

# THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XXX

JULY, 1940

No. 3

## PRAYER FOR THE WORLD OF ISLAM

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In the first number of our Quarterly (January 1911) we expressed the aim of its publication as follows:

"To represent no faction or fraction of the Church, but to be broad in the best sense of the word. Its columns are open to all contributors who hold the 'unity of the faith in the bond of peace and righteousness of life.' It is not a magazine of controversy, much less of compromise. In essentials it seeks unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity. We hope to interpret Islam as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual, to Christians; to point out and press home the true solution of the Moslem problem, namely, the evangelization of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are burst, its wounds are healed, its sorrows removed and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ. To this end we invite the cordial cooperation of all those who have made special study of any phase of Islam, or who can from their experience show others how to win Moslems to Christ." . . . . .

*That* is still our program and our aim after the thirty pregnant years which have seen such stupendous changes and upheavals, intellectual, social and political, in the world of Islam. But we have not yet reached our goal; at times it has seemed not only far distant but increasingly difficult.

The Alpine climber who is trying to reach the summit can scarcely see his goal except at certain fortunate moments in the upward path. What he does see is the stony path which must be trodden, the rocks and precipices to be avoided, the unending slope that gets ever steeper; he feels his growing weakness, the solitude and the burden,

and yet the inspiration of the climber is the sight of the goal! Because of it all the hardships of the journey count for naught. The Fellowship of Faith for Moslems which calls attention to the need of prayer in each issue of our Quarterly, is for those who accept this challenge and have dared their utmost in intercession. The evangelization of the Moslem world is not a phrase to be bandied about easily, it is a deep life-purpose, a work of faith, a labor of love, a patience of hope. Only those who believe that with God all things are possible enroll in such a goodly fellowship of the dauntless.

In prayer for Moslems we need first of all to ask that everyone of us may be delivered from fear, from timidity. This has been one of the chief hindrances in the evangelization of Moslem lands. Mr. H. G. Wells in his story "The Research Magnificent," says that the struggle with fear is the very beginning of the soul's history.

"Fear," he writes, "is the foremost and most persistent of the shepherding powers that keep us in the safe fold, that drive us back to the beaten tracks and comfort and—futility. The beginning of all aristocracy is the subjugation of fear." . . . "The modern world thinks too much as though painlessness and freedom from danger were ultimate ends. It is fear-haunted, it is troubled by the thought of pain and death, which it has never met except as well-guarded children meet these things, in exaggerated and untestable forms, in the menagerie or in nightmares. And so it thinks the discovery of anaesthetics the crowning triumph of civilization, and cosiness and innocent amusement—the ideals of the nursery—the whole purpose of mankind."

In a Cycle of Prayer for the year 1940, the Fellowship of Faith lists thirty-one topics for the days of the month and each of them is introduced by a phrase from the Bible which challenges faith and puts fear and doubt to flight. We quote some examples:

"For rulers and all in authority, *'Our God is able'*. For Palestine, Syria, Transjordan and Iraq, *'Impossible . . . possible with God'*. For Turkey, *'He rebuked the Red Sea'*. For the Moslems of Russia (U.S.S.R.) including the Crimea, Siberia, Turkestan, Bukhara, and the Azerbaijan Republic, *'The walls of Jericho fell down'*. For Afghanistan, *'The iron gate opened of his own accord'*.

For Moslems of India, *'He saw the multitudes'*. For the Moslems of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, Ceylon and Burmah; for the Moplahs on the S.W. coast; for the Maldiva and Laccadive Islands, *'Pray ye the Lord of the harvest'* . . . . For Moslem communities in Japan, Korea and Formosa; in South America, i.e., Brazil, British, Dutch and French Guiana, and the West Indies; in U. S. America, Canada and Australia, *'Them also must I bring'*. For Moslem students, sailors and firemen in Western lands, *'I was a stranger'* . . . . For all Moslem converts and inquirers. For courage for secret believers and the persecuted. For the backsliders. *'Ye have not because ye ask not'*. For all Medical Mission work . . . . *'There went virtue out of Him'*. For committees and secretaries. For conferences and missionary magazines. For the MOSLEM WORLD and its editors, etc. *'Where there is no vision the people perish.'*"

And so we might quote the whole list of items, for prayer and intercession, for each of the days of the month. But in every issue of our Quarterly the thoughtful reader will find an equally urgent call to prayer presented from many lands and many angles. The occupied fields, especially India, the Near East and North Africa present perplexing problems to which our contributors call attention. Dr. John R. Mott in his editorial in the April issue emphasized once again the fact that many Moslem areas are largely unoccupied and awaiting pioneer effort. Surely these call to prayer. Only God can find and thrust out laborers of the right sort for such a task. For the unoccupied fields we need men of the highest type—real pioneers, such as Charles G. Gordon once described in a letter to his sister:

"Where will you find an apostle? I will explain what I mean by that term. He must be a man who has died entirely to the world; who has no ties of any sort; who longs for death when it may please God to take him; who can bear the intense dullness of these countries; who seeks for few letters; and who can bear the thought of dying deserted. Now, there are few, very, very few men who can accept this post. But no half-measures will do. . . . A man must give up everything, understand *everything*, *everything*, to do anything for Christ there. No half nor three-quarter measures will do. And yet, what a field!"

A missionary wrote from Java:

"Now we see clearly that Mohammedanism will be conquered by the Gospel, not from the periphery to the centre but from the centre to the periphery;

*Vexilla regis prodeunt*

*Fulget crucis mysterium."*

But there is no centre nor periphery in the realm of prayer for the Moslem world. We are all one in this ministry, and can strengthen each other by it. Victory anywhere means joy everywhere, and apparent defeat or disaster must only drive us to our knees.

Face to face with baffling problems in his own station, and conscious of the vast areas still unoccupied by missions and of the hundreds of millions untouched, the individual missionary may well grow discouraged, and let hope deferred make his heart sick. But the remedy for such discouragement is not to be found in a study of statistics. The things that are impossible by statistics are often possible by dynamics. Mere numbers are as nothing over against the power of Life. To those who believe the promises of God, who know the living Christ and have caught the vision of world-wide redemption, there can be no discouragement. We have on our side all the undiscovered wealth of God and His omnipotence. Let us pray.

*New York City*

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

"GO YE . . . AND PREACH THE GOSPEL"  
TO THE MOSLEMS

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There are many missionaries who are far better qualified to discuss this topic than the writer. It may seem to some that it is presumptuous for me to undertake to make this contribution to THE MOSLEM WORLD, for I am not recognized as an "authority." But for many years I have been burdened regarding the work of Christian missions among Moslem people. I have recognized this as being probably the greatest problem confronting the church in these last years of earth's history. We have worked among Moslems and in Moslem lands for many years. It does seem, however, that results from our work do not indicate any material approach towards a completed task. I trust I shall be pardoned for making some observations and expressing some convictions regarding this very important and perplexing phase of the work of Christ's church in the earth.

To begin with, I am deeply convinced that, when Jesus gave the command that His gospel was to be preached in all the world, He intended that Moslem lands and peoples should be included. I am convinced that when Jesus said, "Go and make disciples of all nations" (Moffatt), He intended that disciples should be made from among Moslems. I believe that when Jesus said "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations," it was His purpose that this gospel of the kingdom should be preached with power unto Moslem nations as well as all others. And, lastly, I am satisfied that when John the Revelator saw "another angel" who had "the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth," "for every nation and tribe and tongue and people"

(Rev. 14:6, Moffatt), the Moslem nations and tribes and peoples were not excluded.

I have mentioned that for many years Christian missions have worked in Moslem lands. I have observed, however, that this work in Moslem lands has not always been directed to or for Moslem people. The line of least resistance has been followed in many cases, and missionaries in Moslem countries have built up churches, but churches consisting of converts from among Christian minorities and not churches of converts from among Moslems. I have actually known missionaries who had been located for years in Moslem countries, and who had never preached a sermon to Moslems, nor indeed tried to direct any of their activities towards Moslem people!

I fully recognize that the task of doing evangelistic work among Moslems is a peculiarly difficult one. Self-sacrificing men and women have worn themselves out in doing educational, medical, and social uplift work in these lands. Their work is much appreciated by the authorities in some cases, and by the people themselves in many cases. But these activities, noble though they be, are not building up a strong Christian church from among Moslem peoples. It will be said that Jesus used these methods. He taught and He healed. But He also preached. And what is more important, He commanded us to "Go . . . . and preach." We have been woefully negligent in the use of these accessory methods of work in some Moslem countries. I believe that the task lying ahead of us would be easier of accomplishment had we, through the years, done more educational and medical work in Moslem lands.

But God has never indicated that the command to teach and to heal is to displace His very explicit command to us to "preach the gospel." I recognize that to attempt to openly preach the gospel message to Moslems is fraught with many difficulties and, possibly, dangers. Some incidents could be cited which emphasize the dangers involved. We face in some instances antagonistic governments, or, at least, government officers. We face dis-

interest, and, sometimes, fanatical opposition. Truly the task is great; it is difficult and most perplexing. But the gospel has lost none of its power. The gospel is still "the power of God unto salvation." Surely, "this gospel of the kingdom," which we must preach to the world in these days, has no less power than the gospel which the apostles preached centuries ago!

When the apostles went forth from Jerusalem to "preach the gospel," they were confronted with conditions that were, in many respects, similar to those which evangelists in Moslem lands face now. They had to face the wrath of antagonistic governments, complete indifference on the part of some people, and fanatical opposition on the part of others. Some of the apostles became martyrs for the gospel they preached. History and tradition indicate that four of them were crucified, one was beheaded, one "flayed to death," and others tortured and killed in various ways. Paul's experiences, as listed in 2 Corinthians 11:23-27, would seem to indicate that the preacher of the gospel in Moslem lands need expect no more difficult experiences than were encountered by the apostles and early missionaries of the Christian church. It was under those very conditions of persecutions and great hardships, however, that the church grew and prospered. The messengers of the Cross "went everywhere preaching the word." They suffered, many laid down their lives, but marvelous were the results. Is it too much to believe that, if the gospel is now *preached* with the power that accompanied the preaching of the early church missionaries, similar results would be seen?

Throughout the Dark Ages church history thrills us with the record of many who counted not their lives dear, that they, like Paul, might finish their course with joy, "to testify the gospel of the grace of God." They continued their preaching of the gospel in the face of dangers and a bitterness of persecution that are difficult to adequately conceive of.

Coming down to the history of modern missions, mis-

sionaries and native workers in some lands have faced death and suffered as did the missionaries of the early Christian church and of the Dark Ages. But fearlessly, with a courage born of the realization that this gospel of the kingdom must be preached, they *preached* this message, and thousands of bitter enemies of the truth have been won into the church. Can it be, that what is needed to win large numbers of Moslems into the church at this time is more *preaching*, more fearless, courageous, evangelistic preaching of the message which contains the "blessed hope" even for the inhabitants of those lands? Can it be that the messengers heralding the Lord's "good tidings" need to be more "reckless for Christ"?

As I contemplate this great problem which God's people must wrestle with and solve before the coming of Jesus, I am greatly helped and comforted by the prophecy of Isaiah 60. The Lord promises a time when "the forces of the Gentiles shall come unto thee." The word "forces" suggests a large number. And verses 6 and 7 very definitely justify us in believing that multitudes "shall come to thy light" from among those who dwell in the lands of the camel.

In 1 Corinthians 1:20 Paul asks significantly, "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?" In connection with work for Moslems there has been much manifesting of wisdom, much learned writing on the problems and perplexities of the work. There has been more disputing, possibly, than anywhere else in the world. In fact, many have felt that only by conducting successful public disputes with Moslems could their hearts be reached and won to Christ. Paul goes on to say "But we preach Christ crucified." And in verse 21 he claims that God has resolved to save souls by the "sheer folly" of preaching. Would to God that there might be manifested by God's servants in Moslem lands more of this "sheer folly" of preaching! It does appear as folly. In the eyes of the world, in most Christian eyes, it cannot be done. But since we have not solved the problem by any

other method, shall we not give God's method a chance? We do not attempt to deny the difficulties, nor even the dangers. They do exist in a very real way. But as an inspired writer has said, "When in faith we take hold of God's strength, He will change, wonderfully change, the most discouraging outlook. He will do this for the glory of His name. Nothing can stand in His way. His power is absolute, and it is the pledge of the sure fulfillment of His promises to His people. He can remove all obstructions to the advancement of His work. He has means for the removal of every difficulty."

Shall we not trust God more? Shall we not take hold of His strength, and allow Him to "wonderfully change the most discouraging outlook" confronting God's servants in these days? Shall we not "*preach* the gospel," "*preach* the word," and expect Him to remove the difficulties so that we shall "make disciples," many of them, even from among the Moslems?

*Washington, D. C.*

T. J. MICHAEL.

## THE PHILOSOPHICAL RAPPROCHEMENT OF CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM IN ACCORDANCE WITH IBN KHALDUN'S SCIENTIFIC CRITICISM OF WHAT IS STRANGE

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There is a passage in Ibn Khaldun's "Prolegomena" (of the fourteenth century) where the credibility of Ibn Batuta's adventures in India is discussed in Morocco. Ibn Khaldun points out that the unknown is not necessarily the impossible, illustrating this by the story of the Vizir's son, born and brought up in prison and knowing no world but that. He proceeds in his large and free manner to discuss what it is possible to believe. Believing as I do that Christian and Moslem, coming more and more free of their walls of circumstance may come to understanding and spiritual communion by using each other's thought and experience at the highest, I intend to use Ibn Khaldun's standards of judgment as to certain essentials and potentials of our two worlds, in appearance so strange the one to the other. We do not know what is written for us in the *Lauh Mahfuz*, but science begins to teach us what it is possible to believe. If there is any one lesson, it is "unity in multiplicity." Ibn Khaldun is among the first of the scientists, a philosophic historian. I am the last and the least of his pupils, but my intention at least is philosophic.

"What a difference there is between sheep and rats," exclaimed the Vizir to his son, who in his dungeon ignorance had supposed that his mutton and beef and camel-meat came from kinds of rats, no other animal having been within his limited experience or being within his ignorant knowledge. One does indeed remain in ignorance of other worlds and even of one's own, if one is brought up in prison by authority, kept there by tradition, barred

by theology or ideology, bound by one's own prejudices. Without free range for experience and thought, the worlds of Christendom and Islam have thus remained ignorant of themselves and of each other. Even the best of us are largely unaware of the new phenomena in each. But as communications improve, each judges the other by its own experience and standard. Thus Moslems, subconsciously suspecting that the acts of Christians come from the only motive that has moved Islam in their knowledge, religion, suspect us always of religious propaganda, while we Westerners, whose allegiance in practice is to scientific inventions (with lip-service to true scientific spirit) expect Moslems to be moved by what motivates, not always to good, our society, applied science.

When Ibn Batuta reported in Morocco the distribution of six months' provisions to the population of Delhi on the Sultan's departure and the ceremonial reception and largesse on his return, the people in the West were surprised. They doubted and disbelieved not according to probability, possibility, credibility, confirmation and proof, but because this news from another world was "strange." Tangier was not Delhi. Contemporary Washington, D.C., is not mediaeval Delhi, and we are equally surprised to find from Ibn Batuta that "New Deal" had been tried in India, but we have knowledge that makes it seem possible, knowledge as the basis of belief. In this respect, two cities distant in time and place are made one in a larger unit of understanding.

In order that East and West may not remain in their respective ignorance of each other and of their own possibilities, we must press the point that the mere fact of the importation of new things led to discussion between the Vizir and his son, in fact to scientific inquiry. The answer may not have been understood correctly. The boy thought of sheep in terms of rats, but he accepted their existence, ate their mutton, and was informed by his father that the rat was not the only standard of appreciation. Sultan's Ibn Khaldun, writing his book in a prison, did not

live in its ignorance; he had come to know many things and to use them with liberal science. He knew that men differ according to the countries they live in, the food they eat, the work they do. Especially interested in the relations of religion and politics, he held that universal religion was the sole force that could organize men in society and state. Great knowledge, such as Ibn Khaldun's, leads to great ideas to coordinate it, and great establishments to manifest the ideas. Things known are like bits of quicksilver which run together in larger and larger knowledge up to that sum of Truth which is God, the Father of Science. But the boy only understood from his father that sheep, kine and camels were rats "with a difference." We cannot all think with the encyclopaedic information and critical insight of Ibn Khaldun.

If the ordinary Moslem thus thinks of our scientific West in terms of his own religious life, he may be in error but he will imagine a religion of Science, with its political consequences of universality and order. If the Westerner thinks of Moslem religious life in terms of his own science, he may be in error, but he will imagine that Islam is part of the science of religion (and indeed come to perceive that Christianity is, too). By this time there is some inter-world currency of ideas. The coinage may not actually have a cross on one side and a crescent or lion on the other, but in his common world of the mind, there is one coin, and that of good value, Truth. Alas, the philosopher may unite the multiplicities of the universe, the learned may understand him, the educated may attend to him, but the ignorant babblers will say, "What he says is strange, let us silence him." It is, moreover, to be feared that certain vested interests, economic, political, and religious, exploit the ignorance of the masses on both sides. The first part of intellectual cooperation between Christendom and Islam is to minimize this exploitation by exposure of the biased nature of those who would "divide and rule" their units. The second part is to visualize and realize a larger unit to comprehend both and all.

Ibn Khaldun continues his discussion of news brought from the East to the West with remarks that are applicable on the one hand to Ibn Batuta's present successors, the Western Journalists and on the other to bazaar news in the present East about the West: "In telling of news, men are taken with a mania for exaggeration to excite admiration." Instead of "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," which jury and *cadi* alike find it difficult to obtain from the witness, though on oath to tell it, we have this journalese or bazaar "mania for exaggeration" in charge of our ideas. They exaggerate peculiar details "to excite admiration." History also exaggerates what, in the relativities of God, are details, holy wars and massacres, for example, on both sides. Then theology has its details on one side and the other, both insignificant in comparison with their single or similar monotheism, or significant only of the many languages through which the Word of God is to be heard according to the hearer. Societies, too, exaggerate their differences, as between hygienic and ceremonial cleanliness or between workers in sweat-shops and slaves. What exaggeration excites our admiration and incites our hostility! Only too often items of news from another sphere excite hostility to the "strange" which we do not feel for similar stumbling-blocks in our own sphere. Factual information is not curative. We must educate some sympathetic use of the facts in relation to the ideal so as to enlarge our spheres of understanding, so that our neighbor's point of view may be understood, or at least allowed for.

To continue Ibn Batuta's news from India in our own times: it is pleasing to note that the British there, after a study of local law in general and Moslem law in particular, having the ideal of justice in mind (as well as the very different details of their own and Moslem law) have so used their ideal that they have arrived at an adjustment of methods and principles which satisfies each party as just in theory and workable in fact. Moslems and

Hindoos and others have not yet done so, yet justice is a universal ideal of well-known actual value.'

The "Exaggeration" of details is such that we lose sight of the similarity of the wholes, or of the identity of a conception which can reasonably include both. Much more do we fall short of the absolute comprehension of the divine mind, whose reflection at least should shine upon our upward-climbing thoughts, shining alike on all worlds. The common development of our histories, however various, from a single past in the Near East; prolonged and wide historical relations, however hostile at times; our common human needs and difficulties, however different the circumstances; our corresponding deliverance from religious and political tyranny, however different the dates; our common futures in a world-economy with international law to protect it, however unattainable in the present millenium; our common birthright in the mind of God . . . . we may exaggerate the community of sheep and rats in the physical world, but in the intellectual and spiritual it would seem to overstate for men the ultimate intellectual influence of a common humanity and the ultimate spiritual influence of a common God.

The safeguards against exaggeration advocated by Ibn Khaldun (and doubtless, the ideal unity of Jehovah and Allah may be one of these exaggerations and that of Christ and Muhammad another) are: (1) "Recourse to rules and principles," (2) "Careful self-examination" and (3) "Distinction between the possible and the impossible."

(1) The "rules and principles" in divine affairs are in Christendom more under Platonic guidance, thanks to Saint Augustine, and in Islam more in Aristotelian shape, thanks to Al Ghazzali. This has widened the difference between Christ and Muhammad, but the philosophical mentality is one and the end of philosophy is one: understanding. Recourse to it by men of affairs, divine or human, leads not only to mutual understanding but to mutual toleration and to cooperation. The defining and isolating technique of the theologians, without force in a world of science, is

to be left in church or mosque. The destructive and annihilating power of barbarism, of so-called "holy warfare," with force only, is to be left in Nordic forest or Arabian desert. But the unifying technique of reason, the civilizing force of reason, the "rules and principles" of reason, must be the safeguard of our common soul.

"Sure, he that made us with such large discourse,  
Looking before and after, gave us not  
That capability and godlike reason  
To fust in us unused."

(2) "Careful self-examination" may be slow to discover to a Christian the presence of Allah, whether "on his throne" anthropomorphically or metaphorically or "quite other" (after the doctrine of Aristotle). Nor may it discover to a Moslem the Christian God of love, "within" (after the Platonic idea), but to try to realize the divine inspiration of one's own soul in thought, and to try to realize the divine origin of one's own thought in action, is to share in a larger process of inspiration and reason, a unifying process whereby one's neighbor is as oneself. Any Moslem who comes to realize in his own soul the universal Platonic virtues, good, beauty, and truth, comes not only to understand but to love the gentleness of Isa. Any Christian who realizes for himself the universal Aristotelian unity comes not only to understand but to serve Muhammad's unifying purpose, once so effective among the warring tribes of Arabia. This unifying purpose seems to be shown at work by homotonous laws in the larger and larger political units of society, from primitive family to tribe, to city, to nation, to empire, to league, and from each in turn to appropriate religious units, each again in turn to set free a spiritual unit, an ideal, for a still larger political unit to embody. It would seem that if the essence of the Christian idea of God is "Love" and of the Moslem God is "unity", then there is only in terminology or grammatical "voice" a difference, for "Love" is not satisfied short of "unity", and "unity" does not refrain from the unifying action of "Love." The end of

Christianity is thus the "unity" dear to Moslems, and the best Moslem means to it is the "love" dear to Christians, a doctrine which may well seem "strange" to the orthodox.

(3) As regards "the possible and the impossible", Ibn Khaldun, not considering at the time the sphere of the intellectual absolute (which he calls "vast and undifferentiated"), would have us consider what is possible to the material, the substance, the nature of the thing in question, in fact what is scientifically possible of belief. Therefore, if we follow the safeguards of Ibn Khaldun against exaggeration of what is "strange", each of our two worlds must learn what is scientifically possible. He says that we must consider possibility according to the circumstances of its origin, its kind, its difference from one thing and another, its attributes, its extent and size and power. Only what is beyond the sphere of what is found possible by these standards is impossible. By such standards we must decide if rapprochement is possible between Christendom and Islam, especially if theology is not one of the sciences and if science is not a religion of Truth.

What then is possible in the way of rapprochement of our two worlds? We are not now so much concerned with the answer in regard to material and substance as with the necessity of asking the question, of being free to ask this question. Freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom to obey the law because it is reasonable and loyal to its ideal are necessary to the free question and essential to the free answer. The unity of Christendom and Islam must be an ideal unity free from circumstance. Holy warfare has failed to unite, theological argument has failed to unite, intellectual cooperation towards the ideal of unity will not fail. This is not merely by the knowledge of what though strange is true, though different is alike, but by the power, the essential power, of understanding to unite, the power of an ideal unity to unify. Ourselves not now further considering the intellectual absolute nor yet the methods of worldly intercourse on the

low planes of commerce, we will proceed to follow Ibn Khaldun's directions for scientific criticism of what is "strange." (a) As regards the "origin" of our two worlds, it cannot be too often repeated in general or too minutely proved in detail, that we come from a single past, historic, prehistoric, and, for that matter, pre-Adamite. We have similarly developed the ideas, Byzantine, Roman and Near Eastern, of the divine emperor and religious and political unity. We may in fact be prepared to develop them further under pressure of barbarism. It is at least possible that mankind is led to democratic unity by progressive unification of diverse painful experience. We grow in knowledge by distinctions of thought, in wisdom by integrations of thought. Thus a world-unit will come to be integrated as preferable to the distinctions of world-chaos, if only as an ideal.

(b) As regards Ibn Khaldun's "kinds", what is human in the desert is human in the field and both are still human in the city. Man is a reasonable animal. His distinguishing "kind" is reason. What is truly rational will have one reason. It is at least possible that we shall come to use our reason with result: a golden age.

(c) As regards "extent and size and power", how ephemeral these are!

"How Sultan after Sultan with his pomp  
Abode his destined hour and went away!"

