It is pointed out that while there is "an increasing degree of tolerance and regard for the rights of religious minorities" (p. 3) there are often "differences of interpretation of the phrase 'freedom of conscience.'" Because of the lack "of agreement as to what freedom of conscience does, or should, entail, the object of this study is to draw attention to some of the issues having immediate importance in regard to which agreement would be helpful; and to set forth in the accompanying documents measures adopted in some countries

which may aid in the solution of problems arising in others" (pp. 11-12).

"While the problem is religious freedom, the real crux of the matter pertains to just what freedom of action is allowed" (p. 12). The power, hence law or treaties, of foreign countries frequently has been invoked, but indigenous law has more and more been concerned with this. While in Syria, as well as other places, persons are technically given religious freedom, still the needed laws for implementing this have not been enacted (p. 32). "The Hejaz is a Moslem State, administered according to the provisions of the Sharia (holy) law" (p. 24). Turkey is the only country that has become entirely free from this law (p. 23). Even where legal enactments actually allow and are used to transfer adherence from the Islamic to the Christian religion, the social pressure is often still great (p. 32). This has been diminishing, in Turkey especially (p. 34).

In fairness one should say that the picture given by the explanatory part of the book is clear, accurate, and, within limits, complete, though the author has suffered from the lack of full first-hand knowledge of conditions in these countries. She betrays her failure to really grasp the mind of the East by saying, "One curious fact is that it seems to be assumed that each citizen shall belong to one of the recognized sects or religions. There appears to be no provision for the registration of the avowed Atheist, or anti-religionist" (p. 17). The insight here doubtfully enunciated is the essential basis of an understanding of the Near East where religion is political, social, and often racial affiliation, while only very secondarily of "religious" importance. The ferment of the Western ideas, therefore, is changing political conditions quite as much as religious. The author is dealing with forms of government action more than religious fact. To this she is, in a good measure, condemned by her approach, and of it, she is more or less fully aware.

The book is one for the specialist. It has facts. It deserves to be studied by those who want to know the present legal conditions and is of value to many others for what it reflects of social change. Not only must one realize that the facts as given are to be interpreted in the light of rapid and convulsive social change; but changes since the material was gathered have actually lessened the importance of some of the regulations quoted. Treaties with the West and laws written in imitation of it, or under pressure from it, are doomed to important alterations in interpretation, as well as actual rewriting as the Near East progressively undertakes self-direction.

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In the Home of Revelation. By Muhammed Husain Haikal. In Arabic. Cairo: Matba'at Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, 1937. pp. 637. 5/-.

In his Introduction, Dr. Haikal, one-time editor of *As-Siyasah* and present Egyptian Minister of Education, tells us that for several years one of his greatest desires was to go to Arabia and there to follow in the footsteps of the Prophet in order that, through close contact with the actual scenes of Muhammed's life, he might find

fresh ideals and illumination and discover what had qualified Arabia for the great honor of being the "home" of Revelation. The journey was eventually undertaken, Dr. Haikal performed the pilgrimage and visited many holy sites beside. He gives details of sacred buildings—their structure and appearance, their history and tradition; he tells us about his fellow travellers and methods of travel. The interest for the general reader, however, undoubtedly lies in the writer's revelation of his own outlook and thoughts about the deeper things of life. Therein the history of the book is of value.

There is real human interest (to use a journalistic term) in Dr. Haikal's description of his hesitation before deciding to go to Arabia, and between reader and writer arises a sense of human kinship. This note is still sufficiently rare in Arabic writing to be arresting. Indeed, this note of living personal experience is sounded again and again. Will there be war between England and Italy? (These are the days of the Italian war in Abyssinia). If so, how would travellers get home? Will Arabia prove to be unbearably dirty and unhealthy to a man used to a comfortable standard of living? Friends persuade and dissuade; the writer goes to his wife for advice. Most of us will smile in remembering occasions of similar doubts and fears. At last, urged by the strength of his own desire and by a talk heard on the radio which he takes as God's guidance, he makes up his mind.

One of Dr. Haikal's main convictions is that Islam must seek the source for a renewed spiritual life within its own past. He himself, at one time, sought to spread in the East the learning of the West, thinking thereby to lay the riches of a new spiritual life at the disposal of the East. But he came to see his mistake. The gulf between Orient and Occident is too deep. The seeds of Western life cannot live in such an alien soil. "I understand that our Muslim history alone is the seed which will bring forth fruit; it contains life which will stir souls."

The Western spirit of Nationalism has misled Islam. "The conception of Unity, whose light lightened our fathers, has bequeathed to us such intimate soundness of thought as has both awakened us to a realization of the perils which lie in the paths to which the West would call us and also has revealed to us that the nation whose Present is not united with its Past deserves to be led astray. . . . The West has made Materialism its God."

The Holy Places fill the writer's being with joy and reverence. He describes how his guide, while trying to discourse to him on the historical associations, is silenced by finding no response. Dr. Haikal asks: "How could I listen to talking at such a moment when the Kaabah had overcome my soul, drawing me to hasten towards it that within it I might remember God."

Dr. Haikal believes that Mecca should become the center of a "Muslim League of Nations," a position equivalent to that held by Geneva in connection with the "European League of Nations." He lays his suggestions before Ibn Saud who gives him polite but non-committal replies.

In the last chapter, Dr. Haikal treats at some length views to which he only alludes in the body of his book. During the first centuries of Islam, Muslims were at one in religious faith and be-

lief, differing only in opinions on matters of secondary importance and in their rulings on the best ways of conducting the business of daily life. As time passed, however, the conception of religion in those quarters where ignorance had spread, instead of consisting in a burning and all-embracing faith, became narrowed to a matter of rules and ordinances. In other circles, governed by the new scientific spirit, men ceased to attribute everything to God and began to seek for causes. Both these tendencies led ultimately to Materialism and Materialism of its very nature makes for divisions even in worship, (Materialism thus becomes a form of idolatry) and so leads to war and other evils. Materialism deludes with promises of luxury and enjoyment but men, by *nature*, long for that which is spiritual. The light of the soul directs us to a belief in the unity of the Universe, the unity of all life therein, the unity of space and time and—the Unity of God. In the Holy Places of Arabia, a Muslim may quench his thirst at the very source of spiritual life. The writer expresses his certainty that in meditation on the life and teaching of the Prophet lies the best guidance to mankind in the path of truth, beauty and righteousness.

