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THE CHARTER OF COOPERATION IN SERVICE FOR MOSLEMS

Whoever has taken the pains to study the history of the Christian approach to the Moslem for the past thirteen centuries, and to review the efforts of the Church today in the world of Islam, will be acutely aware of the baffling obstacles that beset the enterprise. Whatever else the observer may feel as he surveys the task, he is certain to be conscious of the obvious difficulties. It is true, of course, that these are so far from uniform as to vary greatly in different areas. At one end of the scale are those few regions where Christian activity is completely excluded, like Central Asia and Afghanistan. Nearest to them in order come those countries where opportunity is greater but results are still meager, as in Arabia, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. More encouraging are other fields such as Iran and India, where opposition is less rigid and where converts can be numbered by hundreds and even thousands. At the other end of the scale we find the Netherlands Indies where the path of advance is perhaps most nearly open, and where there are large indigenous Churches formed of converts who were once Moslems. Generally speaking, it is in the areas first won to Islam among Arabic-speaking peoples of Semitic stock that the strongest centers of resistance are to be found. The further we move outward toward races whose traditions are less fixed and in whose environment other elements are more largely mingled, the readier is the response. There are many obstacles confronting the Christian evangelist in

greater or less degree. Some are inherent in the essential nature of his mission; others are the regrettable product of the movements of secular history or the wages of the corporate sins of Christendom. But however they may vary in intensity and whatever may be their causes, the immense difficulties are clear to every observer and painfully present to every laborer.

One outcome of these obvious difficulties has been the almost uniform reluctance of the Christian Church to engage in the enterprise of winning Islam. No missionary opportunity of comparable importance has been so widely and continuously neglected. To cite only the Protestant record of the last century and a half, everywhere we find that direct work with Mohammedans has been the adventure of only a courageous few, a tiny minority of the 27,000 Protestant missionaries now active in the non-Christian world. A still more disturbing result of the hardships that are known to attend the quest for the Moslem is the conviction of many in Christian lands that missions to Mohammedans are either impossible or undesirable. To assert that such missions are difficult is to accept a plain truth. But to affirm that they are therefore impossible is to fly in the face of all the facts; and to insist that they are not needed is to repudiate the faith of historic Christianity and to deny the claims of Christ.

So far from being impossible the genuine conversion of Moslems to Christianity is in progress today in every country where Islam is known and Christian missionaries are to be found. Indeed, considering how few pioneers are dedicated to this enterprise and trained for its prosecution, and how heavy are the handicaps under which they labor, the results are greater than might have been expected. They indicate at least what fuller success we might count upon if the Church were ever to set itself seriously and devoutly to the task. Yet even if the fruits of effort were far more discouraging than they are, it would still remain true that whatever ought to be done can be done, and that nothing is impossible to the God whose purposes we serve.

The divine call to win Islam to the faith of Christ is inescapable. From its insistent urgency there can be no refuge. No reasons can be advanced for its denial that do not equally apply to Christian missions everywhere else. If Christ is needed anywhere, He is needed everywhere. If He is all in all to those whom He has found and redeemed in America, in Europe, in China, and in India, He is eager to mean no less to those in Islam who as yet know only His name. For the commission of the Church of Christ is not to spread monotheism and to persuade men to honor Jesus as a mere prophet. If that were so, we might well view Islam as no proper field of endeavor. The Church is charged with a mission to share with all men the unsearchable riches of Christ, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that they may be filled with all the fulness of God. It is a call to make Him known by word and deed to those whom He seeks through us and who still await the coming of His Light.

The command of Christ which summons us to be His fellow-workers in seeking to win for Him the community of Islam is a call to the whole Church. The task is too arduous and immense to be left to the valiant efforts of little half-neglected groups representing but a fraction of the mighty Christian forces potentially available. Two hundred and fifty million Moslems offer a field for service which cannot be adequately entered except by strong and well trained missions supported by every major Christian communion. Until the response from the older and younger Churches is commensurate with the need, no one can know what vast changes God might bring to pass. For in this field, as in others, it is true that "he which soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully." Faith is a daring experiment, but it ends in the richest experience. And that experience begins to ripen not when we are skeptically waiting, but when we are trustfully acting.

But whether the enterprise of reaching and winning

Islam is to be carried on by a rapidly growing number of faithful volunteers, or whether for generations to come it is to be hampered and delayed by its present limitations, the cause demands the united efforts of every variety of Christian missionary. Provided only that the ultimate aim is to make Christ known and to play a part, through His power, in advancing His Kingdom, there is room for every sort and kind of worker and for every type of service.

One of the most hopeful and impressive movements of modern times is the movement toward organic Church unity represented by the great Conferences at Lausanne and Edinburgh. The fundamental principle which has guided all who have shared in this cause is the firm conviction that we must seek not for uniformity but for "a synthesis of differences." Uniformity not merely requires the use of force; it sacrifices all the riches of our existing diversity. Equally fatal is the remedy of reducing that diversity to a weak common denominator, for an impoverished Christianity is even worse than a disunited Church. The only process which can both strengthen and unite the separated branches of the visible Church is the healthful process of building together into one united Body all that is sound and positive in every group, all the varied contributions which each has to make. Every one of them has some marked defect which needs to be supplemented or overcome; every one of them has some treasure of its own, for the neglect of which the rest are the poorer. Living apart, they lead narrow lives too often satisfied with their own limitations; but once incorporated into a living organism, all that is best in each enriches the expanded life of the whole.

The same principle applies to that far smaller group of Christians who have dedicated their lives to the service of the Moslem. Today they fortunately represent a very wide diversity in origin, in training, in attitude, and in method. Some are extreme conservatives (whom "Liberals" would call "Fundamentalists") devoted wholly

to a type of evangelism familiar for a century past. Other missionaries accept much that modern thought and scholarship have contributed to the study of the Bible and theology, and are ready to experiment with new types of evangelism. Still others are physicians, some of whom welcome every chance for preaching the Gospel, while others are content to let their faith shine through their deeds. Others yet again are training mothers how to take care of babies, or teaching mathematics to Mohammedan boys, or translating new books of devotion into some alien tongue. And with all this variety of vocation goes an equal variety in the interpretation of what is vital in Christianity and of what constitutes the aim of Christian missions. On a wide arc reaching from one extreme to another their beliefs and purposes might be plotted. At one end we might put the strictest Calvinists, who are emphasizing the supreme importance of salvation through the blood of Christ and the pressing need for such evangelism as will achieve a growing series of individual conversions and open professions. At the other end we might put the educators, who are meeting the insistent demand for western secular culture and who aim to transmit it in a Christian atmosphere of high ideals and unselfish service to the community. They think in terms not of baptisms and church organization but of gradual leavening and permeation which will prepare the way for richer results in the future. And between these extremes may be noted almost every possible variety of intermediate types.

Given a diversity in attitude and method of so broad a range, there is a natural temptation for the workers to view one another with some degree of suspicion and to deplore the fact that there is not a greater approach to uniformity. Those who are nearest to one another in this imaginary arc may find it easy to be fraternal in thought and action. But the further apart are their ideals and practices, the harder it grows to welcome their fellow-workers as allies. Thus it comes to pass that one little group on the right wing may condemn what it takes to

be the vague secularism and the diluted Christianity of some other group on the left wing. The latter, in return, may enjoy an ill-concealed sense of superiority to a rival body which it regards as hopelessly antiquated and narrow-minded.

If it were necessary that all missionaries to Islam should be as closely as possible identical in their beliefs and methods, we should then face the difficult task of deciding which type was the right one. But happily there is no such necessity, for it is not a question of right and wrong. It is not a matter of "either-or" but of "both-and." If we take a broad view from the standpoint of past history and of future development, we acknowledge a crying need for all sorts of missionaries and all varieties of service. There are so many different kinds of things to be done that it takes all kinds to do them. Each variety of worker and each type of method is reaching some class of Moslem which the others cannot reach, and is achieving in that class results which the others could not achieve. If it is true, for example, that a liberal university will produce fruits beyond the powers of a determined little evangelical group, it is equally true that a determined little evangelical group will produce fruits beyond the powers of a liberal university. The translator can reach thousands who may never enter a hospital; the physician can touch thousands who may never read a tract. Moreover, this same diversity not only widens the range of action in the field; it also widens the range of appeal among the home Churches. There are thousands who will give to support a great interdenominational college, with broadly stated aims, who would not pay a cent to support the evangelism of a conservative sect; and the reverse is just as emphatically true.

Since these things are so, practical common sense and true Christian charity alike demand that we welcome such diversity, and make it our aim to promote that healthful unity which means "a synthesis of differences." It is not enough that one type of missionary should merely tolerate another and regard divergencies as unfortunately inevitable

in an imperfect world. Rather he should rejoice in the fact that the weakness of one is the strength of another and the limitations of one are redeemed by the virtues of another. He should understand with such sympathy the purposes and ideals of his brothers in the cause that he can state them fairly and appreciate how helpfully they supplement his own. By such weaving together of varied strands of endeavor, the fabric of the whole will be strengthened and enriched.

Cambridge, Mass.

JAMES THAYER ADDISON.

✦ **James Cantine** ✦

James Cantine was born March 3, 1861 on the old farm in Ulster County which had been the home of the family for several generations. With his own whimsical humor he used to refer to his early days as a boy on that farm, wielding flail and hoe and pitchfork, and he attributed, probably rightly, to that hardy early training those qualities of endurance which stood him in such good stead when he was exposed later to the rigors of the trying climate and unsanitary conditions of Arabia.

He entered New Brunswick Seminary in 1886 and soon came under the spell of Dr. John G. Lansing, brilliant scholar and preacher, who inherited from his father, a pioneer worker in Syria and Egypt, a keen interest in the evangelization of the Mohammedans.

Soon after ordination Dr. Cantine sailed for Beirut, Syria, where he began the study of Arabic. Being first on the field, he led in the planning and spying out of the land which finally resulted in the selection of Basrah as the first station of the Arabian Mission, which he founded with his friend Dr. Zwemer. This Mission was at first an independent movement, but was later adopted by the Reformed Church in America.

The story of Dr. Cantine in the succeeding years is the story of the Arabian Mission. He was active in the founding of *two* missions. Not only was he associated with the establishment of the pioneer work in Arabia, but later it was in large part his vision and enterprise which led to the founding of the United Mission in Mesopotamia in 1924.

He returned to America in 1929 because of ill health, and shortly thereafter resigned from active service. The years which followed, however, witnessed no abatement of zeal and interest. He has been active in counsel and generous in support of every enterprise for the strengthening of the work in Arabia and in Mesopotamia. He died at Kingston, N. Y., on July 1, 1940, after a long illness.

New York City

F. M. POTTER.

THE ISLAMIC THEORY OF WAR

Introductory. In formulating an Islamic theory of war, it is proposed to strike a balance between the basically academic views expounded by Arab jurists and academicians, on the one hand, and the stark realities of Islamic history, on the other. Be it remembered, also, that taken universally war is a contest between human societies, in primitive conditions between savage tribes, in the civilized world between states. Therefore the Islamic conception of war cannot be sufficiently understood by limiting attention to the *jihād*¹ phenomenon. The fourteenth century Moslem sociologist and philosopher of history, ibn-Khaldūn, concludes in his *Prolegomena* that war, which accompanied society from the cradle, arises from the attempt on the part of one section of mankind to wreak vengeance upon another, a tendency inborn in men and societies alike. According to him, vengeance manifests itself as a product of underlying rivalries brought about at times by ethnic animosities, at others by the deep-rooted longing in men to defend sovereignty. Rivalry is the chief factor behind inter-tribal feuds, hate dominates the relations of nomadic tribes dwelling alongside of each other in the unrewarding wilderness, such as the Arabs, Kurds, Turks and Turcomans. Thus it is in these peoples' mode of living that ibn-Khaldūn seeks to find the cause for their dependence upon raids for sustenance. He accepts the *jihād* as one of the diverse impulses producing armed conflicts. Far more impressive, in his judgment, is the aspect of war as defense of sovereignty.²

¹ i.e., spread of Islam by Moslem arms; a duty laid upon Moslems, which almost became a sixth pillar (*rukn*), as indeed it is regarded by the descendants of the Khārijites. To the bulk of Moslems it never was more than *farḍ 'ala al-kifāyah*, a duty in general on all male, free, adult Moslems, sane in mind and body and having the means to reach the Moslem army, yet not a duty necessarily on every individual but sufficiently performed when done by a certain number. D. B. Macdonald, "Djihād", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

² Ibn-Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar*, vol. i, Cairo, 1284, p. 226.

In addition to sociology, a complete analysis of war must draw upon the findings of biology and the historical sciences. In the anatomy of the state the army is an organ of action. In the army one meets a society within a society. The recruit lives in a regiment where discipline shapes his behavior and enters into his consciousness. The first Islamic state was so militant that it and the army became almost identical, whereas society became but a small inside circle. Students of the art of war trace the modern military system to France, to the day when the royal army began to serve the king for pay. Hence the word "soldier" means "a paid man". Arabic *jund*³ was first used in Syria, and later by Syro-Arabs in Spain, to mean a city with its territory, that is, a province or district in which the military forces had a focal point.⁴

Though credited with being the main channel for the three monotheistic faiths, the Semite, as represented by the desert Arab, hears but the faintest whisper of religion.⁵ His life is a perpetual struggle, in which nature contributes but little. In his wars, therefore, the economic element is far-reaching, the religious secondary. Under the banner of Islam, wars were supposed to have been dominated by the *jihād* motif, a supposition often leading to confusion. For the stupendous conquests that laid the foundations of the Arab empire certainly were not the outcome of a holy war waged for the propagation of Islam.⁶ The spirit which animated the invading hosts of Arabs who poured over the confines of the Byzantine and Persian empires was no proselytizing zeal for the conversion of souls. On the contrary religious interests appear to have entered but little into the consciousness of the Arab high command who engineered the Arab conquests and moulded the rising Islamic state.⁷

³ An army, a military force, a legion or auxiliaries; *jundi* is a trooper. As for *'askar* (*'askari*) it is a corruption of Persian *lashkar*, an army.

⁴ *Ajnād al-Sha'm* were the provinces of Syria: Dimashq (Damascus), Hims (Emessa), Qinnasrin, al-Urdunn (Jordan) and Filastin (Palestine).

⁵ A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, New York, 1923, p. 5.

⁶ Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, vol. i, Milan, 1911, p. 365 *seq.*

⁷ T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, New York, 1913, p. 46. The vast defection from the Christian faith that followed the Arab conquests led to the erroneous view that this result was the primary aim of the Islamic invasions.

The same subordinate status must be assigned to the religious factor in connection with the subsequent major wars of Islam, those of its military reaction to the European incursions known as the Crusades, those of the 'Abbāsīd army with its colossal structure and varying policies, as well as the modern situation in the Moslem world. None of these episodes in the dramatic career of Islam can be explained on the sole basis of *jihād*. The Islamic theory of war is far more true to life than it is ordinarily considered to be. It grows out of changing conditions and is attuned to the needs of the hour. It is not and never has been subject to the irreversible dictates of holy war. A clue is given us to the Islamic theory of war in the earliest surviving account, from Arab sources, of the Moslem conquest of Egypt and the West, where the reason is graphically given for 'Amr's attack upon Egypt. In a church at Jerusalem the future conqueror of the Nile Valley meets an Egyptian deacon who invites him to visit Alexandria. Accompanied by this clergyman 'Amr sojourns in Egypt on this occasion long enough to ascertain that "it was the fairest and richest of lands". On his first interview with the Caliph 'Umar he sought authorization for a move against Egypt: "If I occupy this land it will be a source of strength and replenishment for the Moslems, for it excels all countries in its abundance, whereas all countries excel it in military resistance."⁸ Herein lies an insight into the making of the Islamic theory of war and its workings down the centuries. Military advantage, economic desires, the attempt to strengthen the hand of the state and enhance its sovereignty, the clamor for personal aggrandizement and the challenge to the caliphal authority vested in the person of the caliph, his family or party, and the alertness to strike at points of least resistance and greatest vulnerability—these are some of the determining factors.

Since these considerations have always been decisive

⁸ Ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Charles C. Torrey, New Haven, 1922, pp. 55-6.

in the history of Islam, they must be taken severally or cumulatively in any interpretation or formulation of the Islamic theory of war. From the very beginning as reflected in the Meccan suras, patience under attack is taught; no other attitude was possible. At Medina appears the right to repel attack. Gradually this right is construed into a duty to fight the hostile Meccans. The traditions seize this procedure and amplify it, utilizing the Koranic teaching that unbelievers are to be subdued as dangerous or faithless.⁹

The Scholastic Position. For obvious reasons the theocratic schooling of Moslem jurists led them to place more emphasis upon the religious than the secular implications of war.¹⁰ Such academic treatments culminate in the chapters incorporated by al-Māwardi in his *al-Aḥkām*. He takes up the problem of the administration of war. The war office in his opinion is charged with the prosecution of war against polytheists. When restricted to the domain of the army the regulations of the war office dovetail into those of the particular amirate, that is, the limited governorship or vice-royalty. If, however, the head of this office should be charged with the entire burden of running the war, including the allotment of spoils and the conduct of peace negotiations, then his rank shall be equal to that of the General Amīr, or unlimited viceroy. In no uncertain terms does al-Māwardi declare that Islam does not restrict war to the *jihād* species.¹¹

Under three conditions was the legality of war recognized: First, against apostates; second, against perpetrators of unrighteousness; third, against aggressors.¹² Apostacy is defined as departure from Islam to another faith. Apostates are subject to the death penalty,

⁹ Macdonald, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Macdonald, *op. cit.*, doubts that Muḥammad implied by the *jihād* "steady and unprovoked war against the unbelieving world until it was subdued to Islam", yet finds in the story of the Prophet's writing to the powers around him that such a universal position was implicit in his mind.

¹¹ Al-Māwardi, *al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*, ed. M. Enger, Bonn, 1853, p. 89.

¹² Sirdār Iqbāl 'Alī Shāh, under the title "Why Islam is Helping England", identifies Islam with the British aims in the present European conflict, since the Allied aims are intended to enforce the observance of treaties, to check aggression and to right injustice. He goes on to say that the whole political morality of Islam derives its final orientation in the Last Sermon of the Prophet, in which the lives and property of all peoples are inviolable; *Great Britain and the East*, London, January 11, 1940, p. 24.

though they fall into two categories: First, those who remain in the abode of Islam and against whom it is not necessary to bear arms since they are under control. But should they reject invitations to rejoin Islam they become worthy of death. Second, apostates who withdraw from the Moslem community and set up their own separate institutions are subject to military action. The perpetration of unrighteousness is defined as the upholding within the Moslem community of heterodox doctrines at variance with the fundamentals of the Moslem faith. Whereas the aim of war against the apostates is extermination, it is only a punitive measure in the case of the perpetration of unrighteousness. Aggressors are recognized as those who threaten the Islamic state. Bandits, highway robbers and marauders are here included. As meted out for these, punishment varies in severity, fluctuating between the infliction of capital punishment on one or more criminals and the ponderous problem of warring against the organized forces of an enemy.