But at least we may know the possibility of ages of general welfare, that what establishes them and what maintains them is unity of ideal. The golden sands of cultural influence once ran from Byzantium to Baghdad. Then the hourglass was turned and they ran from Baghdad through Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cordova, Palermo, Constantinople to Venice, Naples, Paris and beyond. They are turned again and they run from London to Delhi, from Detroit by Ford car to Mecca, "from Berlin to Baghdad", from the West to an India very different from the tyranny of Ibn Batuta's day. The "extent, size and power" of a matter in question is the worth of the spirit in it or behind it, of

the ideal in front of it. It is possible to expect universal science as a spirit of faith-compelling truth to lead to unity. It is possible to expect religious values and motives to lead to "the greatest good of the greatest number."

Ibn Khaldun concludes his argument about the possible, *al mumkin*, by which he means the rational or intelligible, with a quotation from the Quran. "Lord, augment me in Science." He not only turns suddenly from philosophy to religion, as may have been expedient for one writing, perhaps too freely, in the prison of a mediaeval despot. He not only, with fine literary effect, concludes a scientific argument with a religious quotation; but, in the context, he intimates that faith also is reason, that men may continue to learn beyond argument, that universal ideas are among things "possible." Faith is a final reason for science. In the Quran itself, this brief but weighty verse is not only a sudden turn from religion to science, from the particular knowledge of the Quran advocated in xx. 112 to universal knowledge of God desired in xx. 113 (God, shortly before called "The True") but, in the context again, there seems an intimation that what wisdom God is, man may have more of. Science is a final aspiration of Faith. However possible this may be (and, "to him that believeth, all things are possible") appeal from particular to universal is latent in every line of Ibn Khaldun's critique of Ibn Batuta, indeed in all great prose and poetry. The ideal is necessary to great thought and without it great action is impossible. It is not by accident nor by art that Ibn Khaldun leaves the final argument to God, for it is His. The boy turned to his good father, the Vizir, and through his mind, as through a periscope, vision was possible beyond his own view. There is no spiritual good for men in common without the moral values of God, and no attainment of ideal without faith in God's goodness. Ibn Khaldun has now come by faith to "the sphere of the intellectual absolute," which by science he cannot reach. We must judge ourselves and each other by universal values, with faith in the moral value of the universe. Then the mullah

from Afghanistan will come with the fundamentalist from Tennessee to quote Darwin, adding perhaps: "What is fittest to survive is what can best unite for the attainment of what is possible." A counsel for blessed spirits!

"O come unto these yellow sands  
And there take hands!"

Meanwhile, if we cannot ourselves moralize our science and use it for spiritual values, let us invite the Moslems to turn yet again the hourglass. Let us take them our science to use for religion. Must we descend into a pit of our own digging, full of nationalist ignorances, clamorous with idolatries of materialism and hero-worship? Squeakings of rats in the dungeon!

Since Ibn Khaldun ends his argument with quotation from the Quran, let us also confess that it is God, "the God of all worlds," who understands them. Our faith is that in Him is understanding whereby Christian and Moslem may cease to be "strange" to one another. Let us follow Ibn Khaldun's example to the end, ourselves quoting from the Bible. The philosophical Athenians, who liked to ask questions just as the Vizir's son did, said to St. Paul, "Thou bringest certain *strange* things to our ears: we would therefore know what these things mean." St. Paul said, among other matters much to our point, an Asiatic quoting Greek philosophy to his purpose, God "hath made of one blood all nations of men . . . that they should seek the Lord if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He be not far from every one of us." He was not able to finish his address because the babblers found it "strange," but (with one end of the Parthenon in his sight presupposing the other) we can hardly doubt that his end would have been as his beginning (as the Parthenon itself) the glory of Science in Faith, and the glory of Faith in Science. The true knowledge is to believe in God. The true faith, God augmenting us in Science, is to "feel after Him."

## THE TURKISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

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### 1. *The Turkish Language.*

Although the various dialects and forms of Turkish have much of unity in diversity, yet it might almost be truer to speak of the Turkish *languages*,—so many are they, and so varied. Turkish in one form or another is spoken from the Balkan Peninsula away up into Siberia and to China; and the very names of the Türki, Jagatay, Uzbek, Kirghiz, Kazak, Bashkir, Turkoman, Azerbayjani, Uygur, and other dialects, indicate the complexity of the development. Evidently, any adequate treatment of Bible translation for Turkish-speaking peoples should include at least all of these, if not much more. The present article must necessarily be confined mainly to the story of what has been done for the peoples of the former Ottoman Empire, and of modern Turkey.

Under the Ottoman dynasty, with its close union of religion with State, and with a profound influence on its literature from the Arabic on the one side through religion, and from the Persian on the other through literature, the Turkish language underwent a deep modification by the introduction of words, phrases, and grammatical constructions that were purely Arabic or Persian. Thus complicated, the tendency, especially in government documents, was to adopt a style which was so full of these really foreign elements as to be practically unintelligible except to a limited circle. The more ornate and flowery and full of Persian and Arabic it was, the more it appealed to the highly educated, and the less it was understood by ordinary people.

Since the advent of the Republican régime, a determined effort has been made, under the leadership of the late

President Atatürk, to get back to a pure Turkish, by the elimination of these Arabic and Persian elements, and by the unearthing and re-adoption of purely Turkish words that had become provincial or nearly obsolete. A special effort has been made to use in school text books this pure Turkish style, although newspapers and books still abound in the simpler forms of the old style. There have also been introduced into the language multitudes of European words—French, English, German, and others—connected with the sciences, sports, society life, for which no Turkish equivalents ever existed. This process is still in flux; and no one can claim that stability has been reached. But the pendulum has swung to its extreme, and is on its way back to equilibrium.

## 2. *Earliest Efforts for non-Osmanli Turks.*

William Seaman, “a moderate nonconformist,” chaplain of the Levant Company at Constantinople, in the seventeenth century made a translation of the New Testament into the Tatar-Turkish, spoken in the Caucasus and Central Asia. This was published at Oxford in 1666, at the expense of the philosopher Boyle and the Levant Company. But as he lived in Constantinople, his style was naturally influenced by the local Turkish; and further, he seems not to have been a very accurate scholar. His work, however, was taken as a basis by Henry Brunton, aided by Robert Pinkerton, both of them missionaries of the Edinburgh Missionary Society at Karass, north of the Caspian Sea. In the early years of the nineteenth century, Mr. Brunton got out his translation of the New Testament, which was published in 1813, though the translator did not live to see the complete volume. In 1815 and 1818, the Rev. Mr. Dickson published two editions of the Psalms in Tatar-Turkish, and followed this by publishing in 1818 a revised edition of the Karass New Testament. Since then, the Scriptures in whole or in part have been published in twelve or fourteen dialects of Tatar Turkish. The version in the Azerbaijan dialect, spoken in the Caucasus and in

northwestern Persia, was prepared, the New Testament by the Rev. Benjamin Labaree of Persia, and the Old Testament by the Rev. A. Amirkhanianz of Tiflis, and the Rev. Mr. Wright of Persia; and these were published in 1878 and 1891 respectively.

### 3 *Ali Bey and his Turkish Translation.*

Early in the seventeenth century there was born in Poland a boy named Albert Bobowsky, who, while very young, was captured by Tatar raiders, and sold as a slave to a noble family in Constantinople, and thence to the Imperial palace. Here he spent twenty fruitful years using his remarkable native talents, together with a thorough education, till he is said to have understood no less than seventeen languages, and spoken most of them. He was appointed chief translator to Sultan Mehmet IV. On attaining his majority, he renounced the Christian religion, became a Moslem, and adopted the name of Ali Bey. At the same time he was on intimate terms with the Rev. Mr. Boyle, chaplain of the Levant Company, at whose request he translated into Turkish a Church of England Catechism. He also compiled a grammar and a dictionary of Turkish, unfortunately both lost. The Ambassador of Holland was at the time Levin Warner; and, discovering the unusual ability of this young interpreter, he induced him to make a translation of the Bible into Turkish. While it is not definitely known whether Ali Bey was acquainted with Hebrew and ancient Greek, it would seem probable that his translation was mainly from the European languages, and possibly from the Latin Vulgate.<sup>1</sup> The Turkish he used was simple and very idiomatic, although not free from errors. The great work was completed in 1666, and was sent by Ambassador Warner to be printed at Leyden. But for some unknown reason, it remained there in manuscript. The work of translation is said to have made such an impression on the heart of the translator, that he returned to his Christian

<sup>1</sup> A note from the American Bible Society says: "Ali Bey seems to have used the French text for his translation."—Ed.

faith, though he died before actually being readmitted to the Church.

In 1739, four chapters of Genesis from this manuscript were published by a German, with a Latin translation and notes; but otherwise nothing further was done till 1814, when the Rev. Robert Pinkerton, already mentioned, and now of the British and Foreign Bible Society, examined the work at the Leyden University Library, and arranged with the University for its loan for publication. Dr. Pinkerton met Baron Von Dietz, who had formerly been connected with the Russian Embassy at Constantinople, but was at the time Counsellor of the Russian Legation at Berlin. He had become a proficient Turkish scholar, and he voluntarily undertook to see the now famous manuscript through the press. He began his work in 1814, at the age of sixty-three, and was most enthusiastic about the quality of the work of Ali Bey. Unfortunately he lived only to complete the first four books of the Pentateuch, dying in 1817. By an unexpected but Providential leading, a worthy successor was found in Jean Daniel Kieffer, a native of Strasbourg, who in 1796 had been sent to Constantinople as Interpreter to the French Legation. Two years later, relations between France and the Sublime Porte were strained, and the French Chargé d'Affaires, M. Ruffin, and Mr. Kieffer were thrown into the prison of the Seven Towers for three years. It was not till 1803 that Kieffer was able to return to France. His deep and accurate knowledge of the Turkish language was largely due to his studies during that imprisonment. By 1817 he had risen to be Professor of Turkish in the College of France, and Interpreter of Oriental Languages to the King, as well as a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. That year he was secured by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to complete the work of Von Dietz on the Ali Bey Turkish Bible. The manuscript was brought to Paris, and by May 1819, the New Testament was printed. The entire Bible was issued from

the press in 1827, and the original manuscript returned to Leyden, where it still is.

#### 4. *Efforts for Turkish-speaking Peoples of Other Races.*

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the attention of Bible Societies and missionaries was directed to multitudes of Greeks and Armenians in Turkey whose native language was Turkish, and who knew no other; and to the fact that a large proportion of these peoples did not read Turkish printed in Arabic characters, as it was printed for Turks, but used each its own characters for Turkish words. Credit should be given to three Englishmen for urging the need for the Scriptures in these forms:—Mr. Consul Rich of Baghdad, the Rev. H. Lindsay, Chaplain to the British Embassy at Constantinople, and the Rev. Dr. Pinkerton of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Previous to their time there existed a Psalter in Greco-Turkish, printed at Venice in 1782; the Acts and Epistles, also in Greco-Turkish, printed at Venice in 1818; and a translation of the Psalms into Armeno-Turkish, which Dr. Pinkerton saw in Vienna but could not trace or purchase. The first New Testament in Armeno-Turkish was the result of the work of Khojentzi, an Armenian translator, and was published by the Russian Bible Society at St. Petersburg in 1819. This, with the sanction of the Armenian Patriarch, obtained wide circulation, even as late as 1851. The translation, however, was imperfect, and in too lofty a style; and in 1823, the Rev. Henry D. Leeves undertook to have an educated Armenian make a revision of this, under his supervision; he later passed on this work to the Rev. William Goodell for further revision and publication. Meanwhile Mr. Leeves was also interested in getting out a version in the Greco-Turkish form. He printed in 1822 an edition of the 1810 Venice Psalms, and followed this in 1826 by an edition of the New Testament in Greco-Turkish. From 1832 till 1839 Mr. Leeves worked at Corfu with an Asia Minor Greek named Christo Nicolaides, on a version of the Old Testament

based on Ali Bey's work, the printing being done partly in Syria and partly in Athens. For this publication, ten thousand piastres, or about Lstg. 100, was subscribed in advance by some Greeks of Anatolia. A revision of this was issued in 1856 with the aid of Mr. Constantinides Philadelphus.

An edition of an Armeno-Turkish New Testament by Keghamian of Erivan is stated to have been published by the Russian Bible Society at St. Petersburg in 1822. The work of William Goodell, however, begun at Beirut with the aid of two Armenian scholars, Bishop Dionysius and Vartabed Gregory, resulted in the printing of the New Testament in 1831 at Malta, in Armeno-Turkish, and later, after seven years of collaboration with a Greek, Panayotes Constantinides, in Constantinople, in the printing of the Old Testament in 1842. Dr. Goodell kept revising his text, in the light of further study, until in its final revision it was printed in 1863, just two years before he retired to the United States. Dr. A. T. Pratt, a missionary physician in the Aintab region, came to Constantinople in 1868 to carry out a revision of this Bible; his New Testament was issued in 1873, but work on the Old Testament was suspended by his death in 1872. This was a most scholarly achievement, and his passing away was greatly regretted. A committee carried on the work to its close, and the complete revision was printed in 1878. A revision of the Greco-Turkish Scriptures was meanwhile undertaken by the Rev. Elias Riggs, D.D., and this text, based on Dr. Goodell's text of 1863, was completed and published in 1869, after five years' work. A further revision was undertaken in 1881 to 1884, under Dr. Riggs, Dr. Alexander Thomson of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Rev. George Kazakos, a Greek Evangelical pastor, and the Rev. Avedis Assadourian, an Armenian pastor.

##### 5. *Turkish Versions in the Arabic Characters.*

Revisions and modifications of Ali Bey's translation

were made by Turabi Effendi, in 1853, and by J. W. Redhouse, the lexicographer, in 1857, but neither of these was entirely satisfactory.

At this very period, the more open policy of the Turkish Government following the Crimean War, and especially the issuing of the famous Hatti Humayoun, early in 1856, which established religious liberty (on paper) throughout the Ottoman Empire, gave great hope that the circulation of the Scriptures among Moslems might be greatly facilitated. The more so, because that same year the Sultan graciously accepted from the British and Foreign Bible Society through the British Ambassador, a copy of the Turkish Bible. Apparently it was just the time to get out an edition that should be in the pure and idiomatic cultured Turkish of the day; and the Lord had prepared the man to undertake this great work.

William G. Schauffler, a German from a peasant colony in Odessa, and a remarkable musician and linguist, was led to go to America to study theology and became a missionary. He was a classmate in Andover Theological Seminary of Elias Riggs, his future colleague and a noted translator. They exchanged lessons in German and Greek; and in 1833 Schauffler reached Constantinople, having stopped in Paris on the way, to study Arabic under De Sacy, and Turkish under Kieffer. For a score of years he gave himself enthusiastically to work for the Jews; but in 1857, with equal ardor he turned to the great task of making a new translation of the Bible into Turkish. By 1862, the Gospels and Acts were printed; and in 1866 the entire New Testament; and these were well received. Two years later he issued the Psalms, in which he used a style more poetic and obscure, which did not meet with the same approval. Simultaneously a revision of Goodell's Armeno-Turkish Bible had been begun under Dr. A. T. Pratt, and his New Testament came from the press in 1873. Quite naturally the question came up of unifying these two, for the use of all readers. It was discussed both on the field and in the Bible Societies; but meanwhile, in 1872, Dr.

Pratt passed to his reward. Finally, in 1873, a revision committee was organized in Constantinople, consisting of Dr. Schaufler, Dr. Riggs, Dr. George F. Herrick, all three of the American Board, and the Rev. R. H. Weakley, of the Church Missionary Society, from Smyrna. With them worked two Turks, Shükri Effendi and Shemsi Effendi, the latter soon replaced by Ahmed Effendi; and later a Kurd named Keyfi Effendi, whose native language was Arabic, but who was also a fine scholar in Turkish, and whose study of the Bible finally led him to confess Christ; also a Turkish-speaking Armenian pastor, the Rev. Avedis Constantian, who had already had experience in Bible translation. It will be of interest to quote from the late Dr. I. G. Bliss of the American Bible Society a paragraph concerning this Keyfi Effendi, and how he was providentially prepared for this work:

“Years ago, a Persian Bible fell into the hands of a Pagan fire-worshipper, who studied it earnestly, and decided in his own mind that from that book as the head-spring, flowed into the Koran all that is good and elevating in the latter. Into the Persian home of this thoughtful fire-worshipper a young Kurd came from his distant mountains. He was an earnest lover of truth, and was much impressed by what he found in the Persian Bible and what he heard from the fire-worshipper. He returned to his native town, but kept up his quest for knowledge. He sought out the most spiritual Mohammedans in all that section and talked with them, ever keeping in mind what he read in the Persian Bible. Sent on business to Mosul, he became acquainted with a leading Evangelical Christian there, whose beautiful life impressed him much. Tracing it to its source, he found its secret in the Bible. The principles and aims of that man’s life were all consonant with what he had read years before in the home of the fire-worshipper. Not long after, he went to Constantinople. His beautiful penmanship led to his introduction into the Bible House as a copyist. His thorough knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish was soon discovered, and his suggestions were sought out by members of the committee in charge of the Turkish Bible revision. So valuable were his criticisms that during the latter part of their work he was associated with them. In subsequent labors he revealed a delightful spirit and gave hope to all of his oneness with Christ. Recently he was taken away by death. All who knew him hope that he was one of the

chosen ones, although he was never baptized, and made no public confession of attachment to our Lord."

This great translation work was begun in June, 1873, and five unremitting years brought it to a close. It was a period of great changes within the Ottoman Empire itself, when three Sultans sat on the throne in rapid succession, and the country went through the throes of the Russo-Turkish war; and, more important, there was an awakening of new interest in the issuing of books and periodicals in Turkish, and in the development of the language. The puzzling question of the style of language to be used in this version brought out differences of viewpoint; and this led to the withdrawal of Dr. Schaufler after a few months, when he turned to his own individual translation, and published a separate version of the Pentateuch and of Isaiah. This, however scholarly and painstaking, never gained the popularity which he anticipated, and was soon entirely superseded by the version of the committee. Their work on Genesis helped to settle the question of style and vocabulary; and from that they proceeded to the New Testament, which was completed and printed in 1875; and the entire Bible was ready in May, 1878. When it came to the last session together, these servants of God, of varying races, "united in a prayer of thanksgiving and consecration, to which our Turkish helpers responded with an audible *Amen*, and took their leave of us with hearty handshaking and evident emotion." Dr. Riggs asked them, in view of their having gone together over every sentence in the Scriptures, whether these appeared to them like the words of men or of God. They responded promptly: "Of God."

There was another great difficulty in connection with giving this translation to the people, and that was the attitude of a Moslem Government toward the Christian Scriptures. Moslem teaching accepts three books as divine revelations,—the Mosaic Law for the Jews, the Gospel for the Christian and the Koran for the Mohammedans;—and the Ottoman Government countenanced and protected

these three religions and their followers, as "ehli Kitab," or the people of a book. But each for itself; and the official view of the Sublime Porte, when permission was asked for the printing of the revisers' New Testament, in 1874, was that there was no occasion for the Christian Scriptures in the Turkish language, since the Turks were not Christians. As a last concession, permission was granted for the printing with the provision that there should appear on the title-page the legend: "For Christians Only." Naturally this could not be agreed to; and again the matter was urged, this time through the British Ambassador, that since the revelation was given from God for all mankind, such a statement would be a lie. The result of this appeal was certainly an intervention of God; for in reply it was ordered that "every copy shall contain on the title-page the legend:—'Printed and published with the Imperial permission of the Department of Public Instruction of date . . . . . Vol. of Records . . . . .!'" So was secured far more than had been hoped for; and the books circulated with every governmental authorization.

#### 6. *Later Revisions and Harmonizations.*

The experience of the first years of use of this monumental work showed that the style adopted was somewhat too lofty and too involved with Persian and Arabic elements to meet the needs of the general run of educated persons, whether Turks, Armenians or Greeks. It was therefore thought best to undertake a linguistic revision; and in 1883, an enlarged committee was charged with this work. It consisted of Messrs. Riggs, Herrick, Weakley, Pastor Constantian, and also the Rev. H. O. Dwight and the Rev. Edward Riggs, missionaries of the American Board, and Professor Bezdjian of the Theological Seminary in Marash, and Professor Terzian of the College in Aintab, the new members cooperating by correspondence with those in Constantinople. This committee was broken into in January 1901 by the removal of the Rev. Elias Riggs, D.D., LL.D., at the ripe age of ninety-one. Dr.

Riggs had had a very unique history as a translator, having had the work, almost alone, of translating the entire Bible into the modern Armenian, and also into the Bulgarian language, in addition to his work on the committee of translation for the Turkish; he was also consulted in the translation of the Aramaic or Chaldee portions of the Old Testament into Modern Greek. As a linguist he had few equals; and his knowledge of the original languages of the Old and New Testaments, as well as his spiritual insight into the Word of God itself, gave him unusual ability in this service.

This new version, with the accompanying task of harmonizing the text of the Arabo-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, and Greco-Turkish versions, was finally completed in the latter part of 1901, under the conscientious and indefatigable superintendence of Dr. Herrick, and was issued under the joint oversight of the American and the British and Foreign Bible Societies. A gratifying increase in sales of the Turkish Scriptures followed, showing that the new form met a real demand. It was also a source of true gratitude that at length the Turkish in the various linguistic types was uniform in its renderings, so that the previous confusion of mind was avoided.

### *7. The New Translation Now in Hand.*

Following the adoption of the new Latinized alphabet for Turkish in place of the Arabic, and the prohibition of any further use of the Arabic letters in printing Turkish, it became essential that any subsequent issue of the Turkish Bible must be in the new characters. Correspondence undertaken early in 1926 showed a considerable feeling that a more or less drastic change in the translation of the Turkish Bible was also needed, owing mainly to the use in the existing version of considerable numbers of Arabic and Persian words and expressions foreign to the Turkish reader of today. The matter was referred by the Constantinople Agent of the American Bible Society to that Society in New York, which in December 1926 gave

a guarded approval for the revision of the four Gospels and perhaps the Acts and Psalms. Then began a long search for a suitable translator. It was decided that the work should be done this time by a Turk, and not by some Turkish-speaking person of another race. In the spring of 1928, Rev. F. F. Goodsell, D.D., approached a Turkish philosopher and poet, well-known as a literary man; and he made a sample translation of the Book of Psalms, which was received in Stamboul with high hopes. It was found, however, that it had neither the accuracy nor the uniformity demanded by the standards of Bible translation; and no practical use was made of it.

In September, 1928, the Rev. Frederick W. MacCallum, D.D., returned after a furlough, and was chosen to head up this revision work, the two Bible Societies and the Near East Mission agreeing that this was the best arrangement. A suitable translator was found in a Turkish soldier and diplomat living then in retirement, who, in addition to a deeply scholarly knowledge of his native Turkish, had acquired a thorough mastery of Arabic during fifteen years of service in North Africa, and of French during his diplomatic career in Europe. He had, besides, a reading knowledge of German, English, and Persian. Dr. MacCallum had taught Hebrew and Greek for nearly twenty years of his missionary career, was as familiar with Turkish as any foreigner may hope to be, and could use the English, French, German and Armenian versions to check their Turkish efforts. In the beginning, after the two had worked over a passage until it suited them, they would submit it to a Turkish writer who criticised their work purely from the literary point of view; and when it had thus passed with their approval, it was typed and copies distributed to a "Revision Committee," consisting of three to five members, who, after study and comparison with the original, would meet and raise any questions which their previous study had brought to mind. Those who have served on this committee are the Rev. J. K. Birge, Ph.D., the Rev. C. F. Gates, D.D., the Rev. F. W. MacCallum,

D.D., Mr. F. L. MacCallum, the Rev. E. T. Perry, and the Rev. C. T. Riggs. Many of their questions could be settled in committee; but perhaps a quarter of them were referred back to the translators for action, and were passed on at a later meeting. In the course of time the method of translation was somewhat modified and the second Turkish critic eliminated as experience gave the others confidence, the expressions and sentences always taking the final form in a Turkish mind and being inscribed by a Turkish hand, in order to get rid of that foreign element which has been a chief complaint of Turkish readers of the Bible.

In the course of their years of work, many points which at first had seemed essential were considerably simplified and modified. When in 1936 a reprint of the Gospel of Matthew was called for, hundreds of changes and simplifications were made in the text which had been printed six years earlier. When the other Gospels come to be reprinted, similar changes, amounting practically to a fresh revision, will be introduced. This is also true of the Psalms, but less so of other books translated after the workers had got into their stride.

The entire New Testament was published in 1933, and has met with a gratifying reception and sale. The books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, and Genesis have also been separately printed.

The translators ended their work in April, 1937, having completed the entire Bible in seven years and four months, in spite of many interruptions. The Revision Committee is still at work at their text while waiting for the Societies to authorize the publishing of the entire Bible.

*Stamboul*

CHARLES T. RIGGS.