We notice two interesting guiding principles, not stated as such but which appear through the working of the writer's mind. 1. The importance of knowledge. It is the root of faith. The straying of man from the straight path is caused by *ignorance*. Science is not intrinsically harmful. Rightly used, it is a road of guidance to true faith. 2. The highest truths are revealed to man through an inward illumination of his spirit which is above Reason; or through a divine light reflected in the mirror of man's spirit. Dr. Haikal reveals himself as akin in many ways to some of the classic schools of Muslim thought, whose influence would seem to be growing in him, while his appreciation of Western thought and development as of value to Oriental youth would appear to have weakened.

Beirut

K. H. HENREY.

Tracts on Listening to Music, being the Dhamm al-Malāhī of Ibn Abi'd-Dunyā' and Bawāriq al-Ilmā' by Majd ad-Dīn at-Tūsī al-Ghazālī. Edited with Introduction and Notes by James Robson. London, 1938. Royal Asiatic Society. pp. viii+192. 8vo.

This is volume xxxiv of the New Series of the Oriental Translation Fund of the Royal Asiatic Society, and is the work of the Lecturer in Arabic at Glasgow University. It is not a new work on Arabian Music, but the Arabic texts, with translations, of two tracts on the question of *samā'*, which from 'Abbāsīd times to the present day has been a burning question in the Schools of Islam, the jurists, theologians and orthodox pietists being almost universal in their condemnation of it, and the rationalists, strongly supported in this by both the Sufis and the impious, have been enthusiastic in their defence of its legitimacy.

In pre-Islamic days music was a prominent feature in the cultural life of the Arabs. Poet-minstrels were welcome at every court, and singing girls, even if their morals were not always above reproach, had almost the popularity of cinema actresses of our day. So much were they part of the scene, that when the antiquarians

came to embroider the tales of the Qur'ān, they picture the deputation of the ancient people of 'Ād being delayed on their journey up to Mecca by the attractions of the singing girls of Mu'āwiya b. Bakr, prince of the 'Amāliq. In the *Sīra* of the Prophet himself there are many references to his being greeted by maidens playing and singing, or sitting listening to the performances of singing-girls, and these references more often than not occur in connections where we have no reason whatever to doubt their genuineness. It is only in the 'Abbāsīd period, when orthodoxy is beginning to get its strangle hold on the thought of Islam, that we begin to find any concerted opposition to the enjoyment of listening to vocal and instrumental music, and even then there is some suspicion that the opposition is being engineered by theologians and jurists who are unhappy over the fact that singers and minstrels get bigger audiences than they.

At any rate, from then on the controversy has raged. The theologians and jurists invoke the Qur'ān, where they find verses that support their condemnation, and the Hadīth, in which they find sayings of the Prophet and stories about him which leave no doubt that he was against it. Their opponents also invoke the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, where they in their turn find verses that make *samā'* lawful, and sayings of the Prophet which show that he allowed it.

It needs only a glance at the verses from the Qur'ān quoted for and against to show that its evidence is non-existent. In fact the Western reader finds it difficult to understand how anyone could ever have imagined these verses had any reference to the question. Only the necessity of getting some sort of Qur'ānic basis for their position could have driven the contestants to such tortuous methods of exegesis as we find quoted on both sides. Hadīth was a different matter. The opponents of *samā'* could find there sayings of the Prophet to the effect that the selling price and teaching price of singing-girls was unlawful, that Satan himself was the first singer, that musical instruments are among the most powerful means by which the Devil seduces men, that music and singing cause hypocrisy to grow in the heart as water causes corn to grow, and that the Prophet always stopped his ears when he heard anyone playing on the reed pipe. On the other hand the defenders of *samā'* could bring just as cogent traditions telling of the Prophet's favorable regard toward music and singing, though their array of traditions is not so imposing in its size, nor could it be, seeing that the Corpus of Tradition was largely in the hands of the jurists and theologians.

Most interesting to us is the defence of *samā'* by the Sufi writers, since quite from the beginning music has had a part, and sometimes a very large part, in the earlier techniques of the Sufi way. It is possible that we should see in this the influence of the non-Islamic soil out of which Sufism grew. It is not without significance that in the fairly recent attacks on the Dervish orders by Cairo reformers, one of the things held against them has been their musical exercises.

The texts in this work before us are representative of both sides of the question, the former arguing for the unlawfulness and the latter defending the lawfulness of *samā'*. Ibn Abī'd-Dunyā, who died in 281 A.H., was a traditionalist, and was said to have been the tutor to the Caliph al-Mu'tadid and to his son al-Muktafī. As a man of the study, he naturally lived a retired life, whence he looked with

displeasure on all worldly amusements, and wrote a number of *dhamm*-books besides the *dhamm al-malāhi* or "Censure of Instruments of Diversion" here published. Though his main argumentation is against music and musicians and all connected therewith, that is not his only concern, for he goes on to censure various dicing games, chess, pigeon shooting, and the pleasures of unnatural vice. His method is the usual one of the traditionist, assembling the sayings and doings of the Prophet and his immediate Companions which could be quoted as implying censure of these pleasures and amusements.

The *Bawāriq al-Ilmā'* of Majd ad-Dīn al-Ghazālī is quite another type of work. The author is a brother of the famous Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, of whose *Ihyā'* he made a synopsis which had some fame in its day. He is interested in this problem of *samā'* primarily from the Sufi point of view, and it is to the use of *samā'* in Sufi exercises of devotion that his whole treatise leads up. Not satisfied with a mere justification of the practice of *samā'*, by assembling the Qur'-ānic verses and passages of Hadith in its favor, he devotes the longest section of his treatise to taking up one after the other the arguments brought by the opponents of the legitimacy of *samā'*, and by reasoning of no mean ability, demonstrating their insufficiency. This accomplished, he proceeds to a discussion of the place of *samā'* in the Sufi spiritual discipline, that its value may be clearly seen and its dangers understood and avoided. That this may be not merely theory but of practical value, he finally digests his conclusions into what may be described as a small manual for the *dhikr*, describing how such a service may best be conducted, and what passages of the Qur'ān or pious compositions may most appropriately be used in the practice of *samā'* therein.

The publication of these texts will be welcomed by a variety of students, but they should be advised that Mr. Robson is not always a happy translator, and it is always necessary to go back to the Arabic texts. These have been well printed, though the reader is distracted by a very large number of entirely unnecessary textual notes, for in texts of this date it is utterly insignificant if one of the MSS. writes *alladhi* without a dot on the *dhāl*, and distressing to have the eye drawn down to the *apparatus criticus* to receive no greater information than that. One would have welcomed fuller references to the numerous other works where similar problems are discussed, but with costs of publication what they are, we must be grateful to Mr. Robson for including so many as he has.