The army command functioned according to definitive legislation set forth in six underlying principles.¹³

I. Mobilization (*tasyīr al-juyūsh*).¹⁴

1. The march of the army to consider the physical endurance and to conserve the energies of the troops.
2. Inspection of horses and special provision for them.
3. Constitution of troops:
 - (a) Regulars as official servants of the state, drawing stipends from the treasury.
 - (b) Volunteers, comprising tribesmen, Bedouin and peasantry, are classified as young or old, poor or rich, infantry or cavalry, and married or unmarried.
4. Officers commanding each military unit receive commissions signaling the bond between them and the state.
5. A war-cry (*shī'ār*) shall be assigned to each army unit.
6. Men regarded as an impediment to the morale shall be discharged.
7. In order to perfect the solidarity of the ranks, the commander of an army shall abstain from partisanship.

¹³ Al-Māwardī, pp. 58-89.

¹⁴ Sing, *jaysh*, Syriac *gaysā*.

II. Polytheists in the abode of war (*dār al-ḥarb*) are of two kinds:

1. Those who have rejected a call to Islam.
2. Those unacquainted with Islam, who therefore, shall not be subject to a military attack unless they actually reject the new faith.

III. In presiding over an army a commander shall abide by the following regulations:

1. Protection against a sudden thrust. An intelligence service shall trace the movements of the enemy. Watchmen shall maintain a constant guard duty.
2. Suitable military camps shall be established in strategic positions within reach of water and pasture.
3. Maintenance of adequate food supply for the troops and of fodder for the beasts.
4. Troop units shall be despatched to military positions according to a previously projected maneuvering plan.
5. Propaganda shall serve to stiffen the fibre of the troops and to whip up its will to win, also as a means to undermine the strength of the enemy.
6. Perseverance and patience shall be inspired by stressing God's reward for those who fall in battle and the abundance of earthly compensation for those outliving the conflict.
7. A commander shall confer with his military aids, and seek by heeding the counsel of experts to avoid blunders.
8. Strict discipline in the fighting units shall be implemented by a severe penal code.

IV. Moslem warriors owe allegiance to God and to their commander.

1. Allegiance to God implies:
 - (a) Outstripping the enemy in patience to prolong the fight until victory is won. Though outnumbered by a ratio of two to one a Moslem warrior shall not flee the battle.
 - (b) The ever-to-be-remembered war aim is victory for the Faith of Allah.
 - (c) Spoils shall be assembled and later distributed among the fighters.
 - (d) Any form of friendship between a Moslem and a Polytheist dating back to no matter how long a time,

shall in war be forgotten, for allegiance to Allah overrules all other bonds.

2. Allegiance to the commander implies:

- (a) Complete submission to orders.
- (b) By common consent among the fighters authority shall be vested in the commander.
- (c) His orders become effective automatically; his disposal of spoils is not to be held in question.

V. The commander is committed to the continuance of the war, regardless of duration, until the enemy yields.

VI. The commander is free to use means of destruction; siege artillery including ballistas and mangonels, night raids, fire and the devastation of the enemy's crops are all legitimate war measures.

The Secular Aspect. The foregoing exposition of Islamic war cannot be accepted except as a partial interpretation. As in his accounts of the other functions of the state, al-Māwardi's legislation for war may be safely regarded as mainly academic. Yet behind the theocratic constitutional law which he propounded one can detect the strongly secular aspect of Islamic war. Moslem peoples lived in a world whose forces could not have been anticipated by the specific legislation of early Islam. As the organization of the army and its policies varied from age to age, so too the *jihād* principle assumed ever changing features. At times the word stood for a purely worldly conception, indeed its essentially Arabic sense of "struggle" and "perseverance". So far as the organization of the army went, there is ample evidence to show that the military machine was always being adapted to the needs of an earthly state surrounded by a host of prevaillingly earthly forces. As it existed from the beginning of Islam up to the time of the Umayyad Caliph Marwān II (744-50), the army was called *khamīs*,¹⁵ a synonym of *jaysh*, army in the general sense, and cognate of the Hebrew *h^amūshīm*. Both Hebrew and Arabic forms mean "to make, divide into, five", not a loan-word in Arabic but a pure Semitic

¹⁵ Harold W. Glidden, "A Note on Early Arabian Military Organization", in JAOS, vol. 56, New Haven, 1936, pp. 88-91.

form found in the South Arabic inscriptions. Like the later *jaysh*, *al-khamīs* had five component parts: the *muqaddamah* (advance guard); *qalb* (center); *maymanah* (right wing); *maysarah* (left wing); and *sāqah* (rear guard). The *khamīs* was abolished by Marwān II in favor of the *kurdūs* (from Latin *cohors*, cohort), a military formation borrowed from the Byzantines.¹⁶

By the 'Abbāsīd period the troops were divided into two classes: the regular Arab army kept on a permanent footing and paid out of the state treasury, and the volunteers who were not entered on the register and received no fixed pay but grants from the poor-tax, and took part in the annual raids into the Byzantine or any other territory. And since the 'Abbāsīds came into power largely through the assistance of troops from Khurāsān, these formed a separate division of the army. Later on, al-Mu'taṣim (833-42) added another separate army corps made up of Turks, and also enrolled a contingent of slaves mainly from North Africa. The favor which al-Mu'taṣim bestowed upon these foreign troops and the disaffection excited by the excesses they committed on the citizens of Baghdad, were among the reasons that determined him to transfer his capital. Al-Ṭabari¹⁷ goes so far as to cite the particular incident that brought about al-Mu'taṣim's departure from Baghdad to al-Qāṭul and thence to Sāmarrā. His story is that the Caliph's Turkish soldiers rode forth relentlessly through the streets of Baghdad molesting the people. Many an infant did they run over and injure, whereupon the populace retaliated. One day, on his way back from the mosque, al-Mu'taṣim was abruptly stopped by an old citizen who bitterly protested against the misdeeds of "those wild aliens (*'ulūj*)" and resented the granting to them of a free hand in the political life of the state. To this event does the first universal historian in the Arabic tongue date the Caliph's restlessness in the City of Peace. In 836 al-Mu'taṣim established

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Akhhbār al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, vol. III, 2, Leyden, 1881, pp. 1180-81.

his capital at Sāmarrā where he built enormous barracks for his Turkish troops. After that date Turkish soldiers became a common feature, as fresh accessions to their number continually flowed in from the East.

The fundamental objectives underlying the Islamic theory of war as revealed at the outset of Islam had changed considerably during the fierce struggle between the 'Abbāsids, relying upon their Khurāsān troops, and the Umayyads of Syria.

A new turning point is found, not in the life-and-death rivalry between two houses bidding for the leadership of the Moslem peoples, but in a relentless attempt to challenge the idea of Islamic sovereignty as represented in the person of the caliph, and the caliph's feverish effort to uphold the prerogatives of his high office despite the host of opponents pitted against him. In this he sought personal security through reliance upon bodyguards bearing no tie to the rest of the population. Security, however, is not so cheaply bought. Al-Muqtadir (908-32) in his disillusionment with the Turkish bodyguard promoted a rival slave army of some four thousand men. White slaves in thousands were brought in from various tribes in Central Asia, as well as from Mediterranean ports, especially from Spain and Italy. In the rise to political power of certain slaves favored by the rulers of their day we have not only a key to the continually shifting theory of war in the particular age but a means to the understanding of the origin of several important Islamic dynasties, including the emergence of the Mamlūks, whose power was not eclipsed in Egypt until the victory of the Ottoman Turks brought the Nile Valley under their control in 1517.

The Religious Motive Subordinated. Having dealt, though cursorily, with Islamic war from the universal, juristic and military angles, we shall now turn to two specific cases, the one drawn from modern history, the other from medieval times. Both of these attest the existence in Islamic wars of the religious motive, but show that it is normally over-shadowed by other considerations.

The Ottoman Empire, which united under its scepter most of the former 'Abbāsīd provinces as well as new areas reaching as far as Vienna, was difficult to control, and disintegrated rapidly during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Organized ecclesiastical union was thwarted by political circumstances, as well as by the cultural level of Moslem peoples. In 1914 the final collapse of the *jihād* as a significant force was made clear. Ottoman Turkey acting in alliance with infidel countries served notice on the believers to fight the Entente powers, but the only Moslem rulers to respond were the Great Sanūsi of Libya and the Imām of Şan'ā'. The enemy side endeavored to disprove scientifically the dubious claim of Turkey to the caliphate. In point of fact the pan-Islamic propaganda of the years preceding the First World War bore little fruit, and it was probably the growing strength of nationalism among Moslem peoples which as much as any other factor played havoc with the Turks' appeal for Islamic unity, and made possible the anomaly of Indians and Arabs fighting with Christian powers against their Turkish co-religionists. We have seen how the *jihād* never denoted a purely religious sentiment sustaining the armies of Islam in their spectacular and epoch-making onslaughts. Since the downfall of the Turkish Caliph-Sultan the last practical significance of this conception was lost. Certain movements in Islam, such as Wahhābism in Sa'ūdi Arabia, still retain the holy war in their program, but modern Moslem theologians tend in general to dismiss it.

Returning to medieval times, it is noticeable that, long before the theologians disavowed the validity of *jihād*, it had already lost any religious connotation it might ever have had even in the minds of the pious and orthodox Moslems. Consider, for example, the bloody conflict under al-Mu'taṣim produced by the appearance of the dangerous Khurrami sect headed by Bābak¹⁸ against whom the Caliph dispatched his Turkish general Bugha the Elder,

¹⁸ Arabicized from Persian Pāpak. He began to stir up the population of the district of al-Badhdh in Arrān about 201/816-17 in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. In 204/819-20 Yaḥya ibn-Mu'ādh attacked him without success. Ṭabari, III, 2, p. 1015.

who met defeat.¹⁹ Therefore al-Afshīn²⁰ prepared at the order of al-Mu'taṣim to crush the revolt. As a precaution against disaster al-Afshīn saved his troops by placing Kuhbānīyah (mountaineers) furnished with signals on the tops of hills. After an unsuccessful attack by the troops of al-Baṣrah and an assault by those of Farghānah, he had the town of al-Badhhdh demolished by his corps of engineers (*kilghārīyah*).²¹ Bābak took to flight, falling into the hands of Ṣāliḥ ibn-Sunbāt, an Armenian patriarch, who delivered him to the hand of al-Afshīn. Disregarding the pardon promised him by al-Afshīn, al-Mu'taṣim caused Bābak to be paraded on an elephant and executed with refined cruelty; his body was left hanging and gave its name to a quarter of Sāmarra. Significant about this civil war is the fact that it was a major conflict in which the theory of Islamic war as defense of sovereignty comes to the forefront. As a grandee of colossal influence in the Oriental power politics of his day, al-Afshīn was at first loaded with honor and reward, but later overthrown and cruelly executed in 226/840-41 on the grounds of apostacy, but in reality as a safeguard to caliphal sovereignty.

Princeton Theological Seminary,
Princeton, N. J.

EDWARD J. JURJI.

¹⁹ Ṭabari, III, 2, p. 1186.

²⁰ Title of the native princes, in pre-Islamic times, of the country of Usrūshana in Asia Minor.

²¹ Ṭabari, III, 2, pp. 1196 *seq.*

THE EAST IN SEARCH OF A SOUL—WHERE WILL WE FIND IT?

A friend of mine, after concluding a prolonged visit through the East, was talking to me of his complete astonishment and bewilderment. He is a great believer in the West, its civilization and its culture. "And yet," he pondered, "turn your mind around the East and see what has become of the countries that have fallen under the influence of the West. They seem to have completely lost their inner identity and individuality. Here we see a Frankenstein, there we meet with chaos face to face, around the corner we catch sight of something that looks like a hen that had its head chopped off and is left to run about and spurt blood, while in another locality we observe that a new-born child insists upon being a mental defective."

My friend was only underlining a few facts that some of us have been watching with apprehension for some time. He was simply stating his sincere and honest conclusions about a universal phenomenon that has been true of the larger number of Eastern communities that have been subjected to the influence of the West.

Ever since the East turned its eyes towards the West, it has been paying with its soul for objects that are immensely cheap. It has caught the trivial and missed the essential. We have adorned our heads with hats and left the inside of the skull to slumber on in the shadow of its new canopy; we have decorated our chests with vests and golden chains and left our hearts starving; we have learned how to dance and neglected the will that guides us about. In other words, we have lost our souls. All that we have gained will not equal our loss.

I can hear it whispered in the minds of some of my readers, "Be patient. Give the East time. We are only in a transitional period. In time the East will find its own soul." Such remarks would be quite in place if circumstances were different. But I maintain that we in the East have reached our ultimate conclusions, we have arrived at our logical limits. There are certain things in life that one can classify in the category of the unfinished finishables. But our particular case is unfinishable. Because only things that have an identity, only those things that have a distinctive character, only those things that have a soul are capable of perfection. All else can change, but cannot become perfect. We have become soul-less, and as such, we will change, but we cannot move towards perfection.

Still another reader may ponder a little deeper and protest that many people in the East are facing poverty, infamy, exile, imprisonment, dreadful hardships, and even death in pursuit of some ideals. Only the soul can idealize. No man without a soul can be nerved to efforts and sacrifices that are being made in pursuit of nationalism, for instance.

On the surface this argument is solid. But it is often easy for us to invert the true order of relationships and bestow a soul upon a cause because we see people unselfishly sacrificing for it, rather than sacrifice for it because we have seen its soul and character. Many a time I have heard it said that any cause which men are willing to die for cannot be soul-less. It is only right that we should respect the willingness to die, but in no way should we let this virtue excuse the failure to examine the cause. The significant sacrifice is the creative sacrifice—the sacrifice that awakens the observer's conscience and restores souls. I am still waiting for one encouraging sign that is to appear from our sacrifices. We are waiting in vain.

I can still hear another objection: that I am judging more the masses than the leaders. It is true that the masses of the people themselves are but little conscious of

the changes through which they are passing. But it is also true that an unbridgeable gap has opened between the masses and the leaders. Nothing can span it. The disintegrating processes have been working havoc with the masses. This tragic chasm between the leaders and the masses has helped to make both sides barren. In spite of all efforts, power is being wasted, for the initial velocity is false and all that emanates from it can be no other than dead and characterless. The result is that we find around us the sum of a million visions that never find themselves together in one mind because they do not spring from the soul, which is the universal mind.

No, if we try to rationalize, we are bound to miss the point of the whole issue. We must humbly admit that we in the East have lost our souls, that is, if we have ever had any. Any effort will be fruitless and futile until we regain our souls. This makes it absolutely imperative that we should subject our lives to sympathetic but quite unsparing scrutiny. This task is to be done in the universities of the East, if anywhere—in this focus of collective mental life—here if anywhere, the soul of the East must be conceived and brought into being.

In attempting to do that it may appear wise to observe rapidly the process by which the East lost its soul. I shall survey our reactions to the influence of the West.

One of the outstanding reactions of the East to Western influence has been for the individuals living in the East to pull themselves together and take a completely indifferent attitude. Easterner and Westerner mingled without combining. The minds of such persons cease to beat at the bars of their speculative cage. A fatalism supervenes, not the fatalism of a divine foredestiny, but that of a mind caught in a net of a very human necessity and reduced to the simplicity of doing the next thing in sight. Such a person recognizes no moral obligations. All those who do not share his narrow bonds are his enemies and must be expelled. He is no more ready to shape human destiny, for he is without a soul. To him all that is

Western seems to be like an invisible, elastic wall, which encloses him and yet eludes his grasp. He meets with imaginary opposition everywhere. Seeing such a crowd is like watching a breeze across a field of ripe corn. It passes and the sealed minds return to their upstanding integrity.

This is the supreme manifestation of the absence of a soul. For the genius of the soul is the deliberate choice of living with the major issues of life. It is only thus that a foundation of a distinct worth and unique validity is consciously laid in the individual.

Another reaction to the Western impact has been a tendency to take a definite stand against it, to be afraid of it and to hate it. Now, fear may be described as the "natural reaction to a radically unfit environment." There is no better proof of the inability of the West to touch us than this fear that some of us have of the Western.

Fear, in this instance, is more particularly harmful because it is inspired by a superior being. This superiority is immeasurable, and consequently the fear is formidable, because there is no presumption or guarantee of its moral or immoral responsibility. This is why the fear of ideas and religion is so grotesque. For legal, political, and conventional authority inspire reasonable fear of measurable and avoidable consequences, while the strange superiority of ideas and personality and the fear they inspire evoke from all who cannot divine their benevolence a desire to destroy them.

The enmity which grows as a result of this kind of fear tends to undermine the very foundations of the soul. Enmity demands the highest degree of inner tension. Two conflicting desires are combined in it, the effort to bring the hated object forward into consciousness, and the effort to eject it from consciousness because it is hated. The result is a divided and disintegrated inner state of being.

Another tendency that has marked our reaction to the Western impact is to admit and imitate it. The very first thing that an imitator ought to do is to discard his critical faculties and replace them by perfect complacency. The

soul cannot be conceived under such conditions for it is evolved by the critical and evaluating ability of the man himself and his reactions to his own data. The soul is a state to be realized and the imitator cannot realize, only he who takes an intelligent and creative part can realize a soul.

The outcome of this imitative process has been docility and absence of enterprise. Our actions have become motivated by a faith at second-hand, dependent on neighbor or leader. A rapid change of customs has set in and so we have lost the old regulators and symbols of thoughts, feelings, and obligations; a most dangerous loss to our morality and our soul.

This willingness to admit and imitate has played us false. It is not a process of assimilation of the truth, for the assimilation of truth must be marked by a conservation of power, which is not the case with us. Every convert to this process represents a brick torn from the vast Eastern moral structure to be used for the building of a rival failure.

Our imitation has been without knowledge or discrimination, and consequently that which we have imitated has neither inherent merit nor external attraction. We have been rendered more fickle because the ground for judgment is lacking. We have become suspicious without being discriminating, dogmatic without being convinced, panicky without being progressive.

One other reaction of the East to the Western impact has been a desire to overestimate our legacy. Doubtful of our superiority (and with some good grounds for our doubts) we try to treat others as inferior. Our revision and research of ourselves have taken a dishonest twist. Instead of our coming out with a sense of humility, we have come out with a state of arrogance. Our faint preliminary mental responses that had promised some salvation have failed us. We have been left much worse off as a result of this process than if we had remained without it. Those glorifiers of our past have done the East the greatest harm.

A ruin is ugly in itself. But an inhabited ruin is pathetic. There is something positively sickening in the sight and contemplation of it. The ruins which these researchers have uncovered for us to live in have had this pathetic result. Everywhere we are falling into disorder because of the leadership that such people as these are supplying. Time marches on and they are producing one disconnected fallacy after another. They are the worst enemies of the truth. And the soul of man starves and suffocates in an atmosphere of falsehood.

Evidently the situation that arises in the individuals living in the East is unpleasant. Many of those who think the matter over reach desperate conclusions. Human wisdom seems to fail to see the solution of this seemingly impossible tangle. It is the enormity of the task looked upon by human eyes that overwhelms us. It is the very enormity of the task that ought to urge us on to seek a remedy. The following paragraphs are to be devoted to a suggestion that the genius of the East has constantly tried to confirm through the lives and words of its greatest souls. The suggestion is not one that has been dug up in a book, but it is an experience that has been tried and tested and found perfect. To pass judgment on what follows is to miss the point. To give it a fair trial is the only fair way to receive it.