## THE DOCTRINE OF MAN IN ISLAM AND EVANGELISM

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The theological controversy between Islam and Christianity has centered mainly on such doctrines as that of God, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the authority of the Holy Scriptures, but the doctrine of man has almost completely been neglected. For example, if we take a book like St. Clair Tisdall's "Mohammedan Objections to Christianity," a book representative of nineteenth century evangelism, we find in it chapters on the genuineness and authority of the Bible, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and Christ's atonement, but nothing about the Christian conception of man as differentiating Christianity from Islam. Sir William Muir does not even mention this question in his "Mohammedan Controversies." Dr. Pfander's famous "Mizan ul Haqq" has almost nothing on this question, all emphasis being on God and the Bible. There are other small treatises, but they do not deal with it adequately. Surely there are great differences on the doctrine of God between the teachings of Islam and Christianity, yet Christianity differs essentially from Islam in its doctrine of man also, but this has been neglected. One might try to excuse this negligence on the part of the Christian apologists by saying that the doctrine of God is basic and implies the Christian doctrine of man also. But this is not a valid excuse. Certainly the doctrines of God and man are interrelated and one will affect the other, and for this very reason the Christian doctrine of man should not have been neglected.

According to the Christian teaching, man is created in the image and likeness of God. Christianity teaches that man and God are spiritually akin, so much so that men may

become children of God. Christianity affirms the transcendence of God, yet equally also His immanence, so that Revelation and religious experience become possible. If divinity and humanity were two totally exclusive entities, God could not have entered really into human life and the incarnation would have been impossible. If God and man were totally different, fellowship with God, which is the religious experience of the Christian, would become unimaginable. Revelation implies the immanence of the divine within the human spirit. The denial of the spiritual nature in man amounts to the denial of the very possibility of revelation. How could God reveal Himself to man if there were no capability in man to receive the truth of revelation? As Bardyaev rightly says, "A consistent transcendentalism pushed to its logical conclusion denies the possibility of a religious life; the very fact of religious experience presupposes a certain degree of immanence." God is a spirit, with a dynamic and active personality, and man also has personality, so that God and man can have mutual fellowship. God is not an isolated, immovable substance, but is spirit, which means love, therefore He can come into personal relationship with man. Christianity is a religion of the spirit. It affirms that God and man are akin, and God can be revealed in the spiritual life of man.

Now all this is alien to the Moslem mind. According to the teaching of Islam, man has not been created in the likeness of God. God and man stand as two totally different categories. There is no kinship between God and man in the slightest degree. The Moslem teaching of God is "that there is nothing like Him," including man. Therefore Islam has considered the relationship between God and man merely legalistically. God has commanded some things, and man must obey them. God has the right to kill or to revive; He is powerful to do with man just as He likes. Man is a creature of God, like stones, plants or animals, only on a higher level. Consequently, there can be no personal relationship between God and man. Revelation is merely a miraculous act on the part of God.

Naturally Islam denies the divinity of Jesus Christ because divinity and personality cannot unite in the same person.

If we dig deeper into the Moslem mind, we shall find at the bottom of this teaching of Islam the Semitic conception of the spirit according to which spirit is a material or semi-physical substance. Doctor Macdonald has called our attention to this conception of Islam in his two articles in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, January and April, 1932. Those articles have not received due attention from the Christian thinkers in Moslem lands, but they point to a fundamental trait of the Moslem mind which is exceedingly important for a right understanding of the Islamic faith. It is the peculiar conception of spirit in Islam which is at the foundation of the Islamic beliefs on God and Revelation, and makes Christianity totally alien and enigmatic to the Moslem mind. The Moslem cannot understand the Christian teaching of God, because he has a non-spiritual conception of the spiritual.

I had an opportunity of testing this during my visit to the East last year, in conversations and discussions with Moslem leaders, in Iran and especially in India, and I must say that I found the above-mentioned points fully verified in my experience. The Moslem could not understand the Christian doctrine of God and religion because he had a non-Christian conception of spirit and of man as a spiritual being. Ibn al-Qayyim in his book on "The Science of the Spirit," a treatise which has been expounded in Dr. Macdonald's articles, states clearly and definitely that the spirit is a *jism latif*, namely a peculiar kind of light substance; in other words, spirit belongs to the realm of the physical. It belongs to man and not to God. It is very clear that the Islamic conception of the spirit is not spiritual in the Christian sense. Islam has no conception of the spiritual in the Christian sense, therefore has not been able to understand Christian teachings.

The relevance of this to Christian evangelism is plain. The Christian apologists have begun with the doctrine of God, and this has resulted in sharp controversy with Islam.

They have begun from the wrong end. They should have begun with man and "that of God in man"<sup>1</sup> because we know what man is and his experience. The Christian apologists have begun from the top rather than from the bottom. They have emphasized God, and neglected "that of God in man." They have affirmed the divinity of Christ, and have omitted His humanity. Perhaps our failure of making the Christian doctrine of God understood by the Moslems is just due to this wrong approach in the presentation of Christianity. We have neglected the basic difficulty of the Moslem mind in understanding Christianity. It falls within human experience that man has freedom as a spiritual being, that however man may be fallen, yet he has spiritual capacities for personal recovery. Man is sensible to the values of truth, goodness, beauty, and love. If these things are realities in human experience, surely man and God can come into communion, and religious experience as fellowship with God becomes possible and natural.

There is at present a diversity of opinion among Christian workers whether our message should be theological or ethical. To put the question in this form misses altogether the vital issue between Islam and Christianity. The Christian message must be both theological and ethical, but it should be understandable to the Moslem. Our chief problem is there. In order to have a right approach, the Moslem's conception of the spiritual must be "Christianized." First of all, he must have a right conception of the spirit and the spiritual, so that God and man may become united and have spiritual fellowship. "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; that which is born of the spirit is spirit." Beginning from that point and establishing the reality of the spiritual as against the flesh, we can help him to understand the deeper aspects of the Christian religion.<sup>1</sup>

*Beirut*

LOOTFY LEVONIAN.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller study of this whole question, the reader is referred to the present writer's new book on "Studies in the Relationship Between Islam and Christianity", published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, 6/-.

## FORM-CRITICISM AND THE FORTY-TWO TRADITIONS OF AN-NAWAWI<sup>1</sup>

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In a cheap edition of these Nawawi Traditions, bought near the mosque of Zachariyya in Aleppo, and containing the short explanation that sometimes accompanies the text, there is the following "preface":—

"They (the traditions) consist of a collection of prophetic sayings, which have been gathered together as the basic rules of Islam; and they contain a system of ethics and maxims uncomputed; and each single tradition is one of the great basic rules of religion; and they support the axis of Islam; and on them are built (its) regulations."

The task before the student of the Gospels, whether or not he hold as true the principles that control the new science of Form-Criticism, is very much lighter than the task before anyone who tackles seriously the question of Islamic prophetic *ahadith*. The story goes of how the Editor of *al-Manâr* in Cairo, on discovering the painstaking and exhaustive work of Professor Wensinck, exclaimed that if he had only known that this was in progress, he need never have undertaken his own private edition of the Traditions! Two reasons at least make it more reasonable—of course it is more rewarding—to study the Gospel *pericopæ*. First, their number is so considerably less; and secondly their use in liturgical services not only meant and means a sacred familiarity over a very wide geographical circle, but constitutes also an unbroken custom of centuries. Besides, even though there are divisions in Christendom, the orthodox and the heretics have never attempted the production of rival gospels. Marcion's determination to confine his attention to an emaciated edi-

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<sup>1</sup> See THE MOSLEM WORLD, April, 1939, since writing which, copies of An-Nawawi have turned up in Aleppo, Hawa and Kuwait. But wherever found so far all emanate from Cairo presses. At least seven different cheap editions have come to hand.

tion of St. Luke—edited or emaciated by Marcion—meant that he stuck to the canonical story of Jesus Christ. There has never been anything in Christian History to compare or contrast with the six books of Sunnite or five of Shiite Traditions.

The Christian Church of the early days made selection of these *pericopae*, whether coming from the Gospels or the Epistles, on the ground that they were essential either in the interests of the preaching of the Gospel—the central theme of Christian witness—or because they were intimately related to the teaching ministry. Stories that so obviously demonstrated the fact that Jesus was the Saviour of sinners,<sup>2</sup> even the Pardoner of sin,<sup>3</sup> or the Conquerer of demons and the other “fears” of mankind,<sup>4</sup> possessed a *worth in themselves*, even if there was not any very definite saying of the Master enshrined in the story—while of course in many cases there is a combination of story and saying.<sup>5</sup> Some would claim that these *Stories of Action* are not only concerned with the theme of miracle, but are (and more important) definitely related to the preaching message of the early church, which, in speaking of Jesus, never forgot that “He went about doing good and healing all that were oppressed of the devil.”<sup>6</sup> Other interests may attach to particular stories; this one central interest they all share in common. From the first the choice of stories was made most carefully with presumably the claims of special and general interest both in view. Incidentally we can never be overthankful equally for the *quantity* and the *quality* of these Gospel stories. Whether or not the order of teachers, to whom reference is made in St. Paul, was chiefly concerned with teaching the same material of the life of Christ in all the Christian communities, the fact remains that those who did accept the responsibility for choosing which of the *pericopae* should figure in the Gospel picture gallery, were determined that

<sup>2</sup> Mk. 2:15ff.

<sup>3</sup> Mk. 2:1ff.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the whole of Mk. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Mk. 2:5; 3:25.

<sup>6</sup> Acts 10:38.

they should be as few as would be consistent with the qualitative representation of Jesus "as He really was." They all held fast to the same "form of sound words." There is another feature in the selection of Gospel stories, which we may well owe it to the school of Form-criticism that we have not forgotten—"that every word of Jesus in the collections of the *logia* . . . . is a witness for an ideal and a conviction of the primitive community." The words are those of Dr. Newton Flew.<sup>7</sup> The point is that the "form of sound words"<sup>8</sup> as we have them are not only true of Jesus, but were chosen because they met the needs of the nascent church.

Of these *Stories of Action* there are really none in the collection of *ahadith* selected by an-Nawawi. It is true that some eight or ten do have some sort of introduction of an historical nature,<sup>9</sup> either connected with the original authority for the tradition, as when Mu'adh or Ibn 'Abbas tells a tradition starting with the first person singular;<sup>10</sup> or when some tradition may arise out of a question put to Muhammad, or a request made of him. But these introductions cannot be said to have much, if anything, in common with the great majority of the stories of Jesus, though we might find parallels in Mark 8:19 and 21, or in Luke 12:31.<sup>11</sup> The only *hadith* chosen by an-Nawawi, where there is anything resembling narrative is No. 2, and to a lesser degree No. 10. But once more there is a very obvious reason in No. 2 for the narrative material; for it introduces authorities and supports the Qur'an. Possibly (as we shall see later on) it also does duty for the same sort of introduction that we have in the Sermon on the Mount. But it is definitely not a *Story of Action* introduced for its own intrinsic merits. There are of course plenty of these in the whole corpus of Traditions, whether dealing with Quranic allusions needing more elucidation, or tales of an admittedly legendary nature; *but these do not find a place in an-Nawawi's collection*, and all honour to

<sup>7</sup> *The Idea of Perfection*, page 3.

<sup>8</sup> 11 Tim. 1:13.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 2, 10, 19, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31.

<sup>10</sup> See Guillaume: *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 23.

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps Mk. 13:3; Lk. 9:49.

him! They could not provide "stuff" for his purpose, which was, so it would appear, the selection of didactic traditions, helpful (as the preface quoted above indicates) in the framing of rules for the regulation of community life; or such as would serve the end of supporting the main points in the propagating of the principles of Islam through a preaching of Islam that was based on the Qur'an. Here there is a certain similarity between the objectivity of the Gospel stories, as recognized by the Form-critics and others, and the objectivity of the *ahadith* of the "Nawawi" selection. Though none of his collection can be fitted into the group of *Stories of Action*, most of them might well be related either to the central theme of preaching, or the ancillary theme of teaching. And they are there because they met the needs of the Islamic world in an-Nawawi's day.

We have therefore next to ask what were the burning questions to be faced and answered in the days when Muslim men and women asked for the guidance of *wahy ghair matlu'* So far as Christianity is concerned it is reasonably easy to answer the parallel question *vis-à-vis* of the early Church from our knowledge of the actual contents of the Gospels. Here probably is one of the places where Form-criticism has helped to clarify thinking. There can hardly be any possible doubt of the purposes served by some of the *Pronouncement* stories. Though providentially the "circumcision" question ceased to be a burning one within twenty-five years of the Crucifixion, the Sabbath controversy seems by no means to have been settled. For this we have ample evidence both from the Synoptists and St. John. The only Gospel reference to the subject of circumcision is in the latter, and even then it is mentioned not as an issue in itself, but in allusion to the Sabbath question. There is no trace of it in the Synoptists—a significant and conspicuous silence. The Qur'an is equally silent; but in Islam circumcision was taken for granted;<sup>12</sup> in Christianity the storm was raised

<sup>12</sup> In his "Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition" Wensinck gives less than a dozen references.

because the Church refused to take it for granted. It must therefore have become a simple problem of antiquity by the time the Gospels began to take shape<sup>13</sup> or there must surely have been specific reference to anything our Lord said on the matter. Far otherwise was the problem of the Sabbath; when that became acute the Christians must have naturally justified their attitude by reference to what their Master had taught. The same was true of questions of a more domestic character that called for agreement or settlement. The Christian attitude to divorce, tax-paying, the Resurrection, all demanded recognition, defence or explanation. Recourse was made to the "Traditions" of Jesus; the circumstances that had called forth His words were remembered or the golden rules that came from phrases He had used. These facts of course emerged from a study of the internal evidence of the Gospels; the early community needed direction on certain vital matters that concerned their relationship with Judaism, the Roman Government and the new pagan thought and tradition with which it was coming into closer contact. They asked the question, "What did Jesus say?"—always more to the point than "What would Jesus do?" "The primary historic value of the Synoptists," says B. S. Easton, "is not for their own age, *but for the tradition of the teachings of Jesus.*" The result is evident in a quality of material and output quite other than in the tradition of the teachings of Muhammad. It may be argued in reply that the Muslim world already had the Qur'an in written form before any attempt was made to systematize tradition, whereas all the first followers of Christ had was a floating oral tradition. This is true, but it does not really affect the main issue, for the rapid development of the Islamic Empire brought its leaders up against problems uncatered for in the pages of the Qur'an. Hence, as the world knows, the enormous growth of Tradition. It is with gratitude that we record the fact that Christian tradition never threatened to assume anything like these proportions.

<sup>13</sup> In the New Testament circumcision is confined to S. Paul and the Pauline contexts of Acts: other than the already-mentioned reference in John.

Probably it never could have; the leaders saw to that. The Apocryphal Gospels are for the most part very poor stuff—so poor that Christian criticism quickly put it all in its right place; but even it does not seem to have been anything like so formidable as Islamic Tradition in the days when al-Bukhari worked so industriously. Yet, when we turn to the careful selection of an-Nawawi, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that most of the bigger issues, so far as Islam as a political and religious entity was concerned, were already settled before the age of Tradition-collecting and criticism set in. The matters that were new and called for a legal basis were needful inside the community, but they were not for the most part called forth by burning questions. It was rather to support or interpret the Islamic form of living already to hand in the Qur'an, that Tradition became necessary. It proved invaluable for details, but none of the main features of Islam owe their emergence to exigencies because of which recourse was had to the Traditions of the Prophet. Islam as a religion was on its feet; as a political system it needed adjustment. But the Muslim Creed was settled in the Qur'an—the work of Muhammad. The Christian Creed grew out of the contact of the New Testament with different forms of thought—a growth which has really not stopped yet. The main purpose therefore of Christ's Tradition was creative. The main purpose of Muslim Tradition was to supplement an already existing system. "It became necessary", says Professor Margoliouth, "to supplement Koranic legislation from (Muhammad's) practice."<sup>14</sup> In the same way there came about a similar necessity for a philosophical and historical supplement.

So far as Islam is concerned we have to put the burning questions back a stage to Muhammad's own time; and then we do find at least one that also beset Christianity. There was the theological issue of one over which Pharisees and Sadducees contended; one that was alive in Athens and Corinth in the days of St. Paul; one over which Muhammad was considerably concerned; one that found

<sup>14</sup> "Early Development of Mohammedanism." Page 71.

its way into the creeds of Christianity and Islam; one over which today there is probably not complete respective agreement among the thinkers of the two religions. But Muhammad in giving careful attention to this matter and the kindred one of the Judgment, seems to show that it was rather from the inside of the Muslim community that he regarded the question. His followers naturally did the same. Two of the "Nawawi" traditions concern this question,<sup>15</sup> but they do not really add anything essential to Muslim belief. The same phenomenon is noticeable in most of his collection, as if he was genuinely concerned to select a group of *ahadith*, which would not only refer their readers back to the Qur'an, as the source of faith and morals, but would quite deliberately help in the community-life of the faithful everywhere.<sup>16</sup> They were certainly a worthy supplement in this respect. Internal evidence gives the impression that an-Nawawi was loyal first to the Qur'an, and second to the needs of the Muslim Community. Internal evidence further seems to reveal the fact that the "Nawawi" selection is pretty evenly divided between traditions that are brought into play for supporting the basis of the Islamic system as contained in the Qur'an (there are two specific quotations from the book), and those that might be generally described as "Community Rules." Another division would show just as evenly a balanced division of traditions that refer to faith and practice, though naturally it would be hard to decide in certain cases. All the main features of Islamic systems of thought and practice are here. There are at least nine allusions to *salat*, and hardly less to *zakat*. There is due reference to fasting, usually *Ramadan*; less prominence being given to *jihad* (though it is unmistakably there); still less to the Pilgrimage. The ideas underlying *shirk*<sup>17</sup> and the things that are "forbidden"<sup>18</sup> come to the surface fairly often; the background of *qadar*<sup>19</sup> cannot be denied; the Muslim

<sup>15</sup> 4, 36.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., 16, 22, 28.

<sup>17</sup> 3, 8, 42.

<sup>18</sup> 9, 22.

<sup>19</sup> 4.

may not forget either the sin of "perversion"<sup>20</sup> or of "innovation"<sup>21</sup> (this latter factor in itself would seem to prove that nothing very new could be expected to arise out of *hadith*); it is familiar ground that is covered; people must keep to the old paths—the *sunan*—whatever the times. There is scarcer mention of the Khalifate,<sup>22</sup> but it is not forgotten, nor yet the Last Day<sup>23</sup> nor even the *jinn*.<sup>24</sup> A very definite service was rendered to the community by an-Nawawi; his choice of traditions seems to have been made on a basis of utility; and a person who accepted them as genuine, (not because of their *isnad*, but because of their inherently true value to him as a Muslim), and ordered his life in accordance with them could hardly go wrong in all his relationships within the community as a "believer."

In fact it is sometimes hard to resist the feeling that possibly in his selection of traditions an-Nawawi may have been influenced by Christianity's devotion to the Sermon on the Mount, and in consequence from the material at his disposal attempted a sort of counterpart. The study of the Synoptic problem reveals the fact that the material comprising the Sermon on the Mount was mostly drawn from "Q" with much less material from the peculiar source of the first Gospel, and hardly anything taken over from Mark.<sup>25</sup> The sources on which an-Nawawi drew for his booklet of traditions were more numerous, though (as we have seen) two-thirds of the choices came from Muslim and/or Bukhari.<sup>26</sup> But the contrast is far more evident in the ordering and arrangement of the material. There is a framework in the Sermon, no matter whence the material; there is no such framework in the booklet, though it does make a good start with the well-known proverb about actions and intentions, followed by the one that figures first in Goldsack's selection from *Mishkat ul-Masabih*, when Gabriel joins the circle of Muhammad and

<sup>20</sup> 14.

<sup>21</sup> 5, 28.

<sup>22</sup> 28.

<sup>23</sup> 36, 15.

<sup>24</sup> 24.

<sup>25</sup> *Vide any Synopsis, e.g., Harnack.*

<sup>26</sup> *MOSLEM WORLD*, April, 1939, page 164.

his followers.<sup>27</sup> There are certain subjects common to both the Sermon and the booklet; in the former they occupy a carefully chosen position; in the booklet the allusions are scattered here and there. This is obvious in the case of Prayer and Almsgiving. The Sermon starts off with the Beatitudes, but there is nothing to compare with them in the booklet till we arrive at 24—but there is really no comparison! There is nothing credal as such in the sermon—neither faith nor belief is there in so many words—but there is in both documents material concerned with righteousness and fasting; and there are other echoes in the moral commands about not getting angry or “leaving well alone” or not being content with mere lip service, or the variations of the Golden Rule.

Form-Criticism would have a very easy task with the *ahadith* as a whole, as with any selection or any of the groups into which the corpus might be subdivided. It would hardly be required to deal with the “romantic trimmings”<sup>28</sup> so wisely shunned by Islamic scholarship generally. It might however be a worthwhile task to examine which of the principles underlying Form-Criticism are equally applicable to Christian Tradition and to Islamic. It is even possible that light may be shed on the problem of Gospel origins through a comparison of the material in each that is there for the service of the respective community. It is also within the bounds of credibility that such a task would help to bring back that “orientation” of New Testament scholarship which seems to be one of the larger needs in a day when Western scholarship is so Western.

*Jerusalem*

ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

<sup>27</sup> Christian Literature Society for India, 1923.

<sup>28</sup> From W. H. T. Gairdner's "Mohammedan Tradition and Gospel Record", THE MOSLEM WORLD V: 349, to which article the above is much indebted, while Canon Gairdner himself gave impetus to the study of *Hadith* in the "Islamic Weeks" of Cairo and Jerusalem.

## RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN MOSLEM LANDS

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Readers of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* should know about an important section of Volume VI of the Madras Series entitled "The Church and State." This volume deals with some of the most puzzling problems in the actual functioning of the World Mission of the Christian Church. Mr. S. A. Morrison of the Church Missionary Society Egypt, writes a section of ninety-two pages on "Muslim Lands" (Chapter IV).

A word about the author. Mr. Morrison writes from the vantage ground of a Christian Islamic scholar who has been in personal contact with Moslems for many years. His experience in study and in street, in church and in mosque, in classroom and in bazaar, gives him balance and insight as well as familiarity with the realities of empirical Islam.

Mr. Morrison has written these pages in accordance with a very carefully made, interesting outline. This outline reflects not only the orderly processes of a mature workman but furnishes, as it were, a "relief map" of the present world of Islam.

### I.

The first thirty pages are devoted to an exposition of the attitudes of orthodox Islam toward various aspects of the relation between church and state, dealing mainly and quite naturally with the topic of religious liberty in Moslem lands. This topic is treated under the following headings: The Attitude of Islam toward Christian Minorities, viz., Worship and Religious Practices, Evangelism, Community Organization and Personal Status, Civic Rights and Responsibilities, Conclusion; The Attitude of

Islam toward the Convert; The Attitude of Islam toward Foreigners and Foreign Organizations; Modifying Influences; The Present Situation regarding Christian Minorities, viz., Worship, Evangelism, Community Organization and Personal Status, The Status of the Convert, The Position of Foreign Missions.

## II.

Experienced observers have learned that both Christianity and Islam may be one thing in theory and a very different thing in practice. Religious communities are probably both better and worse than their scriptural bases would indicate. The human element, the convenient alibi factory of "circumstances," the Spirit of God at work in the hearts of men and societies, these and other factors make for different pictures of church and state in countries prevailingly "Christian" or "Moslem" in their basic culture and political theory. So it is in the world of Islam. Hence Mr. Morrison very properly describes situations in different areas: in independent Moslem Countries: Egypt, Turkey, Iran; in Mandated Territories: Iraq, Syria and the Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan; in other Areas—under rule of British; French; Italian; Dutch; American.

## III.

For the ordinary reader, not the scholar or specialist, the last four pages of Mr. Morrison's article are by far the most important. Here he states his conclusions which may be summarized as follows:

First: By its essential structure, orthodox Islam is utterly opposed to religious liberty. At the same time, Islam has shown an extraordinary power of adaptation. Therefore, under certain circumstances, a new form of political structure might be evolved.

Second: The spread of modern ideas should inevitably result in a more liberal attitude toward non-Moslem minorities, though here the grave danger of nationalist totalitarianism must be recognized.

Third: If the spirit of suspicion and tension could be removed from international relations, Moslem governments would probably respond more and more to the spirit of true internationalism,—the attitude ready to appraise and adopt whatever is of value in other national systems of life and thought.

Fourth: Religious freedom might become an integral part of international law if an undertaking to that effect were made voluntarily and universally. Islamic countries would be more likely to adopt and observe such a policy if all other states were voluntarily committed to it.

Fifth: Constitutional guarantees of religious freedom within each country and their incorporation with the legal system are important as means toward the desired end.

Sixth: "Our study has revealed to us the impediment to missionary work due to its being regarded as something 'foreign.' No doubt in the past missions have been used to promote political ends, and no doubt missionaries have often failed to distinguish between the message of the Gospel which they are commissioned to bring and the elements of a 'foreign' civilization in which they have themselves been reared. These mistakes must be avoided in future, if Christianity is to be recognized as indigenous and national in the East as well as in the West. But, perhaps, the most important single factor which would help to eliminate the sense of the 'foreignness' of Christianity would be the unity of the Christian Church. Not only would this eliminate the tendency to identify the Church with the policy of a particular country, but it would also give the Universal Church a new sense of its own catholicity, thus purifying its message and at the same time adding to the spiritual force which it can bring to bear, when the religious freedom of one of its branches is threatened, in any part of the world."