New York

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Buildings of Qāyrbāy as Described in his Endowment Deed.

Edited by L. A. Mayer, Sir Sassoon David Professor of Near Eastern Art and Archaeology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Fascicle I: Text and Index, 1938.

This is the complete Arabic text of the deed of endowment made in 879 A.H., by Sultan Qāyrbāy of Egypt, chiefly for the benefit of the mosque which he built and which is still standing in the desert plain east of Cairo. For this purpose the Sultan united here the provisions of two of his earlier endowments (one made before he became Sultan), and he later made two additional endowments. As

printed, the deed covers 87 pages of 24 lines each. There are no chapter or paragraph divisions, but marginal notes and lines over certain words mark some of the subdivisions of the subject matter. The main divisions are: Legal introduction (pp. 1-6); description of the Qāyṭbāy tomb-mosque, its connected structures, and boundaries of the property (pp. 6-18); description of some twenty-odd other city properties, partly religious, partly income-producing, included in the endowment (pp. 20-51); lands in various parts of Egypt the revenue from which were to be devoted to the purposes of the endowment (pp. 52-60); purposes of the religious structures (pp. 60-63); up-keep of the properties and lands (p. 64); monthly and extra-holiday stipends (in coin and bread) of each official, attendant, servant, and orphan-pupil attached to the religious structures, and the duties of each (pp. 64-83); provision for deficiency or excess of income (p. 83); appointment and removal of administrators of the endowment (pp. 84-87); validation of the deed and statement of its inviolability (p. 87).

Aside from its interest as a complete and extensive legal document, the text contains numerous technical details of architecture and many data for the topographical study of Cairo. 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, while he was Egyptian minister of endowments in the past century, consulted many such endowment deeds (including the deed under discussion) for his "Khitat al-Jadida," but he gives only brief summaries of some of their provisions.

Professor Mayer's editing and proof-reading of the text seem to have been most careful. He has promised a glossary of the architectural terms, which the ordinary reader will surely need, as he will wish also a plan of the mosque to follow the minute description. Sincere thanks are due the editor for this very valuable addition to his many contributions to our knowledge of Mameluke Egypt.

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WILLIAM POPPER.

Imperial Byzantium: The Thousand Years of the Eastern Roman Empire. By Bertha Diener. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1938. pp. 382. \$3.50.

Readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD are interested in Byzantium because Moslems conquered its provinces, subjected their populations, took over their organization, absorbed their culture, and finally succeeded the Roman emperor in his capital of half a world, as much, in practice, caliphs of Constantine and Justinian as of Mohammed. They may be interested in this book because of its quasi-religious thesis and because of its vast collection of historical curiosities.

The author emphasizes the "Christo-centric" unity of the Byzantine empire and "the mysterious energy embodied in the Christ-impulse" (which *mutatis mutandis* had been the "Eros-impulse"!). She gives Constantine the Great the idea of utilizing (*sic*) "the imperially totalitarian claims of Christianity" to organize and perpetuate Roman empire.

The sustaining soul, the genius of Byzantium, her "Tyche," may also be regarded as that of imperial tradition, of civilization, of

bureaucratic organization, of wealth and industry, of the strategic location, but the author seems to regard the Byzantine empire as essentially a religious embodiment.

The emperor was as God, his kingdom was God's Kingdom, his eunuchs were angels, his ceremony was priestly, his wars were holy, his revolutionaries were schismatic, his divorces were points in theology. Even the race-clubs in his hippodrome, "mystically considered," wore blue for orthodoxy or green for heresy. Finally Byzantium dies, "adopting ephemeral cultures of alien races with all their scintillating unreality." Though this religious character, however abundantly witnessed, is an over-simplification, as was similar theory in the Holy Roman Empire, it should be of interest to students of a similar theocracy in Islam.

But it is now time to give warning that the style of this book is not logical but sensational. The Prologue is nonsense. Philosophical pretense, pseudo-psychology, and gossip have their way with the text. It may "delight the untrammelled spirit of one who can penetrate the inexhaustible living imagery that surrounds the heart of a mystery" to write in this manner, but it makes unsatisfactory reading for those who know their history, and dangerous for those who must trust to this popularization, or vulgarization. The political and social phenomena of Byzantium are said to be "merely the elements which combine to form a stupendous life pregnant with symbolism. Because the theme of that life was the world-embracing mystery of God and man, it stands supreme above its ingredients. Its ingredients resemble the things for which a woman longs. Like the juice of an oyster, the aroma of a wild strawberry, the most subtle and diversified elements are here intermingled to form a higher organism." Perhaps in German and upon Germans, the impression is clearer.

Whether or not one shares the author's ideology, when she remembers it, or can be hypnotized by her style, her book is a piled treasure of historical curiosities usually reserved for the laborious student. Here the "facts" are, with chronology, genealogical tables, index, and ten illustrations worthy of a book in better taste, to be seen of all. Those who have not read Gibbon, Bury, Diehl, and Vasiliev will not find here the dignity, stability, beauty, and order of the Byzantine empire, but may be led to them by this meretricious coruscation.

Among the multifarious details are some references to Islam which indicate that recent historians have been making use of Arabic material, for example that the iconoclast decrees of Yazeed II preceded those of Leo the Isaurian by ten years. Occasional hostages, travelers, and diplomatic exchanges bring Islam in view of its Byzantine contemporary and show their resemblance. The career of Nicephoras Phocas in Syria, or of the Arab-Greek hero, Digenes Akrites, in his border romance, show the mediæval Christian and Moslem in close relation, not always warlike. In the end, the last emperor is found saying: "The Turks have the upper hand of us in artillery, cavalry, infantry, numbers, but we put our trust in the Holy Name of our Lord and Redeemer, in the saints, and in the strength that God alone can give." Considering the location of Islam, as including the older empires, we are led to ask if the

Moslem Caliphate has not, *mutatis mutandis*, continued the old Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic, Persian, Babylonian, Egyptian imperial theocracies in spirit, however transmuted in practice.

Hartford, Conn.

R. S. DARBISHIRE.

The Encyclopaedia of Islam. A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Muhammadan Peoples. Prepared by a number of Leading Orientalists; edited by M. Th. Houtsma, A. J. Wensinck, H. A. R. Gibb, W. Heffening and E. Levi-Provençal. Supplement Number 5, Taghlib—Ziryab. Published by Luzac & Co., London and E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1938.