Ever since the East opened its eyes and began to be conscious of itself, either through an inner urge, or through some external influence, it has turned its eyes toward the West. This has been the cause of its blight. It ought to have turned its mind, and heart, and will upward. The East will never regain its soul outside of God. In God and God alone can we find our individuality, our personality, our soul.

This is a fine statement to make. But what does it mean? To answer this question, I feel impelled to state the effect that God produces when He becomes a positive factor in the life of the individual.

God gives a particular and unique meaning to the life

of the individual. The individual is no more a drifting, floating speck of dust in a purposeless confusion. He is conscious of a definite area where his initiative and individual creation are called upon. He is no more an observer, but is seeking realization through action. He is endowed with an eternal purpose and he fits into a universal plan. Gradually the soul begins to see its share in that tremendous, silent, determined purpose which is gradually raising the world into the presence of God.

God gives new bonds and creates a new society. Human bonds and barriers are broken. Father, mother, brother, sister, compatriot, fellow worker, coreligionist, all these and many more cease to be binding. Money, land, ambition, profession, these and many others will have no more binding force. But God only unbinds to give greater and richer bonds. The individual finds himself powerfully bound to whoever enters the sphere of God's action—to all humanity regardless of all distinctions. In becoming free the individual finds his real substance, he finds his soul.

God gives the individual a sense of ultimate unity. This unity is of character and personality. Since everything is unified in character and personality, then all the disintegrating and dividing forces fall off like autumn leaves. Everything assumes a oneness of purpose and of method. There is no room for strife and discord. There seems to arise in the individual a new urge for perfection, for God is perfect and in God man can be made perfect. The individual achieves the unity of will—His Will, a unity of affection—love for Him, a unity of reason—His Wisdom.

God gives the individual an assurance of immortality. This certainty begins to give a new worth to the life of individuals, entering immediately into their consciousness and giving them a wonderful and creative sensation. The individual is no more haunted by fear of death, for he has already joined the immortal hosts. Death is only a step that leads to the abundant life which has already begun here. There is an atmosphere of grace and divinity around

all that he does, and his eyes are constantly fixed upon the Infinite, for his soul has already been joined with God.

The present unrest in the East is a manifestation of the fact that the people of the East have lost their souls. This has come through a long process by fixing their eyes in the wrong direction. They have set about observing with indiscriminating attitudes. They failed to catch the vision that the genius of their race has seen. To regain their soul, to become positive and creative factors in the present world, to contribute their share to the cure rather than to the disease of the world they ought to turn their eyes once more to God, who will restore their souls and will give their lives significance and purpose that will set the world moving again on the road to its divine pilgrimage.

American University of Beirut,

Beirut, Lebanon.

MOUNIR R. SA'ADAH.

A WARTIME EMERGENCY

The majority of subscriptions to our Quarterly expire with the current issue. We realize that, because of the war, it is difficult, if not impossible, to send payment for renewal from certain areas.

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Faithfully yours,

THE EDITORS.

TRANSMIGRATION AND THE SUFĪS

The doctrine of Transmigration is usually held to imply the belief in the passage, by the individual soul, through successive lives, by a series of re-births in this world. The Arabic term *tanāsukh* is most commonly used in this sense, but sometimes it is employed to mean a belief in the diffusion of the Divine spirit in the world and its passage from one body to another.

The doctrine became known to Muslims at an early period, in Baghdad, whence it had come from India, and it was adopted by a number of heretical sects, notably the Mu'tazilites, who appear to have had their origin in Basra in the eighth century; they were probably also influenced by Greek thought and may have derived some knowledge of it from Platonic writings. The Mu'tazilites called themselves the partisans of the Divine Justice and the Divine Unity, and no doubt it was their belief in the essential justice of God which made them hold that all must be given an opportunity to attain to salvation. Some, they taught, in this life obeyed the Divine Law, and at the death of the body would pass into Paradise; others who had deliberately disobeyed it would be thrust into Hell, but those who are neither good enough for Heaven nor bad enough for Hell will have the opportunity of re-incarnation, and might undergo a succession of re-births until they were purged from their sins.

The Shi'ites of Persia, and especially those fanatical extremists known as *Ghulāt*, including many such as the Isma'īlīs, the Qarmatites and the Bātiniyya, accepted this doctrine applied both to the Imam, the earthly incarnation of the Divine Spirit, and to individuals, who would return to earth by re-birth, until they had learnt to recognize the Imam and to acquire the gnosis which would enable them

to overcome evil by good. The Qarmatites held that there were cycles of existence, in which the souls of men were gradually initiated into knowledge of God and in the end became absorbed into God, the Light of lights. When the process was complete, the cycles of transmigration would cease.

Orthodox Islam repudiated transmigration in both senses of the word, since the doctrine of the re-birth of individuals in the world had no support in the Qur'ān, and the idea of the diffusion of the Divine Spirit implied that Deity was subject to transmigration, and this was even more abhorrent to Muslim teaching. The Sūfīs, for the most part, also rejected the doctrine and most of them expressly repudiate it in their writings. They certainly held, as al-Ghazālī admits, that what a man sows, he will reap, and that personal immortality, though it is the Divine gift, depends also on personal effort. The growth of the soul and its salvation from corruption, they taught, meant the active life of virtue: every act had its effect on the character, and if good, would enable it to proceed to greater good. This conception is involved in the doctrine of transmigration, but the Sūfīs held that the goal might be reached here and now, and death meant only a continuation of the life in God begun here on earth. There was thus no need for re-incarnation.

Certain of the Sūfīs, however, were influenced by Qarmatite teachings, and a few accepted the doctrine of re-incarnation, as being necessary for those who could not attain to spiritual perfection within the limits of a lifetime. The Persian writer Hujwīrī (ob. A.D. 1072-76) speaks of a sect of Sūfīs called Hulūlīs, who accepted the doctrine to the extent of believing that the Divine Spirit could indwell a human form, thus asserting that the uncreated and unchanging Spirit of God was subject to transmigration. The great mystic Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj, who suffered death for his unorthodox views, in A. D. 922, was accused of holding this doctrine because he taught that the Divine Nature (*lahūt*) might be commingled with the human (*nāsūt*).

The philosopher-mystic Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, ob. A. D. 1087) found in re-incarnation a solution for certain difficulties which presented themselves to him. He was deeply interested in the nature and origin and destination of the human soul, which he held to be pre-existent and immortal, a prisoner while in this world and in the body, and always seeking to return to its abode in God. The life in the body and the world of the senses provided the soul with a means of self-training in its work of inner purification and its search for moral perfection. Those who in this world had sought after God and found Him here, on the death of the body would enter into eternal bliss, the enjoyment of the celestial world—which is the Presence of God—of which they have had a foretaste in this life. But Ibn Sīnā thinks that those souls which are so weak or so feeble in intellect that they have failed to attain, will be granted re-incarnation in another body suitable to their condition, so that they may be given a chance of further development and may thus attain in the end to the degree of the spiritually perfect.

A doctrine of evolution which might well include a belief in re-incarnation is found in more than one of the Sūfī poets. Among these was ‘Abdallāh Ansārī (A. D. 1005-1090), of whom we are told that his knowledge and wisdom, even as a child, seemed to come from “a garnered harvest of aeons of experience,” and his verses express his consciousness of the progress made through different stages of existence, and of the growth of the spiritual life of those who seek ever to rise to higher things, until they reach the spiritual perfection which is absorption in God and in Him alone. He writes:

“From the unmanifest I came, my tent
I pitched within the world material.
Through mineral and vegetable forms
I passed, and then the germ of mind within
Brought me into the sphere of living souls.
Leaving the brutes behind, I rose again
Within the crystal shell of human soul;
The drop of self became a precious pearl.

Then I with others sought the House of God,
 But from the House I turned to Him that made it.
 I followed then the road that leads to Him
 And so became a bond-slave at His gate.
 No longer was I separate from Him,
 From Him I came, to Him I had returned."

Another mystic who definitely accepted the doctrine of transmigration was the Persian Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, who was put to death for his unorthodox views, at the age of thirty-six, in A. D. 1191. He taught the Ishrāqī doctrine, according to which God is regarded as the Light of lights, and Light is therefore to be identified with Reality and all true Life. The human soul, endowed with illumination from the Divine Light, must seek to free itself, by means of knowledge and the good life, from the world of darkness. Progress depended upon personal effort, the soul could choose whether it would sink back or strive to rise upwards. The spiritual progress of the soul, he held, was not ended by the death of the body; and the state of each soul, in the next life, would be in proportion to the illumination it received—which depended upon its desire to receive it—while in the body. But some souls, because of their deficiencies, he considered might have to return to earth and take up another body, beginning at a stage determined by the experience of their previous life, and so be enabled to rise higher and higher, until they attained to salvation and their goal in God. All souls, he taught, were continually journeying towards Him, and when the journey was ended, He would call back the whole universe and another cycle of being would begin. But such a view as this is in no way involved in Ṣūfism, and few of the Sūfīs would have upheld it.

The Persian Sūfī Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, who lived in the latter half of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century, of whom another Sūfī said that "he flew like an eagle to the height of perfection, in the twinkling of an eye," teaches that the soul in this world is like a bird within a cage, ever striving to fly forth, up to the serried ranks of the stars. The soul must pursue its quest for

Eternal Life with ceaseless striving and effort until, through pain, weariness and darkness, it finds peace and light in the Presence of God. There is an indication of the belief in transmigration in his legend of the Phoenix, of which he writes that it lives about a thousand years. "It knows quite clearly the time of its death, and when this knowledge is tearing at its heart, it gathers a hundred trees or more as fuel and places itself in the midst of this pyre. When the moment has come to draw its last breath, the Phoenix spreads out its tail and its feathers and thereby fire is kindled and the flames spread swiftly to the heaped up wood and it blazes up with vigour. Soon both pyre and bird become a glowing red-hot mass. When the glowing charcoal is reduced to ashes and but one spark remains, then, from the ashes, a new Phoenix arises into life."¹ Here is an allegory of the immortality of the soul and its rebirth, after the death of the body, into a new life, and a life constantly renewed.

The greatest of the Persian Sūfīs, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, so called because his family had settled in Asia Minor (Rūm), who lived A. D. 1207 to 1277, accepts at least the doctrine of evolution, both bodily and spiritual, and includes in it the idea of an individuality which does not cease to persist throughout all spheres of existence until it reaches perfection. This view is expressed in his *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, a volume of poems written in memory of his spiritual director who, while in Tabriz, was told that in Rūm was a "Sūfī glowing with Divine love," and it was for him to fan that glow into a clear flame. He went and, finding Jalāl al-Dīn, became his guide and leader on the mystic Path. In these verses Rūmī writes:

"The moment thou to this low world wast given,
A ladder stood whereby thou mightest aspire.
And first thy steps, which upward still have striven
From mineral mounted to the plant; then higher.

"To animal existence; next, the Man,
With knowledge, reason, faith. O wondrous goal!

¹ For a fuller account of 'Attār's teaching cf. my *The Persian Mystics: 'Attār* (Wisdom of the East Series).

This body, which a crumb of dust began—
How fairly fashioned the consummate whole!

“Yet stay not here thy journey; thou shalt grow
An angel bright, and home far-off in heaven.
Plod on, plunge last in the great Sea, that so
Thy little drop make oceans seven times seven.

“The Son of God!’ Nay, leave that word unsaid,
Say, ‘God is One, the pure, the single Truth.’
What though thy frame be withered, old and dead,
If the soul keep her fresh, immortal youth.”²

Here there is the idea of one individual personality passing through different stages of being, until at last, having been made perfect by the experiences through which it has passed, it is re-united with the Whole. Rūmī expresses the same belief in his *Masnawī*, which has been called the “Bible” of Ṣūfism, in which he writes:

“I died from mineral, and plant became;
Died from the plant and took a sentient frame;
Died from the beast and donned a human dress;
When by my dying did I e’er grow less?
Another time from manhood I must die
To soar with angel-pinions through the sky.
’Midst Angels also I must lose my place,
Since ‘Everything shall perish save His face’.
Let me be Naught! The harp strings tell me plain
That ‘unto Him do we return again!’ ”³

This idea that death in one form may mean fresh life in another is found elsewhere in the same work, where he writes that so long as the blossom is shining on the tree, the fruit cannot be manifested; but when the blossom falls, then the fruit appears. So when the body perishes the spirit survives and enters upon its true life. “Can bread give strength unless it be broken?” he asks, “or the uncrushed grapes yield wine?” Death leads to fuller life, whether it be in another form or, when forms are no more and time and place are ended, in the eternal life with God.

The doctrine of transmigration is found among the modern mystics of Persia, the Bābīs and Bahā’īs, originally a Shi’ite sect, which originated in the quest for the hidden

² I quote Prof. R. A. Nicholson’s translation. *Dīwān*, p. 46. No. XII.
³ Translated, E. G. Browne.

Imam, whom they believed to be God manifest in human form. Though most of the Şūfīs would not regard the Bahā'īs as being of their number, yet a scholar well acquainted with Persia writes that some regard it as "a systematised and organised Şūfism, essential in its doctrines with their own pantheistic beliefs, and consider its fundamental teaching to be the Divine spark latent in man, by the cultivation of which he can attain to the degree of absorption in God (*fanā fi'llah*)."⁴ The Bahā'īs hold that after death the real personality—the thoughts and characteristics of a man—survives in the spiritual world and seeks further expression in another human individual, though there is no consciousness of continuity from one life to another, and their belief in re-incarnation is rather in the re-manifestation of a previous type. They hold that each human being is illumined by the one and indivisible World-Spirit, which is in truth the Spirit of God, essentially the same, yesterday, today and for ever. This Divine Spirit manifests itself in a Ray of Eternal Love sent to each human soul at its conception, whereby it may know itself and God. It is for the soul, by unceasing effort, to seek to realize its oneness with God. But those who have not completed the search, or have not had an opportunity of knowing the truth, are re-incarnated in another body, in order to continue their search, until, by the Divine favor, they at last reach perfection and know themselves to be one with the Absolute Reality.

The doctrine of Transmigration, therefore, in the sense of a belief in the passage of the human soul from one body to another, with the implication that the state of the soul in each new incarnation is determined by its ethical progress in a previous life, is accepted by a few individual Şūfīs, but not by the great majority, who would hold the view taken also by Christians, that the opportunity is given here and now, for those who will, to seek after God, and find Him.

London.

MARGARET SMITH.

⁴ E. G. Browne, J.R.A.S. 1889, p. 504.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE COMMON PEOPLE

Nowhere was Muhammad's outstanding personal genius more evident than in his ability to make the prescribed duties of the common people concrete and easily understood. He had himself grown up in Mecca, a place long esteemed as sacred territory, for there was the famous Arab pantheon—the Ka'ba. From the familiar religious customs of his fellow Arabs, customs ancient and revered, What could he retain in the worship of Allah? How indeed was Allah to be made known as the only true God? And what acts of reverence and obedience would the divine Creator and Preserver demand of those who worshiped Him?

In long and prayerful meditation, in active discussion and experiment, and especially in expectation of guidance, the new religion took form in the Prophet's heart and mind and habits. In answer to the first of these questions, the ultimate result of his thought and experimentation was that he decided that Mecca should continue to be the religious center. The black stone in the Ka'ba could also remain, but the other venerated stones must be destroyed. The annual pilgrimage (*hajj*) should be retained, with the practice of running round (*ṭawāf*) the Ka'ba seven times. But instead of running round naked, as was sometimes done in the Period of Ignorance, the pilgrims were required by Muhammad to cleanse themselves ceremonially and to wear only the *ihrām*, a white cloth covering.

The distinguishing feature of the Little Pilgrimage (*'umra*), which is now generally combined with the *hajj*, was the ceremony of *sa'y*, which was running seven times between the two small hills, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā. In connection with these hills "tradition has retained the memory

of the cult of two divinities, Isāf and Nā'ila, but only in the story that they were a man and a woman who were turned into stone for fornicating in the sanctuary and later came to be worshiped. Later Muslim tradition turned them into Adam and Eve, who sat on either of the hills to take a rest. But tradition has made special efforts, not without hesitation, to connect the rite with the story of Abraham: Hā-djar, cast off by Abraham and seeing Ismā'il perishing of thirst, ran in despair seven times from one hill to the other; or it is said that Abraham instituted the *sa'y* for the worship of Allah and quickened his pace (the *harwal*) to escape Satan who was lying in wait for him at the bottom of the ravine."¹

Scholars are very generally in agreement that "the ceremonies which make up the Muslim *'umra* are undoubtedly for the most part taken over from the pre-Islamic period. They completely lack any close connection with the religion preached by Muhammad, except for the Muhammadan prayers used in them. The Prophet did not alter these practices, but only assimilated them to his teaching. This he could all the more readily do as their original significance seems to have become but obscurely understood by his contemporaries. That he allowed them to persist at all is probably less to be attributed to his personal reverence for them than to his political instinct, which made him respect the traditions of his conservative fellow-countrymen."²

Another concrete feature of the *hajj* is the visit to the valley of Minā, about five miles from Mecca. Spending three days in Minā was also part of the old pagan pilgrimage ceremony. The throwing of stones, or "pelting the Devil," at three points in this valley was in memory, as the Muslims later asserted, "of Abraham's driving Iblīs away with stones when he was tempted by him to disobey God and refuse to sacrifice Isaac."³

¹ Ency. of Islam, art. "*Sa'y*".

² Ency. of Islam, art. "*'umra*".

³ Cf. Sura iii, 31, with the note in Palmer's translation. As Sale points out, (note on xxxvii, 100), "it is the most received opinion among the Muhammadans that the son whom Abraham offered was Ismael, and not Isaac, Ismael being the only son at the time: for the promise of Isaac's birth is mentioned lower, as subsequent in time to this transaction. They also allege the testimony of their prophet, who is reported to have said, 'I am the son of two who were offered in sacrifice', meaning his great

Footnote No. 3 continued on next page.

Also the old place of sacrifice on the southern slope of the hill Thabīr was utilized as a slaughtering place, and was included in Islam by the adoption of the tradition that it was here that Abraham had sacrificed the ram (xxxvii, 101).

There was further definite connection with past custom in the matter of fasting. When Muhammad went to Medina he found that the Jews observed the tenth day (*‘āshūrā*) of their month Tishri as the great Day of Atonement, in commemoration of the handing of the second tablets of the law to Moses on that same day. They also observed the preceding days of that month in penance. When at first, shortly after his arrival in Medina, the Prophet sought to win the Jews as adherents, he ordered his group of followers also to observe the *‘āshūrā*, but afterwards, in the second year of the Hijra, he declared that this fast was no longer obligatory. For by a new revelation (ii. 179-180) particular days (*aiyām ma ‘dūdāt*) in the month of Ramaḍān were substituted as the period of fasting for the Muslims. Later on, the whole month of Ramaḍān was included (ii, 181), but with fasting required only in the daytime, and there was a sort of climactic emphasis on the *lailat al-ḩadr*, "the Night of the Divine Decree" (xliv, 2; xcvi, 1-5), when the Koran was said to have been sent down. And it is not improbable, as has been suggested,⁴ that the month of Ramaḍān had already acquired a sacred character among the pre-Islamic Arabs, so that in decreeing this month as a period of fasting for Muslims, the Prophet made use of what was already familiar.