#### IV.

As I read with care the concise summaries, the lucid descriptions, and the matured conclusions of Mr. Morrison, I am impressed first of all by his painstaking comprehensive

research and regard for factual accuracy on the one hand and by the fact that he has simply attempted to stop the current and look at a cross section, as it were, of the rapidly moving stream of unfolding history.

What sort of a picture of the whole does he give us? We see at once the two extremes—Turkey on the extreme left and the two countries, Central Arabia and Afghanistan, on the extreme right.

Turkey has taken unprecedented steps toward complete emancipation from the regime of orthodox Islam. She has demonstrated again the commonly accepted fact that a person or family or nation will often do on its own, impelled by inner forces, many things which no amount of persuasion or even force exerted by outside agencies can hope to accomplish. It would seem that up to 1924 Turkey regarded herself as a Moslem state, though of the Western type. Article 2 of the Constitution voluntarily adopted by the Grand National assembly on April 24, 1924, "declared that 'the religion of the Turkish State is Islam'; Article 26, that 'the Grand National Assembly is responsible for its enforcement of the Sharia law;' and Articles 16 and 26 that the oath taken by the members of the National Assembly and by the President of the Republic should be in the name of Allah. But there soon appeared signs of a still further weakening of the grip of Islam upon public policy. In 1926, three new legal codes were adopted, of which the most significant from our point of view was the civil code, copied from that of Switzerland, which involved the complete discarding of the Sharia law. The final blow was delivered on April 9, 1928, when the Grand National Assembly decided on the 'disestablishment' of Islam. The words 'The religion of the Turkish State is Islam' were omitted from Article 2 of the Constitution, Article 26 was amended so that the administration of the Sharia law ceased to be a function of the Assembly, and Articles 16 and 26 were altered, and in future the oath was to be taken on a man's honor and not in the name of Allah. In 1937 the Constitution was again modified and

the Turkish State was declared to be 'republican, nationalist, populist, étatist, laicist and revolutionary.'

"In no country in the world has there been so revolutionary a break with orthodox Islam, nor in any, perhaps, was it less expected."

At the other extreme are Afghanistan and Central Arabia. In these countries "the Sharia law is still operative as the basis of all jurisdiction. The modernizing reforms introduced into the former country by King Amanullah were like writing on the sand. No traces of them are left. In Arabia the only serious rival to the Qadi, who administers the law, is the personal influence of the local tribal sheikh. There are in neither country any Christian minorities or any foreign missions. Both are practically closed lands, save that in recent years King Ibn Saud has granted facilities for medical tours in his domains, while the Imam Yehya of Yemen has admitted a missionary doctor and nurse to his capital. In both countries apostasy from Islam would almost certainly be punished by the death penalty.

"In the constitution of the Hejaz, it is stated explicitly that the religion of the country is Islam, and that the administration must be conducted in accordance with the Sharia law."

The background and foreground of the picture are filled with a great variety of circumstances and conditions in many areas. A titanic struggle is going on all over the planet between religious and secular forces. Let no one make the mistake of thinking that any Moslem country, even Turkey, is consciously moving toward objectives and principles which it recognizes as Christian in the deepest spiritual meaning of that abused term. The drive is toward "decency," "comme-il-faut-ness," "culture," "science," "civilization," oftentimes, in fact usually, with complete ignorance or disregard for the fact that the roots of the values indicated by these magic words are deep in what the Christ of history and of experience has done for mankind. One can, for instance, view the painful struggle

in Egypt between orthodox Islam and the principles of European civilization as the reassertion of the integrity of Islam or as the awkward stage of an adolescent civilization on the European model.

The whole scene challenges attention. Notice, for instance, the Assyrian incident of 1933. This "came as a violent shock to all who pinned their faith to the goodwill of Iraq.—The crucial question centered in the Patriarch's claims to temporal as well as spiritual power, in accordance with the medieval conception of the identification of Church and State, while the Iraqi Government stood for a common system of law and administration, applicable to all citizens, whatever their race or religion." Notice again how concessions have to be made to public opinion or traditional usage. Customs rooted in the life of a people across centuries usually yield slowly to the innovations proposed and even put into formulae on the statute books by some rudely awakened prince or legislator who has caught sight of a new unshackled world. The Sharia and the Swiss civil code will not mix. They are incommensurate. Ultimately it will be "either—or." The "both—and" intermediate period is a time of hesitancy, confusion and conflict.

The stream of life moves rapidly onward. Shortly after Mr. Morrison wrote, the Iranian Government in further pursuance of the policy he so well describes (p. 112; "The Government aims at securing a uniform system of education throughout the country") demanded possession and ownership of all the schools of the American Presbyterian Mission, including the College at Teheran. Up to date, in spite of protest and representations, there has been no weakening in the demand that all be turned over to the Government in 1940. Again, the Hatay has been thoroughly integrated into the Republic of Turkey. Ten thousand or more Armenians, unwilling to submit to purely Turkish rule, have migrated *en masse* to the Bekoa (the wide valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon mountains in Syria.)

The person accustomed to the relatively unobtrusive and flexible legal provisions of the United States who visits Moslem lands, either to travel or to reside, often finds it difficult to understand why, if the letter of the law is in line with western codes, practice will not readily follow. Such a person is tempted to say, "If the law is on the statute books, what more can be expected?" The real situation, however, is such as to make a hidebound traditionalist in the most conservative sections of America look like a rampant liberal when compared with conservatives in Moslem lands. Custom, *adat*, is everything in the mind of the ordinary Moslem. "Our fathers did it this way, so we will do it the same way." Law or no law on the statute books, public opinion based upon custom is the force that usually rules. The wonder is not that Moslem lands have changed so little in the last century, but that they have changed so much. Contact, both happy and unhappy, with European and American nations has gradually changed the atmosphere of most Moslem lands and communities and will undoubtedly continue to change them. Unless the present European war drives humanity toward the jungle, Moslem lands will probably continue to move toward non-Moslem standards of culture. The great basic struggle lies in the realm of ideas. Both the Christian and the Moslem who sense the importance of making life a more meaningful and significant experience for all men will hope and pray and work for an atmosphere of peace and mutual respect in which the great issues of life may be serenely considered.

*Boston, Massachusetts*

FRED FIELD GOODSSELL.

## RELIQUES OF THE REV. DR. JOHN G. LANSING \*

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If a subvention had been obtainable for the purpose, the writer would now have been in Iran in charge of the library of El-Borz College on his second sabbatical. This had been kindly arranged for by the administration of that institution, for what may prove to be its last year under American direction. (See *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, January, 1940, p. 98). Instead, he received a grant for study in the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago, a much more prosaic place, but, discounting autos and gangsters and labor sluggers, at present much safer than anywhere abroad except in South America and "wild" Africa.

In the summer of 1939, to begin the year, a trip of nearly three months was made, chiefly through the Southwest, to visit libraries and colleges, and to seek relief from bronchial asthma for a very young librarian and Islamic scholar-to-be—now at the age of eight. Amidst the scenery of the Southwest, with its deserts, cacti, palms, citrus, dates, and clear skies, I was made homesick for Palestine and Syria. And, trying to sleep in the desert at Quartzite, Arizona, I was much disturbed by the heat—or the ghost of old Hi Jolly or Hajji 'Ali, one of the drivers of "Uncle Sam's Camels"<sup>1</sup> of the era just before the War between the States, whose monument is there.

Our wanderings covered Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico and the Caverns, Arizona and the Canyon, Southern California, Yosemite and the giant trees

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\* This paper was read before the Mid-west section of the National Association of Biblical Instructors, at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago, February 3, 1940.

<sup>1</sup> This interesting experiment in the use of camels, imported with drivers from the Near East, might well have been a useful factor in the development of the Southwest before roads and railroads, but for bureaucratic bungling. See Lewis Burt Lesley, editor, *Uncle Sam's Camels*, being the journal of May Humphreys Stacey (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929); Chris Bennett, *Texas Camel Tales* (San Antonio: Naylor Printing Co., 1933); U. S. War Department, *Report of the Secretary of War, 1857*; etc.

bringing recollections of the Cedars of Lebanon, the Sierras, Nevada and Utah (with its Mormons whose *hijra* and temporary polygamy give many points of analogy with tribal Hebrew and Arab life). And eventually over the Rockies to Denver, with its excellent university and city libraries, and a good library school, in admirable cooperative relations, through the work of Dr. Malcolm C. Wyer. Here, then, came the occasion for this article.

Kindly showing me over the public library, Miss May Wood Wigginton, assistant librarian, incidentally learned of my interest in the Biblical and Oriental fields. She remarked that they had held for many years, with no means of interpreting and cataloging, a collection of Arabic books and manuscripts, and an inscription, from the personal library of a noted missionary and professor who had died in Denver in 1906—a Dr. Lansing. Soon I had the thrill of handling about fifty books, several manuscripts, a beautiful Mameluke inscription, and a few antiquities, which had belonged to the inspirer of the Arabian mission, the author of *An Arabic Manual* in the series edited by President Harper of Chicago, the teacher of Zwemer and Cantine—the Rev. Dr. John G. Lansing!

There followed five days of absorbing work in handling the materials and making bibliographic notes for the catalogers. Miss Constance W. Bouck, of the cataloging staff, proved to be a capable detective in discovering information about the former possessor and his tragic death. She brought from the bound newspaper files (always a problem to libraries, but often most valuable!) *The Rocky Mountain News* of September 4, 1906. On the front page, with red headlines and in lurid journalese, was the story of Dr. Lansing's sorrows and death. Soon Miss Bouck found in the same publication for September 8, the death notice of his young daughter, Lailah, whose illness was referred to in the long account just mentioned.

Part of the newspaper story follows:

Rev. John G. Lansing was the son of Rev. Guilian Lansing, first United Presbyterian missionary in Egypt,

scholar, author and counsellor of the Khedive. So profound a respect had the latter sovereign for Dr. Lansing, and so indispensable did he find his advice, that he presented the United Presbyterian Church with \$100,000 worth of property in the heart of Cairo, for use in furthering missionary work.

When his son John was born Dr. Lansing reared him in Egypt until he was old enough to attend an advanced school, and then he sent him to America. The young man attended college, first in Monmouth, Illinois, and then at Union College in Schenectady, New York.

Shortly after graduation he entered the Dutch Reformed Church, and after a few years as a pastor he was called to the chair of Old Testament languages at the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J. His early training in cosmopolitan Egypt stood him in good stead, and he had become master of Arabic, Latin, Greek and Assyrian, as well as all the modern Latin tongues.<sup>2</sup>

Richter in a brief account of the Arabian Mission<sup>3</sup> speaks of Dr. Lansing as "J. G. Lansing, a son of the veteran of the American Mission in Egypt." He gives also the following additional reference to Dr. Lansing, senior: ". . . . The Scotsman, Dr. John Hogg was one of the pillars of the mission [in Egypt]. He died very suddenly in 1886. Side by side with him stood his faithful friend and fellow worker, Dr. G. Guilian Lansing (1856-1892 [term of service in Egypt]), one of the most energetic missionaries in Egypt, a learned man, deeply

<sup>2</sup> A son, Elmer Doré Lansing, still lives in Montreat, N. C. Dr. Ambrose Lansing, curator of the department of Egyptian Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, is a nephew. Both have kindly given information.

Further information on Dr. Lansing's life may be found in the following books: Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (New York, London, etc.: Fleming H. Revell Co., c1910); Rev. Alfred DeWitt Mason and Rev. Frederick J. Barny, *History of the Arabian Mission* (New York: Board of Foreign Missions, the Reformed Church in America, 1926); Samuel M. Zwemer and James Cantine, *The Golden Milestone; Reminiscences of Pioneer Days Fifty Years Ago in Arabia* (New York: Revell, 1938). For the opportunity of reading the *History*, I am indebted to Dr. Edwin E. Calverley for a reference to it, and to the library of the Hartford Seminary Foundation for an inter-library loan. For *The Golden Milestone*, I give Dr. Zwemer thanks for a copy he kindly presented. (He had read to me in his home in Princeton one of the chapters from his manuscript, during the second Seminar in Arabic and Islamic under direction of Prof. Philip K. Hitti, in the summer of 1937.) An appropriate and informative obituary of Dr. Lansing is printed in the *Minutes of the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America*, June, 1907, p. 913 f. A brief record of his career, and an incomplete bibliography of his writings, are included in the *Biographical Record of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary* (compiled by Dr. John H. Raven, biographer of the alumni association), 1934, p. 139. I am indebted to the librarian of the Seminary, Mrs. Margaret Wilson, for copies of these publications.

<sup>3</sup> Richter, op. cit., p. 352.

interested in the Archaeology of Egypt and its relation to Bible history.<sup>4</sup>

One monument of his life and spirit consists in the attained results and continuing program of the Arabian Mission. Dr. Zwemer and Dr. Cantine would be the first to give him such a tribute, and the others who have followed them in medical, educational and evangelistic work would concur.

A good account of the beginning of the mission may be found in the *History*. Dr. Lansing's foundation labors are also frequently described in *The Golden Milestone*, especially in the earlier chapters.

Dr. Lansing undertook the work of treasurer and agent, with Cantine and Zwemer to go as active missionaries in the field. He wrote the Arabian Mission Hymn. The motto of the new movement, "Oh, that Ishmael might live before thee!" (Gen. 17:18) was also the text of Dr. Lansing's sermon at the ordination of Dr. Cantine as a missionary, in the Fair Street Reformed Church, Kingston, New York, October 1, 1889.<sup>5</sup>

By means chiefly of the energetic efforts of Dr. Lansing, and of Zwemer and Cantine themselves, interest in the mission developed in the Dutch Reformed Church and in other denominations. Combined efforts brought sufficient funds for Cantine to sail in 1889, and Zwemer to follow in 1890. Dr. Lansing continued his campaign and was one of the incorporators of the mission in 1891. He left to the treasurer who soon had to take up the work, because of the founder's broken health, a fund of \$1,000 and an organized and continuing support. (The young men in the field were not upon a rosy path, but, despite some financial hardships, they were able to go on.) In 1894, the mission became a definite endeavor of the Reformed Church.

Dr. Lansing went in 1890 to his boyhood surroundings

<sup>4</sup> By letter from Dr. Mills J. Taylor, associate secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of North America (Philadelphia), I learn that Dr. Guilian Lansing is memorialized in "a most interesting character sketch, and an account of his death", in *The American Mission in Egypt, 1854-1896*, by Dr. Andrew Watson. A memorial tablet was dedicated at the American Mission, Cairo, in 1935.

<sup>5</sup> See *The Golden Milestone*, p. 23.

in Cairo, which he loved "with an oriental fervor." There the new missionaries had an opportunity to consult with him. Soon they were in southern and eastern Arabia, and the mission had definitely begun its history of consecrated effort and practical and spiritual achievements.<sup>6</sup>

The path of Dr. Lansing, however, was approaching a critical turning. His leave for health reasons in 1890-91 was followed by extended leave in 1898 and eventually by resignation, after twenty-one years of service as pastor and teacher. His final years were clouded by illness.

Mr. Dudley, the librarian in Denver, befriended him by purchasing his books from time to time. It is most fortunate that his books and other reliques were not scattered. They are now listed among the prize collections of a good library, and allowed to be used especially by the Near Eastern citizens of Denver. There they will be another permanent memorial to one who was a recognized scholar, a brilliant preacher, and an inspiring teacher and friend.

We now come to the point of listing the materials in the Lansing collection. The interest is mainly associational, for the connections between the items and Dr. Lansing and with the history of missions in the Near East. Therefore, I shall describe informally, especially in case of the inscription and the manuscripts, which are to be treated elsewhere.

The inscription is on a marble plaque, seventeen by twelve inches, with a chain decoration around the raised edges. It is the dedicatory tablet to a *ḥaud*, set up as a pious deed by one Baibars ibn 'Abdullāh ash-Shamsī Sunqur al-Ashqar in the year 707, and therefore in the Mameluke period (mainly from 1250 to 1517). The text is beautifully executed "kufic," and although the plaque has been broken into three pieces the whole is clear. Fortunately, it can easily be cemented together.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

1. Theological and religious essays, partly by St. John of Damascus (d. ca. 745-760), beginning with his treatise against the Iconoclasts. Denver Public Library accession number: 121307.

Arabic title, from first *faṣl*: *Faṣl min maqālat il-Qadīs Yuḥannā ad-Dimashkī allatī ṭa'ana biḥā 'alā muftadī il-iqūnāt.*

<sup>6</sup> See Dr. Zwemer's inspiring recapitulation of direct and indirect results, in *The Golden Milestone*, p. 140 f.

Copyist's colophon: The priest Mikhā'il, son of the sainted priest Yūsuf, extracted this with his poor hand in the year seven thousand and two hundred and three and thirty (7233) of our father Adam, etc., etc., (i.e., ca. 1741).<sup>7</sup>

2. Homilies on the verses of the Holy Scriptures concerning fasting. Title page missing, and incomplete at end. (See note 10). Accession number: 121306.

Arabic title: *Mawā'iz 'alā āyāt min al-kitāb il-muqaddas tuqra' u fi 's-ṣaum.*

As mentioned above, I hope soon to examine these two manuscripts further.

3. Portion of a commentary on Revelation, in Arabic, covering chapters 17 and 19 partially, and chapter 18 fully.

#### PERSONAL WRITINGS

1) A copy of Dr. J. G. Lansing's well-known *Arabic Manual*, in the series of texts edited by President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago. Chicago: American Publication Society of Hebrew, 1886.

2) *Outlines of Special Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament*, with an introductory statement upon Old Testament philology, by Rev. J. G. Lansing, Gardner A. Sage Professor of Old Testament Language and Exegesis in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N. J., and author of *An Arabic Manual, Outlines of Old Testament Archaeology*. New Brunswick, J. Heidingsfeld, Publisher, 1897.

3) *Outlines of the Archaeology of the Old Testament*, printed for the use of students of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America at New Brunswick, N. J., by Rev. J. G. Lansing, D.D. (Publisher same as above, 1896).<sup>8</sup>

#### BOOKS

##### *Biblical*

1) The Bible, in Arabic—a copy of the 1867 edition in New York, from the plates made under supervision of Van Dyck from

<sup>7</sup> "As to the date of the manuscript: Dr. Lansing wrote in pencil on the fly-leaf of the next manuscript volume to be noted below, "The first of two volumes of Arabic manuscript, Essays Theological and Religious, the works of Chrysostom (*sic*) [345 (?)-407], written [i.e., copied?] 1253 A.D., presented to the Public Library of the City of Denver by J. G. Lansing." But the two are of different size, hand, and authorship. And the date, subtracting from 7233, above, the 5492 of the beginning of the mundane era, or "ecclesiastical era," of Antioch (see any encyclopedia article on chronology or calendar), is not 1253 but 1741!

<sup>8</sup> The *Biographical Record* of the seminary (see note 3) lists also: "American Revised Version of the Psalms, 1885." I find in the admirable analytical entries of the library card catalog of the Oriental Institute, notations of the following articles by Dr. Lansing: "Pleiades, Orion, and Mazzaroth, Job XXXVIII:31, 32," *Hebraica*, a Quarterly Journal in the Interests of Semitic Study, Vol. I (1884-85) pp. 236-241. "Egyptian Notes," *Hebraica*, etc., Vol. IV (1887-88) pp. 43-45. Another analytical entry note reviews, etc., by him in *Hebraica*, Vol. II (1885-86). The library has copies of the first and the second editions of the *Arabic Manual*, the second published in New York by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891. A criticism, it is noted, was published in *Hebraica*, Vol. III (1886-87), pp. 56-57, by G. H. Schodde.

the famous Eli Smith-Van Dyck version, one of the supreme monuments of American missionary labors.<sup>9</sup>

2) The Bible, in Arabic, a smaller edition printed in Beirut in 1866, with space between the Testaments for family register.

The front (Arabic fashion) fly-leaf has the following inscription: "John G. Lansing, with the kind regards of his friend, E. Currie, Asiut [*sic*], Nov. 20, 1866."

3) A little edition of the Psalms, in Hebrew, "*editionem Hooghtianam, Londini, M.DCCC. LVII*"; 189 pp., front gone and back loose.

4) Bible stories (in Arabic) for Children. Title page and author both missing, Beirut, 1862; table of contents at back, 39 chapters, from the creation to the death of Jesus; iv plus 235 pp. A few illustrations; short catechism at end of chapters; Ten Commandments, pp. 234-235; the Lord's Prayer, p. 235.

5) *The Poem of Poems*, etc., a metrical Arabic version of the Book of Job, by Rizq ibn Ni'mat Allāh Ḥassoun, London, 1869—one of 101 copies printed. Presentation inscription top of title page: "To the respected Sir, Mr. Rieu, gift from the author," and the latter's signature.<sup>10</sup>

### Islamic

1) A copy of Fluegel's edition of the Qur'an, "third, stereotyped, corrected edition, Leipzig, Karl Tauchnitz, 1858." Folio of pp. 7-8 missing; last words: "'stakbartum fariqān"; begins again: "khā'ifina la-hum fi 'd-dunyā." (i.e., Sura 2, vv. 81-108.) Names of the owners, "John Lansing," and "Carl (or Charles) Lansing," in Arabic inside front cover, "in Cairo (Miṣr), 1866."

2) The fanciful and pious romance of: "The Book of the Campaign of the Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib . . . against the Accursed Haḍḍām ibn al-Juḥāf (?) in Seven Strongholds." Arabic title: *Kitāb ghazwat il-imām 'Aliyy ibn Abī Ṭālib . . . ma'a 'l-la'in il-Haḍḍām ibn il-Juḥāf fī sab'i ḥuṣun*. Beginning of story of each of the seven strongholds indicated by an inscribed design in the margin. Lithograph of copy by Sheikh Aḥmad Maṭar the stationer. No date, etc.

<sup>9</sup> On this noted version of the Scriptures, and earlier ones, see Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 100 f., 190, 196, 197, 404. A copy of the same New York printing in 1867 is described, along with one of the original 1865 edition from the new Smith type, in Beirut, in the *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, compiled by T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, two vols. bound in four (London: 1903-11), Vol. I, p. 74: "The Holy Bible, American Bible Society, New York, 1867, . . . Van Dyck's version. In 1865 Van Dyck went to New York to superintend the production of electrotype plates for the Arabic Scriptures, from which this was the first edition printed. The American Bible Society supplied the British and Foreign Bible Society with a duplicate set of plates, from which the Oxford Arabic Bible of 1869 . . . was printed. pp. 1, 232, 401."

<sup>10</sup> This is undoubtedly Mr. Charles (Pierre Henri) Rieu (1820-1902), author of catalogs, and supplements to the catalogs, of Persian, Turkish, and Arabic manuscripts in the British Museum. For Hassoun, see Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature*, New York, Appleton, 1903.

*Christian Religious, Apologetic, and Controversial*

1) A book of hymns and songs for children, in Arabic. Beirut, 1862; vi+123 pp., illustrated; table of contents and list of corrigenda in back. Arabic title: *Kitāb dūzān il-qaiṭhār li-tasbīḥ is-ṣughār*.

2) *The Myrtle of Souls on the Basis of Doctrines and Rites*, edited by the Priest Benjamin Schneider, printed in Beirut, 1854; iv+176+iii pp. With table of contents and preface in front, and list of religious offices and their seasons in back.

Arabic title: *Raiḥānat un-nufūs fī aṣl il-'i'tiqādāt wa-'t-tāqūs*.<sup>11</sup>

3) *Pilgrim's Progress* in Arabic. Preface also in Arabic; text (beginning p. 3, line 2) accompanied by notes. Beirut, 1859, 298 pp.

4) *The Imitation of Christ*, of Thomas à Kempis, a shortened form, in Arabic. Second printing, Beirut, 1872; preface (to first edition) written in Beirut, 1842. No translator or editor given; 286 pp. including 11 pp. of table of contents.

5) The noted *Mizān ul-Haqq*, or the *Book of the Balance of Truth*, by the celebrated missionary and linguist Karl Gottlieb Pfander of the Basle Mission (although no author is given), printed by F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig, 1888; 240 pp. *The* outstanding book of modern Christian apologetics versus Islam. (See Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 f., 173 ff., 351.

6) *The Manifest Proof of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, no author or imprint; 285 pp., illustrated with frontispiece and other views of the East, especially Petra. Arabic title *Al-bayyanat ul-jallīyyah 'alā ṣiḥḥat dīn in-naṣrānīyyah*.

7) *Straightforward Guide to the Truth of "the Book."* It is learned from the preface and from the New International Encyclopaedia, article "Alexander," that this is a translation by John Wortabet of *A Brief Outline of the Evidences of the Christian Religion*, by Rev. Prof. Archibald Alexander, (1772-1851). Beirut, 1851, iv+257 pp. Arabic title: *Kitāb dalīl is-ṣawāb ilā ṣidq il-kitāb*.