This part completes the supplementary volume of this great encyclopaedia which has proved so useful that an abbreviated edition in one volume has been found necessary. In noting the completion of this colossal task begun in 1910, when the first part appeared, we would call attention to the fact that our Quarterly contained reviews and criticisms of the various fascicules as they appeared, e. g., in Volume I, pages 78, 319, 461; Volume II, pages 89, 193, 326; Volume III, pages 93, etc. This last part contains a list of corrections and additions to the four volumes and to the supplement, but we regret to state that many of the errors pointed out in the reviews that appeared have not been incorporated in these *corrigenda*. The most necessary adjunct, namely a cross reference index, is still wanting; and those who use the encyclopaedia have great difficulty in discovering under what heading certain sub-topics are treated. Nevertheless, the work is indispensable and we congratulate the publishers and editors on its completion. The concluding fascicule has an especially interesting article by H. A. R. Gibb on *Ta'rikh* which certainly ought to be referred to under the heading of "History." A concluding article deals with Al Zahawi, the great Arab poet of modern Iraq, who died in 1936.

S. M. Z.

Der Islam im Angriff. By H. G. Corsepius. Missionshandlung und Verlag, Potsdam, 1938. pp. 96.

This is the latest publication of the mission started by the late Dr. Johannes Lepsius. A whole series of little books on Islam and Moslem evangelism has come from this press. The latest issue deals with the problem of Islam for the Christian church. The author states in his preface that in spite of the title, this is not an attack on Islam but rather an attack on the lukewarmness and unbelief of the Christian church which has failed to face the problem. Nor is the book intended as a guide to missionary methods. It is a call to the church, and as such has its special value. In 27 pages we have a summary of the character of Islam over against Christian dogma. Then follows an account of the spread of Islam especially in recent years by peaceful methods and by favors granted through colonial governments. The advantages which Islam has compared with Christian missions in Africa is chiefly its sense of brotherhood and the absence of color prejudice. The third part of the book (pages 80-95) is entitled, The Christian Response to the attack of Islam, and answers the question how and why we are to carry on missions, the need of prayer and the right theological concept of the issue at stake. There is a small map showing the spread of Islam, but the author

would have saved himself many minor errors if his reference library had been larger. This is a stirring message and might well be translated into other languages.

Z.

Inside India, by Halidé Edib. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1938. \$3.50.

In what was apparently a short stay in India the authoress contrived to make contact with a very large number of people. To a great extent, however, it must have been a "conducted tour" in which she was brought in touch with one side of Indian life and thought. Long residents in India grow more and more aware of the variety of India, and would be quite prepared to admit that the picture Halidé Edib draws is true, though only partial. An illustration of this unavoidable one-sidedness is that, for a large part of the book, the authoress writes as if the Moslems were hand in hand with the Hindu Congress, taking her cue from those Moslems whom she met in the entourage of Mahatma Gandhi. At the time she was apparently quite unaware of the large body of Moslems who distrust the Congress and hate Gandhi. Towards the end of the book an awakening consciousness of this fact is shown by reference to the movement for an independent Moslem state comprising the Northwest Frontier, the Panjab and Sind. But the authoress does not realize that, if this movement is of any importance, it means that the Moslem political leaders quoted earlier in the book are not representative of the whole body of Indian Moslems.

The book has not only literary style, but also the charm that comes from a kindly nature always looking for the best in people and things. To take people at their own valuation is undoubtedly a better fault than that of many other cold-weather visitors who criticize drastically right and left. But any one who knows India well cannot help being surprised that the writer is unconscious of many things that obviously deserve criticism and need amendment.

Those who planned the tour for the authoress were very successful in preventing her from seeing any of the fruits of Christian missions. This is most regrettable in the matter of the Outcastes. She was naturally appalled at the conditions under which they exist, and too readily accepted the view of her guides that the poverty and misery of the Outcastes was infinitely worse as a result of British rule—though it must be admitted that she is not unduly critical in other respects of the failures of the British. She was much impressed by what she saw of uplift work of the Outcastes by the Hindus, and by the continual discussion of the problem by Hindus, not realizing that in India action does not necessarily follow from words. Of the great uplift of the Outcastes who have come under Christian influence she had heard nothing.

There are a number of historical errors which should not have been made. The Jews did not help to build the pyramids (p. 37); the Turk did not Westernize himself earlier than other Moslems (p. 129), for Moslems in Egypt and India had both made great progress when statues and motor cars were still forbidden in Turkey; the Khilafat did not pass to the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth cen-

tury (p. 311); Islam is not the only religion which has not been incorporated in the Hindu system (p. 131).

Those who are particularly interested in Islam will learn from this book the well-known fact that many Indian Moslems talk of a reformed Islam without any clear-cut idea of the directions of the reform, or of the bases on which the Islam of the future is to stand. But the reforms in which the authoress is interested are mainly political and social, and little is said about reform on the religious or theological side.

As a whole the book may be described as a delightful study of the people (mostly political leaders) whom the authoress met. But it may well be doubted whether an acquaintance with prominent people admits one to the inside of any country, let alone India.

L. E. BROWNE.

Transactions: Years 1936 and 1937. Volume VIII. Edited by The Rev. James Robson, M.A., Recording Secretary, Glasgow University Oriental Society. Civic Press, Ltd., Glasgow, 1938.

The successive volumes of this Society are not bulky but they are filled with most interesting papers on subjects of practical interest. The present issue contains a paper on the Colors of the Nile which is fascinating. Professor Stevenson writes on the Growth of Language. There are studies on the books of Malachi, Hosea and the Song of Songs, as well as a longer article on the Prophet as orator, with illustrations from Micah and Isaiah. Professor Matthew Black attempts a new translation of the Syriac inscription on the Nestorian monument, and Mr. H. G. Farmer has an article on Musical Instruments in Primitive Culture.

Z.

Annali Lateranensi. Pubblicazione Del Pontificio Museo Missionario Ethnologico. Vol. II. Citta Del Vaticano, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1939. pp. 421.

This is the second Annual Report of the Pontifical Museum of Missionary Ethnology. Those who have been to Rome and visited this extraordinary collection are filled with enthusiasm. There is nothing like it in Protestant Christendom.

The Annual consists of articles, book reviews, and recent publications in the field of Ethnology and the History of Missions. The present issue contains articles in several languages, of which the most important deal with Christian painting in foreign lands, funeral customs in Madagascar, initiation ceremonies in Northwest Australia, and a detailed study of the Ndogo tribes of Bahr-el-Ghazal in the Sudan. Our Quarterly, THE MOSLEM WORLD, is listed with other publications in the Index of reviews.