And further, the *i‘tikāf*, the custom of fasting in the mosque the last ten days of Ramaḍān in preparation for the special blessings of the *lailat al-ḩadr*, may be still reminiscent of the observance of the Jewish penance and fasting in connection with the Day of Atonement.⁵

ancestor, Ismael, and his own father Abd'ullah: for Abd al-Muttalib had made a vow that if God would permit him to find out and open the well Zemzem, and should give him ten sons, he would sacrifice one of them. Accordingly, when he had obtained his desire in both respects, he cast lots on his sons, and the lot falling on Abdullah, he redeemed him by offering a hundred camels, which was therefore ordered to be the price of a man's blood in the Sunna."

⁴ Ency. of Islam, art. "*Sawm*".

⁵ Ency. of Islam, art. "*i‘tikāf*".

It is easy to see that the things which Muhammad chose to keep for Islam from the customs of the pre-Islamic Arabs, or their Jewish neighbors, were concrete practices in connection with the pilgrimage ceremonies or the special days of fasting. These practices were already understood and generally accepted, and it remained for Islam but to find a place for them, or rather an explanation of them, through traditions that could readily be based on narratives in the Koran.

In answer to the second question, Allah was to be made known as the only true god by the preaching of His Apostle, with vivid representations of Allah's wonderful works in nature and in history, with evidence from Biblical narratives of His dealings with the prophets of old, and with powerful appeals to the Arabs to forsake all other gods and to fear and obey Allah.

The subject matter of this courageous preaching of monotheism is found in the Koran. It is characterized by a grave consciousness of another life for mankind, with rewards and punishments, according as they heed or refuse to heed the warnings brought by the one who is sent.

In Islam as in other religions, the most effective system of dogmatics is found to be developed in actual preaching. It has not always needed to be consistent, but it has always needed to interest, to thrill with hope and to frighten with fear. We may visualize Muhammad as such a prophet-preacher, impressively warning the general crowd at the time of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. To those who believed he promised assurance of God's mercy: "O ye who believe! fear God, and believe in His Apostle: He will give you two portions of His mercy, and will make you a light for you to walk in, and will forgive you, for God is forgiving, compassionate" (lvii, 28). But those who disbelieve were solemnly threatened with perils to come, both in this life and in the next: "Verily, those who oppose God and His apostle shall be upset, as those before them were upset. We have sent down manifest signs: for the misbelievers is shameful woe on the day when God shall raise

them all together, and shall inform them of what they have done. God has taken account of it, but they forget it; for God is witness over all" (lviii, 7).

As for the third question, concerning the acts of reverent worship and faithfulness that were to be required, notable emphasis was laid on forms of prayer that would be visible and objective, and that would be repeated with such frequency as to continuously remind the worshipers of their constant dependence on the Almighty. These prayers were to be uniform, for the most part in words employed by the Prophet himself, and they were to be accompanied by appropriate physical attitudes, expressive of absolute submission to the one Supreme Being. While prayer was recognized as a personal obligation of the individual believer, as between him and Allah, there were to be times also when the whole Muslim community would worship together, inspiring one another by their united piety and devotion, and thereby gaining a community consciousness of their common dependence on Allah for sustenance, protection and guidance.

In his conferences with deputations that came to Medina from the outlying Arab tribes to accept Islam, the Prophet had opportunity to make very definite stipulations. Tradition records some of these agreements that were reached,⁶ but investigators have failed to find in them any short phrase embodying the tenets of Islam that would correspond exactly with the formula of the *shahāda*. But as the elements of this later formula do appear in the Koran, (*e. g.*, iv, 13), so they may also be found here. Sometimes Muhammad summons "unto Allah" and at other times "unto Allah and His Apostle." "In the letter to Ukaidir, 'when he had answered the invitation to embrace Islam, having done away with Allah's rival and the idols', the duties of Islam are summarized thus: 'You are bound to perform the *ṣalāt* at its appointed time,, and to hand over the *zakāt* as it is incumbent upon you.' A similar summary of the duties of Islam is given in several of these documents."⁷ Likewise

⁶ Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, ii, p. 33ff.

⁷ Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", p. 9.

in the letter to Nahshal b. Mālik, "he and his fellow Muslims are described as persons who have embraced Islam, perform the *ṣalāt*, pay the *zakāt*, obey Allah and His Apostle, and hand over from the booty the fifth for Allah as well as the portion for the Prophet, and adduce warrants for their conversion and turn their backs on the polytheists; for such believe in Allah."

The definite and external nature of the requirements of Islam is evidenced in traditions that show the discussions that arose as to the distinctive meanings of *imān* (faith) and *islām* (submission) and *iḥsān* (righteousness). One tradition declares that the Prophet said, "Islam is external, faith belongs to the heart," and pointing three times to his heart he concluded, "the fear of God is here."⁸

Another tradition attracted much more general attention, however, and bears an interesting relation to the subsequent description of the five pillars of Islam. "One day the Apostle of Allah gave audience. There came to him a man, who asked him: 'O Apostle of Allah, what is faith?' He answered: 'Believing in Allah, His angels, His book, His meeting, His Apostles, and the final resurrection.' The man asked: 'O Apostle of Allah, what is Islam?' He answered: 'Islam is serving God without associating anything with Him, performing the ordered *ṣalāt*, paying over the obligatory *zakāt*, and fasting during Ramaḍān.' The man asked: 'O Apostle of God, what is righteousness?' He answered: 'Serving Allah as if He were before thy eyes. For if thou seest Him not, He seeth thee.'"⁹ As given by al-Bukhārī,¹⁰ the tradition of the "five pillars" of Islam is as follows: "Islam is built upon five (pillars), —*shahāda* (*i.e.*, there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah); the performance of *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer); the payment of *zakāt* (the alms-tax); the *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca); and the *ṣawm Ramaḍān* (fasting in the month of Ramaḍān)." It will be observed that Islam thus becomes the inclusive term;

⁸ Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 134 ff.; Cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.* p. 23.

⁹ Wensinck, *op. cit.*, citing Muslim, I, 1, 5, 7.

¹⁰ Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii: 2. Cf. Muslim, i: 19-22; Tirmidhī, 38: 3; Nas. 47: 13; and Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii: 26, 92.

that faith (*imān*), in so far as it is fundamental, is reduced to the formula of the *shahāda*; and the ethically significant *ihsān* (righteousness) is omitted, except as it is expressed in the meritorious act of the *hajj* (pilgrimage).

This precise statement of the concrete and easily recognizable requirements of Islam was a natural development in the discussions that took place and it was exceedingly convenient in the period of the early conquests. As a matter of statecraft it was undoubtedly of advantage to have the fundamentals of the politico-religious propaganda so perspicuous. They could easily be made clear to the common people in this form that they could conveniently remember. Nevertheless, it is scarcely surprising to find that as a consequence of Muhammad's very success in thus giving concrete and external reality to these "pillars" of Islam, faith (*imān*), in its spiritual aspects, and righteousness (*ihsān*), in its ethical character, were obscured and weakened. For officially the conformity of the faithful came to be regarded as something that consisted largely in externals. Even during the period of the conquests, 'Umar is represented as declaring: "Nowadays we judge people entirely by their outward actions; we protect him who appears to do right, for we know nothing of what is within—Allah is the judge thereof!—and we do not protect him who appears to do wrong, nor do we find faith in him, even if he asserts that his motives are pure."¹¹

This overwhelming emphasis on the externals of the faith was not something new in the history of religions. It occurred repeatedly in Judaism and it happened conspicuously in Christianity. For apparently the masses of all nations are materially minded, and when undue concessions are made to their demands for the concrete, by laying stress on forms and rituals, fasts and vigils, sacrifices and pilgrimages, it is absolutely certain that there will be a dimming of the vision of faith and deterioration in the standards of righteousness.

Although this criticism on the part of those who make

¹¹ De Boer, "Ency. of Religion and Ethics", v. 502, citing Bukhārī, ed. Houdas and Marçais, ii: 209.

more exacting ethical demands of Islam must be acknowledged, it should also be mentioned that there is much that is both attractive and impressive in the faithfulness of Muhammadan peoples as they adhere to the pillars of their religion. With belief in one God they link their loyalty to Muhammad as His Apostle, and there is continued power in this slogan of their faith. Western travellers frequently mention the ritual prayers so imperative for the individual believer wherever he may be, and so reverently expressive of devotion when hundreds of men are seen bowing together. Foreigners who reside in Muhammadan countries know of beautiful mosques, of endowed schools and hospitals, of public fountains, of orphanages, and of houses for the poor that have been maintained by the payment of the required alms-tax. Until comparatively recent years the month of Ramaḍān was so generally observed as a month of fasting that ordinary business would be almost at a standstill, whether from the strain of abnormal days or the fatigue of restless nights. And whoever has seen the friends and neighbors of pilgrims who are starting out on their journey to Mecca, pilgrims about to fulfil expectations they and their families have cherished for years, is sure to feel genuine admiration for a people who are ready to endure hardship and privation for what they believe to be the will of God.

It is probably in these externals of the religion that Islam has best preserved its unity. The "pillars" have a solid place in traditional belief. Extraordinary events have come like earthquakes at times, and the structure of Islam has fallen at places, necessitating modern repairs, but the pillars have remained the same.

But notwithstanding the early simplification of the requirements for believers to the five pillars of Islam, there was still a consciousness in the community that faith (*imān*) was in need of further explication. While "the Koran did not proclaim a compendium of faith that could serve as a characteristic description of Islam,"¹² yet verses

¹² Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", p. 3.

were recalled to indicate that it was necessary to understand and accept more than the five pillars, as for example the declaration of the Islamic attitude towards previous revelations (ii, 130): "Say ye, 'We believe in God, and what has been revealed to us, and what has been revealed to Abraham, and Ishmael, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the Tribes, and what was brought to Moses and Jesus, and what was brought unto the Prophets from their Lord; we will not distinguish between any one of them, and unto Him are we resigned.' "

Accordingly there were efforts made very early to derive from the Koran, and to incorporate in the Traditions, articles of faith that could be explained so as to be intelligible for ordinary believers. In the discussions between conflicting factions, and particularly in the rationalizing tendencies of theologians and jurists in the eighth and ninth centuries, there was a marked disposition to require of believers their intellectual assent to a more elaborate statement of Islamic doctrine.

When a proposed method of arbitration was adopted in order to bring about a decision at the battle of Şiffīn, the Kharidjites indignantly declared that "the judgment belongs to God alone." By this they meant that the issue should have been left to the arbitrament of battle alone, for they considered that they were fighting "in the way of Allah." And for many years after they first "went out" from the 'Alids, with continued assurance of the right of their own point of view, they conscientiously had recourse to the practice of *isti'rād* (religious murder). In justification of this they could recall that the Prophet had resorted to the same expedient on several occasions when he wished to eliminate individuals who had ridiculed or opposed him.

In their doctrines in regard to the true nature of the faith, the Kharidjites repudiated absolutely the idea of justification by faith without works, and they went so far as to maintain that acts of worship were invalid, in spite of scrupulous attention to required ceremonial ablutions, if the conscience of the worshiper was not clear. And their

own consciences could not be clear without active and persistent opposition to the evil-workers who had forcibly pre-empted authority in the Muslim state.

Another early heterodox group, the *Murdji'a*, were radically different from the Kharidjites, for not only did they deliberately maintain the attitude of quietism in politics, but they announced it as their opinion that a Muslim does not lose his faith through sin. They were content to stand behind and follow a prayer-leader who was known to have committed grievous sin; and caliphs likewise could be grotesquely delinquent morally and still be entitled to command the obedience of the faithful. A second of their beliefs was that where there is faith, sins will do no harm. This promise, assuring professing Muslims of security in the life hereafter, caused the *Murdji'a* to be called "People of the Promise" (*ahl al-wa'd*).

In the course of the controversies over such questions, one of the earliest theologians to undertake to enumerate beliefs that he thought should be included in the faith was Djahm b. Safyān (d. 128/745). He lived in the far north-eastern corner of the empire, at a town called Tirmīdh, close to Balkh. He insisted that a believer should understand that faith includes "that knowledge of Allah which is gained by reason (*'aql*) and that acceptance of the messages of the prophets that had come by revelation." Like the Kharidjites he could not recognize as believers those whose works were obviously not in accord with the knowledge and fear of God, and he therefore joined those in Khurasan who rallied in rebellion against the Umayyads, and forfeited his life in this effort to break their supremacy.

A friend and contemporary of Djahm b. Şafyān was Wāşil b. 'Aṭā' (d. 131/748), who was one of the theological school of Mu'tazila, the most famous group of thinkers of the period. They took the name of the well-known neutral party at the time of the accession of 'Ali (35 A. H.). This party, according to al-Nawbakhtī,¹³ "separated (*i'tazalū*) from 'Ali and refused either to fight against

¹³ Nawbakhtī, "*Kitāb Firāq al-Shī'a*", ed. Ritter, p. 5.

him or to take his side, although they had paid homage to him and had received him favorably; they were called Mu'tazila and are the ancestors of all the later Mu'tazila." Accordingly, when Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' and his brother-in-law, 'Amr b. 'Ubaid, left the ascetic school of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī because of their difference of opinion as to the status of a believing Muslim who has fallen into sin, they and their future associates became the "great theological school which created the speculative dogmatics of Islam."¹⁴ The discussions that they carried on yielded many valuable contributions to the analysis and explanation of the Muslim faith. They held that moral wrong can be recognized among believers without its being necessary or right to condemn them as infidels. Likewise they maintained that a Muslim who commits a mortal sin can be thought of as entering a "state intermediate between that of a Muslim and that of a *kāfir*." On the question as to the extent of man's free agency, they liked to call themselves the "People of Justice" (*ahl al-'adl*), on the ethical thesis that Allah's justice requires that man must in some way be free if he is to be rewarded or punished. Also the Mu'tazila attempted to make philosophical statements on the question of the nature of God's qualities (*ṣifāt*), and this led ultimately to their famous contention that the Koran itself should be regarded as "created" and not "eternal."

To the jurist Abū Ḥanīfa¹⁵ (d. 150/767) are attributed several small works on Muslim dogmatics. It is said, however, that he did not write them himself, but that they were composed by his disciples and "more especially by his grandson Ismā'il b. Ḥammād." The earliest, The *Fiḥ Akbar I*, very likely represents statements of Abū Ḥanīfa. There are but ten articles, and it will be observed how they are directed to points of discussion at that time."¹⁶

Art. 1. We do not consider anyone to be an infidel on account of sin; nor do we deny his faith.

Art. 2. We enjoin what is just and prohibit what is evil.

Art. 3. What reaches you could not possibly have missed you; and what misses you could not possibly have reached you.

¹⁴ H. S. Nyberg, "Ency. of Islam", art. "Mu'tazila".

¹⁵ Th. W. Juynboll, "Ency. of Islam", art. "Abū Hanifa".

¹⁶ Wensinck, "The Muslim Creed", pp. 103-104, and 123.

Art. 4. We disavow none of the Companions of the Apostle of Allah; nor do we adhere to any of them exclusively.

Art. 5. We leave the question of 'Uthman and 'Ali to Allah, who knoweth the secret and hidden things.

Art. 6. Insight in matters of religion is better than insight in matters of knowledge and law.

Art. 7. Difference of opinion in the community is a token of divine mercy.

Art. 8. Whoso believeth all that he is bound to believe, except that he says, "I do not know whether Moses and Jesus (peace be upon them) do or do not belong to the Apostles," is an infidel.

Art. 9. Whoso sayeth, "I do not know whether Allah is in Heaven or on the earth," is an infidel.

Art. 10. Whoso sayeth, "I do not know the punishment in the tomb," belongeth to the sect of the Djahmites, which goeth to perdition.

The second of these works, called the *Waṣīya*, "seems to have originated," as Professor Wensinck believes, "in a period between Abū Ḥanīfa and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and probably belongs to the latter part of that period."¹⁷ Two of its twenty-seven articles may be quoted as representative of the further elaboration of theological thinking:

Art. 8. We confess that Allah has seated Himself on His throne, without any necessity or permanence. He occupies the throne and what is outside it, without necessity. If there were any necessity on His part, He would not have been able to create the world and to govern it in the way of created beings; and if He should feel any necessity to sit down and remain sitting, where then was He before the creation? He is elevated above such a supposition.

Art. 9. We confess that the Koran is the speech of Allah, uncreated, His inspiration and revelation, not He, yet not other than He, but His real quality, written in the copies, recited by the tongues, preserved in the breasts, yet not residing there. The ink, the paper, the writing are created, for they are the work of men. The speech of Allah on the other hand is uncreated, for the writing and the letters and the words and the verses are manifestations of the Koran for the sake of human needs. The speech of Allah on the other hand is self-existing, and its meaning is understood by means of these things. Whoso sayeth that the speech of Allah is created, he is an infidel regarding Allah, the Exalted, whom men serve, who is eternally the same, His speech being recited or written and retained in the heart, yet never dissociated from Him.

¹⁷ Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 187 and 127.

The third of the doctrinal statements that are ascribed to Abū Ḥanīfa, The Fīḫ Akbar II, bears internal evidence that it is of later origin, though probably not later than the tenth century,¹⁸ and yet late enough in that century to allow for the influence of al-Ash'ari (324/935). It will be readily observed, from a few of the twenty-nine articles as examples, that the problem of understanding the faith had become more difficult.

Art. 1. The heart of the confession of the unity of Allah and the true foundation of faith consists in this obligatory creed: I believe in Allah, His angels, His books, His Apostles, the resurrection after death, the decree of Allah—the good and the evil thereof, computation of sins, the balance, Paradise and Hell; and that all these are real.

Art. 4. Allah is a thing, not as other things but in the sense of positive existence; without body, without substance, without *accidens*. He has no limit, neither has He a counterpart, nor a partner, nor an equal. He has hand, face, and soul, for He refers to these in the Koran; and what He saith in the Koran regarding face, hand and soul, this belongs to His qualities, without how (*bilā kaifa*). It must not be said that His hand is His power or His bounty, for this would lead to the annihilation of the quality. This is the view of the Ḳadarites and the Mu'tazilites. No, His hand is His quality, without how. Likewise His wrath and His good pleasure are two of His qualities, without how.

Art. 22. Allah guideth whomsoever He pleaseth, by grace, and He leadeth astray whomsoever He pleaseth, by justice. His leading astray means His abandoning, and the explanation of "abandoning" is that He does not help a man by guiding him towards deeds that please Him. This is justice on His part, and so is His punishment of those who are abandoned on account of sin. We are not allowed to say that Satan deprives the Faithful of his faith by constraint and compulsion. But we say that man gives up his faith, whereupon Satan deprives him of it.

Art. 28. When a man is uncertain concerning any of the subtleties of theology, it is his duty to cling for the time being to the orthodox faith. When he finds a scholar, he must consult him; he is not allowed to postpone inquiry, and there is no excuse for him if he should persevere in his attitude of hesitation, nay, he would incur the blame of unbelief thereby.