8) "A Book of Sermons, on Various Occasions and Subjects, used for reading in the churches of the orthodox evangel of Mark." Printed by the Coptic Press, Cairo, 1589 (i.e., 1873, adding 284 years for the Diocletian era, or "the era of the martyrs," used by the Coptic Church). Arabic title: *Hādhā kitāb ul-khuṭab il-mustā'mal qirā'atuhā bi-kanā'is il-kirāzat il-marqusīyyat il-urtuduksīyyah*. Colophon: "The Coptic National (i.e., national-religious) Press." Fine quality heavy paper, and large type; three pages of table of contents before title page.

<sup>11</sup> See George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (Philadelphia, New York, etc.: Lippincott, 1939), and Richter, *op. cit.*, for establishment and activities of the Catholic press in Beirut.

9) "The Book of the Winnowing-fork of Qūs, for Cleaning away the Chaff of Jacobite Adulterations from the Gospel Threshing Floors, correspondence which took place between the leaders of the Coptic Church and some of the members of the Evangelical Church of Qūs, concerning the canons of our Christian Faith." Two parts bound in one volume; first, pp. 1-84, with title as above; second, "Avowal of Freedom of Belief, and Disavowal of Serving Satan," 144 pp. Four pages of table of contents at end of volume. Printed in Cairo, 1867-68.

This is a document of controversy over the famous affair of Qūs, a village on the Nile in Upper Egypt, the bishop and the entire Coptic flock of which went over to Protestantism. (See *New International Encyclopaedia*, article, "Copts.")

Arabic title: *Kitāb ur-rafsh il-Qūsī li-tanqiyah tibn it-taqlidāt il-ya'qūbiyyah min ḥinṭat il-bayādīr il-injūliyyah; fi dustūr imāninā al-masīhiyyah*. Real title of part I: *Al-'ijābah min al-kanīsat il-ḥaqqāniyyah 'an thalāthah sū'alāt brūtustāniyyah*. Part two: *Kitāb ul-'i'tirāf bi-ḥurrīyyat il-imān wa-inkār 'ubūdiyyat ish-shaiṭān*.

#### *Dictionaries, Linguistic, Grammatical*

1) A copy of the *Kitāb Muḥiṭ il-Muḥiṭ, ay qāmūs muṭawwal li-'l-lughat il-'arabiyyah*, edited by Buṭrus ul-Bustany ("al-mu'allim"), Beirut, 1869 A.D., 1386 A.H. Two volumes, complete, 2,308 pp. The well-known compendious dictionary of the Arabic language, in Arabic, by a member of a famous Christian Syrian family, "perhaps the most learned, industrious and successful man of modern Syria. He has himself written several large works in Arabic, and was a tower of strength to the Protestant Church in Beirut, until his death in 1883." <sup>12</sup>

2) Buṭrus ul-Bustany's "*Kitāb miftāḥ il-miṣbāḥ fi 's-ṣarf wa-'n-naḥu, li-'l-madāris*," or a school grammar of Arabic. Second printing, (Beirut), 1867, 360 pp. with a preface and a table of corrigenda. Two identical copies.

3) "The Book of Declension, on the formation and government of words. (Buṭrus ul-Bustany's) *Kitāb ut-taṣrīf fī abniyat il-kalim wa-iḥkāmihā*. Three identical copies; Beirut, about time of his *Miftāḥ*, above; 360 pp.

4) *Arabic Reading Lessons*, consisting of extracts from the Koran, etc., with the Elements of Arabic Grammar, by the Rev. N. Davis, F.R.S.S.A., and Mr. B. Davidson, author of, etc. London, S. Bagster & Sons (no date?).

5) "The Book of Attainment of Desire on the Arabic Words Variousy Vowelled," by Shaikh Ḥassan Quwaidar al-Khalīlī; edited

<sup>12</sup> Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 197. See also many references in George Antonius, *op. cit.*

with a preface and a commentary (in margin) by Muḥammad Effendī Fannī; with a postscript by Muḥammad al-Ḥussainī. First edition, Būlāq, Cairo, 1301 A.H.

Arabic title: *Kitāb nail il-'arab fī muthallathāt il-'Arab*.

6) G. W. Leitner (Gottleib Wilhelm Leitner, 1840-99), *Introduction to a Philosophical Grammar of Arabic*, Being an Attempt to Discover a Few Simple Principles in Arabic Grammar. Reprinted and slightly enlarged from the *Punjab Educational Magazine*. Lahore, printed at the "Indian Public Opinion" Press, 1871. (On Dr. Leitner, brilliant linguist, Orientalist, and student of Graeco-Buddhist art, and who built the well-known mosque (now Ahmadiyah) in Woking-in-Surrey as a center for Indian students in Britain, see *New International Ency.* and *Ency. Brit.*)

7) *Origin and Varieties of the Semitic Alphabet*, with Specimens, by John C. C. Clark, professor of Greek in Shurtleff College, second edition, Morgan Park, Chicago, The American Publication Society of Hebrew, 1884.

#### *Historical and Biographical*

1) The *Ta'riḫh ul-Kāmil*, or the "Comprehensive History," of Ibn ul-Athīr, and in the margins, "*Murūj udh-dhahab*," or "Golden Meadows," of al-Mas'ūdī. Ten volumes, bound in five. (Būlāq edition.) Incomplete.

2) The "Biographical Dictionary," or the *Wafāyāt ul-'A'yān*, of Ibn Khallikān, in two volumes, complete, Cairo, 1274 A.H.

3) "The Book of the History of Modern Egypt, with a Summary Account of the History of Ancient Egypt," or "*Kitāb ta'riḫh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth*," by Jurjī Zaydān. Two volumes, bound in one; illustrated. Cairo, Muqtaṭaf Press, 1306 A.H., 1889 A.D.

#### *Literary*

1) "The Book of the Garden of Literature on the Classes of Arab Poets," or "*Kitāb rauḍat il-'adab fī ṭabaqāt shu'arā' il-'Arab*," by Alexander (Iskander) Abucarius. Beirut, 1858; 288 pp. including preface. (Abucarius edited an Arabic-English dictionary.)

2) "The Book of the Treasury of Literature," or "*Kitāb khizānat il-'Adab*," of Taqīyy ud-Din Abu Bakr ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī. Cairo, Būlāq Press, 1273 A.H.; 571 pp.

3) "The Book of the Unique Pearl of Ancient Proverbs," or "*Kitāb ud-durrat il-yatīmah fī 'l-amthāl il-qadīmah*," by Ibrahim Sarkis, of Lebanon. Beirut, 1871; 172 pp. including 31 pp. index.

4) *The Romance of 'Antara ibn Shaddād*, or "*Kitāb (sīrah) 'Antara ibn Shaddād il-'Abbāsī*." Beirut, The Literary Press, 1883-85. Six volumes, Vol. III missing; 2635 pp.

5) "Commentary on the *Dīwān of Imru'l-Qais ibn Ḥajar al-Kindī*, with a table of contents giving the first hemistich of each of the author's *qaṣīdas*." No title page or editor. Probably printed in Cairo or Beirut, 1860-1900.

6) "Commentary on the *Dīwān of ('Umar ibn) al-Fārid* (1181-1235 A.D.), by Shaikh Ḥassan al-Būrīnī and Shaikh 'Abd ul-Ghanī an-Nabulūsi. Presse Arnaud et Compagnie, Marseilles, 1853, 602 pp."

7) Exposition of the Commentary of al-'Ukbarī on the *Dīwān of al-Mutannabī*," or "*Sharḥ ut-Tibyān li-l-'Ukbarī 'alā dīwān . . . il-Mutannabī*," Two volumes, complete, Cairo, 1287, A.H. (no editor).

8) "*The Dīwān of Shaikh Muḥiyy ud-Dīn*," printed in *nasta'liq* script, Būlāq, Cairo, 1271 A.H.; 478 pp.

9) "*Majnūn Lailah*," or "The Tale of Qais ibn al-Mulawwah al-'Āmirī," familiarly known as *Majnūn Lailah* (the one mad with love for Lailah). Second edition, Beirut, the Literary Press, 1882; 84 pp. Interspersed prose and poetry. Influenced the Persian mystic poets.<sup>13</sup>

10) The risqué work of Khalīl bin Aibak as-Ṣafadī, *Law'at ush-Shāki wa-dam'at ul-bāki*, or "Pangs of the Complainer and Tears of the Weeper [for Love]," in verse and rhymed prose. Third edition, Jawā'ib Press, Istanbūl, 1301 A.H., 58 pp., (The author, originally from Safad in northern Palestine, was a noted governmental officer and author.<sup>14</sup>

Lest the last be an anti-climax, it is to be hoped that news of this fortunate "rediscovery" of Dr. Lansing's library may result in the finding of others of his books, and other reliques, which may be scattered here and there. It would be of special interest to locate the manuscript of his book on life and customs in Egypt, which he prepared in Denver. Dr. Zwemer in January of this year, told me that Dr. Lansing had also written a novel on missionary work in Egypt and the East which is apparently lost.

He wrote also with the pen of the mind and the spirit; and Allah Most Mighty and Merciful will grant him forgiveness and merit!

Birmingham, Alabama

CHARLES D. MATTHEWS.

<sup>13</sup> See Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>14</sup> See Huart, *op. cit.*, p. 343, and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, "as-Ṣafadī."

## HOW NOT TO USE THE QURAN

AN URDU TRACT EXAMINED.

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Inasmuch as the Quran is the product of the seventh century A.D. and is markedly anti-Christian in places, we do not go to it for proofs of the truth of Christianity or for evidence in favour of the claims of Christ.

Such use, however, has been made in the past by Christians, and, as we shall see, on one occasion at least by a friendly Muslim.

There lies before us an eight-page tract in Urdu printed from the manuscript of "a Mullah who was an enquirer and a confessed believer in Jesus Christ as Saviour." It was probably written some time before 1918 and was referred to, and used by the late Rev. E. M. Wherry, in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, July, 1919.

Its name is *Haq'iq-i-Quran*, Truths of the Quran. It was first published in Ludhiana as a tract by the C.L.S. for India, with an edition of 2,000 copies, but by 1919 had appeared in four editions with a total of 19,000 copies. In 1928 the P.R.B. Society, Lahore, published the sixth edition, totalling 100,000 copies. Christians, Arya Samajists, and Muslims alike keep up a steady demand for it.

The Muslim author attempts, on the basis of statements in the Quran itself, to demonstrate that in reality Jesus was superior to Muhammad. He advances the following fourteen reasons:

1. The Birth of Jesus—Gabriel himself makes the announcement to Mary, and the birth is a miraculous one (19:17 ff) No such mention is made of Muhammad's birth.

2. The excellence of Mary, the mother of Jesus— 3:37 says “O Mary, verily hath God chosen thee and purified thee and chosen thee above the women of the world.” And 5:79 says that Mary is *siddiqa*, a just or truthful woman—whereas Muhammad’s mother is not so much as mentioned; while some Muslims do not agree that she was one of the “faithful.”

3. Miraculous events attending the birth of Jesus—an angel comforts Mary in her distress, a stream gives her drink and a palm tree yields dates for her, 19: 24-25. No such events attended Muhammad’s birth.

4. The declaration of Jesus, while an infant in the cradle, that he was a prophet to whom God had given the Book, 19: 31—Muhammad did not claim to be a prophet until advanced in years, when he was worldly-wise.

5. According to the Quran Jesus was rescued (by angels) from His enemies and from death and was carried up to heaven, 4: 156—but when enemies sought to kill Muhammad he hid in a cave, then fled to Madina and took refuge with *Ansar*, helpers. What a difference!

6. Concerning the exaltation of Jesus in heaven—where he has existed in His humanity without food or drink for 2,000 years; this, too, makes Him superior to Muhammad.

7. Jesus raised the dead and exercised divine power, 3: 42. This is the sole prerogative of God—did Muhammad, or any other prophet, ever raise the dead?

8. The Quran, which declares that God is “Creator of all things,” 13: 17, also says that Jesus *created* birds, 3: 43—thus He is superior to Muhammad and all the prophets.

9. He healed the blind, the deaf and lepers by His miraculous power, 3: 43—not so Muhammad; if he did, let someone prove it *from the Quran!*

10. Jesus could tell what people had been doing, eating, etc., 3: 43.

11. The Quran shows all prophets to have been sinners, but in no place is Jesus said to have sinned or repented, or been commanded to repent—Muhammad’s sins are

mentioned, cp., 80: 1-10, and he is commanded to repent, 47: 21.

12. Over thirteen hundred years ago Muhammad died and was buried, and his body went to dust. Christ has been alive 2,000 years in heaven. The Quran says, "The living and the dead are not equal," 35: 21; therefore Christ is greater than Muhammad.

13. Christ is to come again to conquer *Dajjal*, the anti-Christ, and to re-establish men in the faith, 4: 157—if Muhammad were the last of the prophets why should not he be raised up to do this work? Christ was the first guide and He will be the last.

14. According to the Quran Muhammad was only an apostle (7: 157) and a sinful man (47: 21, 4: 106); but the Messiah is absolutely sinless and a divine person, for, as the Quran says, God "breathed into Mary of His spirit." (21: 91).

These facts, concludes the author of the tract, are so clear that Christ's superiority over Muhammad is established. If any will not accept this truth it will be because of self-conceit and bigotry.

"May the merciful Lord heal my Muslim brothers of this disease and enlighten their eyes with the true light, Amen."

\* \* \* \*

Dr. Wherry reported at the time that this tract fell like a bomb in the Muslim camp. Letters were addressed to the *Paigham-i-Sulah*, Lahore (the Urdu journal of the Ahmadis), urging a reply to it. The editor however declared that the orthodox could not make a reply; that would have to be done by the Ahmadis. As we shall see, such a reply was made by Maulana Muhammad Ali in 1921.

\* \* \* \*

But a still earlier rejoinder came from an utterly unexpected quarter. Within a year of its publication one who signed himself "Abdullah," of Jessore, East Bengal, sent a type-written reply to Dr. Wherry.

This "Abdullah" proceeded to show that the afore-

said tract "published by some Christian padres, is composed of a compound of ignorance and bigotry such as is seldom met with even in the writings of Christians."

In his preface he objects to the way in which the *hadith* had been ruled out of the enquiry, because the Christians themselves rely on biographies of their Prophet which were written long after His death and therefore amount to traditions.

Moreover, he stresses the fact that the Quran does not profess to be a "biography" of Muhammad. It was for this reason that Allah gave to men further revelation such as we find in the traditions.

Then turning to a detailed examination of the fourteen reasons advanced from the Quran, he says:

1. The author's first point is really the fallacious method of arguing from the silence of scripture. As well say that because Muhammad's birth is not mentioned in the Quran, therefore he wasn't born! In any case, we need to remember that an angel announced the birth of John the Baptist also.

2. Are we to understand that a man's status before God depends upon his mother? On the contrary, Abraham, "the Friend of God," was the son of idolaters! The Quranic phrase "God hath chosen thee above all the women of the world" means, according to commentators, "those of thine own time."

3. Though none are mentioned in the Quran, the Traditions have records of many prodigies attending the birth of Muhammad.

4. The assumption that because a man receives his prophetic call late in life he is therefore inferior to one who receives it in childhood, is a false one. Was Abraham for this reason inferior to Samuel, or Moses to Jeremiah? "Life is measured by deeds not years"; and so must we judge of Muhammad. But we need to remember that Jeremiah and John the Baptist were chosen *even before their birth!*

5. We thank the padre for emphasizing the fact that

Jesus did not die but was taken up alive to heaven; though we reject with scorn the implication that our Prophet, because he was not so taken up, is therefore inferior. Christ's work was finished (or rather was a failure) and so God took him; but had God so taken Muhammad, his mission of founding the final and perfect religion could not have been accomplished. The padre's reference to the cave in which Muhammad hid omits an important particular *e.g.*, the unbroken spider's web—proof of God's care of the Prophet!

6. Other prophets were taken up to heaven and have lived there for many centuries longer than Christ, *e.g.*, Moses and Elijah. These then must be superior to Christ. But our Prophet also took the "Night Journey" to heaven!

7. In making so much of Christ's raising the dead the padre definitely misleads his readers, for he fails to observe what the Quran actually says, *viz.*: that he did so *by the permission* of God, *i.e.*, by the delegated power of God. Moreover, others have done likewise *e.g.*, Elijah, Peter and Paul. On this score these, too, must be "divine."

8. Likewise in the Quran when Jesus is said to "create"—it is *by the permission* of God, *i.e.*, he had no power of his own to do so. We have previously seen that the padre argues from the silence of scripture; but here he is suppressing scripture—which is a crime!

9. As we have said, all Christ's miracles were performed "by God's leave"—this the padre omits to mention. But the padre lies when he says that Muhammad performed no miracles, *e.g.*, the splitting of the moon is mentioned in the Quran (54: 1-2). But let him read the Traditions. Christ's miracles were a sign for the people of his day, whereas the great miracle of Muhammad—the Quran—is for all people and for all time.

10. Here is another instance of the Christian's "astounding arrogance." What of Elijah's dealings with Gehazi, Peter's handling of Ananias? The fact is Muhammad foretold events, *e.g.*, the fall of Mecca, and the defeat

of the Persians. Are Elijah and Peter to be accounted divine? Yet even Jesus did not know the time of the Day of Resurrection!

11. This is another argument from silence. The sins of many other people are not mentioned in the Quran; must we therefore assume that they were sinless? Are we to consider that man to be blind of whose sight no mention is made? That Jesus was a sinner we know from his own words, "Why callest thou me good?" The demand made of Muhammad that he should ask for pardon is that he should be an example of humility to his followers.

12. In making so much of the *living* Christ the padre omits to mention that in the Tradition about Christ's return to earth it is definitely stated that he will return *to die*. If, therefore, this argument is worth anything at all, Elijah must be considered superior to Christ.

13. Again the padre omits to mention that according to the Tradition which he quotes, the true faith which Christ is to establish on his return is ISLAM, the faith which he (Christ) himself must embrace before he can obtain final salvation. This fact proves the superiority of Muhammad.

14. The padre here seeks to prove too much, for the Quran says that God breathed His spirit into Adam also. Was Adam then divine?

In closing, "Abdullah" asks permission to quote the following verse from the Quran:

"Whosoever followeth any other religion than Islam it shall not be accepted of him, and in the next life he shall be of those that perish." 3: 79.

Now the amusing—some may prefer to think amazing, fact about this vigorous rejoinder is that "Abdullah" of Jessore, was no other than the Rev. William Goldsack, of the Baptist Mission, as he himself confessed to the present writer before he left India!

Quite clearly the original pamphlet has had far-reaching influence, for not only, as we have said, do the Arya Samajists make use of it in their propaganda against the

Muslims, but Maulana Muhammad Ali, the President of the Ahmadis of Lahore, thought it worth his while to give much time to refute its arguments in a book of 159 pages which he published in 1921, under the title "Muhammad and Christ."

This was the form of his reply to what he took to be "the challenge of Christians." He speaks of this pamphlet as having been "issued by the Christian Missionary Society of Ludhiana," and takes it to be a serious presentation of the Christian case!

On the other hand, he shows that he was aware that the translation of the tract appeared in *THE MOSLEM WORLD Quarterly* and must therefore have seen what Dr. Wherry there stated concerning it, *viz.*, that it was the work of a mullah, a confessed believer in Christ. Incidentally, from the same source he must have been acquainted with "Abdullah's" reply.

At the outset of his book he complains that Christians rely on words and appearances, not on work and reality. To the Christian, "greatness" consists in eulogy of, and incredible stories attributed to, Christ, not in the actual work done by him. It is for this reason that they quote what Christ says of himself (and Muhammad did not), and miracles Christ is supposed to have performed (and Muhammad did not).

Muhammad Ali insists that miracles are of secondary importance—they do not serve any useful purpose in themselves. *The* miracle is the planting of virtue and the supplanting of evil in the world. Muhammad must be counted "great" because he wrought such a mighty transformation in the world, and for this reason he was the most "successful" of all prophets. Consequently the Quran does not speak of Muhammad in high-sounding words, but rather stresses the transformation he wrought.

We observe, he says, that today Christians are *going to the Quran* for proofs of the superiority of Christ over Muhammad—strange indeed this going to the Quran, which is denounced by them as the fabrication of an im-

poster! We admit that the Quran does speak of both Jesus and Mary, but it is to clear their names from reproach and calumny.

This writer then proceeds to refute in detail the various arguments based on the Quran for the superiority of Jesus:

On 1—*The Birth of Jesus*—he says that 19: 22-23 really shows that Jesus was conceived in the ordinary manner. No verse in the Quran will be found to state that Mary conceived by the Holy Ghost, nor yet that Jesus was born without the intervention of a male parent. (He admits that divergent views on this point are held by Muslims.) In any case, he says, one cannot base “greater excellence” on this account of Jesus’ birth, otherwise Adam, who had neither father nor mother would be greater still; even Eve would thus be superior to Christ.

In the Quran Jesus is definitely and repeatedly called “son of Mary” in refutation of his divinity. Further, Christians hold that sin came into the world *through woman*; when they therefore did away with one parent for Jesus they should not have retained Mary; cp. Job 35: 4. According to the declared Christian doctrine of sin, the son of Mary (herself a sinner) cannot be raised to the dignity of Godhead. (Muhammad Ali also refers to the fact that John the Baptist’s birth was announced by an angel, and adds “there is no assurance that the offspring so announced will accomplish great things”.)

On 2—*The greater excellence of Mary*—Muhammad Ali quotes the gospels in order to belittle Mary, e.g., “Who is my mother?” and declares that she did not believe in Jesus.

Moreover, the Jews spread calumnies regarding her; it is for this reason that the Quran defends and praises her, 3: 41. Thus she is called *siddiqa* in order to correct the Gospel record that she was not a believer. She is declared to be above all women of her own time, not of all time. Muhammad’s mother died when he was six years old, so she could not have been an unbeliever.

On 4.—*The Call*.—He contends that the words spoken

by Jesus in 19: 31-2 were not spoken by a babe. But is a prophet less worthy because "called" when grown to manhood? Then what of Abraham, Moses, Aaron? He adds, any way Muhammad did not need to be baptized as Jesus was.

On 5 and 6.—*Ascension to heaven*.—The Gospel narratives concerning this are contradictory and unreliable. But we know that Elijah and also Enoch actually did ascend to heaven; therefore both are greater than Jesus.

In reality, however, the Quran makes no such statement regarding Jesus. The Arabic word *raf'a* means "exaltation" in the presence of God, cp. 3: 54; 4: 157—158: and he quotes the commentator, Razi, who takes the word at this place to mean, exalting in degree and praise, not in place and direction.

Muhammad Ali then says of 4: 157-8 that the "exaltation" of Jesus here spoken of is his state as contrasted with the fate which the Jews intended for him by crucifixion. Never did Muhammad fall so low as to be maltreated in this way by his enemies.

But as a matter of fact other passages in the Quran make such an ascension of Jesus as that held by the Christians, impossible, for it teaches that Jesus did die, but not on the cross; while neither the Traditions nor the Quran make any mention of Jesus being alive in heaven.

7. *Miracles*.—Muhammad Ali says that in the miracles of Christ Christians find "as in nothing else" the argument for his divinity; even the central fact of the Christian religion is a miracle, *viz*: the resurrection. But if Christ did not rise from the dead—and the gospels say he did not—then all their preaching is in vain.

He seeks to test the accuracy of the records reporting Christ's miracles by the criterion of the amount of "success" that attended Christ's mission. He argues that if all whom Christ is reported to have healed were in fact cured, then Jesus would have had multitudes of disciples. As a matter of fact his followers were but poor folk and few in number. Muhammad Ali therefore argues that the

records of the miracles were later inventions that have been incorporated into the Gospel narrative to make up for the failure of Christ's mission.

On the other hand he asks his readers to consider the wonderful results achieved by Muhammad. In the short space of twenty-five years he transformed the whole of Arabia, the conversion of which had been the despair of both Jews and Christians. In other words, he raised that nation from the depths of degradation to the highest plane of achievement.

As to Christ's having raised the dead—Christians take this to be the mightiest work of Jesus and sure proof of his divinity. But the Bible says that others raised the dead, e.g., Elijah and Elisha. Muhammad Ali thinks it possible that these instances led the Gospel writers to attribute similar achievements to Jesus.

But in fact Jesus did not really raise the dead; he was using symbolical language, cp. "Let the dead bury their dead," Matt. 8: 22. The whole fault is to be attributed to Jesus' too free use of symbolical language. This point gives us the clue to the interpretation of the words in the Quran attributing miracles to Jesus; thus Muhammad Ali argues from 6: 122 that the Quran declares that Muhammad also gave life to the spiritually dead.