Z.

Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. Vol. xiii, nos. 3, 4. pp. 2f.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vol. lv (1936). pp. 19f.

In two significant articles in these two magazines, Dr. H. Strothmann, professor of Oriental languages at the University of Hamburg, describes the condition of the Christian Church in the East.

In the first, entitled "Die neuere Orient-geschichte im Rahmen der Kirchengeschichte," Dr. Strothmann shows that the Christianity of the Near East is now a thing of the past. At Ephesus, for instance, there were still Christians to be found some twenty years ago, but there are none left today. This is the final development of the retrogression of Christendom which began with the destruction of the Christians in Arabia. Mohammed thus staged a great drama, the epilogue of which is the present extinction of Christianity. That the Christians were willing to exchange their faith for Islam remains a mystery to us. There were indeed remnants of Christianity in the Orient, but these were not sufficient to hold the East. Islam, though retaining Jesus in its doctrine, has re-established the pre-Christian distance between God and man as it is according to its Orientally-conceived monotheism.

In the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, the author balances profits and losses in his article, "Heutiges Christentum und das Schicksal der Assyrier." In the West there is the advance of Christianity among Germans and Celts; in the East the retreat before Islam. In the 8th century the quarrels among the monophysite Christians became fatal and so was the forming of sects. A *modus vivendi* is earnestly sought. Christians, Jews and Moslems are called the three believing generations. In consequence of this, a great many follow the temptation to join Islam without being obliged to abandon Christ. The heritage which came to Islam from Christianity has broadened it to a supernational religion. In these circumstances it was a miracle that the Nestorian church continued to exist until 1300, boasting as many martyrs as the other Christian churches. Hundreds of dioceses still existed intact in the 14th century. But then came the decay, the Nestorian church became a semi-secular state; finally it had no theology nor monasteries and became paralysed in the so-called Assyrian church, whose tragic ruin we have witnessed in our day.

G. SIMON.

Die religiösen Kräfte Asiens. Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg, 1937. pp. 48. RM. 1.25.

Three professors of the University of Hamburg, namely Dr. W. Gundert, Dr. W. Schubring and Dr. H. Strothmann, report here on the religion and culture of Japan, India, and the Near East. The last article, by Dr. Strothmann, presents very clearly the spiritual and political powers of Islam in the Near East. We find here many remarks highly valuable for missionary work: "As opposed to Christianity, Islam has drawn Jesus into its own system, merely as a forerunner of Mohammed, but not as Christ" (p. 48). That very expression shows that the author refers not only to the Islam of the Near East, but to the whole Islamic problem.

G. SIMON.

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam Defends the Right to Convert

We have had to advert to this subject time and again in the columns of the *Sunrise*, and have had occasion to comment on the Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights which, though it concedes the right of the free exercise of faith is silent on the right of freedom of conversion. The concern which a community like the Ahmadis must feel in this matter is only enhanced by expressions of opinions such as are met with in pages, for instance, of the *Indian Social Reformer*. "There are communities in India," says the *Reformer*, "which cannot understand how there can be religious liberty unless men and women are allowed full freedom to collect large sums of money, organise themselves and set out to win recruits to their faith." "This," says the journal, "is not liberty but license," and adds that, in its view, "for such organizations to depend on Hindu tolerance for pushing forward proselytising is a rank absurdity." We are glad to have this clear and straightforward expression of view of a responsible Hindu journal, on a subject which has a vital importance for the Mussalmans of India.

The reason put forward for this attitude towards conversion usually is that the practice creates bitterness between members of different faiths and leads sometimes to disturbance of peace. But, in the present case the *Reformer* does not specifically allude to this ground and seems to justify its attitude on more fundamental considerations. It appears to take the view that a faith has an inherent right to be protected from the organized proselytising activities of another faith, however free such activities may be from coercion, temptation, and unfair means of all kinds. This is a view with which votaries of a faith like Islam can never agree. Conversion pursued among divers races and peoples of different civilizations, cultures and faiths, has been the mainspring of the strength and universality of the faith of Islam; and expansion of the civilization of Islam has been due almost entirely to the power of its appeal with which it can win adherents from the other faiths. Giving up conversion would not only be suicidal to Islam; it would amount to ignoring a vital commandment of the faith, which contributes to its very life and vitality. There is admittedly in conversion the possibility of the other faiths' feeling concerned at their dwindling numbers; but in a world of conflict of civilizations and cultures in which one set of ideas triumph and another goes under, this is, to our mind, inevitable.

—*The Sunrise*, Lahore (Sept. 3, 1938.)

The New Hyderabad Academy

The Hon. Secretary, the Hyderabad Academy, Hyderabad, writes:

"An event of great literary importance both to Hyderabad and the intellectual world outside is the formation here of a Society of Scholars under the name of the Hyderabad Academy. The primary object of this body is to stimulate the production of creative and scientific literature of a high standard by its members and promote a right taste for literary judgment among the intellectual classes by (a) affording opportunities for a free interchange of ideas between the members interested in particular subjects and for active collaboration between them, (b) conducting a Journal of its own in English and Urdu and (c) publishing the works of its members.

"The Academy has started with about 40 members all belonging to the front rank of scholars belonging to Hyderabad, most of whom are either professors of the Osmania University or are its distinguished products holding high European and other Academic qualifications, and further membership is open to every person who has to his or her credit any published works of outstanding merit or is engaged in high research and is recommended by the Academy's Council.

"Scholars of international reputation, particularly the Orientalists of England and the European Continent, are expected to join as Honorary Members and correspondents of the Academy.

"The Academy will issue a quarterly magazine both in English and Urdu embodying the results of research by its different members.

"It has been decided to translate into Urdu the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* a monumental work dealing with the Islamic history, philosophy, religion, arts and sciences, personalities and peoples, and issue the journal of the Academy. The Academy has before it a programme to concentrate in the pages of the journal and other publications of the Academy not merely the results of research by its members in art and science but to bring to light the literary and scientific achievements of India in the domain of knowledge available in Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and the modern Indian languages."

From *The Muslim Review*, October, 1938.