Among the learned these continued discussions on particular requirements of the faith led to a kind of deprecia-

¹⁸ Wensinck, *op. cit.*, pp. 246 and 188ff.

tion of the unlearned as a class. Muhammad had referred to "unbelievers" as "those who care not," and had said, "they are like cattle, nay, they go more astray!" (vii, 178). From this is derived an unflattering declaration in regard to the common people, whose faith is not intellectually confirmed, namely, that the unlearned are like cattle (*al-ʿawwām ka'l-an'ām*).

With his full appreciation of the increasing elaboration of the articles of belief, it is easy to understand the point of view of Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmi (d. 993 or 1002 A. D.), when he reminded his readers that "The Common People Are Believers":¹⁹

"Know that the Sunnites, in fact the whole Muslim community, holds that the common people are believers: for they know Allah (praise be to Him), by a proof, except that they are in need of the interpretation and application of the proofs. For when they see a garden or a refreshing view, first they marvel and then they say, 'Allah be magnified! Allah be praised!' This is done knowingly on their part, for they realize that God made it.

"If anyone asks how it can be possible for the unlearned to have knowledge, when indeed they are uncertain about nature and the elements, we reply that anyone who is firm in his belief in the unity of God will have no essential doubt. What we mean to say is that if we should expect of them knowledge of the distinctions between *substances* and *accidents*, then the important matter of their making a living would be at a standstill, affairs in the world in general would be interrupted, and disorder in worldly matters means disorder in regard to questions of religion. For the world is the field to be cultivated for the hereafter, whereas, if they were indeed to give their lives to this knowledge, not one in ten of them would derive any advantage from it, except perhaps a certain pride in worldly affairs. For there is a work for every man and one to decide in matters of disorder.

"Relative to this question, when Arab youths came to the Prophet, and crude people from the shepherds and dwellers in the desert, and they professed Islam before him, it was considered to be a sufficient declaration of belief for them to say, 'There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah'. Observe that he did not require of any of them knowledge of the *substances* and *accidents*. Surely if any such condition had been necessary he would have required it of them. For if this had been an important consideration of religion, he certainly would not have neglected it.

¹⁹ Khwārizmi, Abū Bakr, "Mufīdu'l-'Ulūm", Cairo, 1330 A.H., pp. 38-39.

“When the Mu‘tazilites required knowledge of this kind and considered the common folk as infidels, there was not an ordinary Muslim to be found in their circles, not in ‘Askar Mukram, in Khwarizm, or in any of the regions of the Mu‘tazilites. May God the Most High protect us from this belief!”

But it was not possible for any such protests to check the development of scholastic definition and speculation in Islam. Under the influence of the rationalizing tendencies of the Mu‘tazilites, with a fuller knowledge of the formal statements of Christian doctrine, and with an accepted cultural background of Greek philosophy, the Muhammadan theologians continued to increase their requirements of the common people.

The Fikh Akbar III, a catechism of the eleventh century, which has been incorrectly ascribed to al-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820), has thirty-three articles, the first five of which are devoted to a definition of Knowledge: ²⁰

Art. 1. Every one who is under the obligation of the law is bound to acquire knowledge of Allah. Knowledge means to know its object, so that none of its qualities remains unknown. Knowledge cannot be acquired through opinion or *taklīd* (on the authority of others).

Art. 2. Knowledge is of two kinds, primary and secondary. The former is independent of the special faculty of the knowing subject. The latter is dependent upon his judgments, opinion, and so forth.

Art. 3. A definition of *taklīf* and of the five categories of legal acts (obligatory, etc.)

Art. 4. Obligation to know Allah applies only to him who possesses full mental capacities, has attained his majority, and has been reached, directly or indirectly, by the preaching of a Prophet. Cf. sura xvii: 16.

Art. 5. The definition of judgment or insight (*naẓar*) as “thought of the heart”. This is superior to primary knowledge.

In his catechism in the *Iḥyā’*, ²¹ which is much less involved than his earlier statements of doctrine, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) sought a simpler approach by returning to the two phrases in the *shahāda*, the first dealing with man’s belief in Allah, and the second having to do with the believer’s acceptance of Muhammad as Allah’s Apostle. Of

²⁰ Wensinck, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

²¹ Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’*, i, 83-86.

God and His qualities, al-Ghazālī says that God is “Living, Knowing, Powerful, a Willer, a Hearer, a Speaker,—through Life, Power, Knowledge, Will, Hearing, Seeing, Speech, not by a thing separated from His essence.” A paragraph is given to each of these qualities, as for example:

“We witness that He knoweth all the things that can be known, comprehending that which happeneth from the bounds of the earths unto the topmost heavens; no grain in the earth or the heavens is distant from His knowledge. Yea, He knows the creeping of the black ant upon the rugged rock in the dark night, and He perceives the movement of the mote in the midst of the air; He knows the secret and the concealed, and has knowledge of the suggestions of the minds and the movements of the thoughts and the concealed things of the inmost parts, by a knowledge which is prior from eternity; He has not ceased to be describable by it, from the ages of the ages, not by a knowledge which renews itself and arises in His essence by arrival and removal.”

This catechism of al-Ghazālī’s in the *Iḥyā*, which has been translated in full by Professor D. B. Macdonald,²² is said to have been prepared in a form that children could commit to memory.

A few years later articles of belief were drawn up by al-Nasafi (d. 537/1142) in a brief statement that has long been used for school instruction. Its marked scholastic terminology is well illustrated in the declaration that “the world in the totality of its parts is a thing originated (*muhdath*), in that it consists of Substances (*ayns*) and Attributes (*arads*). The Substances are what exist in themselves, and a substance is either a compound, that is a body (*jism*), or not compounded like an essence (*jawhar*), namely a division that is not further divided. And the attributes are what do not exist in themselves, but have a dependent existence in bodies or essences, such as colors, tastes, conditions (*kawns*), odor.”²³

The longer creed of al-Faḍālī (d. 1236/1821), which is relatively modern, and which the author calls the *Kifāyat al-‘awāmm min ‘ilm al-kalām*, or “A Sufficiency for the Common People of Scholastic Theology,” says that it “is incumbent upon every Muslim that he should know

²² D. B. Macdonald, “Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory”, pp. 300-307.

²³ D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

fifty articles of belief, and that for each article he should know a proof, general or detailed. . . . Know that an understanding of the fifty articles must be based on three things—the necessary (*wājib*), the impossible (*mustahīl*), and the possible (*jā'iz*). The necessary is that the non-existence of which cannot be apprehended by the intellect (*akl*), that is, the intellect cannot affirm its non-existence, . . . The impossible is that the existence of which cannot be apprehended; that is, the intellect cannot affirm its existence . . . And the possible is that the existence of which at one time, and the non-existence at another, the intellect can affirm, as the existence of a child of Zayd's." ²⁴

And so it was that on the one hand "the seeking of knowledge" (*ṭalabu'l-'ilm*) came to be regarded, according to a saying ascribed to the Prophet, as a "necessary requirement (*farīḍa*) for every Muslim man and woman": but on the other hand, there were some who sympathized with the common people, for there is another equally familiar saying, which is also attributed to Muḥammad, namely, "Knowledge is the greatest concealing," *al-'ilmu ḥijāb al-akbar*.

Meshed, Iran.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

²⁴ D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-317.

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY COPY OF THE SAMARQAND KUFIC QUR'ĀN

Columbia University Library has recently purchased from a Russian dealer a photographic reproduction of the famous Samarqand Kufic Qur'ān. It is one of the fifty copies which Dr. Pissareff reproduced from the original Codex in the St. Petersburg Public Library in 1905. The title page of the copy (in Russian and French) reads: *Curan coufique de Samarcand écrit d'après la tradition de la propre main du troisième calife Osman (644-656) qui se trouve dans la bibliothèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg. Edition faite avec l'autorisation de l'institut archéologique de St. Pétersbourg par S. Pissareff. St. Petersbourg, 1905. (Fac-simile).* Since the original Codex is now lost (shortly after the Bolshevik revolution the Soviet Government upon the request of the Indian Muslims returned the Codex to Samarqand and it has never been heard of since), and only a few copies are extant in the world, it might be of interest to relate the story of its acquisition by the Russian Government in 1869. As told by A. Shebunin,¹ the Codex was sent by Adjutant General von Kaufman I, Governor General of Turkestan, as a gift to the St. Petersburg Public Library, with a letter in which the Governor explained how the Codex happened to come into his possession. Following is a translation of the letter:

Chancery of the Turkestan Governor General,
24th of October, 1869

His Excellency Minister of Public Education:

The commander of the Zariavshansky district has handed over to me a Qur'ān, written on parchment in Kufic characters without punctuation or vowels, which previously was in the possession of

¹ See following note.

the Mosque of Khodzah-Akhrar in Samarqand. Being aware of the great value of the Qur'ān and its inviolability in the eyes of the Muslims, Major General Abramov commissioned the commander of the Samarqand district, Lieutenant Colonel Sierov, to investigate as to whether the acquisition by us of that manuscript would in any way violate the religious feelings of the community. The ulemas and several honorable citizens testified: (1) that this Qur'ān, though it was permanently deposited in the Mosque of Khodzah-Akhrar, did not really belong to it, but was regarded as owned by the crown, being the property of the Emir of Bokhara; (2) that this Qur'ān, at present, is of no importance either to the Moslems or to the Mosque. Before (indeed, very long ago) it used to attract many worshippers, but lately only the Emirs when arriving at Samarqand worshipped before it; and (3) that nobody is able to read it, and that for many centuries it has been lying around without any one making use of it. Thereupon Major General Abramov received the book, and in return for it donated from his own money 500 Kokans (100 Rubles), with which the Samarqand clergy was very satisfied.

In view of the fact that such a book may, from a bibliographical point of view, be of great value to the scholarly world, I hasten to send the acquired Qur'ān to your Excellency together with the deposition of the two ulemas of the Mosque of Khodzah-Akhrar, Mully-Abdul-Dzhalil and Mully-Mugini-Mufti, as arranged by me, describing the origin of the Qur'ān and how it came to the Mosque of Akhrar, and I humbly ask you, Sir, to deliver the book with the enclosed deposition in my name as a gift to the Imperial Public Library.

Signed: Adjutant-General von Kaufman I.

Counter-signed: Director of the Chancery Major-General Gomzin.

Correct: Secretary Diakov.

The importance of the Samarqand Codex, one of the oldest copies known to exist, for the scientific study of the Qur'ān text need not be stressed. A full and elaborate description of the Codex was given by A. Shebunin in 1891.² Since that article was written in Russian and published in a journal not readily accessible to European scholars, a short summary of it is here given.

Size: 353 folios, 68 x 53 centimeters. (Text: 50 x 44 centimeters.)

² *Kuficheskii Koran Imp. SPB. Publichnoi Biblioteki, Zapiski Vostochnago Otdieleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obschestva*, vol. 6, 1891, pp. 69-133.

Material: Thick, strong parchment. Sixty-nine torn out, or lost folios, are substituted by paper leaves of equal size. Of the 353 folios, only fifteen are complete, the rest are more or less damaged and mended with paper.

Content: Beginning Sūra 2: 6-172, 175-183, 209-214, 231-233, 257-274, 282 to the end; 3: 31-86, 91-97, 101-141, 148 to the end; 4: 1-33, 37-46, 74-79, 83-92, 94-144; 5: 88 to the end; 6 complete; 7: 1-103; 11: 44-122; 12: 19-23; 14: 41-46; 15: 7-86; 16: 7-103, 115-120; 17: 1-51, 58 to the end; 18: 1-76, 81-105; 19: 2-45, 53 to the end; 20: 1-135; 26: 63-117, 130-142, 155-202; 27: 1-22, 28-34, 44-82; 36: 11 to the end; 37: 1-73, 89 to the end; 38: 1-28; 39: 8-11; 40: 4-7, 54-59, 63-83; 41: 4-39; 42: 20 to the end; 43: 1-10.

Script: Large, straight, beautiful Kufic, rigidly proportional, not angular. With the exception of the diacritical dashes there are absolutely no other marks or vowels in the text.

Division of verses and Sūras: Individual verses are divided by groups of dashes generally numbering from four to seven; groups of approximately ten verses are separated by colored figures, usually in the form of a square of two and a half to three centimeters long and containing a star surrounded by a circle of one centimeter in diameter, within which in turn a Kufic number is written denoting the number of verses covered from the beginning of the Sūra. These flower figures are composed, with few exceptions, in four colors: crimson, green, blue and orange. There are one hundred and fifty-one such figures in the text. The Sūras are separated by a barrier—a colored band composed of a row of squares of one design but with different colors. There are six such barriers in the text.

Orthography: The orthography of the Codex presents in most cases the common peculiarities of the Kufic Qur'ān, but contains also very original and highly interesting deviations.

In his concluding remarks on the importance of the Codex, Shebunin maintains that its original part (*i.e.*, the

parchment leaves) was written not later than at the beginning of the second century A. H., that its provenance is most probably Iraq, and that the nearest copy comparable to the Samarqand Codex in orthography and other peculiarities is the Paris manuscript No. 324 described by Baron de Slane in *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de Bibliothèque National*.

*Columbia University,
New York City.*

ISAAC MENDELSON.

Missions and Moslems in Thailand (Siam)

The story of one hundred years of mission work is one of heroic adventure and patient endurance, which cannot be told here. It is sufficient to say that the work had its origin in the idea that it would be a stepping-stone to work in China, which was then a closed land. Many missions had a share in opening out this field: the London Mission, the American Board, the American Baptists, and, finally, the American Presbyterian Mission, which began work in 1940 and took over the work of the others.

Other missions are small. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel began work in Bangkok in 1903, at Nakon Pathom and neighborhood, where, today, there is a flourishing work. The "Brethren" have worked at Puket since 1890, and the Seventh-Day Adventists at Bangkok since 1919. The last mission to take up work was the Christian and Missionary Alliance, which, in 1929, extended its efforts from Indo-China to include the field of Eastern Thailand. As is appropriate in a predominantly American mission field, the American Bible Society began work in 1889. The New Testament was completed in 1843, and the Old Testament in 1896. In 1937, the total circulation was 192,537 volumes. . . .

The census of 1928-30 returned about 500,000 Moslems, evidence of whose presence it is difficult to find. It is probable that they consist of Malays in the south, and of scattered Indians and Chinese. This means that, among the 900,000 Indians, Malays and Chinese, there are half-a-million Moslems. Moslems present as difficult a problem to missions as do Buddhists, and no special effort is being made to reach them.

—Alexander McLeish (Survey Editor)
in Supplement to *World Dominion*, May-June, 1940.

THE BAHAI CAUSE TODAY

One hot summer day in the year 1921 I was crossing a vacant lot in one of the villages of Sistan in Eastern Iran. Turning about, I saw an old man following me, and when he caught up to me he came close and whispered in my ear, "Aren't you a Bahai?" "Why do you ask that question?" I asked. "You are an American, aren't you?" he said. "Yes", I replied, "I am an American". "Then you *must* be a Bahai", he answered, "for are not all Americans Bahais?" "No", I said, "most Americans are not Bahais. I have heard that there are Bahais in America, but as yet I have never seen one". The old man looked at me in surprise and disappointment, and walked away.

How many times that question has been asked me in Iran! Somehow the impression has been left in the minds of Iranian Bahais that the number of their co-religionists in America is very great, and I fear that more than once my veracity has been doubted when I have explained that most people in America have never even heard the name of Baha'ullah.

However, there are a number of centers in America where Bahais have been conducting meetings and working for their cause for a number of years, and it sometimes happens that people who come in touch with them wish to know more about the movement. The Bahais have done considerable writing, and their literature is available and should be studied by all who are interested. But the books and articles written on the subject by non-Bahais are for the most part out of print. It is to meet the need of those who wish to consider the movement from a different point of view that this article is being written, at the request of the editors of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*.

I. Summary of the History of the Movement.

It is impossible to understand the Bahai Movement, or to evaluate it, without a clear understanding of its history. Unfortunately, numerous conflicting accounts have been given of its origin, and it is not always easy to distinguish history from fiction or forgery. However, two distinguished European scholars visited Persia not long after the movement began, and published the results of their

careful investigations in this field. Their works provide the material for a true understanding of the origins of Bahatism. Conte de Gobineau, the brilliant secretary of the French Legation in Persia, was in Teheran from 1855 to 1858, arriving only five years after the death of the Bab, and his book, *Les Religions et les Philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, which is largely devoted to a study of the religion of the Bab, is a source of primary importance. It was through reading this book that Dr. E. G. Browne of Cambridge University became interested in the Babi movement. As a result, he came to Persia in 1887, and spent a year in travel and in intimate association with the Bahais of that land. In 1893 he published his large book, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, and at about the same time he published a number of scholarly articles on Bahatism in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. He later translated and published several important books on the same subject. For everyone who wishes to understand Bahatism, a careful study of the writings of these two impartial scholars is indispensable.

The outline of the history of Bahatism, as I give it in this article, is largely drawn from these sources. A fuller account will be found in my book *Baha'ism* (Revell, 1931) and in *The Religion of the Baha'is*, by J. R. Richards (S.P.C.K., London, 1932).

The Appearance of the Bab.

The people of Persia, for the most part, belong to the Shiite sect of Islam. They believe that Mohammed, the Prophet of Islam, (died A.D. 632) was succeeded not by the Caliphs, as the majority of Moslems believe, but by his own descendants. The generally accepted Shiite belief is that the Prophet was followed by a line of twelve men called Imams, the first of whom was Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, and the last another Mohammed, who disappeared from the view of men in A.D. 837. This twelfth Imam did not die, but is still alive somewhere, and will return at the end of the world to fight against all unbelievers and make the whole world Mohammedan. When he comes, every true Moslem will take his sword and go forth after him to battle. As the end of the thousand years which followed his disappearance drew near, there was a strong expectation in Persia that the Hidden Imam was soon to appear. So when a young man of Shiraz, named Ali Mohammed, himself a descendant of Mohammed, on May 23, 1844, made the claim that he was the Gate (Bab) to the Knowledge of the Hidden Imam, there were many ready to acclaim him; and when his apostles began to proclaim him as the Hidden Imam himself, eager disciples took up their swords and assembled for the long-expected battle. Now at last the Imam would be seated on the throne of Persia and

would establish a church-state which would finally embrace the whole world, over which the Divine King would rule!

Naturally, the government of Persia was much disturbed by these developments, and when the Babis (as the followers of Ali Mohammed were called) gathered in force in Mazanderan, the armies of the Shah went out against them and defeated them. Much blood was shed, not only in Mazanderan, but also in Zenjan and other places in Persia. Most of the "twenty thousand martyrs", of whom the Bahais speak, lost their lives in this war, and they were not really Bahais but Babis. Many thousands of Moslems also were slain. In order to put an end to these uprisings the government decided to execute the Bab, who had been kept a prisoner for some time, and so, on July 8, 1850, he was shot in the city of Tabriz. By his patience and gentleness he won friends for himself, and although it was his claims which caused the Babi uprisings, it is not fair to hold him personally responsible for all that his followers did in his name. It was the opinion of Dr. Cormick, the English physician who attended him, and of other doctors also that his mind was unbalanced.