On 8.—*That Jesus created things.*—Had this been true of Jesus the writers of the gospels would surely not have omitted it. But actually the Quran nowhere calls Jesus "creator," cp. rather 13: 17. This whole claim for him is due to a confusion of words. The Arabic word *khalq* has two meanings, (a) measuring, (b) creating. It is often used in the first sense, and in 3: 42 it is so used of Jesus.

On 11.—*The sinlessness of Jesus*—Muhammad Ali says that next in importance to the miracles of Jesus, in the view of Christians, is his "sinlessness", and he says: "the very basis of the Christian religion is laid on the exclusive sinlessness of Jesus."

He then attacks and repudiates (a) "the low view of

human nature (original sin) which forms the foundation stone of the Christian religion"; and (b) the Christian view that prophets in general were sinners.

He contends that mere sinlessness is no proof of greatness; greatness depends on the amount of good one does, and by this standard Muhammad must be adjudged to be first.

Muhammad Ali goes out of his way to suggest that on the basis of the Gospel narrative Jesus himself was not sinless. Among some of the facts he cites are the following; that he was subject to suggestions from the devil; was only filled with the Spirit at his baptism, whereas John the Baptist was filled with the Holy Spirit *from his mother's womb*. Then making reference to passages concerning him in the Quran which Christians often quote, e.g., 4: 169 "A spirit from Him": he says, "this does not make him divine, but is said because his enemies spoke of him as being born of illicit intercourse; the phrase just means that he was "a pure soul." Moreover, the word *ruh* used here of Jesus is used also of Adam, 15: 29; 32: 9.

Of 3: 44—"His word", Muhammad Ali says the whole paragraph should be read to mean "O Mary, God gives you good news with a word from Him (of one) whose name is the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary."

As to Muhammad's asking for forgiveness, "the word *istighfar* means 'protection' or 'covering', that is, protection against sin as well as against punishment. Since then the Quran declares the prophets to have been sinless this reference to Muhammad can only mean 'seeking' protection from sins to which man is liable."

13. *Second Advent*.—Granted that Muslims believe that the Messiah will return to destroy Anti-Christ and to re-establish Muslims in the faith, yet it is a grave misunderstanding to think that *Jesus*, as such, will return to life. On the contrary, Jesus himself declared that *Ahmad* will come, cp. Quran 61: 6; for further references see 24: 55; 3: 48; 62: 23.

Moreover, the *finality* of Muhammad's apostleship is

against this notion of the Christians. Muhammad completed his work, so that no other prophet is needed.

Muhammad Ali goes on to say that the second advent of a person, e.g., Elijah, is not his *personal* reappearance; compare how Jesus himself explained the significance of John the Baptist as being the promised Elijah. But in fact the reference in the Tradition quoted shows that the Messiah must be a *Muslim*. He has already come in the person of Mirza Ghulam *Ahmad*, of Qadian, who has "broken the cross, because he has shown from the gospels that the death of Jesus did not take place on the cross. Moreover Jesus never rose from the dead and so the preaching of the Christian missionary is vain and his faith also is vain . . . . The Christian religion laid its foundation on the death of Christ on the cross and his subsequent rising. Both these statements have been proved to be utterly wrong, and with the foundation the whole superstructure falls to the ground."

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Surely there is enough in the above record to give the Christian evangelist reason to reflect carefully on the ways in which he may make use of the Quran. We cannot accept it as in any sense authoritative for Christ and Christianity, for it denies outright some of the most precious things on which our faith is based.

*Lahore*

L. BEVAN JONES.

## ISLAM IN YUNNAN TODAY

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Ask any Moslem what the total number of his coreligionists in China is, and invariably the answer is fifty millions! Yet even the most casual observer would agree that such a figure is grossly exaggerated; between nine and ten million for the whole of China being a more accurate figure.

Yunnan province, sometimes called the Switzerland of China, is located in the extreme southwest, bordering on Burma and Indo-China. The figures given for Moslems in Yunnan vary from one to two millions. As our Mission was contemplating a forward movement in that province, we were given the task of making a survey of the number of Moslems and their geographical distribution.

We were able to preach in over seventy-five towns and villages, and in some of these we stayed several days, because we found genuine interest. Whilst the Moslems of Yunnan at one time were both influential and numerous, their heavy losses in the 1867 rebellion have greatly reduced their number and power. Our own investigation led us to believe that there were not more than 250,000 in the whole province. (This was confirmed by Mr. J. O. Fraser, who knew more about Yunnan than, probably, anyone else in China). They are to be found in small scattered communities in both the east and the west of the province. Their loss of prestige has made them much more tolerant and progressive than the Moslems of the northwest.

We were amazed to find that in practically every mosque there was a primary or a secondary school with a complete curriculum of Chinese studies, to meet the requirements of the government's educational department. Even in the remote places, about one third of the pupils were girls. As soon as the government made Chinese education compulsory for Moslems, leaders and Ahungs, in their fear of modern education, arranged to have the schools established in the mosques, and, as far as possible, engage Moslem teachers. This was permitted only if Arabic was taught out of school hours!

Having decided to make this an evangelistic effort as well, my wife and I took along hundreds of bi-lingual gospels, generously supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a good supply of suitable tracts. I also had hymn-sheets for singing, posters for preaching, and a cornet to make our presence known! Our usual

method of procedure was to find a suitable place near the mosque or school and hang up our hymns and pictures and commence by singing. How quickly the crowds gathered! The human-heart posters were most popular, as they show how Satan gets dethroned from the human heart.

I visited over seventy mosques. In practically every case I was kindly received by the Ahung, and in a number of cases I was invited back for more discussion. Some invited me to correspond with them, and in one instance the Ahung asked me to stay over and preach the Friday sermon! While I felt unable to accept, yet I left him a good supply of gospels for his congregation and urged him to read them the Sermon on the Mount. Of the seventy or more Ahungs interviewed, only about ten could read any Chinese at all. Twenty per cent. knew enough Arabic to read and understand non-Koranic literature. Three had made the pilgrimage. One was unusually well educated, being a graduate of Al-Azhar, Cairo, and of a Chinese university. He had held the post of Ahung in a large Canton mosque, and had some leanings toward Ahmadiyya beliefs. But he had never read the Bible, and was too prejudiced to be logical in his thinking. I never left any Ahung without questioning him about his attitude towards the Christian Scriptures. The same old excuses were given, sometimes contradictory reasons in the same conversation. One Ahung insisted that Jesus had taken the Injil back to heaven with Him, later said that it was burnt up in a house from which Jesus fled, still later, that our Scriptures were corrupted, and finally that the Koran had superseded the scriptures.

How well I remember the alert and rather sophisticated Ahung school-teacher who, having heard me preaching on the street, invited me for a friendly discussion before his students. His plan was to embarrass me before them by showing off his knowledge of Arabic. His first setback came when the students agreed that we should discuss only one subject, and he was thoroughly disconcerted when I too pulled out an Arabic Koran, only mine was polluted with marginal notes! Our subject was, "The authenticity of the Christian Scriptures." I left with the definite feeling that the students were impressed with the solid facts on which the Christian faith rests. The vaunted "Last Revelation and greatest Prophet" propaganda did not go down so well with their keen, analytical minds. It was obvious to them that the moral standard set forth in the Koran was much lower than the sublime teaching of Jesus. And I think they were very conscious of the low moral plane on which even their best religious leaders were living.

A little booklet fell into my hands which shows to what lengths

Moslems have gone in seeking to capture the imagination of their youth. It was supposed to be a pen-portrait of Muhammad, but actually it gave a fair picture of the character of Christ!

One day, as we were leaving a large village, a large middle-school boy caught up to us. No, he had not come to buy scriptures, he had come to tell us that he was a Christian! When? How? Where? Briefly he told us that he had lived for several months in a town where some Moslems had become Christians, and seeing the transformation in their lives, he had decided to become a Christian himself. Of his own accord he said, "I have observed that Islam cannot change lives, else it would be able to change the lives of our religious leaders." He gave every evidence of being a true believer.

We found the older Moslems hopelessly prejudiced, but this is a day of opportunity among the younger generation. Modern education and their interest in the reconstruction of their country has thoroughly loosened the hold which old Islam held over them. There is danger that the new Islamic propaganda will capture them. It is the task of the Christian Church to win them first.

*Wuwei, Kansu*

PAUL A. CONTENTO.

### Among Moslems in Nairobi

The Moslem women who are being visited in their homes are asking to be taught to read. This is an amazing thing, really, and shows the tremendous change that must be taking place in Islam itself. One day a Nubian Moslem, whom I did not know, walked into my office and said he wanted to be a Christian. We had a very interesting talk and he went away with some literature which he promised to read. On his next visit we had further conversation and he went away with a Gospel. Pray for him that God's Word may be a word of Life to him.

In the Digo Country God is working. A Christian government doctor and his wife have been a great help to us. The doctor has built a little church for his hospital staff and it serves as a meeting place for the other Christians also, in the midst of that Moslem population. Besides, we have been able recently to send an evangelist to that area. The evangelist was once a Moslem and recently as a Christian has been truly revived. God is answering our prayers for that country.

The Church here in Nairobi has recently started to organize a little band of special evangelists for Nairobi and District, in order to reach those who, at the present time, are not being reached through the ordinary channels, and also to visit and encourage those Christians and adherents who are situated in places where it is difficult to receive regular ministrations from the Church Pastors.

A. R. PITTMAY, in *Spiritual Life*.

✠ DAVID SAMUEL MARGOLIOUTH ✠

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With the death of the Rev. Prof. David Samuel Margoliouth in London on Saturday, March 23rd, at the age of 81, THE MOSLEM WORLD has lost a contributor and constant friend who has been with it from the beginning, and Islamic students mourn the passing of the last of the giants, whose name will ever be remembered alongside those of de Sacy, de Goeje, Fleischer, Nöldeke, Goldziher and Reinhardt Dozy. For over sixty years he had been connected with Oxford, having come up as a youth to New College with a scholarship from Winchester, to start a connection which was broken only by his death. He was elected a Fellow of New College in 1881, and in 1889 succeeded to the Laudian Professorship of Arabic, which Chair he held for forty-eight years, resigning it under the threat of failing health in 1937.

Though born in London in 1858, Professor Margoliouth was of missionary stock, his father, the Rev. Ezekiel Margoliouth, having been a missionary in the East. He himself was ordained in the Church of England, and his wife was the daughter of Dr. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, the famous Syriac scholar, and partly through her father's and partly through her husband's connections, was all her life closely associated with the work of the Archbishop's Mission among the "Assyrians" in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan.

To students who have worked under him Professor Margoliouth will doubtless be best remembered for his amazing linguistic attainments. Through some defect of enunciation, his speaking of all languages, even English, was somewhat difficult to follow until you got used to him, but his mastery of a great range of languages was phenomenal. Besides being the foremost Arabist in Europe, he was one of the outstanding Greek scholars in Britain, wrote Greek and Latin verses for amusement, and had few rivals in his knowledge of Persian, Turkish, Armenian and Syriac, as well as being an accomplished Hebraist. His early interest was in the Classical languages, and his love of Greek remained with him to the end. His academic dissertation was *Analecta Orientalia ad Poeticam Aristotelem*, which was published in 1888. In 1911 he published the Poetics of *Aristotle*, and in 1924 a little book *The Homer of Aristotle*, which developed certain theories of his that have long been the butt of University wits, viz., the famous Chronograms. He always complained, however, that those who made fun of his

Chronograms never played fair. By rearranging the letters of the opening lines of the Greek Tragedies, he was consistently able to produce other lines, grammatically and metrically sound, and giving an intelligible meaning, and that without either adding to or omitting from the number of letters, whereas his critics would neither face the fact that he got this result in every case, not just in chance cases, nor could they produce their rival verses without tampering with the material to be used.

Greek led him to Sanskrit, and he was Boden scholar at Oxford for his year, but never carried further his Indian studies than to master Hindustani for its interest in Islamic studies. His life interest was in the Near East—to some extent the ancient Biblical Near East—but more particularly the Islamic Near East. His contributions to Biblical studies, if gathered together, would make a considerable volume, but they were mostly in the form of articles for Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias, and papers published in a variety of Journals. Perhaps his most famous contribution in this field was through his essays controverting the generally accepted conclusions as to the Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus. He was very conservative in Biblical studies, and somewhat unduly suspicious of critical work on the Old Testament, even producing a little book, now almost forgotten, *Outlines of a Defence of the Biblical Revelation*. When Dean Payne Smith died before completing the great *Thesaurus Syriacus*, it was he and his wife who finished off the work, and he made no inconsiderable contributions to Mrs. Margoliouth's later *Supplement* to her father's great Dictionary. His contributions to Syriac and Armenian studies, again, were largely in the form of papers and monographs.

Professor Margoliouth's name, however, is mainly connected with Arabic and Islamic studies, in which he was professionally interested, and to every branch of which he made notable contributions. His *Mohammed*, published in 1905 in the *Heroes of the Nations* Series, and his Hibbert Lectures for 1913 on the *Early Development of Mohammedanism*, have become standard works, but are perhaps of less significance than his work on the *Letters of Abu'l-'Ala'* in 1898, his edition of Yaqut's *Dictionary of Learned Men*, 7 vols. 1907-31, and his collaboration with H. F. Amedroz on Miskawaihi's *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, 6 vols., 1922. In earlier years he had been interested in Judaeo-Arabic, and in 1889 published Yefeth b. 'Ali's Commentary on Daniel in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. He was also one of the very few competent Arabic papyrologists, in which field he published in 1893 the Arabic Papyri of the Bodleian Library, and in 1933 those of the Rylands Library at Manchester.

It would be a mistake to think of Professor Margoliouth as

merely a hermit scholar producing books solely for fellow scholars. He was much alive to the necessity of interesting the general public in the results of scholarly endeavour. His *Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus*, London, 1907, was intended to give a popular account of the significance for history of these three outstanding Muslim cities. His popular volume on *Mohammedanism* in the Home University Library has been several times reprinted, and as late as 1939 he brought out the volume on Muḥammad in the series *What did they teach?* Twice he visited India to deliver courses of popular lectures on Islam, at the University of the Panjab in 1916-17, and at the Universities of Calcutta and Bombay in 1929. On his way back from India in 1929 he stopped off at Cairo, and it was amazing to see the number of his former students, now resident in the Near East, who assembled from near and far to do him honour, so soon as his stay in Cairo was known.

All his academic life he was associated with the work of the Royal Asiatic Society, on whose Council he had served since 1905. He was made a Director in 1927, and served as President from 1934-1937. The Society awarded him its Gold Medal in 1928. He was also a constant attendant at the Oriental Congresses, and was made an honorary member of the German Oriental Society in 1934 and of the American Oriental Society in 1937. He was corresponding member of a number of learned societies, and one of the few non-Arab members of the Arabic Academy of Damascus. Of the British Academy he was a Fellow of long standing, and under its auspices he delivered the Schweich Lectures for 1921 on *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*.

For those who knew him only from the exterior he had the reputation of being cold and forbidding, but no one who has worked with him has failed to pierce beyond that somewhat austere exterior to find beneath it a very kindly and friendly spirit, and no one who has enjoyed the hospitality of his home, either at Woodstock Road or later at Boars Hill, could ever forget its warmth and kindness. Mrs. Margoliouth's very sudden death in 1933 was a great blow to him, for she herself was a Syriac scholar of no mean ability, and had shared very fully in the things that interested him most. Characteristic of both of them was the eagerness with which they would respond to demands upon their stores of special knowledge.

Eighty-one is a goodly age to reach when working actively to the last, but Islamic studies will ever be the poorer for the loss of those projects which Professor Margoliouth had in mind and in hand, but did not see completed. Several times he had been urged to collect his numerous papers that for over fifty years have been scattered through a great variety of periodicals and learned publi-

cations, so that the more important of them, often quite inaccessible to students, might be made available in two or three volumes of *Collected Papers*, but always some more important piece of work caused it to be put off. Is it too much to hope that this may yet be done as a memorial to a great and painstaking scholar, whose influence over successive generations of students has been very great, and whose views, even if not always acceptable, were always stimulating and deserving of consideration?

*New York City*

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

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✠ JOHN TAKLE ✠

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News has come from India of the death in New Zealand of John Takle, for thirty years a missionary of the Baptist Church among Moslems in East Bengal. He was the founder of the Missionaries to Muslims League, shortly after the Lucknow Conference in 1911. He is remembered also as an able writer on Islam and on the Christian approach to Moslems. The Rev. L. Bevan Jones writes:

“His first venture appears to have been some notes for talks on comparative religion, entitled: ‘The Koran and the Bible,’ or ‘The Crescent versus The Sun’, C.L.S. 1905. In 1913 there appeared a small but comprehensive study of Islam called ‘The Faith of the Crescent’, published by the Y.M.C.A., Calcutta. This comprised a series of articles he had written in their magazine, *The Young Men of India*. Three other articles of his appeared in THE MOSLEM WORLD, viz.: ‘Islam in Bengal’ (Jan., 1914), ‘Popular Islam in Bengal, and how to approach it’ (Oct., 1914), and ‘The Approach to Muslim Mysticism’ (July, 1918). The last two appeared in pamphlet form, as did two papers which he read at Auckland, N. Z. in 1915, viz., ‘The Christian Approach to Islam,’ and ‘The Present Outlook of Missions to Moslems.’ Two booklets of his, *Siratu’l-Mustaqim*, The Straight Path, (1914) and *At-Tariqat* (1921) The Inward Way, have been promptly translated into Arabic (by the Nile Mission Press, Cairo) and Urdu, and readily commended themselves to Muslim readers. In recent years both of these were put into Bengali by the Rev. D. A. Chowdhury.”

Though invalided home in 1915 and having to retire early through ill-health, Mr. Takle always gave of his best; and amongst the best things was his new method for presenting the old message of reconciliation. His evangelical convictions, warm friendship and wide sympathies endeared him to all who knew him.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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**Mohammed and Charlemagne.** By Henri Pirenne. Edited by Jacques Pirenne and F. Vercauteren. Translated from the French (Mahomet et Charlemagne) by Bernard Miall. W. W. Norton & Co., New York, 1939. pp. 293. \$3.50.

In 1928 at the International Congress of Historical Studies in Oslo,

“after a morning of interminable discourses, we came to the last part of an overburdened program. Only ten minutes to go! Was Pirenne going to speak, or would he postpone his address until another session? He spoke, in a brilliant abridgment advocating his thesis, soon to be famous, that the decadence of Romano-Byzantine commerce goes back, not to the establishment of the Patrician-Kings of the Merovingian epoch, but to the appearance of Islam, which cut the Mediterranean in two. He ended an impetuous display of intellectual pyrotechnics with this striking formula: *‘En somme, on peut dire que, sans Mahomet, Charlemagne n’aurait jamais existé.’*”<sup>1</sup>

So the title of this book is symbolic rather than descriptive. Only a score of pages deal with the career of the Frankish Emperor, while one scant paragraph is awarded to the Arabian Prophet. Mohammed represents his Faith and its expansion; Charlemagne, the eponym of the Carolingians, is the chief architect of Western society in the age succeeding the first Islamic assault.

The problem Pirenne grapples with is one that has long exercised historians: the transition from the state of affairs commonly called Antiquity to that known for convenience' sake as the Middle Ages. The differences between these two periods are clearly discernible; the difficulty lies in determining *how* and *when* the first gave way and the second arose to take its place. We have a dismaying variety of explanations, most of them lacking in comprehensiveness, the tune of harpists overfond of plucking a single string. In reality the problem is virtually insoluble. With regard to *how*, reasons may be catalogued and compared, but the relative significance of each cannot be established beyond controversy. With regard to *when*, a period of no less than four centuries (roughly, the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th) seems to be required to fit the major facts. Pirenne's book is valuable because (1) in answering *how*, it lays stress on the role of Islam, something often overlooked, and (2) in answering *when*, it emphasizes the 7th century, a time more or less neglected in this respect. The book's fundamental weakness is that it belongs to the single-string type.

In Pirenne's view, the dominant characteristic of Antiquity was

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<sup>1</sup> Henri Hauser in *Revue d'histoire moderne*, X (n.s., IV) (nov.-déc. 1935) 413.

the unity of its Mediterranean economy and culture. The Barbarian invasions failed to break this unity: trade still flowed from Constantinople and Gaza to Marseille and back, and the Barbarians became Romanized and Byzantinized. Here is an echo of the old debate that began between Waitz and Sybel, students of Leopold von Ranke, over the Roman or German origin of kingship and other institutions among the Barbarians. Sardonicly Pirenne dismisses Waitz's arguments in favor of the Germanic character of the king as "quite without pertinence." "What was there specifically German about him? His long hair?" Pirenne is as sweeping a Romanist as Fustel de Coulanges, who is indeed one of his main authorities. But even Fustel admitted Germanic influence in judicial affairs and the importance of the German *comitatus* (*Gefolge*) in the development of feudalism. Pirenne has little to say about the first and nothing about the second.

To resume Pirenne's thesis: Mediterranean unity, except in the political sense, remained intact until suddenly the Arabians, fired by the Prophet, rode past Carthage, past Târiq's Mount, into the courts of the Visigoths. The Moslem fleet, based at La Goulette in Tunisia, wrested mastery of the Western half of the sea from the Christians. As a result trade languished, a natural economy replaced the ancient ways of life in the West, power shifted to the North away from the Mediterranean with the new dynasty of the Carolingians—the break with Antiquity was achieved and the Middle Ages dawned.

To sustain his thesis Pirenne builds an edifice of evidence buttressed by an impressive retaining-wall of references. It should be noted, however, that he often relies on the *argumentum ex silentio*, while a number of documents that might spoil the harmony of his picture have to be explained away in some fashion. But what has been left unsaid is most damning. Here is a chapter on the beginnings of the Middle Ages with no discussion of the origins of feudalism, of the manor, of serfdom. Just as he did with his mercatorial theory of the origin of towns in the Middle Ages, Pirenne has attributed too important a place to commerce in the general scheme of things. In conversation Pirenne once said that, eager as he was to apply his mercatorial theory to all medieval towns, he did not dare go so far. After reading *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, one may hazard the surmise that the great scholar's daring waxed with the years.

Henri Pirenne died in 1935, a few days after finishing the first draft of this work. His son Jacques revised the MS. only to the extent of making unfinished passages intelligible; his pupil Vercauteren checked and filled out the references. For this reason the work contains numerous inconsistencies and contradictions. As compensation the policy of the editors gives us the freshness and verve of thoughts jostling each other to win expression.

Pirenne has not used Arabic sources, nor has he drawn extensively on studies by competent Arabists. By reference to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* he might have avoided such a bizarre form as "Jussef Ibn Abd-er-Rhaman" (so written more than once). "Ibn Saud" should be ('Abd Allāh) ibn Sa'd. "Kāhina" is the

Arabic word for female diviner or prophetess, not the proper name of the Berber queen who resisted the Arabs.

Since I have not seen the French original, I cannot express an opinion on the adequacy of the translation, which, except for a few brief passages, moves along smoothly. The use of the English forms Adrianople and Ghent would have been preferable to the retention of the French Andrinople and Gand. Several times the translator has rendered *le Golfe du Lion* as the Gulf of Lyons, an absurd mistake apparently of some currency in English. The index is a hit-or-miss affair, the usefulness of which would have been multiplied if references to the abundant foot-notes had been included.

Yet the book, with all its imperfections, is the work of a great mind and a talented writer. Pirenne has carved out a large name for himself on the tablets of 20th-century historiography. His monumental works on Belgian history and bibliography, his researches and theory with respect to town origins described in *Medieval Cities* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1925), his *Economic and Social History of Medieval Europe* (Kegan Paul, 1936), his posthumous *History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVI Century* (W. W. Norton & Co., 1939), written in a German concentration camp during the World War, and his numerous stimulating monographs have become the cherished property of all students of the story of Europe. We whose interest turns to Islam should be grateful for his work in revealing more fully the importance of Islam in world affairs. Whether one accepts his thesis or not, one is the poorer if he has not read Henri Pirenne.

*University of California*

GEORGE RENTZ.

**Jenghiz Khan.** By C. C. Walker; with seven maps in color. London, 1939. Luzac & Co. 8vo. pp. 215. 17/6d.

Students of Islamic history are interested in the movement of the Mongols mainly for two reasons. In the first place they are interested because of the terrible disaster that befell the Eastern Caliphate when Hūlāgū Khān sacked Baghdād in 1258 A.D., put to death 800,000 people, plundered and destroyed the material, literary and scientific treasures that had been accumulated by generations of 'Abbāsīd patrons of art and learning, and gave to Muslim culture a blow from which it has never recovered. In the second place they are interested because the embracing of Islam by these tribes set up a number of Muslim kingdoms and principalities in the East, which had some significance in later history. The life of Jenghīz Khān, however, barely touched on the great centres of Islam, his dealings with Muslim princes being with those in the northern reaches of Khwārazm and Khurāsān. Yet it was with him that the Mongol movement took its rise; it was his genius that taught the hordes how to attack civilized areas, and it was his generals who opened the way for the descent of his successors on the lands of the Eastern Caliphate.