Slavery in Arabia

To debate whether the Koran sanctions or merely recognizes slavery is profitless and worse. The same question exercised men's minds a hundred years ago in the United States, and the New Testament then, as the Koran now, was looked on by the rich slave holder as endorsing the system, and giving it divine sanction, the progressive liberal in religion in each case asserting that on the contrary the spirit of the sacred book is better honored by the abolition of so unjust and deteriorating an institution. Certainly every missionary will rejoice to agree with the progressive and humane interpretation, not only agreeing, but offering active assistance whenever circumstances put in his hands the opportunity to do so. The interpretation of the Koran is something for Moslems, not for outsiders. May God strengthen the arm of those who interpret it as fostering the abolition of slavery.

Slavery as seen in Arabia is more affected by economic and social factors than by what is written in the Koran. Buying and selling and owning a fellow man as a piece of chattel property, is what it is, by virtue of its own nature, and like war, famine and pestilence, it is not greatly modified by humanitarian embroidery pasted on the outside. Slaves are a poor investment economically, and on this account very few of them are found among the Bedouins of the hungry wastes of Nejd. Twenty-five years ago, when Oman was prosperous, it was largely worked on a plantation system, which called for large numbers of slaves. They did extraordinarily little work, and were so well fed and fat that they almost shone. I remember one such slave who was governor of the province, and it was not at all unusual to find a slave, supervisor of the affairs of the entire plantation. But the prosperity of Oman has passed away, and with it most of the slaves. In the Bâtina where present-day poverty is the most bitter, I do not know of a single plantation worked as they were twenty-five years ago.

On the Pirate Coast, where slaves are kept to dive for pearls, slavery is a repulsive and dreadful thing. Men and women live on the level of animals. As little is spent on them as possible, they being regarded simply as pieces of equipment for pearl diving. The missionary visited at night by such men begging for assistance in running away, listens to many dreadful stories. Nor are the stories false. Just before my arrival at one of these towns, three slaves had run away, the attempt being to get to Bahrain, where a bona fide British Consul would give them freedom. It was a desperate effort and it did not succeed. The men were caught, and whipped so severely that one of them died.

It is to be said with all gratitude that even on the Pirate Coast, the finer spirits of the community, granted their judgment is not perverted by the personal holding of slaves, agree that slavery is an evil system, and assert that it is out of harmony with the spirit of their religion. The slave holders on the contrary, like the beneficiaries of privilege everywhere, assert roundly that slavery comes direct from the deep counsels of God, and represents His revealed will.

Even on the Pirate Coast, the slave finds much protection in the provision by which he can demand a sale to a new master whenever he is dissatisfied with his old one. Apparently there is no appeal from this, and it prevails in places as far apart as Sharga and Kuwait. Provisions of this sort depend for their effectiveness on general public sentiment. Ordinarily it is not of much use to ask for a sale to a new master, for the new will be no different from the old. Nor does this provision nor any other, permit running away from slavery altogether. That is a crime which very nearly merits the death penalty.

Excluding the extreme situations in the pearling communities on the Pirate Coast, where slavery is pure devilish iniquity, the suffering connected with being a chattel instead of a man, is largely a psychological thing. There are men who value their freedom as a man, more than food, clothes, shelter and women all lumped together. A certain amount of this sentiment is universal, and I have never met a free man who longed to be a slave, as against very many

slaves who wanted to be free. But the weight of this burden on the soul varies greatly in different people. So far as experience in Oman goes, the African carries it more comfortably than the Beloochee. The Arab, one imagines, would simply die under it.

But slavery is a very deteriorating thing for the slave, and scarcely less so for his owner. The whole community is polluted by it. Every effort to abolish it has our sympathy and cooperation, and those who labor to that end, our right hand of fellowship.

Muscat

P. W. HARRISON.

A Moslem Editor's Regret

The following paragraph with the above title appeared in *The Sunrise* for July 2, 1938. We are omitting the name of the author of the article to which the paragraph refers:

"The Editor of *The Sunrise* is sorry for having allowed an article headed ("Death and Resurrection" of Jesus) to appear in the form in which it did, in the issue of June 4, 1938. The article in question may possibly have offended our Christian friends, and the Editor expresses his profoundest regret that he omitted to exercise that scrupulous care in the publication of matter affecting other communities and religions, expected of a paper published under Ahmadiyya auspices. Certain passages, the import of which was not adequately assessed before being passed for publication, have been found on later reading to have a marked tendency to offend the susceptibilities of Christian readers, and the tone of the whole article generally was not commendable. Rather than publish an article containing unpleasant references to other communities which might injure the cause of peace between communities the *Sunrise*, as an organ of the Ahmadiyya Movement, is pledged to the principle of promoting communal harmony and goodwill between religions, and it is, to say the least, unfortunate that a passing lapse should have disturbed that principle in this case. The Editor apologizes to the Christian community and to other readers whose sense of fairness may have been offended and assures them that in future strict care would be exercised in a matter like this."

Ancient Hadhramaut

To an audience of the Royal Central Asian Society more than usually large, Miss Gertrude Caton-Thomson lectured upon "The Hadhramaut and its Past," Lord Lamington presided. Miss Caton-Thomson was one of three ladies—the other two being Miss Stark and Miss Gardner—who last year spent many months in Southern Arabia on a scientific mission. With the aid of numerous slides, some taken by the Royal Air Force and some by herself and Miss Gardner, the lecturer held her audience spellbound for over an hour.

The party went inland from Mukalla, stayed at such towns as Terim and Shibam for a while, and finally settled to serious archæological work in Huraidha. Here they succeeded in unearthing a remarkable building erected in honour of the Moon God, all their finds dating from possibly the fourth century B. C. They found nothing earlier than the products of Achaemenid times, and nothing later than Roman.

The relationship between the Hadhramaut and Persia (Iran) in ancient times was, the lecturer contended, well worthy of investigation. How Persian coins filtered into Southern Arabia was something of a mystery. During the course of her remarks Miss Caton-Thomson showed most interestingly the extent of what was probably Javanese influence, depicting on the screen some most artistic doors which were certainly not Arabian in inspiration. She paid a great tribute to the work in the Hadhramaut of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Ingrams. Hers was the first undisturbed archæological expedition to the Hadhramaut.

The expedition was certainly worth while, and investigation by experts of the various "finds" was still proceeding. From such examination new light may be thrown on the still mysterious civilization of Southern Arabia.—*Near East and India.*

Conference of Missionaries to Moslems,

New Delhi, December 6 & 7, 1938

There was held at New Delhi in the first week of December, under the auspices of The Henry Martyn School of Islamics, a very profitable two-day conference of missionaries to Moslems. The time and place chosen suited the convenience of a number of delegates from the Near East on their way to the World Missionary Conference at Madras. Thus, out of a total attendance of 61 there were present two from Turkey, five from Iran, three from Palestine, and one from each of the following places: Beirut, Cairo, Kashgar, Singapore and Korea. The remaining 46 delegates were drawn from almost every part of India, including the Northwest Frontier Province, Bombay Presidency, Bengal, Central India and the Deccan.