The Teachings of the Bab

The distinctive teaching of the Bab was that God, who is unknowable, has sent into the world a series of Manifestations, or Prophets, each one of whom brought a law for the government of mankind which took the place of the law that preceded it, and predicted the coming of another Manifestation who would be more perfect than those who came before. These Prophets were more than men, for they possessed the divine attributes, and rightly called themselves God. Only through them could God be known.

The first Manifestation was Adam; later Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Mohammed appeared, and now the Bab has come, the greatest Manifestation of all. The Bab thought Adam had lived 12,210 years before him, and suggested that Manifestations appeared once in a thousand years. He likens them to a boy, who as Adam was a mere embryo, as Jesus was ten years old, as Mohammed was eleven, and as himself was twelve. He predicted the coming of the next Manifestation, "He whom God shall manifest", likening him to a boy of fourteen, thus hinting that he would appear after two thousand years. The Bab considered himself the "forerunner" of the next Manifestation only as Mohammed had been his forerunner. He anticipated the time when his laws, both civil and religious, would be supreme in Persia, and no one who refused to accept him would be permitted to remain in that land. His *Bayan* (the name given to the voluminous writings of the Bab) was the Bible of mankind for this age, as the Gospel and the

Koran had been before it, and the Babi religion would become the dominant religion of the world.

The Rule of Subh-i-Azal

When the Bab was executed, the headship of the Babi movement passed to Mirza Yahya, known as Subh-i-Azal, who had been nominated by the Bab as his successor (*Nuqtatu'l-Kaf*, p. 250; *New History*, p. 413) and for ten years he was the undisputed leader of the Babis. So highly was he regarded by the Babis that some of them thought Mirza Yahya was "He whom God shall manifest", of whom the Bab had spoken. For two years after the Bab's death Mirza Yahya remained in Persia with his followers, but in 1852, as the result of an attempt on the life of the Shah by several Babis, persecution broke out in Teheran. Twenty-eight Babis were executed, and Mirza Yahya fled with a number of Babis to Baghdad, which was outside Persia, in Turkish territory, and this became the headquarters of the sect.

A few months after Mirza Yahya's arrival, he was joined by his half-brother Baha (Baha'ullah), who also had been a zealous follower of the Bab, and had been imprisoned in Teheran for four months after the attempt on the Shah's life. From 1852 till 1863 Subh-i-Azal was looked upon by all Babis as their Supreme Head, but being a peace-loving soul, caring little for authority, he retired into almost complete seclusion, "leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of his half-brother Baha, a man of much more resolute and ambitious character, who thus gradually became the most prominent figure and the moving spirit of the sect." Outwardly Baha was subordinate to his brother, as is clearly seen in the *Iqan*, which was written by him during this period, but he was secretly preparing to advance the claim to be "He whom God shall manifest".

The Babis in Baghdad became so active that the Persian government, fearing a repetition of what had happened in Mazanderan and Zenjan, asked the Turkish government to send them back to Persia, where they could be controlled, or else remove them to a more distant spot. The Turkish government was glad to comply, for the quarrels and fightings of Babis and Moslems in Baghdad had caused great trouble, and so it came to pass that Baha'ullah and Subh-i-Azal and their families and followers were deported, first to Constantinople and then to Adrianople, where they remained from 1863 to 1868.

The Appearance of Baha'ullah

It was during this period that Baha definitely put forward his claim to be the new Manifestation predicted by the Bab. There was nothing to prevent Baha from claiming this exalted station, for the Bab had said that no one could falsely make this claim, and

had commanded Subh-i-Azal to acknowledge the new Manifestation, should he appear in his time, and to abrogate the Bayan to make way for the new law.

And what did the Babis do about this claim of Baha's? "Amongst the Babis", writes Dr. Browne, "the effect of this announcement [of Baha's] was little short of stupendous. From Constantinople to Kirman and from Cairo to Khurasan the communities of the faithful were rent asunder by a schism which every subsequent year but rendered wider and more permanent. . . . At Adrianople itself the struggle was short and the triumph of Baha complete. . . . Elsewhere, though active and astute emissaries were at once dispatched in all directions by Baha, the conflict. . . . was longer maintained. For the question at issue was . . . whether the doctrine and writings of the beloved Master [the Bab], for which his followers had been willing to suffer death or exile, were to be regarded as abrogated and cancelled in favor of a new revelation; whether his chosen viceregent [Subh-i-Azal], whom they had so long regarded as their Supreme Pontiff and as the incarnation of all purity, virtue and heavenly wisdom, was to be cast down from this high position. . . . Babis who remember that time cannot easily be induced to speak of it."

Though the majority of the Babis finally accepted Baha, Subh-i-Azal steadily refused to do so, saying that it was unreasonable that God should have sent a major Manifestation, such as the Bab, for only twenty-two years. The refusal of Subh-i-Azal to accept his brother Baha'ullah was very embarrassing to the followers of the latter, who were called Bahais. For Subh-i-Azal, having been appointed by the Bab himself, should have been the first to recognize the new Manifestation. What was to be done about it? The Bahais, with or without the approval of their new leader, did two things. First, they got rid of a number of the chief disciples of Subh-i-Azal, at least twenty of whom, according to Dr. Browne, were murdered by the followers of Baha'ullah. (*Traveller's Narrative*, pp. 370-372), and an attempt was made on the life of Subh-i-Azal himself. Second, the Bahais destroyed as far as possible the books which might be used to disprove the claims of Baha'ullah, such as the history of the Babi movement written by Mirza Jani, a devoted disciple of the Bab, who died as a martyr to the Babi cause in Teheran in 1852. This book, known as *Nuqtatu'l-Kaf*, disappeared from Persia, but was discovered in Paris by Dr. Browne, and was translated in part and published by him. The Bahais today do not include the *Nuqtatu'l-Kaf* in their bibliographies, though it is one of the most important sources for a study of Babi history. Thus, by getting rid of the people who opposed and the books which

disproved the claims of Baha'ullah, the Bahais were able to rewrite the history of their cause to suit their own purpose, as Dr. Browne has so clearly demonstrated, and in modern Bahai histories, such as *The Dawn-Breakers*, Subh-i-Azal is entirely ignored, and Baha'ullah is represented as the immediate successor to the Bab.

As a result of this bitter quarrel which occurred among the Babis in Adrianople the Turkish government found it necessary to separate the two rival factions. Hence in 1868 Subh-i-Azal and his followers were sent to the Island of Cyprus, and Baha'ullah and his party to Acre on the coast of Syria. The Azalis were in the minority, and have almost disappeared, though a few are still to be found in Persia. The Bahais carried on an active propaganda in Persia and won over most of the Babis to their party. Baha'ullah and his followers were kept in prison for a time, and suffered much from hunger and sickness, but after two years they were allowed to move to a house in the town of Acre, and there they lived for nine years in comparative comfort.

During this period Baha'ullah was busily engaged in developing his new religion. "His chief aim", writes Dr. Browne, "seems to have been to introduce a more settled order, to discourage speculation, to direct the attention of his followers to practical reforms . . . , to exalt ethics at the expense of metaphysics, to check mysticism, to conciliate existing authorities, including even the Shah of Persia . . . , to abolish useless, unpractical and irksome regulations and restrictions, and, in general, to adapt the religion at the head of which he now found himself to the ordinary exigencies of life, and to render it more capable of becoming, what he intended to make it, a universal system suitable to all mankind." He wrote epistles to various rulers, including the Czar of Russia, the Pope, Queen Victoria, and others, bidding them acknowledge him and obey his laws. And he received many pilgrims who came from Persia to visit him and bring him gifts.

In 1877 Baha'ullah rented a palace outside Acre, and from that time until his death in 1892 he lived peacefully in the midst of his family and friends. Here Dr. Browne saw him in 1890.

The Teachings of Baha'ullah

Baha'ullah, like the Bab, was a prolific writer. Many of his writings have been translated into English and French and can be found in *Bahai Scriptures* and other Bahai publications. Baha'ullah's teachings resemble in some respects those of the Bab. God is unknowable, except in his Manifestations. As Mohammed succeeded Jesus, and the Bab Mohammed, so Baha'ullah has come to succeed the Bab and perfect his work. He will found a Church-State which will become dominant in the world, and this will be

done, not by the sword, as in the Babi fashion, but by peaceful means. The laws for the government of this Empire were written in the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* ("Most Holy Book"), a summary of which is found in my book *Bahatism* (pp. 110-121). Some of the most important of these laws are the following:

Private worship is to be performed three times a day, while the worshipper faces Acre. Worship is to consist of nine prostrations, but on a journey one is sufficient. One month of the year (nineteen days) is to be devoted to fasting, and from sunrise to sunset food and drink and sexual intercourse are prohibited. Each day every believer should wash his hands, then his face, and having seated himself facing Allah [Acre?] should say ninety-five times, "Allah is the Most Splendid!" All male believers who are able must make the pilgrimage to the House [of the Bab in Shiraz], but women are excused. All Bahais must be engaged in some useful occupation. Austerities and ascetic practices are forbidden. Shaving the head [as the Mohammedans did] is forbidden. Men's hair must not fall below the ears.

The thief is to be imprisoned for the first and second offence, and for the third he is to be branded on the forehead. "Do not let pity restrain you." If a man and woman commit adultery they must each pay nine *misqals* of gold [about \$20] to the House of Justice, and for a second offence the fine is to be doubled.

The use of gold and silver plate and ornaments is not forbidden [as in Islam], and knives and forks are to be used in eating instead of the fingers. Every father must educate his sons and daughters. Listening to music is lawful.

If a man purposely burns down a house, he must be burned to death. Marriage is obligatory for all. "Beware of taking more than two women, and he who is satisfied with one handmaid will enjoy peace himself, and so will she." Traffic in slaves is forbidden. Cleanliness is enjoined. The prayers of people with dirty clothes will not ascend to God. The nails must be cut, and a weekly bath must be taken. The feet must be washed daily in summer, and every three days in winter. The use of perfumes is enjoined, for God likes this. The books of people of other religions may be read. Believers who possess more than a hundred *misqals* of gold [\$225] must give nineteen per cent. of their property [to Baha], that the remainder may become lawful to them.

Believers must speak kindly to those who speak roughly to them. Gambling and opium are forbidden. Beasts are not to be overloaded. If one kills a man accidentally he must pay one hundred *misqals* of gold as compensation to the relatives of the deceased.

Such is the character of the perfect law by which the world

is to be ruled for a thousand years, and in obeying which man will be saved.

Shortly before his death Baha'ullah sent to Dr. Browne a little manuscript which contained a compendium of his principal teachings. These were in brief as follows :

1. The abolition of religious war as practiced by the Moslems and Babis.
2. Permission to all sects and peoples to unite in friendly intercourse.
3. Permission to study foreign languages, and the choice of one language and one character for all mankind.
4. Bahais are to give loyal support to any King who protects them.
5. Bahais are to submit to the laws and customs of the land in which they live.
6. Promise of the "Most Great Peace".
7. All men may follow their own taste in dress and wearing of the hair.
8. Christian priests must abandon their seclusion and engage in useful service. They are permitted to marry.
9. Sins are not to be confessed to men, but to God.
10. The Bab's command to destroy all books of science and philosophy is abrogated.
11. The study of useful arts and sciences is encouraged.
12. All men must learn and practise some craft, trade or profession.
13. The settlement of differences, the apportionment of alms, and the ordering of the affairs of the commonwealth generally, are entrusted to the "House of Justice".
14. Pilgrimages to the tombs of saints and martyrs as commanded by the Bab are no longer obligatory.
15. The best form of government is a combination of a republic and a monarchy.

Through his reading of books and newspapers published in Syria, and his intercourse with men, Baha'ullah kept in close touch with the movements of his day, and was a keen observer of events. His outlook was far broader and more modern than was that of the Bab. Yet there is little in his teachings that is original, most of the Bahai doctrines being derived from the Moslem sects in Persia, from the Bible, or from contemporary Western thought.

The Rule and Teachings of Abdul-Baha

In spite of the fact that Baha'ullah in his last Will and Testament besought his followers not to quarrel over the succession after

his death, no sooner had the Manifestation died than bitter strife broke out among his sons. Abdul-Baha, who had been appointed by his father the leader of the movement, began to make claims for himself, which to many Bahais seemed blasphemous. Baha'ullah had said that no new Manifestation would appear for a thousand years, thus preventing anyone from doing to his Rule what he had done to that of the Bab. So Abdul-Baha never made that claim. But he so associated himself with his father that he led the Bahais to give him the same honor which they gave the Manifestation, and today the words of Abdul-Baha are included in the Bahai Scriptures on perfect equality with the words of Baha'ullah. Moreover, Abdul-Baha claimed to be the sole interpreter of his father's teachings.

The opposition to these claims was fierce, and the strife lasted for several years, but at length the party of Abdul-Baha won the day. Not content with having the allegiance of the Bahais of the East, Abdul-Baha in 1893 sent a missionary, Dr. Khayrullah, to America, and converts were won in Chicago. Later, Dr. Khayrullah broke with Abdul-Baha, and led away with him several hundred of the American Bahais, and the quarrel begun in Acre was repeated in this country. Strife in the Bahai community led the Turkish government once more to confine Abdul-Baha to Acre, after he had been free for twenty years to travel about Syria. This confinement lasted for seven years, and was terminated by the Turkish Revolution in 1908. During this time he received many visitors, both from the East and from the West.

In 1911, Abdul-Baha left Syria for a tour of Europe and America. He spent seven months in America, giving many addresses and talking with inquirers. While in Chicago he dedicated the grounds for the Temple now nearing completion at Wilmette. In his teaching he continued to carry out the liberalizing tendencies which we have noted in the teachings of Baha'ullah. In an address given in England in 1913 he enumerated ten of the principles of Baha'ullah, and it is instructive to compare this list with that given by Baha'ullah himself to Dr. Browne (see above). The list is as follows:

1. The independent investigation of truth.
2. The oneness of the human race.
3. International Peace.
4. The conformity of religion to science and reason.
5. Religious, racial, political, and patriotic prejudices must be banished.
6. The equality of men and women.
7. All classes of society are to work together in love and harmony.

8. "The Parliament of Man" as a court of last appeal in international questions.
9. Universal education.
10. A universal language.

Abdul-Baha told the Christians of the West that the Bahai movement includes *all*, and said that all differences must be put aside, and all mankind are to realize their oneness in Baha'ullah. He did not ask that Christians give up their Christian faith or church membership, but said, "Whoever acts completely in accordance with the teachings of Christ is a Bahai". Yet he demanded full obedience to himself. "All must obey Him [Abdul-Baha]; All must turn to Him Whatsoever he says is true". "Beware! Beware!" he said to the Bahais of Chicago, "lest anyone declare his own ideas". World unity is to be achieved by complete submission on the part of all men to the word and will of this one man.

The Rule of Shoghi Efendi

When Abdul-Baha died in 1921 he was succeeded by his grandson Shoghi Efendi, who is called the Guardian of the Cause. Abdul-Baha named him in his Will as his successor, and charged all the Bahais to accept and obey him. "All must be under his shadow and obey his command. Should any disobey and seek division, the wrath of God and His vengeance will be upon him." "To none is given the right to put forth his own opinion or express his particular convictions. All must seek guidance and turn unto the Center of the Cause and the House of Justice." The universal House of Justice has not been established, but when it is established it will be entirely under the control of the Guardian, for Abdul-Baha provided that "should any of the members [of the House of Justice] commit a sin, injurious to the common weal, the Guardian of the Cause hath at his own discretion the right to expel him". Hence, whenever the Bahai cause prevails and this system is established throughout the world, as its followers ardently desire, Shoghi Efendi (or his successor) will "find himself in possession of an authority which the popes and emperors have never aspired to, even in their wildest dreams. For the authority of the Guardian of the Cause is not confined to spiritual matters. He is to be the King of kings and the Lord of lords and the President of presidents, as well as the Pope of the popes of the earth. 'All must be under his shadow and obey his command'. In politics, in economics, in international problems, in religion, in *everything* he is the final authority, and his word is absolute law." Here is totalitarianism in its perfection! We can be thankful that the Babis laid aside their swords, and that now the Bahai campaign for world conquest is a peaceful one.

For the last two decades Shoghi Efendi has been directing the affairs of his Cause from his home on Mount Carmel in Palestine. Zealous missionaries of the cause have been going around the world proclaiming the Bahai message. In Iran, the cause has met with considerable opposition from the government, which closed the Bahai schools, forbade the holding of public meetings, and prohibited the bringing of Bahai literature into the country. In spite of these difficulties, the Bahais have been active in their propaganda, but as far as one can see, their numbers are not increasing. In other lands progress is reported, but, in the words of the Guardian himself, the Bahai Cause is still in its infancy. Nearly a hundred years have passed since the Bab appeared, and one cannot help wondering *when* the Cause is going to grow up!

II. *Bahatism in America Today*

Having given a resume of Bahai history, we will now consider the status of Bahatism in America at the present time.

The United States Census of Religious Bodies (1936) gives the following figures for Bahatism:

	1936	1926	1916	1906
Number of Assemblies	88	44	57	24
Number of Members	2,584	1,247	2,884	1,280
Contributions				
Temple in Chicago (present value)	\$1,040,000.			
Gifts to local Relief, Charity, etc., in 1936 .. \$	281.			
Location of Members in 1936				
In New York State	354			
In Illinois	427			
In California	353			

The reader will note that the number of Spiritual Assemblies (local congregations) has doubled in the last decade, and the number of voting members has also doubled, bringing the figure almost up to that for 1916. The property of the Temple in Wilmette, Illinois, is now worth over a million dollars, just twice what it was in 1926. And almost half of the American members reside in the three states of Illinois, New York and California.

Principles of the Bahai Faith

The Bahai teachings have been summarized as follows in the official magazine of the movement:

The Bahai Faith recognizes the unity of God and of His Prophets, upholds the principle of an unfettered search after truth, condemns all forms of superstition and prejudice, teaches that the

fundamental purpose of religion is to promote concord and harmony, that it must go hand in hand with science, and that it constitutes the sole and ultimate basis of a peaceful, ordered and progressive society. It inculcates the principle of equal opportunity, rights and privileges for both sexes, advocates compulsory education, abolishes extremes of wealth and poverty, exalts work performed in the spirit of service to the rank of worship, recommends the adoption of an auxiliary international language, and provides the necessary agencies for the establishment and safeguarding of a permanent and universal peace."