The present book is not so much a life of Jenghīz Khān as an account of his campaigns, and it adds nothing to our knowledge save in its interpretation of these campaigns. The author is a soldier

by profession, an officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force, and he has been interested in following the campaigns of the Mongol leader and his subordinates from the military point of view. He has used no original sources, relying entirely on the accounts available in English and French (which he labels as his authorities), but he does succeed in illuminating these campaigns from a fresh point of view. His asides on history and religion are not always in good taste. Perhaps the most valuable feature of the book is its liberal supply of maps on which the author has marked out his interpretation of the various troop movements in the Mongol campaigns both in the East and the West.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

**Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedenie Akademii Nauk SSSR. VIII.** Moscow and Leningrad, 1939. Printed by the Academy Press. pp. 319. 8vo.

The articles in this Seventh Annual Volume of the Soviet edition of the great *Zapiski* of the School of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy, are all in Russian, and are distributed into three sections; i) History; ii) Literature; iii) Linguistics.

In the Linguistics section the only articles of interest to readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD are Tzeretelli's collections of material on the Arabic dialects spoken in Central Asia (which besides publishing some texts, gives a useful summary of recent work done on Arabic dialectology), and two notes by Freimann, one on the Khwarizmi language, and one on a new Soghdian inscription from old Merv. In the literary section, our field is represented by a paper from the pen of the veteran I. J. Kratchkovsky on the formula for negative comparison in the ancient Arabic poetry, illustrated mostly from the Hudhailian poems. In the historical section, however, almost every article concerns some corner of our field. P. P. Ivanow has two papers; one discusses the Archives of the Khans of Khiva, making available some new texts, and the other deals with the Kazaks and the lands of the Khanates. Doumann tells from Chinese sources the story of Biyanhou who led the Dungan insurrection in 1862-77. Pigoulevskaia examines the material concerning the Sasanians in the anonymous Syriac Chronicle published in *CSCO* III, iv. Voline explores a new source for the study of the language of Khwarizm in the *Kitāb al-Qunya* brought to light by S. A. Alimov. Yeremian writes on Moses Kalankatvazi's account of the embassy of Prince Varaz Tirdat to the Khazar chief Alp Ilitver. Finally Breskovnij discusses the reactions of the press in British India to the Fascist aggression against Abyssinia, the first article in what is to be a series on the reactions of the native press of the East to Fascist and totalitarian movements of expansion.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

**Bibliographij Vostoka. Vipusk X (1936).** Institut Vostokovedenij Akademii Nauk SSSR. Moscow and Leningrad, 1937. pp. 226. 8vo.

This tenth volume of the Oriental Bibliography published by the Oriental Commission of the Russian Academy, devotes both its main articles to Arabic interests. I. J. Kratchkovsky, one of

the foremost authorities in the world on modern Arabic literature, writes on the connections of the work of N. Marr, the protagonist of the Japhetic theory, with Arabic literature, and D. V. Smernov reviews recent studies by French savants, particularly L. Massignon, on the present status and future prospects of the Arabic language. In the summaries of recent additions to our resources, the only items of interest to us are in the Persian field, where Karnejew has a Bibliography of Russian translations of Persian poetry, and N. Marr lists the recently acquired Persian collections of the Asiatic Museum. In the Book review section, however, there are good reviews of Kratchkovsky's edition of the *Kitāb al-Badī'* of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, published in the Gibb Memorial Series, and, curiously enough, a discussion of Dr. George Sarton's views on the teaching of Arabic, which will be familiar to most of our readers from his article on that subject in the Macdonald Presentation Volume. The section labelled "Annotations" consists almost entirely of notes by J. Vilenček on new books and articles concerning Arabic and Islamic questions, ranging from the Corporation of Tanners and the tanning industry in Fez, to the advisability of adopting the Latin script for the printing of Arabic, as has been done for Turkish. The Appendix is a hand-list of Turkish books on history preserved in the Public Libraries of Leningrad.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

**The World's Religions.** By Charles S. Braden. Cokesbury Press, 1939. pp. 256. \$1.50.

This concise volume covers a vast territory. The opening chapter presents definitions of religion and lists the world's living faiths. The book proceeds to sketch the religions of primitive peoples, and the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Rome, and Northern Europe. Zoroastrianism is viewed as standing on the border line between the religions of the past, and those that are active today.

The discussion of Hinduism traces the Vedic and Brahmanic periods, the theistic development featuring Vishnu and Siva, popular Hinduism with its village gods, and various reform movements. In addition to a chapter on Buddhism, we find specialized treatments of this faith as one of the religions of China and Japan. The story of Judaism takes us from Abraham to modern Zionism. In thirty-five pages devoted to Christianity, the author tells of Jesus, Paul, the Gospels, church history through the centuries, and modern movements such as Mormonism, Christian Science, New Thought, Spiritualism, humanism and Barthianism.

The final chapter, on Mohammedanism, begins with a picture of a group of colored people repeating the Moslem creed in an apartment house, converted into a mosque, on the South Side of Chicago. This group is indicative of the outreach of the movement that began with Mohammed.

Professor Braden outlines the life of the Prophet, and summarizes the principal teachings and practices of Islam. The author, while correctly stressing the primacy of the Koran, says that Mohammedans "believe in the Jewish sacred book, also in the

Christian sacred book." The word "believe," as used here, is, of course, subject to Moslem interpretation. The author affirms that Mohammed's doctrine of angels or intermediary beings "has resulted, among the masses of Islam, in a practical polytheism." That statement might be improved by amplification or clarification.

An account of the spread of Islam includes a distinction between its traditional form and the form in which it is now presented to the Western world. "Modern Mohammedanism comes with a doctrine of world peace, world brotherhood, the uplift of women, and temperance. One of the chief points of emphasis, particularly among the dissatisfied racial groups, is that the Moslem knows no color bar, but that all the faithful are brethren."

A discussion of Islamic sects explains the Sunnites and the Shiites and tells of the rise of the Ahmadiya. A single sentence is devoted to the mystic or Sufi group. The book closes with a view of an Islam which is gradually adjusting itself to the scientific age, and which "has exhibited in recent years a marked resurgence of missionary activity which is seeking to carry the teachings of the Prophet not only into unoccupied areas in the Orient and Africa, but to the Western world as well."

There is a brief and well selected bibliography at the end of each chapter, and also an appendix of additional reference books. Dr. Braden says of the literature on Christianity, "It is so vast and varied that it is difficult to know what to suggest." The author characterizes R. F. Dibble's "Mohammed" as "popular, non-critical, very readable, but not always objective in its treatment of the Prophet."

The writer of "The World's Religions" teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in Northwestern University. The book is probably as non-technical as such a comprehensive summary can be. It moves swiftly, and its stimulating brevity tends to induce its readers to consult some of the books to which it refers.

*Bristol, Conn.*

FRANCIS T. COOKE.

**The History of Ibn al-Furāt.** Arabic text with indices; Vol. viii, part 1; edited by Costi K. Zurayk and Nejla Izzedin. Beirut, 1939, No. 14 of the Oriental Series of the American University of Beirut.

With commendable promptness the editors have here fulfilled their promise to Arabists to continue the publication of an interesting history of the Mamelukes. This number covers the period 683-696 A.H. (1284-1297 A.D.), during which Egypt and Syria were ruled by Sultans Maṣṣūr Qalā'ūn (his last seven years), Ashraf Khalīl, Nāṣir Muḥammad (his first reign), 'Ādil Kitbughā, and Maṣṣūr Lajīn (his first year). As is usual with Arabic historians, the author condensed and selected his material in proportion to its remoteness from his own lifetime; these thirteen years occupy 233 printed pages, contrasted with the 479 pages devoted to the eleven years of the previously published, (but later as to epoch) volume IX (789-799 A.H.).

The important political events narrated in this number deal with the defence and expansion of the Mameluke Empire: Qalā'ūn's suppression of one of the greatest threats made against

Egypto-Syrian unity, the revolt of the viceroy Sunqur of Damascus; his decisive defeat of the Mongol-Tatars and thus the rescue of Europe from their invasion; his capture of several Syrian fortresses from the Crusaders; his imposition of tribute upon Nubia; and Khalil's continuation of these successes, with the addition of several Armenian fortresses to the Empire's frontier.

Though most of these events are recounted also by later historians such as Maqrizī, and evidently in general from the same sources (compare Quatremère's translation, vol. II, part I, p. 66 to part II, p. 54), Ibn al-Furāt offers some additional details of this period. He gives the texts of many documents, such as the endowment deed of the Maṣṣūrī College and Hospital (p. 9), diplomas of appointment to office (pp. 18-32), letters of instructions to officials (p. 5), reports from them when away from the Capital (p. 36), passports for merchants travelling in India and China (p. 65), the order of release of an imprisoned emir (p. 122), proclamation of the accession of Qitbughā (p. 194), letters of one Cadi to another (pp. 147-150), cited as a model of style (that is, of the flowery rhymed prose style in which all such documents are written; one or two of those cited above are given also by Qalqashandi in his "Ṣubḥ al-A'shā," as the editors have noted).

Many other pages are occupied by verses, including samples of the art of poets who died during these years; poems celebrating the Syrian victories (pp. 114-118); and a poem the authorship of which was claimed by two rivals, the claims being decided by a poet-umpire after each had submitted additional verses in the rhyme and meter of the disputed lines (pp. 42-46).

Finally, there are several accounts of reported miracles and unusual events or practices: two premature burials, and the escape of the victims (p. 59); the feeding of a blind bird by a bee (p. 59); the burning of incense, during a specified astronomical period, before the sphinx at Jīza (Gizeh) by Egyptians who believed in the fulfilment of wishes then uttered (p. 60); reading the future (in this instance by Sultan Qalā'ūn) through gazing upon the dry, clean shoulder-bone of a lamb, the flesh of which has been roasted and eaten in a prescribed manner (p. 94); the gift to an Egyptian envoy of an original letter (but frayed and illegible) of the Prophet written to the ancestor of a "Frankish king," the gift being made after the envoy, first sent to the court of Morocco, had then been sent by the latter to Europe and had arranged a marriage alliance between the Moroccan and "Frankish" royal houses (p. 95); the announcement in human speech by a bull that through the intercession of the Prophet a seven years' drought decreed by Allah had been changed into a promise of verdure and that the sign of the prophecy's truth would be the immediate death of the animal, which then occurred (p. 203); the surgical practice, when the bones on one side of a hand had been broken, of breaking the bones on the other side also to insure even length when the bones were set (p. 232).

Editing and proof-reading of the volume have been meticulous; in the case of a few extremely dubious readings of the original

manuscript, the editors, with their usual caution, have refrained from suggesting solutions.

The editors deserve the sincere thanks of Arabists for their splendidly performed task, and the next number, dealing with the important period of Nāsir's third reign, will be eagerly awaited.

*University of California  
Berkeley, Calif.*

WILLIAM POPPER.

**The Numismatic History of Rayy.** By George C. Miles. The American Numismatic Society, 1938. pp. xii+240.

This book, the second in the series of Numismatic Studies, is an exhaustive study of all the issues from the mint of Rayy from the time of the conquest of the city by the Arabs in the 7th century A.D. down to its destruction by the Mongols in the 13th century. The book begins with a discussion of the Sasanian Mint Monogram for Rayy and continues, devoting a chapter each to the several Arab periods, then the Sāmānid, Buyid, Ghaznawid, Seljūq and Mongol periods. Each coin is listed with a full description of the inscriptions. In all, 256 coins are thus described. All known examples of each coin are mentioned and variations are described. Six plates give excellent reproductions of nearly ninety of these coins. The book, however, is far more than a mere catalogue of coins. Historical comments are liberally sprinkled through the book, making it a valuable source of information for anyone interested in the history either of Rayy or of the various dynasties, and their governors, who held sway there. Full indices add much to the value of the work.

Dr. Miles, who served for some time as Islamic epigraphist during the excavations at Rayy, is to be congratulated on this very thorough and scholarly study.

*Istanbul*

J. KINGSLEY BIRGE.

**The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III.** By Edward T. Newell. American Numismatic Society, 1938. pp. 307.

This first study in a series called Numismatic Studies is a 307-page detailed description of all the coins minted in the Eastern Seleucid Mints from 312-187 B.C. Divided into nine chapters, the author considers the coins minted in Seleucid on the Tigris, in Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana, Bactra and Hecatompylos, concluding with coins of Uncertain Mints and Notes on Bronze Coinages. A twenty-seven page Tabular Survey lists all the 765 coins described in the book, together with obverse and reverse images and their monograms. Fifty-six plates give clear reproductions of practically all the coins listed, as well as many other coins of the same general varieties. Explanatory notes sprinkled through the book, give a considerable body of historical information for the periods covered.

The study of coins is often neglected even by serious students because of the cost of gathering a collection. This book, and the succeeding one in the series, however, help to make up for the

lack of a collection. Information on all the major varieties of coins is given, and the illustrations bring the coins before one as clearly as if the actual coins were in one's hand. The historical comments throw light not only on the doings of kings and their governors, but also often on the economic and social conditions of the times and their effect on the life of the people. We learn, for example, the reasons for the founding of Seleucia and for the decay and ultimate extinction of Babylon. Famine and pestilence in the years 277 to 275 B.C. are related to the general economic war strain of which the sending of large quantities of silver money to support the armies of Antiochus in Syria was one indication (p. 61). Light is thrown by coins on the real meaning of Persian independence in the early third century B.C. (p. 161). "Victory coinages" had their human meanings (p. 202). Wholesale looting, on at least one occasion, is shown to have lain behind a sudden increase in coinage (p. 217). The coins not only tell us the dates of rulers and sometimes the features of these rulers, but they also make their contribution to our understanding of the life of the common people.

*Istanbul*

J. KINGSLEY BIRGE.

**An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt.**

By J. Heyworth-Dunne. Luzac & Co., London. pp. xiv+503. 25 shillings.

This book is a 500-page volume from the pen of the senior lecturer in Arabic at the London University School of Oriental Studies. The preface informs us that it is the first of a series of four volumes on the history of culture in modern Egypt. This is an ambitious undertaking. It will be criticized immediately by those who discount the learning which masquerades today as culture in the Egyptian schools. To such critics, four volumes spent on analyzing the forces which produce the superficial Egyptian student of today will be love's labor lost. Educators, however, really must know why and how the modern Egyptian "got that way." To the members of this group the study is indeed welcome and they will congratulate Mr. Heyworth-Dunne on his gigantic task.

The book makes a long-needed contribution by bringing together scores of references to little-known sources in this field. Those who have done research in modern Egyptian education have been handicapped by the absence of centrally located library facilities. Hitherto, the problem of even finding the source materials in widely scattered places has been formidable. This volume, in citing Arabic, English, French and Italian source material, now more clearly defines the field.

The book, strangely enough, is more like the work of a German than an English scholar. It is so profusely documented that it cannot be read smoothly and easily, for one's attention is constantly diverted from the author's argument to the endless footnotes and references. In addition to this volume of documentation, there are also traces of the German type of research in the inclusion in the main body of the text of long and somewhat weary tables giving meticulous details about things which seem to be of comparatively small importance. For example, twenty-one pages in Chapter I. list the subjects, books, and authors taught in al-Azhar at a certain period.

This and similar material might well have been relegated to an appendix. The volume, therefore, lacks that sparkling classical British style which characterizes the writing of most Englishmen, and in several places contains sentences so long and involved that they seem to be grammatically incorrect.

However, when all this has been said in criticism of the first volume, it still remains a fact that the book presents a storehouse of factual material on the foundations of Egyptian education in the 18th and 19th centuries. Much of it, like the section on Al-Azhar, merely presents new material to prove what has been known for some time about the retarding effect of that reactionary institution. The author accepts the fact that this medieval institution, which is still subsidized by the Egyptian Government, is the foundation of modern Egyptian culture.

But Mr. Heyworth-Dunne explodes some bombs in his first volume and offers some new interpretations of hitherto accepted myths. For example, he deals severely with the popular belief that the great Mohammad Ali Pasha created a successful system of schools and that all the progress there is in modern Egypt is due to this. He accepts the fact that the Pasha, for military purposes and ostentation, did open schools by the dozen, but insists that if quality and efficiency are the tests, then the Pasha's schools were failures. The author insists that many of Mohammad Ali's creations were destroyed or in a bad state before the end of his reign.

In like manner, he destroys the generally accepted myth that Abbas I, who succeeded Mohammad Ali, was the villain of the piece. The picture of Abbas I. with which we are familiar is that of a half-crazed, fanatical bigot who opposed Mohammad Ali's dreams of westernizing Egypt and sought to destroy all the good things he had done. The author cleans Abbas' slate with these words: "If the educational system had failed under Mohammad Ali, and it certainly had, then, why should Abbas be made a scape-goat for this failure? Why should he be blamed for giving the *coup de grace* to the few derelict institutions that were left?"

Since this astounding whitewashing of "the sensible Abbas" at the expense of the great Mohammad Ali is supported by much documentation, it will probably anger only those Egyptians who put the great Pasha on a pedestal as an unimpeachable national hero.

The author intimates that the introduction of European education into Egypt has not been a good thing. In this volume, he does not make it clear what other force could have been used to awaken the moribund culture of the Azhar. But we can heartily agree with him when he sums up the cause of the failure in these words: "If the Egyptian experiments in modern education were a failure, it was hardly the method which was at fault, but rather the whole structure of Moslem society and the material with which the would-be educators had to build up their system. Western education was the outcome of a different kind of culture and moral background with which the Moslem world had very little in common; the most the Moslem world could hope to acquire of this Western culture was a superficial knowledge from books which could not stand the strain of Western competition. Very little could have been ex-

pected of Moslem experiments in the fields of Western culture and education until the structure of its society had changed and it had assimilated some of the moral characteristics of the West."

We shall await the appearance of the second volume to see how an English author handles the educational failure of the British Occupation of Egypt. Let us hope that the war will not interfere with the author's completion of his gigantic work.

*Susquehanna University,  
Selinsgrove, Pa.*

RUSSELL GALT.

**Famous Cities of Iran.** By Laurence Lockhart. Luzac & Co., London, 1939. 116 pages, illustrations and maps. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Lockhart has performed a great service to all past, present, and future travellers in Iran. Not that this volume is a guide book, for it is far more than a Baedeker. It is a treasure house of pictorial and textual material about the centers of Iranian life.

The extensive study which Dr. Lockhart has made of Iranian history is an excellent background for his vivid and clear descriptions of the various cities. In the course of these write-ups of the different towns we catch a glimpse of the great men of each city, its poets, painters, and the reasons for its fame. It is surprising that since he quotes so exactly from the early travellers to Iran he should omit any quotation from Anthony Shirley's remarks in "The Three Brothers."

One wishes that the photographs were reproduced in color, but even in black and white they help the reader visualize the superb architectural monuments which have helped make Iran world-famous. Very happily Dr. Lockhart has included at the end of each chapter a list of the important buildings in each city, with date of construction. This should be extremely useful as a supplement to the material being made available in increasing quantity by the imperial Ministry of Education in Iran.

The brevity of the sections on the different cities is tantalizing. One wishes that Dr. Lockhart had allowed himself a more exhaustive treatment particularly in the case of some of the more historically important centers. The volume well repays the effort to secure it, for it is unique and satisfying.

*New York City*

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

**Christian Missionary Work among the Mohammedans in the Nearer East.** (Misionarismul Crestin intre Mahomedani in Oriental Apropiat). By Arhimandritul Antim Nica, Doctor in Theology, Balti, 1939. pp. 172.

For more than 1300 years Christianity and Islam have disputed each other's claims to religious autocracy in the Near and Middle East. Archimandrite A. Nica's book is a careful and comprehensive survey of the contacts between the two religions in the different periods of history in which they have flourished and the various countries occupied by their respective adherents.

The first point which strikes the student of Islam is that it has been propagated chiefly by military force and conquest. Moham-

med and his successors, Abu Bekr and Omar, swept across Syria, Egypt, Palestine and North Africa. Otman overran Spain, and was only stopped from conquering France by the vigorous opposition of Charles Martel in 732, one hundred years after the death of Mohammed. Again in the 14th and 16th centuries the Turks extended these conquests to the Balkans and Albania; Suliman II conquered Hungary, and his followers took part of Poland, and pushed up to the gates of Vienna.

On the other hand, Christians employed the same methods of military force and conquest in the Crusades. On the whole, the Crusaders failed because they were not strong enough, and lamentably deficient in Christian charity and cooperation. Then better counsels prevailed. St. Francis was the first to realize that the hearts of the Moslems could be changed only by love, and Ramon Lull was convinced that no one could convert the Moslems without learning Arabic and understanding the doctrines of Islam. One of the first Protestant missionaries was a Czech, Wenceslas Budovetz, who reached Constantinople and wrote a Czech apology called *Anti-al Koran*.

Dr. Nica traces the course of modern missionary work in Turkey, Persia, Palestine, Egypt, Arabia, the Balkans, and the Russian Empire. He combats effectively the impression that the Orthodox Church is deficient in missionary enterprise and enthusiasm, and draws attention in particular to the Russian Mission in the Altai district. He mentions specially Henry Martyn, born in 1781, who labored in Persia and India, and later Dr. W. St. Clair Tisdall, who was conspicuous for his literary work from 1893. The Church Missionary Society and the American Arabian Mission, of which Dr. S. M. Zwemer has distinguished himself by his linguistic ability and his missionary zeal, have done yeoman service. The prevalence of Islam in the Balkans, as Dr. Nica points out, was due entirely to Turkish domination, but it has suffered a set-back owing to political changes in Turkey.

The obstacles to Christian propaganda are discussed with great frankness. There has been little evangelical love shown by Christians towards the Moslems, and the morally inconsistent lives of nominal Christians are a stumblingblock to possible converts. The Moslems are repelled from the Christian faith by their own fanaticism and misrepresentations of Christian doctrines, such as the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity.

However, one may hope for good results from "The Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems," founded by Bishop Stileman, formerly missionary in Persia, in 1915; "The Near East Christian Council," formed in 1929; and "The Fellowship of Unity," which has been working in Cairo since 1921 for Christian cooperation between the Orthodox Church and the Church of England and other Protestant denominations.

We all need to pray that Christians and Moslems will one day come together to worship the one true God and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent to save all mankind.

**The Bible throughout the World.** A Survey of Scripture Translations. Compiled by R. Kilgour. World Dominion Press, London, 1939. pp. 208. Price, 5s.

This is the second recent survey of the history of Bible translation. The volume by Dr. Eric M. North, entitled "The Book of One Thousand Tongues", appeared last year and was published by the American Bible Society. Both of these volumes have dug largely from the *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles* issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The present volume is a popular presentation of the history of Bible translation, in seven chapters.

First, we have an account of the earliest versions of Scripture, seven of which appeared before the rise of Islam. At the end of the 16th Century there were 41 translations. At the beginning of the 19th, there were 72. At the end of that century this number had grown to 575. Today in the Bible House Library at London there are no less than 1033 translations of the entire Bible or portions of it.

Other chapters deal with translations into the languages of Arabia, Africa, Asia, America, the Pacific Islands; and the concluding chapter is on The Unfinished Task.

There are nine maps in black and white, showing the location of language areas. These are rather unsatisfactory and not equal to those in the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The story of the various translations, including those in Arabic and the leading languages of the world of Islam, is fascinating. The author remarks:

"It is one of the tragedies of history that, unlike her neighbors, Syria, Armenia, Egypt and Abyssinia, Arabia was late in possessing the Scriptures in her own tongue. Arabians were present at Pentecost. The Evangel was preached in the country, but those who accepted the new faith seem to have been content with the Word of God in Syriac, or Coptic, or some other foreign language. Most probably the Gospel stories circulated orally in Arabic; but as far as has been ascertained, it was not till a century after Mohammed that Arabic versions of part of the Bible were written. Had these existed in his time, affording him a true vision of the Lord Jesus instead of the distorted picture revealed in the Koran, how different might have been his reaction to the Christian message. There is a story that one 'Warka, the son of Naufel', did make a version during the Prophet's lifetime, but this is not generally accepted. Actually the earliest known versions of any portion of the Scriptures in Arabic most probably date from the eighth or perhaps the end of the seventh century."

S. M. ZWEMER.

**Al akhbār az ẓarīfa.** St. Luke's Gospel in colloquial Arabic. By the Rev. Morris Sigel. Trinitarian Bible Society, London, 1939.

Those who are interested in missions to Moslems know how great a difficulty the Arabic language has always proved for the missionaries. Men and women are sent out with some knowledge of classical Arabic, to find that their familiarity more or less with the Koran and a few of the classical authors helps very little for

ordinary conversation. On the other hand, when the missionary is conducting a religious service he no doubt feels more at ease, for custom prescribes the use of "correct" classical Arabic in public addresses, and, too, the version of the Bible from which he will read the lessons is also likely to be in the literary language. The trouble is that he will be aware how few in his audience understand him. Only educated people will be able to follow what he says, and in the Near East the percentage of educated people is quite small. Classical Arabic in fact is in rather the same position as Latin in the West, and we know how few churchgoers could derive much advantage from a Latin service. Similarly, private reading of Scripture is out of the question in the one case as in the other. Mr. Sigel's version of St. Luke in the colloquial Arabic spoken in Damascus is a step towards meeting a real need for his own neighborhood, and suggests a useful line for missionaries and teachers in other Arabic-speaking districts.