Under the able leadership of Dr. M. T. Titus, the Conference considered the general subject of "The Christian Enterprise and Its Influence on Islam". Among those who addressed the gathering were Dr. H. H. Riggs of Beirut (who presented the results of a recent inquiry by the Near East Christian Council into the reasons for lack of results attending our efforts); Rev. J. Christensen of Mardan (on the theological approach) and Rev. D. A. Chowdhury of Bengal (on the Church and the Convert). Thereafter, Rev. L. Bevan Jones and Mr. S. A. Morrison of Cairo spoke on the urgent need in our evangelistic work for the closer coordination of our efforts in Church and Mission.

Another session was allotted to the consideration of Christian literature for Moslems. Miss Padwick, of Jerusalem, spoke on some of the present directions in literature, and Dr. Titus on the promotion and production of literature in India, more especially in the last sixteen years. Rev. W. A. Zoerner followed with the story of an experiment in newspaper evangelism in North India. Arrangements have been made for some of these addresses to appear in leading Journals.

Notwithstanding our disappointment that no delegate from Java had found it possible to be with us, we were privileged to hear

a most moving account of earlier gains and recent loss in Chinese Turkestan from the Rev. Gustaf Ahlbert, of the Swedish Mission.

The Conference opened each morning with a period of worship in which we were led by Bishop B. T. Badley of Delhi, and Rev. Barakat Ullah of Lahore.

A letter of affectionate remembrance and sympathy was sent from the Conference to Dr. Zwemer in his illness, to which all present affixed their signatures.

It should be added that much of the success attending the Conference was due to the gracious way in which the secretaries of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. made their accommodation available for the visitors to Delhi.

L. BEVAN JONES.

The Spread of Islam in West Africa

The monthly magazine of the Sudan United Mission has an interesting sketch regarding Islam in West Africa, from which we quote several paragraphs:

"This very cursory sketch of the spread of Islam suggests a number of summarising observations. Islam has had eight centuries to filter and fuse its way across the Sudan. It has largely been the result of the political and military progress of various Moslem kingdoms and races into new areas. It was not the result of any concerted and organised attempts to win the Africans from paganism. By the end of the nineteenth century, it had not gone much beyond the hinterland borders of the true Negroland of the Guinea Coast. This means that Southern Nigeria was still largely free from Islam, whereas Northern Nigeria was largely a cordon of Moslem states. Northern Nigeria, together with the entire Moslem hinterland, was a close geographic neighbour with the Guinea Coast, but culturally it was far removed. It fronted, not to the south, but clear across the desert, to the north. For nearly a millenium, its religion, its education, its politics and its trade were all connected with those of the Moslem areas to the north and east. Its attitudes to, and relations with, the races of the Guinea Coast and the many pagan tribes on the northern fringe, were coloured by the enmity and arrogance growing out of their difference of race, religion, economic and political life." . . . and, speaking of the present century, "One of the first results of this political control was the amalgamation of the Moslem hinterland with the pagan coastlands, and the establishment of law and order over this unified territory meant that anyone from anywhere could travel freely throughout the area in comparative safety. The *Pax Britannica* stopped inter-tribal wars and softened old-time enmities. Consequently, one of the big barriers to the spread of the hinterland peoples to the coastland was eliminated. The Nigerian Railway, which reached Kano in 1911, gave Europeans easy access to the north, but it also gave the Moslem Hausas easy access to the south.

"Another feature of the political control was the system of indirect rule. This is generally conceded to be an advanced and

enlightened policy, but it often results in the placing of pagan tribes under Moslem rulers, with the additional prestige of the European Government. And Islam profits greatly thereby.

"The preliminary occupation of much of West Africa was by trading firms, and the establishment of peace resulted in a large trade revival. Roads and railways, the telegraph and the post began to knit the whole life of the people together and to bring great changes in their attitude to one another. Many of the Moslems who had hitherto been resisted by pagans dwelling in hill fastnesses are now welcomed as traders into the rapidly changing economic life of these very pagan groups. As the late Mr. W. J. W. Roome put it: 'Along the new wide roads comes the Moslem trader, protected by British justice, stopping to pray in the villages, selling his charms, influencing chiefs, securing the erection of a grass hut that he styles a mosque, and throwing the glamour of his religion and superstition over the submissive minds of the pagans.'"

A Dustless Road from India to Europe

That is the caption of an article in *Motoring in India*, organ of the Western India Automobile Association. And that was the subject seriously discussed at a lunch held in Bombay on April 7th! There were present the Minister for Public Works of the Government of Bombay, the Consuls for Iraq, Iran, France, and Afghanistan (representing also Turkey), and other gentlemen representing commercial and motoring interests. Yet unbelievable as it may seem, such a road is actually being projected. It is said that such an international highway is already nearly completed from London to Istanbul, and the presence of the consuls of the countries in Asia through which it must pass is proof that interest in the project of a continuation to India is awakened. Railway connection of India with Europe is and has been a dream for many years, but it may be that a highway for motors will be ready first. It is not uncommon for people to drive by motor from India to Europe or vice versa, but the building of a highway from Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi to London on which the ordinary person may drive with no more difficulty than for a trip across India, is a project the consequences of which cannot be measured. What will such a highway mean for the Kingdom of God?—*United Church Review*.

Telephones for Mecca and Loud-speakers in Damascus

The steady progress of western civilization with all it means for the Arabs is noted in the press. We read that the Saudi government has decided to put up 700 telephone wires in Mecca and 400 in Jeddah. The work has progressed so far that the lines were in use during the pilgrimage. In Damascus they have put up loud-speakers in one of the leading mosques (Al-Amawi) to facilitate the hearing of the Friday sermon on the part of the worshippers.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

ABSTRACTA ISLAMICA. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier I, 1938. pp. 65-99).

Comprises "Judaeo-Arabica" by G. Vajda and "Arts and Archaeology" by J. Sauvaget.

AT SIALK: PREHISTORIC IRAN. R. Ghirshman. (In *Asia*, New York, November, 1938. pp. 645-650).

The discovery of a civilization dating from the fifth millennium B.C. has rewarded the work of the French Expedition of the Louvre excavating at Kashan (1933-1938).