Literature

The Bahai teachings are set forth in a well-edited little monthly magazine, called *World Order*; and in the *Bahai World*, the large year-book of the movement, which appears every two years, a great deal of interesting information is found. Also several books have recently been published which are worthy of notice. I would call especial attention to "Security for a Failing World", by Stanwood Cobb, who is one of the editors of *World Order*; "The World Order of Baha'ullah", by Shoghi Efendi, the present head of the movement; "The Dawn-Breakers", a history of the movement translated by Shoghi Efendi; and "The Bible of Mankind", compiled by Mirza Ahmed Sohrab. All these publications may be secured from the Bahai Center, 119 West 57th Street, New York City. As I have read these more recent publications of the Bahais, I have been favorably impressed both by the spirit and by the quality of their literature. Many of the articles have dealt with the vital problems of the day, and were written by authors of real ability. Some of the titles found in *World Order* during the past five years are: Turkey Takes the New Road; Religion, Race and Unity; Race Prejudice; A World Community; Social Trends in American Life; Is War Incurable?; Meaning of Prayer; Education in World Friendship; Psychology and Criminal Control; Spiritual and Material Healing; Islam (a series of articles); Cooperative Movement; International Language; History of the Christian Church (a series); Marriage; Immortality; Divine Consciousness (the bearing of Jung's work on Bahaism); St. Catherine of Siena; Overcoming Worry; Child Guidance; Negro in America; Why I Am a Bahai.

From these titles it is apparent that American Bahais are abreast of the times, and are wrestling with the same problems that are confronting all of us today. Some of the articles were written by Christians, but most of them are from the pens of American Bahai authors who had a Christian background, and who have been more deeply influenced by Christ than by Baha'ullah, though they have

substituted his name for that of our Lord. In every issue of the magazine there are pages of quotations from the words of Baha'ullah and Abdul-Baha, some of which are impressive, but most of which make extremely dull reading. In my humble opinion, the disciples are more interesting than their masters!

Security for a Failing World

The most attractive interpretation of American Bahaim which I have seen is "Security for a Failing World", a book published by Stanwood Cobb in 1934, and in attempting to portray the spirit and message of the Bahai movement I cannot do better than give a summary of this challenging volume. In a most interesting and impressive manner the author describes the new age of plenty and of power which has dawned on earth. He shows that man is unable to use for good the power which is his, because while the intellect is trained and controlled, the *emotions* are not. "What can govern the emotions? Only a master emotion." And "the greatest of all master emotions is religion". There is no "cure for the world except a spiritual renaissance. We face the need of a great spiritual message capable of sweeping men off their feet and carrying them on broad streams of enthusiasm to the ocean of universal love, harmony and peace."

"But has the institution founded upon the message of Christ—the present Christian Church—sufficient spiritual power to eliminate the organic evils of the world? To ban war, to suppress economic exploitation, and to establish universal peace and brotherhood? Has it the capacity and vitality to inaugurate a world-wide ideal civilization?"

"Or must we await a new spiritual dynamic—more potent, more universal, more capable of winning the allegiance of all races, creeds and nations?" The answer of the author is that Christianity, like all the other religions, has lost its power, and will die and pass away.

He says, "The history of every great world religion, carefully studied, will reveal this same fundamental law: namely, that religion, as it tends to crystallize into form and ritual, correspondingly declines in spiritual power and in ethical effectiveness."

"Humanity, like a battery which has to be recharged, is under the necessity of fresh spiritual impulse at stated intervals. Fortunately for the spiritual evolution of humanity, at every epoch when one religion has been outgrown, a new religion has magically arisen—a religion full of vital hope and promise, and charged with the power to remold and remake the lives of its communicants."

The coming of a new religion is an act of God. It is He who

sends the Prophet. "These founders of religions not only proclaim anew the everlasting truths and universal moral laws which must guide humanity, but they bring a subtle and tremendous force to bear upon the life of humanity. They are human dynamos, generating from the world of the Unseen an electric spiritual force which they communicate to their disciples. The disciples, charged with this force, are able in turn to communicate it to others."

And what is the religion which today has sufficient vitality and power to overcome man's selfishness and greed and make possible the establishment of a world order of peace and justice? The answer of the author is *Bahatism*. It claims to be a divine revelation. It has inspired amazing devotion and self-sacrifice. It has definite spiritual and ethical teachings. Its great miracle is "the transformation of human character, especially in the way of abolishing prejudices and emotional barriers. It is bringing together Jews, Zoroastrians, Mohammedans, Christians, Buddhists, Confucianists—welding them into an organic whole, a living, breathing body of brotherhood and love." It transforms human nature and has produced many saints.

The reason for the success of Bahai missionary work is that "no one is asked to abandon his own religion in order to become a Bahai." The Bahai missionary does not have to attack other religions, draw comparisons, hurt people's feelings. All religions are in essence one: love to God, love to man. Hence the Bahai movement is "the great keystone to the arch of human progress, the fulfilment of the dreams of all the prophets; the Utopia which philosophers have visioned; the Golden Age, the Millennium, the Kingdom of God upon earth."

"Imagine a world bound together by one language, one religion, one code of morals, and one government, into a great common culture. *Such is the Bahai World State*. Universal education; a universal curriculum, international exchange of commodities, without tariff barriers, peaceful and friendly national rivalry. A world parliament to form international laws and a world court to enforce them, and the maintenance of universal peace by means of an international police force."

The Need of the World for God

Many of the words of Mr. Cobb and other earnest Bahai writers strike a responsive chord in Christian hearts. We sympathize deeply with the Bahais in their concern about the state of the world, and we too are moved by the words of Baha'ullah which they quote so effectively. "How long will humanity persist in its waywardness?" he asked. "How long will injustice continue? How long are chaos and confusion to reign amongst men? How long will discord agitate

the face of society? The winds of despair are, alas, blowing from every direction, and the strife that divides and afflicts the human race is daily increasing. The signs of impending convulsions and chaos can now be discerned, inasmuch as the prevailing order appears to be lamentably defective."

For the "convulsions and chaos" which Baha'ullah and all discerning men foresaw are now, in April, 1940, on the front page of every newspaper, and the end is not yet.

We also agree that mankind, unaided by God, is impotent to right these wrongs and remake our world. "Humanity", writes Shoghi Efendi, the Guardian of the Cause, in *World Order* (April, 1935) "whether viewed in the light of man's individual conduct or in the existing relationships between organized communities and nations, has, alas, strayed too far and suffered too great a decline to be redeemed through the unaided efforts of the best among its recognized rulers and statesmen—however disinterested their motives, however concerted their action, however unsparing in their zeal and devotion to its cause. No scheme which the calculations of the highest statesmanship may yet devise; no doctrines which the most distinguished exponents of economic theory may hope to advance; no principle which the most ardent of moralists may strive to inculcate, can provide in the last resort, adequate foundation upon which the future of a distracted world can be built."

Yes, the world is unable to save itself, and our only hope is in God. And what has God done to save the world? It is here that Bahais part company with followers of Christ. The Christian believes that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself", that Christ is the only Saviour of the world, that He, by His spirit, is always with His disciples, and is able to meet all their needs and the needs of the whole world. The Christian remembers Christ's word, "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I go I will send Him unto you", and believes that Christ's spiritual presence everywhere is better for the Church today than would be His physical presence in Palestine or in America. The Christian, therefore, expects no repetition of the Incarnation, with its birth and death and resurrection, but awaits Christ's return in glory, when Time shall become Eternity, and Death shall be swallowed up of Life. Meanwhile, the Christian exerts himself to the utmost to persuade men to accept Christ as their Saviour and Lord and to follow His teachings in private and community life, as well as in national and international affairs, believing that whenever life is dominated by His spirit, a righteous and harmonious world order

will be established. The Christian is convinced that God Himself can do no more for the salvation of the world than He has done and is doing in Jesus Christ, and that through Christ God will finally save the world.

But the Bahai position is different. As we saw above, Baha'ullah following the doctrine of some of the mystics of Iran, taught that God had manifested Himself, not once but many times, and would continue to do so forever. Abraham, Moses, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, Mohammed, the Bab, and now Baha'ullah have all been divine Manifestations, but since the religions founded by the other prophets are now out of date, the only hope of the world today is the Bahai Cause, founded by Baha'ullah, furthered by his son Abdul-Baha, and guided by his great-grandson Shoghi Efendi—this is the God-chosen instrument for the salvation of the world in our age.

The coming of a new Prophet, or Manifestation, brings a new day for the earth, a new spring-time for a world dead in ignorance and unbelief. The Prophets belong to a higher order of existence than that of man. "Baha'ullah establishes the existence of three worlds", writes Ruhi Afnan in *World Order*, "(1) the World of God, or Divine Existence, (2) the World of the Prophets . . . ; (3) and the World of Creation. The World of the Prophets is the bridge over the chasm existing between the other two worlds, and forms the basis of our moral and spiritual life."

The Prophets are mirrors which reflect the light of the sun. One mirror is broken, another takes its place. One Prophet dies (the Bahais say "ascends"), another follows him, and the sun shines in all. "Just as the sun reflected in the mirror can assert with full justification that it is the same sun, so can the Prophet say that he is God." Jesus said, "I and my Father are one". Mohammed is quoted as saying, "He is I and I am He" [not in the Koran]. The Bab said, "I am the Primal Point from which have been generated all created things". And Baha'ullah said, "Naught is seen in My beauty but His beauty, and in My being but His being, and in My self but His self." And so, Bahatism has no real Incarnation, for the illustration of the mirror indicates not a true union of God and man in the Manifestation, but merely a temporary and formal relationship. The sun does not in any sense unite with the mirror, and its contact may therefore cease at any time. A thousand mirrors may follow one another in rapid succession, and the beholder is not aware of any difference between them, for he sees only the reflected light of the sun, and the mirror means but little to him.

The Succession

As one reads the Bahai literature he frequently meets the statement that one of the weaknesses of Christianity and Islam is that the founders of these religions did not give any definite directions regarding the organization and government of their followers after their death. As a result, Christians and Mohammedans are split into many sects, and no one is acknowledged by all believers as their divinely appointed head. But this fault has been corrected in the latest Manifestation, for Baha'ullah gave clear directions regarding his successor, and the Bahais will not split up as others have done. Whether Bahaism in the years to come will be spared the controversy and strife which have weakened other religions remains to be seen. Certainly the first seventy-five years of Babi-Bahai history had their full share of internal as well as external strife! And though the leadership of Shoghi Efendi was not seriously opposed, there were some Bahais who refused to follow him in spite of Abdul-Baha's Will. Man being as he is, no plan and no command, even though it be from God, will prevent schisms from occurring unless the community is full of the Holy Spirit, who is the Spirit of Love and Unity.

The Bahai leaders maintain that the spiritual principles of Bahaism cannot be accepted without the Administrative Order, for they are inseparable. The Guardianship is indispensable to the movement, for there must always be someone to give infallible interpretation and guidance to men. Thus in an article in *World Order* (April, 1936) Ruhi Afnan defends the necessity of "Institutionalism" in religion. He says a religion without an organization will not survive. Christianity and Islam have both had organization and owe their strength to this. Likewise the Bahai cause must have its Guardian and its legislative body. In order to avoid the confusion and divisions which result from freedom of interpretation of the Scriptures, "Baha'ullah gave the exclusive right of interpretation to Abdul-Baha. How could he have safeguarded His faith from the disruptive influences that clove asunder the older Faiths if not through the institution of Guardianship, through an institution the distinguishing prerogative of which would be to interpret the scripture?" There *must* be a Guardian, say the Bahais, appointed by God, not elected by men, who shall have the sole right to interpret the scriptures, and to whom men must give absolute obedience. For only thus can the unity which is desired be attained.

The Guardian is to be the Head, not only of a religious organization, but also of a World State, which will have supreme authority in every phase of human life. "Some form of a world super-state

must needs be evolved, in whose favor all the nations of the world will have willingly ceded every claim to make war, certain rights to impose taxation and all rights to maintain armaments, except for purposes of maintaining internal order within their respective dominions. Such a state will have to include within its orbit an International Executive adequate to enforce supreme and unchallengeable authority on every recalcitrant member of the commonwealth."

There will also be a World Parliament and a Supreme Tribunal. Thus a World Community will be created in which economic barriers, religious fanaticism, racial animosity will not exist, which will be governed by a single code of international law.

Mr. Stanwood Cobb, writing in *World Order* in April, 1937, takes us to the year 2001 A.D., and shows us the world as it has been reconstructed according to the Bahai plan—a wonderful Utopia, in which there is no war, no poverty, no illiteracy, and no religious division. He says, "This new and miraculous spiritual unity of the human race is the most important single factor in the creation of an effective, working unity of thought and action among the two billion people that inhabit the globe.

"The apex and keystone of this world structure is the institution of the Guardianship established by Baha'ullah as the focal point around which the world's thought and action revolve, creating a functional unity unassailable by the dispersive quality.

"This sane spiritual force of divine guidance and protection permeates to greater or less degree the functioning of the various legislative and administrative bodies—local, national, and international. In fact, a new type of government has sprung into being, combining the important elements of democracy, aristocracy, autocracy, and theocracy. . . . Permeating universally the ordering and functioning of this new government is the practice of collective turning to the Divine Ruler of the universe for guidance in the solution of all the difficult legislative and administrative problems." The Bahais feel the need of a Divine Ruler who sits on Caesar's throne, and that Ruler they believe to be Shoghi Efendi.

Is Bahatism an Independent Religion?

In his book, "Security for a Failing World", Mr. Cobb has a chapter on "Christianity and the New World Order", in which he discusses the relation of Bahatism to Christianity. "Does Bahatism supersede Christianity?" he asks. He replies that it does not. Its purpose is the same as that of Christianity, to establish the will of God upon earth. If the church can accomplish this end, Bahatism will rejoice. Becoming a Bahai does not necessitate separation from one's church. To a woman who asked, "What shall I do to

become a good Bahai?" Abdul-Baha replied, "Work in your church, be the best Christian you can be, and thus you will become a good Bahai".

The point of view expressed by Mr. Cobb in the above paragraph is not in accord with the pronouncement of the Guardian Shoghi Efendi, as published in the "Bahai World" (1934-1936, p. 200), which clearly indicates that Bahatism is a distinct religion, and that a Bahai should not retain his membership in his former church, synagogue or mosque. He says that formerly when the Bahai cause was just beginning to emerge, it was permitted for Bahais to keep their old religious connections. But now the situation has changed. Bahatism has become a separate world religion. "No Bahai", writes the Guardian, "who wishes to be a whole-hearted and sincere upholder of the distinguishing principles of the Cause can accept full membership in any non-Bahai ecclesiastical organization. . . . For it is only too obvious that in most of its fundamental assumptions the cause of Baha'ullah is completely at variance with outworn creeds, ceremonies and institutions".

Though we cannot agree that there is nothing in Christianity but "outworn creeds, ceremonies and institutions", we do heartily agree with Shoghi Efendi that it is impossible for one to be a Christian and a Bahai at the same time. As the Persians say, "two watermelons cannot be carried in one hand"! Anyone who understands what is involved in membership in the church of Christ, and who is informed regarding the teachings and organization of Bahatism, will recognize that the two systems are contradictory and that a Christian who wishes to accept Baha'ullah and his laws must give up his allegiance to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.

The National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahais of the United States and Canada, acting on this principle, sent a petition in the year 1934 to the United States Government requesting that Bahatism be recognized, and Bahais be exempted from military service. They said: "Our petition involves the claim that the Bahai Faith is an independent religion, not an off-shoot or mere creedal or ritualistic variation of any former religion. It stands upon the same spiritual foundation as Christianity, Judaism and all other recognized independent religions of history" (Bahai World, 1932-1934).

We hope, therefore, that in the future Bahais will desist from proclaiming their cause as the union of all religions, and will maintain their stand as "an independent religion", one of the numerous religions claiming the allegiance of mankind. And we also hope that they will realize that by forming a new independent religion today they have added to the religious confusion of the world, and have increased the religious strife which they so much deplore.

The Most Great Peace

One of the most important points in the Bahá'í program has been Peace. When in 1890 Professor Edward G. Browne went to Acre, Baha'ullah said to him, "These fruitless strifes, these ruinous wars shall pass away, and the 'Most Great Peace' shall come". For many years the followers of Baha'ullah in Iran have asked Christians to explain the meaning of the prophecy of the eleventh chapter of Isaiah. When Christians replied that this is a prophecy of Christ, the Prince of Peace, the Bahais would say, "But Christ did *not* bring peace on earth. Look at the wars which have occurred during the past two thousand years! No, this is a prophecy of Baha'ullah, who will actually bring wars to an end".

A half-century has passed since Baha'ullah uttered these words, and during this period two world wars have been fought. Where is the Most Great Peace that Baha'ullah was to have brought? He has not brought peace on earth any more than Christ did, and the Bahais find it necessary to change their interpretation.

"As we look at the world today," writes Shamaz Waite in *World Order* (April, 1936), "nation rising against nation, the great monster of war again appearing upon the horizon . . . these majestic and prophetic words of Baha'ullah, 'The Most Great Peace shall come', seem but a far-off dream and not a present reality. But, 'So it shall be', for . . . when a Prophet speaks the creative word, it is instantly accomplished in the inner plane, and no opposing power in the universe can obliterate it. Just how long it will be before it becomes apparent in the phenomenal world lies in the Will of God." And that is just what the Christian says about Christ's final triumph over sin and hatred. If Baha'ullah has been unable to accomplish any more toward World Peace than Christ accomplished, what has been gained by his coming?

Miss Waite says in the same article that the reason why all the elaborate machinery which men have set up for bringing about Peace has failed to produce any results is that the power that moves the universe is lacking—"the power of the love of God". "In all our great Peace Conferences and Peace Parleys, is it not strange", she asks, "that all mention of God is eliminated? All reference to the power of prayer ignored?" And then she says that it is to call men back to the love of God that Baha'ullah has been sent into the world. "He has left a plan so perfect, so all-inclusive, so adaptable to the solution of every need of man . . . that would men but stop all human effort, and study and apply the divine Plan for a New World Order, the 'Most Great Peace' would be an established and blessed fact."

But why will they not accept this? Because, says Miss Waite, "humanity needs new hearts". Yes, a spiritual renewal is necessary. The Bahai says that Baha'ullah is giving men new hearts. If he is, let us thank God. But we know that for the past nineteen hundred years Jesus Christ has been doing just that, and is still doing it in almost all lands today. And He, by His cross and resurrection, is able to exercise a life-giving power which no other prophet has ever possessed. What is needed is not a change of doctors, but a more faithful and earnest following out of the instructions of our Good Physician, Jesus Christ.

III. *Is Bahaiism Adequate to Meet the World's Need?*

As I have already indicated, there are elements in the Bahai teaching with which the Christian finds himself in full sympathy, and one cannot but admire the zeal and earnestness which some of the Bahais show in their service of the Cause. But admiration for certain aspects of the teaching or for certain devoted missionaries should not blind us to the nature of the system as a whole; and honesty requires us to state our conviction that the Bahai Faith is altogether inadequate to meet the deepest needs of men today. It is impossible in this article to do more than mention a few of the points at which Bahaiism fails to justify its claim to be the religion of all mankind for the coming one thousand years.

Bahaiism Fails to Take Sin Seriously.