From the side of theory such a book as this is extremely useful for establishing the different dialects, still an obscure matter. Their existence is evident, and illustrated by the story of the British consul who would not himself claim a profound knowledge of the language, and yet to his satisfaction found himself in the position of interpreter between two groups of Arabs. But though everyone knows that these different dialects exist, it is hazardous even to estimate how many there are. Before they can be studied at all adequately, we must have books like the present version of St. Luke.

A further service which a book like this renders is to provide help for those who wish to study the Arabic spoken in a particular area, and are not specially interested in Ibn Baṭūṭa or Ḥarīrī or other lights of the classical literature. If one wanted to get up enough Arabic to understand and be understood by the people of Damascus and the neighborhood, one would probably progress as rapidly with the help of this little book as in any other way.

Mr. Sigel's work could be recommended from the linguistic point of view still more strongly if it had been possible to avoid mistakes and inconsistencies in the vocalization. One is of course aware of the difficulties, but it must be said that these errors assume a dangerous proportion in the present book, at least from the standpoint of the student of dialects or the learner. If they can be removed from a second edition we shall have a valuable aid to colloquial Arabic studies. It is to be hoped that the author will find time for continuing his work, and that others will be encouraged to do the same kind of thing for the Arabic of their own localities.

D. M. DUNLOP.

**Feisal and Anita.** By Henry Ruskin. Published by the author, 212 Asylum Avenue, Hartford, Conn., 1939. \$1.50.

Twenty-nine sonnets in sequence, describing the friendship of King Feisal of Iraq with a Christian girl.

## CURRENT TOPICS

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### Moonlight Evangelism in Oman<sup>1</sup>

We were spending two weeks of an evangelistic tour in Kuraiyat, located about fifty miles south of Muscat. This town with its villages lies on a coastal plain from three to four miles wide and twelve miles long. The plain has a background of hills that reach back toward the mountains of Oman. Various gorges cut through these hills, and after a rain these become raging torrents. One of these gorges is the auto road that leads to the plain, and the autoist who is the first to travel there after a rain has to negotiate huge boulders, steep banks of sand and gravel, and uncertain crossings of the little stream that still trickles down to the sea. Once out of the gorge, the car follows the camels and the donkeys around the boulders and the bushes as best it can.

On our trips to the villages in the daytime we noticed a lovely camping place about three miles from town—a dry river-bed of sand, with a water-hole near by, where sweet water could be had, and about it several villages or hamlets within easy walking distance. So one evening we packed our supper of rice and fish into the car and went out to this camping place. While we waited for the water for our tea to come to the boil, we watched the moon rise in all its splendor out of the sea, and cast a magic spell on hill and plain.

A little to the right a mountain hides a lovely valley with many palms, mango trees, and fighting men. These men have to date resisted the building of an auto road into their valley through a gap in the mountains. And when they say No, they mean just that. A few years ago a high official of the local government sent word into the valley that on the morrow he would come and visit them. They sent back word to him that he should not come. The next morning as he with his camelcade approached the entrance to the valley, shots rang out from every side and many of his men fell before they could find cover. Retreat was not possible, and thirst threatened to take the lives of those that had escaped the bullets. It was only the timely help of a gunboat and its crew that extricated the exhausted men. Later as we rode along this place into the valley, our donkey boys pointed out to us the rocks and the hillocks where deeds of valor or acts of perfidy had taken place.

Over the top of this first hill looms a dark, sinister mountain mass where live the redoubtable Beni Batash—a name that strikes fear into the hearts of the less warlike Arabs of the plains. (Their ruler called on us in Muscat to listen to the Arabic news over the radio, and invited us to visit him in his mountain stronghold.)

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<sup>1</sup> This article appeared also in *Neglected Arabia*, October, 1939—March, 1940.—Ed.

Beyond that mighty mass, mountain is piled upon mountain till they reach the height of over 9,000 feet in Jebel Akhdar. •

But the singing kettle recalls the mind from its moonlight reverie and we all fall to and eat the evening meal. Soon shadows detach themselves from the solid darkness of the palms and shrubs and converge upon our camping place. A group of silhouettes inspect the car. From the opposite direction some women timidly make their way to our camp upon the sand. The car has lost its novelty and that group draws near, sending their salaams ahead, like Jacob's sheep, to test the temper of these strangers in their midst. As soon as the watchword is returned they come and form a circle all about us. Greetings are exchanged, as also repeated inquiries as to each other's state of health. With our helpers joining in, we sing several hymns in Arabic, and we have a very rich collection of hymns from which to choose. This singing they seem to enjoy and appreciate, as this method of giving the Gospel message is somewhat like the way in which their traveling minstrels recount exploits of raid and war. They also listen attentively to the Gospel story read and explained to them afterward—as the Arab loves to sit about a campfire in the evening to hear and tell a tale. A prayer for God's blessing on the message given and for His keeping through the coming night concludes this moonlight service on the sands. We repeat the service the following evening, and a different group attends at that time. Thus we try to cast our bread beside all waters and all wadis and trust that we or someone else will find it after not too many days.

Again we are left alone with the moonlight, and with the thought that it needs more than the light of the sun, the moon and the stars to lighten these dark hearts and lives.

*Muscat, Arabia*

DIRK DYKSTRA.

### Women Tear off Veils in Tashkent

More than a thousand women, led by local deputies, Stakhanoffists and intellectuals, met in the Tashkent opera house Monday to demand a law prohibiting the use of veils over women's faces throughout Uzbekistan, of which Tashkent is the capital. At a signal, long rows of older women in the galleries tore off these "remnants of outworn superstition and the insignia of feminine servitude" and threw them away amid wild applause.

The veil in Uzbekistan is far different from the gossamer silk that used to lend attraction to the dark-eyed beauties of Turkey and Egypt and covered only the lower part of the face. The Uzbek veil is a hideous contraption of black horsehair, stretching from the middle of the chest to the crown of the head with a kimono-like dark robe across it up to the crown. It gives women the shocking appearance of headless, faceless ghosts.—*The New York Times*.

### How Moslems Win Converts in Europe

"For a European to change his or her ancestral faith for Islam, by the grace of Allah, is no longer an extraordinary incident," says the *Islamic Review*, January, 1939.

The question of the appeal of Islam to Western converts and

its hold on westernized scholars may be a subject for experts, but perhaps an amateur may be permitted to express a view which is based on experience, not large in extent but among people of varied character and education.

There are striking similarities in the arguments given by *The Islamic Review*, lectures at the Woking mosque, students in England from Eastern lands, and ex-Christian converts to Islam. One cannot but sympathize with a courteous Eastern correspondent who expresses the hope that false impressions of Islam may be corrected in this article.

"An educated lady" is quoted by one Moslem as exclaiming "Moslem! That's an awful religion isn't it? They don't believe in God." Christians have been known to include Islam in the category of "heathen religions." The title "Mohammedan" seems to show a lack of understanding. Moslems do not claim divinity for Mohammed as Christians do for Christ.

Also, "Christians say that Islam teaches that women have no souls." Here we reach the border of a form of argument which many Christian missionaries consider legitimate—a comparison of the condition of women in Moslem and Christian lands. The reply to such an argument may take various lines:

A simple denial that women are ill-treated in Moslem lands. The dowry has been quoted as showing that a wife always has her own personal property. The right of divorce is allowed to any woman who cannot live happily with her husband, says the Woking Imam.

It is stated that proved cases of ill treatment are in spite of, not because of Islamic law. No one with a Christian bias can have the right of criticizing the translations and interpretations which prove this from the Koran and approved traditions.

Some of the sins against womanhood are still found in Christian lands and many more have only recently ceased to exist.

As regards easy divorce it is said that Christian nations are beginning to realize that this leads to a surer morality. Are not divorce laws being altered everywhere in this direction?

The phrase "Christian nations" leads on to another side from which appeal comes.

Both Eastern and Western protagonists of Islam would agree with one who says "Real happiness has very rarely followed Western conquest or infiltration." The Crusades, the Inquisition, the Slave Trade, are all blots on the character of nations which had claimed to be Christian for centuries. An English Moslem says: "Christianity as practised has failed as a religion."

"The Unity and brotherhood of all men and nations" given by Islam is in striking contrast to the differences of Christians. A letter in *The Times* gave a cutting exposure of our neglect of the Assyrians: "They are only our fellow Christians"—had they been fellow-countrymen we should have found some means of rescuing them from their impossible position. Nationalism comes before Christianity and many Moslems feel that they are despised because they come from the East. There are Western converts who considered Christianity a racial religion and wish by joining Islam to show their sense of brotherhood with the East. Imagination is stirred by the Pilgrimage,

when all must wear the same simple garment and perform the same actions.

At Woking, too, there is this attraction for those who feel disgust at the conscious or unconscious assumption of superiority by Westerners. There the hosts and the majority, are Eastern, and the Westerner comes as a guest.

Religious intolerance is condemned by Koranic reference to previous prophets. All religions are said to contain truth, indeed one has been told by several Moslems that all are ways to God—though Islam is the final and the straightest way.

Perhaps the most potent influence is found in the "modern" demand for a religion which can be proved, or felt, to be true.

The writer has been told that Islam is scientific, for "We only believe what we can prove. Christians themselves know that the Bible has been altered, but we have proof that the Koran has not been altered since it was revealed."

An English Moslem, formerly a Unitarian, brought forward an interesting confirmation of his statement that Christ did not die on the Cross. "Look at the images in Roman Catholic Churches and you will see that the wound in His side was only superficial."

But "One knows what one can or cannot believe" is perhaps the most common basic principle leading to modern Islam. Some-one finds Moslem belief "to coincide with my own feelings"; many feel or think it better to follow a purely human Prophet who is nearer to us than "God manifest in the flesh" could ever be; the doctrines of Atonement and of the Triune God—"I could not grasp", they say.

Thus a reaction against unfair criticism, toleration, a natural faith, a sane outlook on life—all seem to lead to Islam. And so the only possible reasons for remaining a Christian must be supernatural—above reason.

First there would have to be a vision, through the Scriptures, of God the Father revealed in Christ Jesus by the Holy Spirit. With this, a discovery that we cannot prove any theory about the nature of the Godhead, but that this vision will explain unprovable but nevertheless incontrovertible aspects of Love and Truth, law and Mercy.

Then to see that one's own heart is indeed "deceitful above all things and desperately wicked," and that nothing short of suffering and sacrifice by God Himself for our redemption, and the coming of God Himself to dwell in our hearts can change it.

Apart from such a vision, Islam appears to have the best of the argument.

*London*

OLIVE BOTHAM.

### Rare "Rubaiyat" Found

#### Princeton's Garrett Collection Discloses Copy Dated 1463

"A rare manuscript of the 'Rubaiyat' of Omar Khayyám, produced just seven years later than the oldest known copy, has been discovered in the Robert Garrett collection of oriental manuscripts, a catalog of the Persian, Turkish and Indic items published recently.

The collection, the possession of Robert Garrett, class of 1897, of Baltimore, Md., a trustee of Princeton, is on deposit in the university library.

"The Garrett copy, according to the catalog, was made at Baghdad in 1463. Only two manuscripts in Istanbul and one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University antedate it.

"The catalog just published is a companion piece to that of the Arabic manuscripts in the collection and completes the task of studying, classifying and describing all the items in Arabic script owned by Mr. Garrett. It was produced by Mohamad E. Moghadam and Yahya Armajani, both of Teheran, Iran, former Princeton graduate students, under the supervision of Dr. Philip K. Hitti, Professor of Semitic Literature."—*The New York Times*.

### Tunis Gospel Broadcast

A letter just received from Mr. Stanley Miles of Tunis thrills us with the news that, despite the war, the Saturday evening Gospel broadcasts from the Tunis radio station are being continued. How wonderfully God has answered prayer in maintaining this unique testimony in a needy land!

Those who do the actual broadcasting need our prayers that the messages sent forth may prove to be the very word of Life to many!

### Coeducation—An Explosive Idea

From *The Sunrise*, the weekly newspaper of the Qadian Ahmadiyya (Lahore, India), we quote:

"In every scheme of educational reform, Primary Education holds a place of supreme importance. Unless it is placed on a healthy footing, no reform is possible. With this object in view, the Ministry of Education set about chopping and changing the Primary Syllabus to suit the needs of the hour. But the long-awaited Primary Education Bill as it emerged from the embryonic stages drew a heavy fire in the recent Assembly Session. The fly in the ointment was the proposal to introduce co-education in the Primary stage. Being an explosive idea it was bound to injure religious susceptibilities and provoke virulent opposition. It is a curious fact that it was launched by a Muslim Minister and hotly opposed by Muslim members, who regarded it as a great social menace. Even outside the Assembly Chamber, the 'heretic' idea provoked hostile comments. Muslim Press tried to scotch it with sarcasm and ridicule. Some Muslim scholars discussed it academically and dispassionately and concluded that it boded ill for society. The opposition has come from Muslim quarters. Hindu Press not only 'boosted' the Bill, but flung flippant jibes at the obscurantism of the Muslims . . . . .

"Islam does not forbid the mingling of tiny tots of both sexes. It is not repugnant to any principle of Islam, if they sit cheek by jowl and receive their lessons. But the crucial point in the controversy is how long they can brush up against one another without danger of corruption. Pre-puberty age is a relative term. It should not be interpreted too liberally, as the sponsors of coeducation have

done. There is no hard and fast line of demarcation where safety ends and danger begins. Even before the actual dawn of puberty, there is a very precarious period of sex-consciousness. It is an age of quivering sensibility, when the mingling of two sexes is bound to have serious repercussions on after life. A girl, exposed to these influences, is hardly amenable to Purdah. She would certainly revolt against any restriction on her movements. Coeducation, thus viewed, would in the long run, prove an insidious poison to kill Purdah. In homes not enjoying the 'blessings' of coeducation, there is judicious graduation in the imposition of Purdah. Before the age of full Purdah is reached, the girl is quite attuned to life within her home."

### Fighting Illiteracy in Egypt

#### A Memorandum Presented to the Ministry of Social Affairs

Maitre Mohammed Mazhar, School Inspector and Director of the Society for Village Improvement, presented a paper to the Ministry in which he pointed out that the percentage of children in school between the ages of 7 and 12 was 12% in Egypt (according to the census of 1927), 98% in Sweden, 60% in Czechoslovakia, 30% in Bulgaria, 31% in Greece,—all of which were nations of the second and third classes with reference to education.

Illiterate males in Egypt are 79% of the population, and females 95%—a most appalling situation, he said. Even provincial capitals were on the average 90% illiterate. Amongst fellahin only one in 1333 could read! Four out of five Muslim men were illiterate, and 40 out of 41 women. "And the Copts likewise" being classed with other Christian sects, foreigners included, show 1 in 5 illiterates amongst men and 2 in 5 amongst women. Similarly for Jews.

He then traced the long history of attempts to reform this, expressing disgust at the slowness of progress. In spite of the recent intensification of the government's compulsory school program, it does not yet take in more than one third of the children. Practically all the parents of these children are still illiterate and create a very poor environment for the children, once they are through school. This large element in the population is a definite barrier to every possible form of progress the government wished to institute. He urged the spending of large sums in the fight against illiteracy, saying that no sums were too great in view of intellectual and moral values that would be reaped sooner or later. Illiteracy laid a black veil on the mind of the untaught which robbed him of incalculable advantages.—*Egyptian Press Translation Service.*

#### 60,000 Divorces in Egypt Every Year

Amongst the foremost projects of reforms which the Ministry of Social Affairs is studying these days, is the preparation of a new law for the control of divorce, in such way that divorce will not be permissible except in exceptional circumstances and under conditions which the legislation will specify.

Egypt is not the only country which is afflicted with the evil

of divorce. Indeed it has spread widely in Western countries and especially in America where special courts have been established for dealing with it. There is, however, one big difference between divorce in Egypt and in Western countries and that is, that while in those countries it can only be granted by means of courts of law and at the hands of judges after it has been established that the conjugal life has lost its most important foundations namely, mutual understanding and friendship and is, therefore, no longer possible, with us, divorce takes place "extemporaneously" and for the slightest of causes; until we have come to see husbands pronouncing the "word of divorce," with the same ease with which they pass a morning salutation to their friends and acquaintances.

Islam has legislated for divorce, yet with wisdom, and has permitted it as other religions have permitted it or to a wider extent, but yet has surrounded it with a network of severe limitations. But what is to be done when extreme ignorance has led to the spread of divorce so that divorce takes place every day by the hundreds for sufficient reason and without reason, since it is not possible to assert that all divorced women are "faithless" as required in the definition of the law?

Official census returns show that divorce is on the increase in Egypt. Thus in 1936-37, there were 53,026 divorces; 1937-38, 56,125; 1938-39, 59,023. At the beginning of last year, the number of divorced women had reached the figure of 169,725 (*sic*); but dropped at the end of the year because, of this number, 48,558 married again within the year. As for the remainder, only Allah Himself knows what will become of them, what number of them will resort to immorality and what number of them will escape.—*Al Musawwar*, December 15, 1939.

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

*Union Theological Seminary Library*

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### I. GENERAL

LES FOUILLES DE QASR EL-HEIR EL-GHARBI, 1936-1938. Daniel Schlumberger. (In *Syria*, Paris. Tome XX, Fasc. 4, 1939. pp. 324-373).

Illustrated account of findings relating especially to Islamic art and architecture as displayed in this chateau of the Omayyad period.

THE MOHAMMEDAN PRESS IN CHINA. Rudolf Löwenthou. (In the *Digest of the Synodal Commission*, Peking. September-October, 1938. pp. 867-894).

A full and analytical account of Chinese Mohammedan periodical literature to 1938, with map and table.

MUSLIM LIBRARIES. S. K. Padover. (In *The Medieval Library* by J. W. Thompson. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1939. pp. 347-368).

A NOTE ON ARABIC POETRY AND EUROPEAN POETRY. S. Griswold Morley. (In the *Hispanic Review*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. October, 1939. pp. 344-346).

Tells of progress in the study of the relation of Arabic-Andalusian popular lyric and Romance poetry, chiefly the lyrics of Provence.

THE PAINTING OF THE SYRIAN JACOBITES IN ITS RELATION TO BYZANTINE AND ISLAMIC ART. Hugo Buchthal. (In *Syria*, Paris. Tome XX, Fasc. 2, 1939. pp. 136-150).

Examines the illuminations of two lectionaries of the Gospels written in Estrangelo characters about 1220 A.D., presumably in the Mar Matthei monastery near Nineveh. Fully illustrated.

RAPPORTI TRA POETA E RĀWĪ: ECHI DI GAMĪL IN KATAYYIR 'AZZAH. Francesco Gabrieli. (In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig. Band 93, Heft 2/3, 1939. pp. 163-168).

Arabic text with comments on the traces of the true poet

Gamil's influence on the poems of his ardent admirer, Kutayyir, rhymster.

LE RÉFORME DU VOCABULAIRE EN IRAN. R. Lescot. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier I, 1939. pp. 75-96).

Discussion, accompanied by a Persian-French vocabulary.

## II. ARABIA

SOME ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF MEDINAH OF THE EARLY YEARS OF HIJRAH. M. Hamidullah. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. October, 1939. pp. 427-439).

Investigation of old writings found on various rocks of Mount Sal' and an effort to establish their date.

THE YEMEN IN 1937-38. Hugh Scott. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1940. pp. 21-44).

Describes extended travels and studies in architecture and archaeology in the neighborhoods of Dhala and San'a.

## III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON INDIAN CULTURE. Asaf A. A. Fyzee. (In *The Times of India*, Bombay. Annual 1940).

The culture and civilization of Islam have taken deep root in Indian soil, combining with indigenous capacity in religion, art, music, architecture, language and the crafts.

THE LITERARY PROGRESS OF THE HINDUS UNDER MUSLIM RULE. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. October, 1939. pp. 401-426).

Lists and comments on the principal historians, poets, lexicographers, etc., of the period.

ON THE SHIA-SUNNI CONTROVERSY. Faiz B. Tyabji. (In *The Aryan Path*, Bombay, February, 1940. pp. 67-71).

A Muslim lawyer urges consideration of the Shia points of view by historians of Islam.

## IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

THE AVERAGE MAN IN EARLY ISLAM. A. S. Tritton. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London. Vol. X, Part 1, 1939. pp. 131-140).

Anecdotes to show that religion sat lightly on some Moslems even during the first three centuries A.H., when so many saints are recorded in the literature of the time.

PRIMITIVE ARABIAN AND SEMITIC RELIGION. Fred V. Winnett. (In *The Review of Religion*, New York. March, 1940. pp. 282-285).

Contributes to the search for the nature of early Semitic beliefs by identifying the North Arabian goddess Allat as the Palestinian moon goddess Sin.

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE ARABIC SHADOW PLAY IN EGYPT. Paul Kahle. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. January, 1940. pp. 21-34).

This ancient form of entertainment, enjoyed by rich and poor alike, still exists in texts for the plays, written in the 13th century and giving outstanding pictures of the cultural and political conditions in Egypt during the Middle Ages.

A CAMEL JOURNEY TO TIBESTI. Wilfred Thesiger. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. December, 1939. pp. 433-446).

Tells of the various Arab tribes and interesting terrain discovered during a two-thousand-mile trip from Tini to Bardai and return.

LES COUTUMES ET LE DROIT CHEZ LES KEL TADÉLÉ. Lieut. Joubert. (In *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire*, Paris. Janvier, 1939. pp. 245-281).

A study of a Tuareg tribe with special reference to family and religious life.

ISLAMIC LAW IN OPERATION. Edward J. Jurji. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago. January, 1940. pp. 32-49).

Surveys the origins of Muslim law, the contributions of al-Māwardi to the subject and the actual administration of justice as seen in various legal departments.

THE UNIVERSITY IN THE ARAB MOSLEM WORLD. H. A. R. Gibb. (In *The University Outside Europe*, edited by Edward Bradby. Oxford University Press, New York. 1940).

Describes the educational facilities at the Protestant and Roman Catholic universities at Beirut and at the Egyptian and al-Azhar universities at Cairo.

WHERE EARLY CHRISTIANS LIVED IN CONES OF ROCK. John D. Whiting. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. December, 1939. pp. 763-802).

Records and illustrates a journey to Cappadocia where ancient churches glow with thousand-year-old frescoes, and volcanic pinnacles are honeycombed with hermit cells and monasteries.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE ARABS AND DEMOCRACY. Sir E. Denison Ross. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1940. pp. 81-88).

Stresses England's constant care in dealing with Islam to respect and maintain the Mohammedan's love of independence and equality.

THE BEWILDERED ARAB. Mounir Sa'ada. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. March-April, 1940. pp. 95-97).

The bewilderment caused by the change from the rule of Abdul-Hamid in 1908, the Arab revolt of 1916 and the new attitude toward Islam will be mended by scientific education and the penetration of the Spirit of Christ, brought about by the cooperation of Western Christianity with local efforts.

FORCES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. Albert Viton. (In *Asia*, New York. November, 1939. pp. 626-629).

Whatever may be the outcome of the present war, the Near Eastern balance of power will be decidedly changed, for Turkey and Italy are bound to take more influential positions.

THE NEAR EAST AND THE EUROPEAN WAR. Philip W. Ireland. (In *Foreign Policy Reports*, New York. March 15, 1940. p. 16).

A documented survey of the political, economic and military situation in the Near East by the author of "Iraq: A Study in Political Development."

## VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

IF I WERE A JEW. (In *The East and West Review*, London. January, 1940. pp. 45-53).

Considers the Palestinian Jew and what he is entitled to expect from Christians and Christian missions.

MUSLIM LANDS. S. A. Morrison. (In *International Missionary Council*, Madras Series. New York, 1939. Vol. 6, pp. 59-150).

Surveys the entire field in detail. See review in this number of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*.

SOVIET SHADOWS IN TURKESTAN. (In *World Dominion and The World To-Day*, London. January-February, 1940. pp. 27-29).

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الَّذِينَ فِيهَا مِنْ أَمْواتٍ وَأُولَئِكَ  
سَيَرْجِعُهُمْ فِيهَا مُرْتَضِينَ  
وَالَّذِينَ فِيهَا مِنْ آدَمَ بَنِينَ  
وَعِيسَى ابْنَ مَرْيَمَ وَجِبْرِيلَ  
وَالْحَمَلِينَ فِيهَا يُخَلِّدُ الَّذِينَ  
إِذْ هُمْ فِيهَا صَادِقِينَ  
لَا يَلْمِزُكَ فِيهَا مِنْ شَيْءٍ مِمَّا  
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