CONTRIBUTIONS À L'ÉTUDE DU HARARI. Wolf Leslau. (In *Journal Asiatique*, Paris. Octobre-Décembre, 1937. pp. 529-606).

Conclusion of a study of the language used in a Moslem section of Eastern Abyssinia and believed to be a trace of ancient Semitic immigrations from Arabia.

IQBAL'S EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY. Kh. Ghulam Saiyidain. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1938. pp. 334-351).

Discusses Iqbal's thoughts on dualism and on the individual and the community.

ORIENTAL TYPES AND SCENES IN RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE PAINTING. H. Goetz. (In *The Burlington Magazine*, London. August-September, 1938. pp. 50-62; 105-115).

A detailed analysis, with illustrations, of the representations and misrepresentations of Persians, Turks, Arabs, Byzantine Greeks, Hindus and Chinese in Italian, German and Dutch paintings of the 14th-17th centuries.

PERSIANS AND PERSIAN COSTUMES IN DUTCH PAINTING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. H. Goetz. (In *The Art Bulletin*, New York. Vol. XX, 1938. pp. 280-290).

Shows the influence the Levant trade exercised upon the art of the day.

SHER SHAH'S MAUSOLEUM AT SASARAM. H. Goetz. (In *Ars Islamica*, Ann Arbor. Vol. V, Part 1, 1938. pp. 97-99).

A description and a historical and artistic appreciation of the tomb of the great Suri sultan and of related buildings.

II. ARABIA

WHITHER ARABIA? Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1938. pp. 405-408).

A comprehensive review of the book, "Whither Arabia?", by Dr. Harold W. Storm.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

L'ARABISATION DE L'ORIENT SÉMITIQUE. A. Poliak. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier I, 1938. pp. 35-63).

Outlines the history of the assimilation of non-Arab peoples in lands subjugated by the Moslem conquests, a union achieved by moderate treatment and not by cruel methods.

THE CITY STATE OF MECCA. M. Hamidullah. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1938. pp. 254-276).

A survey of the political, social and moral conditions prevailing in this metropolis before the days of Mohammed.

DE LA DÉFAITE D'ANKARA À LA PRISE DE CONSTANTINOPLE. P. Wittek. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier I, 1938. pp. 1-34).

Views a half century of Turkish history, 1402-1453; a period which sufficed to transform the Ottoman state into an empire.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

AL-FÂRÂBÎ'S POLITICAL THEORIES. H. K. Sherwani. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1938. pp. 288-303).

The author finds that the suppositions of the Social Contract and of Sovereignty are foreshadowed in the writings of this great thinker.

WHAT IS THE KORAN? The Rev. E. E. Elder. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1938. pp. 578-580).

Describes the main features of the remarkable book which still exercises such profound religious and social influence in Arabic-speaking lands.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

CHANGE COMES TO BIBLE LANDS. Frederick Simpich. (In

The National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. December, 1938. pp. 695-754).

This fully illustrated account of developments in the Near East is accompanied by a fine map, showing both ancient and modern historic routes and places.

IS ISLAM RIPE FOR A CALIPH? H. St.J. Philby. (In *Asia*, New York. November, 1938. pp. 669-670).

Until greater unity is developed among Mohammedan lands, no Caliph can appear, despite rumors of the choice of the young king, Farouk, for the coveted honor.

NATURAL RESOURCES OF PALESTINE. A. Bonné. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. September, 1938. pp. 258-266).

In the last fifteen years pressure of circumstances has caused wide changes and improvements to be seen in a country possessing few advantages within itself.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AMERICAN CONSULAR ACTIVITIES IN EGYPT, 1849-1863. David R. Serpell. (In *The Journal of Modern History*, Chicago. September, 1938. pp. 344-363).

Surveys the efforts made during this period to secure trade concessions and to establish a stable American national status.

CHINA'S MUSLIMS MUST CHOOSE. Lyman Hoover. (In *Asia*, New York, November, 1938. pp. 657-660; December, 1938. pp. 719-722).

China, Russia and Japan are all eager to win the support of the 1,500,000 Mohammedans of North China, for their aid might easily bring victory to the side they assisted.

EGYPT: A NEW ERA. E. W. Polson Newman. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. October, 1938. pp. 425-432).

Treats of the recently acquired freedom of Egypt from foreign domination.

THE EVIL PLIGHT OF PALESTINE. Albert Viton. (In *Asia*, New York. November, 1938. pp. 663-666; December, 1938. pp. 708-711).

Discusses the affairs of the Holy Land from the angle of alleged British mismanagement.

THE MOVEMENT OF POLITICAL REFUGEES. (In *The Round Table*, London. September, 1938. pp. 678-691).

Examines post-war refugee movements and the international action taken to provide means for dealing with the resulting problems.

LA QUESTION DE PALESTINE. Maurice Pernot. (In *L'Esprit International*, Paris. Octobre, 1938. pp. 571-582).

Sketches the main events since 1922 and suggests the indispensable need of Great Britain for a firm footing in that area.

LES SYRIENS EN A.O.F. Pierre Ormoy. (In *Études*, Paris. 20 Octobre 1938. pp. 208-218).

The French Government is faced with a serious problem in securing the proper assimilation of Christians and Moslems entering West Africa from Syria.

LA TUNISIE. J. Raymond. (In *La Nouvelle Revue*, Paris. 15 Décembre 1938. pp. 247-256; 1 Janvier 1939. pp. 9-19).

A study of French activities in Tunis since 1857 à propos of recent Italian demands for concessions there.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

CO-ORDINATION OF WORK AMONG MUSLIM GIRLS. Mrs. L. Bevan Jones. (In *Christian Education*, Punjab, India. Third Quarter, 1938. pp. 13-22).

Outlines methods to prevent wasted effort and duplication of work.

MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS. S. A. Morrison. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. October, 1938. pp. 601-615).

Calls attention to factors often contributing to apparent failures in the conversion of Mohammedans and suggests ways for surmounting these obstacles.

THE PRIVILEGE OF PREACHING TO MOSLEMS. Stephen Khoobyar. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1938. pp. 581-584).

Gives many encouraging instances of conversions and evangelistic opportunities occurring to a missionary preacher in Iran.

THE STORY OF MESHED, A SACRED CITY. Rev. D. M. Donaldson. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1938. pp. 419-422).

Indicates the historical background of this Iranian city and finds much hope in the present-day advance in the work of mission schools and hospitals.