In the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments sin is taken seriously. "Woe is me, for I am undone!" cries the Prophet, "because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips." "Have mercy upon me, O God!" prays the Psalmist. "Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned. . . . Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity and cleanse me from my sin." "All have sinned", writes the Apostle, "and come short of the glory of God. There is none righteous, no, not one." And Jesus taught men to pray the prayer of the publican, "God be merciful to me, a sinner!" But in the Bahai teaching sin is seldom mentioned. The evils of war, ignorance, poverty, prejudice, etc., are discussed, but Bahaiism has contented itself with an attack on the symptoms, and has failed to realize the seriousness of the disease. Occasionally, in the writings of Bahais who had a Christian background, one finds the statement that man needs a new heart, which is a distinctly Christian idea. But Baha'ullah, because of his pantheistic conceptions inherited from the Shaykhis in Persia, was unable to think of sin as being anything more than the absence of good, and he and Abdul-Baha largely ignored it in their writings. Nowhere in the Bahai literature have I found a statement regarding sin so penetrat-

ing as the following, which I discovered in a recent article in *The Muslim Review* of India:

"Sin is a tremendous fact. There is no excuse for sin. Sin is a transgression of God's commandments. Sin involves a degradation of the whole being, a debasement of the inner life, a prostitution of the moral powers. Sin is the expression of a perverted nature in whatever form it may reveal itself. A sinner is one who fails to manifest the character of God. In other words, whatever in our lives is not the result of the active exercise of faith in God, a faith which accepts Him as the Lord of our lives, is sin. Self is sin personified. Self-seeking is the all-inclusive sin. Selfishness is the very essence of sin. Self-idolatry lies at the foundation of all sin."

Bahatism Fails to Provide a Saviour

Failing to realize the seriousness of the disease, Bahatism has provided no adequate remedy. Baha'ullah and Abdul-Baha propose to reform men with laws and admonitions, but Paul discovered long ago that "by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified". Bahatism says that man needs an Educator (Morabbi), but fails to realize that before he can be trained, man needs to be *saved*. Isaiah foretold the coming of One who would be wounded for our transgressions and would take our sins upon Himself. John the Baptist introduced Jesus as "the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world". "He bore our sins in His own body on the tree", said the Apostle. And many another sinner during the past nineteen hundred years has found in Jesus forgiveness and cleansing and freedom from the power of sin. But in Bahatism there is no Gospel of salvation. What would a Bahai preacher say in a downtown Mission? The "Principles" which he proclaims would offer little help to a crowd of drunkards and outcasts. So far as I know, Bahais have never opened a Mission for the down-and-outs, and the reason is clear—they have no Saviour to offer to the slaves of sin. The rose-water of beautiful teachings will not wash out the stain—only the blood of the Lamb of God can do that. Nor will Bahatism ever be able to meet the deepest needs of great souls like Augustine, Bunyan, Wesley, and Alexander Whyte, who are close enough to the Holy God to be aware of their utter sinfulness, and long for reconciliation and complete sanctification.

Bahatism Keeps Men in Bondage to the Law.

The popular religion at the time of Christ was a religion of works, and devout men like the Pharisees tried to save themselves by keeping the Law. Christianity rejected legalism as a way of salvation, and set men free from bondage to the Law, offering them salvation through faith in the Saviour. And though the doctrine of salvation by works has appeared again and again in the Church,

it is contrary to the Gospel, and cannot be tolerated by a Christian. For the Christian keeps God's laws, not in order to save himself, but because he has been saved! Islam, however, reverted to legalism, demanding that men once more take on their necks the yoke of the law, from which Christ had set them free, and promising the joys of Paradise to those who kept the laws of Mohammed.

Bahatism, which is historically an off-shoot from Islam, retained the Islamic attitude toward Law. According to this teaching, every Prophet must have a code of laws, each more perfect than that which preceded it, and salvation is to be won by observing these precepts. As Moses gave a law to the people of his age, so Baha'ullah has given us the law for the modern world. This law, which is found in the various writings of Baha'ullah, particularly in the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* (Most Holy Book), is the most perfect standard of conduct ever revealed by God to man, and it is only through keeping these commandments that salvation can be attained. Baha'ullah and his followers fail to realize that the more perfect the law, the more impossible it is for sinful man to keep it, and the more hopeless man's situation becomes. If the Bahai law is the most perfect law (a claim which we do not admit), then Bahais are indeed "of all men most miserable", for like the Jews of old, they are condemned by the law in which they trusted, and they have no other way of salvation.

Bahatism Lacks the Power to Produce Fruit

A religion which sets forth the claim to be the universal religion for the world, must have more to commend it than beautiful phrases and noble principles. The tree must have not only leaves but fruit. I admit that all too often Christianity has resembled the tree which Christ destroyed because it had luxuriant foliage but no figs, yet every honest student of the history of society must admit that Christianity has many times demonstrated the truth of its claim to produce the fruit of noble living and loving service, and it is by our fruit that we would be known. I do not assert that no good fruit can be found on the tree of Bahatism, but I would suggest that the best fruit of which Bahatism boasts is not the natural product of its own roots, but what has been brought from elsewhere and artificially attached to the Bahai branches. To speak clearly, I find that the best things in Bahatism are taken directly from Christianity, or are brought into the new faith by Christian converts. Should Bahai missionaries go to Central Africa and work among pagans, I fear they would find their branches sadly lacking in fruit! But they do not go to Africa as doctors or teachers. Nor do they go to the needy people in America's slums

and neglected areas. The American Bahais report no hospitals or schools for the poor, except in Iran, where the Faith originated a century ago, and where the Persian Bahais are amply able to look after their own people. It is startling to read in the census statistics as given by the Bahais of America that whereas the property of the Bahai Temple in Chicago is worth more than a million dollars, the amount given in 1936 by the members of the Cause to charity was only \$281. Even if this figure is incorrect, we wish that the Bahais would show their "love" more in deed than in word, if they would win our confidence. How much more convincing a great medical mission in India or Tibet than a million-dollar Temple in Chicago, beautiful as the Mashriq-ul-Azkar may be!

Bahatism Permits but Prevents Investigation of Truth

One of the boasts of Bahatism is that it encourages the independent investigation of truth. Abdul-Baha, endeavoring to commend his teaching to people in the West who were worshipping at the shrine of Science, used terminology which would attract and make his religion seem up-to-date. Hence he spoke of freedom of religious investigation, as opposed to the blind following of tradition. But where is that freedom today? The Bahai leaders have made it impossible for their followers freely to investigate truth. First, they have made inaccessible some of the chief sources for a study of the Babi-Bahai religion. They have permitted their followers to go freely about the library, but before they entered they have removed from the shelves all the dangerous books! I have already described how the *Nuqtatu'l-Kaf* was destroyed, and the early history of the movement re-written, so as to minimize the position of the Bab, and to eliminate Subh-i-Azal from the picture, in order to exalt Baha'ullah. The statement of Dr. Browne is unfortunately true, when he said, "Of this much I am certain, that the more the Bahai doctrine spreads, especially outside Persia, and most of all in Europe and America, the more the true history and nature of the original Bahai movement is obscured and distorted." If Bahatism stands for investigation of truth, this should not be.

A no less serious failure to make possible a knowledge of the truth is the refusal of the Bahai leaders to translate the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* into English. It is the very heart of the Bahai scriptures, it is for Bahatism what the Koran is for Islam, and yet a half-century has passed since Baha'ullah's death, and it has not yet been translated from the original Arabic, which is almost as unintelligible in Iran as it is in America. How can American Bahais "investigate" their own religion if they cannot even read their principal Scripture? In his Will and Testament, Abdul-Baha commanded that the *Kitab-*

i-Aqdas be the rule of faith and practice for all Bahais. "Unto the Most Holy Book", he said, "everyone must turn." Has not the time come for some liberty-loving Bahai to publish this book in English?

But no loyal Bahai will do so, for there is no freedom of interpretation in this religion. Shoghi Efendi is the sole authoritative Interpreter of Scripture, and his followers have no right to interpret for themselves. They are content to believe the version of Bahai history which Shoghi Efendi teaches them, and they will patiently wait to read the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* till Shoghi Efendi sees fit to make an authorized version for them. But why does he delay?

Thus Bahatism makes impossible not only investigation of truth but all true freedom. The Bahai dream is of a totalitarian world order, in which the successor of Baha'ullah rules supreme. His will is law, and all thoughts and actions must conform to his desires. The individual can do nothing but submit in slavish obedience to the Guardian. Now the Christian holds that only God has the right to demand such obedience of men. If Shoghi Efendi claims to be divine, as did Baha'ullah, he might be justified in requiring such submission, and in that case, he would be a new Manifestation. But if he is man, and not God, how can he rightly demand absolute obedience and submission from other men?

Bahatism Dishonors Jesus Christ

The most serious charge which can be brought against Bahatism is that it has dishonored Him whom Bahais profess to love, the Lord Jesus Christ. Now when I say this I am well aware that there are many Bahais who have no desire to dishonor our Lord, and who are unaware of the fact that they are doing so. But the clear teaching of this Faith is that Jesus was *not* what the Bible represents Him to be—the only-begotten Son of God, the one Saviour of men—for it declares that Jesus was succeeded by a greater Prophet, namely, Mohammed, who brought a new spring-time to the world, and was for a period of twelve hundred years the Manifestation of God for all men. And Mohammed was succeeded by the Bab, and the Bab by Baha'ullah, the greatest Prophet of all, so that Bahatism bids its adherents give to others that glory and honor which belong to Christ alone. The Bahai interpretation of the Christian Scriptures is a misinterpretation, and while Bahais are at liberty to reject the Scriptures if they so desire they cannot honestly accept them only to distort their teaching beyond recognition. In Christian doctrine, Christ is the Head of all things, and in Him all things hold together, and He is the Beginning and the End. But Bahatism has attempted to push Him off the throne of the universe, and to put in His place in succession three others, all of whom, it is said, are greater than He. The Christian cannot for a

moment tolerate this disloyalty, and while steadfastly confessing the supremacy of Jesus Christ will earnestly and lovingly pray that the followers of Baha'ullah (Glory of God) may see more clearly the Light of the Knowledge of the Glory of God in the face of our Saviour, and may find in Him all that their hearts desire. For we are persuaded that when they know Him as He is they too will sing with us,

"Thou, O Christ, art all I want,
More than all in Thee I find."

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Teheran, Iran

WILLIAM MCE. MILLER.

* These books are available at the Foreign Missions Library, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hayy ben Yaqhdhan, roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofail: texte arabe avec les variantes des manuscrits et de plusieurs éditions, et traduction française. 2e édition revue, augmentée et complètement remaniée. Par Léon Gauthier. Beyrouth. Imprimerie catholique, 1936. 8vo. xxxiv, 193, 188.

This new edition of Gauthier's work on Ibn Ṭufail appears as the third volume in the *Publications de l'Institut d'Études orientales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger*. It is more than a new edition of the work of 1900, it is a new work. As in the 1900 edition the basic MS. for the Arabic text is the No. 2023 of the National Library of Algiers, but the text has been worked over in the light of much more MSS evidence and of the printed editions, and the translation has been entirely revised. The annotated translation is prefaced by an excellent Introduction, there are six Appendices elucidating several points of interest in the thought of Ibn Ṭufail, and there is an adequate Bibliography and elaborate Indices to both the French and the Arabic texts.

Ibn Ṭufail (the Abubacer of the Schoolmen) lived under the Almohades in Spain in the early part of the twelfth century. He was for some time personal physician to Abū Ya'qūb, the successor to Ibn Tumart, and it is said that it was he who in 1153 presented Ibn Rushd to this potentate. He seems to have held other official posts in the Court at Granada, but was much more interested in philosophy and letters than he was in the service of the State, and the main advantage he derived from his presence at Court was his access to the fine library that had been assembled there. He wrote little, being more interested in the enjoyment of letters and philosophy than in the hard labour of productive scholarship, so that he has been called, not without reason, the dilettante of the philosophers of the West. If he ever wrote the works on Medicine and Astronomy attributed to him, we at any rate know nothing of them. Some few poems of his, of mediocre value, have survived, but his fame rests on his philosophical romance *Ḥai b. Yaqṣān*.

This is the tale of a boy who grew up Robinson Crusoe fashion on an isle of his own. There are two theories as to how he got there. Some said that he was produced by spontaneous generation from the warm moist clay of the isle; but others said he was the son of a princess, who, to conceal his birth, had sent him off on the waters in a casket after the manner of the babe Moses, and the casket had been washed ashore on this isle. A gazelle who has lost her fawn finds him and suckles him and acts as a mother to him till he grows old enough to fend for himself. So he grows up the only human being on the isle, without a language save the cries he imitates from birds and animals, and with no one to instruct him save his natural

reason. He observes the plants and animals and birds around him, and the processes of nature as they unfold themselves before him, and he begins to think. He is much distressed that the animals have a natural covering to protect them and natural weapons of offense and defence, but he learns how to protect his body artificially, and how to use sticks in his hands as weapons in the place of the horns of animals. Soon he learns that his hands give him a great advantage over the animals, and his intelligence is greater than theirs, so that he can make himself superior to them. By accident he learns of fire and carefully preserves it, and by testing how different substances will burn in the fire he learns how to cook. Observation teaches him how to grow food stuffs, and how to build necessary shelter for himself against the changing seasons.

It is the death of the gazelle that sets him pondering deeper problems of life, and with sharp stones he opens her up to find the source of life. So he goes on observing, experimenting, reasoning, and bit by bit works out the whole Natural Philosophy, Physiology and Metaphysics of the Arab Schools of the twelfth century. The stages in his development are marked in periods of seven years. In his thirty-fifth year he passes from Philosophy to Theology, and in his fiftieth year, when he has completed the cycle of seven sevens, he attains to the Sūfi ecstasy, than which there is no higher knowledge.

Now on a near-by island there is a community of people living the ordinary life of human society, with its conventions, its pleasures, its religious life consisting in outward restraints and observances. In this society, however, are two men, Salāmān and Asāl, who rise out of the vulgar crowd and attain to wisdom. Salāmān, being of a practical nature, uses his wisdom to become the ruler of the people, but Asāl, being contemplative, goes off to the isle he sees nearby, and which he thinks to be uninhabited, to devote himself to speculative thought and ascetic practice. On the isle he, of course, finds Hai b. Yaqzān, teaches him human speech, compares notes with him, and discovers that by the mere exercise of natural reason he has reached the same philosophy as that prevalent in civilized society. Hai, moreover, is able to explain to Asāl the theological verities which underlie the religious restraints and observances in use in human society. Learning that the people on the island do not know about this, he burns with zeal to go and tell them about it, but with a little experience he is quickly disillusioned, and decides that sensuous religious observances are best for the generality of mankind, for only the elect few can appreciate the inner meanings.

The story is of no little interest as giving a picture of the speculative thought of the Arab Schools in the West early in the twelfth century, a picture where the attentive reader is continually noticing the Aristotelian background showing through. It was not original with Ibn Ṭufail. The names of his characters he had got from Ibn Sīnā', and the main features of the story were familiar long before his time in the famous tale of "Alexander and the Story of the Idol." M. Gauthier, however, is at pains to point out that Ibn Ṭufail's originality is shown in the way he uses this older tale as the vehicle for his own particular purpose. His treatment of it became very popular and it has been many times translated. In the four-

teenth century Moses of Narbonne used a Hebrew translation of it as the basis of his commentary. Pococke translated it into Latin, and versions of Pococke's Latin have appeared in English, German and Dutch. Direct translations from the Arabic have also been made into Spanish, English, French and Russian. The most famous English translation is doubtless that of Simon Ockley, first made in 1708, and reissued with an Introduction by A. S. Fulton as late as 1929 in the *Treasure House of Eastern Story*. Gauthier's translation, however, is a great improvement on anything we have had so far, and his notes to the translation, particularly those relating to Hellenistic sources and to the treatment of problems in other Arab philosophers, provide a wealth of material for the student and much stimulating discussion.

*Columbia University,
New York City.*

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Studia Arabica I: By Fr. Rosenthal, G. von Grünebaum, W. J. Fischel. Roma, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1937. 4to. pp. vi, 82.

This thin volume forms No. 14 of the *Analecta Orientalia: Commentationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui* issued by the Pontifical Biblical Institute at Rome. Hitherto the *Analecta* have dealt mainly with Sumerian matters and Assyriology, but the editor of the series, Alfred Pohl, in his Foreword to this volume, says that it initiates the introduction into the series of Arabic and Egyptological interests. For Arabic studies it is a good introduction, for it contains three essays, all by younger scholars. Franz Rosenthal discusses Autobiography as a literary form in Arabic; Gustav von Grünebaum deals with a 10th century poetical polemic between Byzantium and Baghdad, and Walter J. Fischel studies a group of merchants engaged in the Egyptian trade during the Mameluke period.

The great emphasis laid by Islam on Tradition necessarily introduced an autobiographical note into Muslim Arabic literature at an early date, for the personal witness was essential to the Tradition, the witness having to testify where he was, what he was doing, at what time and under what circumstances he heard the Prophet or the Companions saying, or saw them doing or not doing, thus and so. It may be objected that this is hardly formal autobiography, but it introduces the principle, and it is not long ere we find among the Sūfīs the formal "Selbstbiographie," where, as in the famous "Confessions" of al-Ghazzālī, the Sūfī tells us of the struggles of his inner life. Dr. Rosenthal begins, however, with another field, that of the scientists, where we have not a few autobiographies, and he suggests that these were not uninfluenced by Greek and Iranian prototypes, such as the Life of Galen, and that of the Persian physician Burzōê, both of which had been translated into Arabic.

He also points out the curious fact that in Muslim autobiographies the interest generally is less in the personality itself than in the things with which the life is associated. Thus in the cases of al-Muhāsibī and al-Ghazzālī the major interest is in the Šūfī experiences, in that of Ibn Riḍwān it is in the medical controversies of his day, in that of

ash-Sha'rānī in the wonder tales of the pious. There were few works written consciously as independent biographies, even Usāma's Memoirs which present us such a rich harvest of information about the earliest Crusading period being more interested in the events of the time than in the person of Usāma. Most of the autobiographies which have come down to us form part of, and generally an incidental part of, some larger work, given, as it were, to let the reader know who the author is—as 'Umārah al-Ḥakamī in his *an-Nukat al-ʿAṣrīya* naïvely expresses it; "Some reader will say, You have told us much about others, but who are you?"

In the second contribution, Dr. von Grünebaum edits from a MS. in the Vienna National Library, and translates with commentary, the Arabic text of two poems purporting to be a threatening epistle addressed by the Byzantine Nicephorus Phocas (963-969) to the Caliph al-Muṭī' (946-974) at Baghdād, and the official answer from the Muslim court, written by the Shāfi'ī savant Muḥammad al-Qaffāl ash-Shāshī (d. 976). The Emperor boasts of the strength and valour of his soldiers and threatens that he will come even to Mecca to wrest it from the Muslims, and throughout the East will exalt the honour of the Christian Empire. The Sheikh in reply has little respect for the Emperor or the Empire, and predicts that it is the Muslims, on the contrary, who will come and occupy Constantinople. Readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD will be interested to note that in v. 95 he refers to the Gospel making mention of Muḥammad as the *Farāqlit*. The translator has succeeded remarkably in preserving the spirit of the original in his translation.

There are many unsolved problems in the economic history of the Mameluke period in Egypt, and one of them is that of the Kārīmī merchants who dealt in the spice trade between Egypt and Yemen. Besides importing Indian spices through Yemen, they seem to have engaged in banking, and Dr. Fischel assembles the notices we have of them in Arabic literature to illustrate their economic, social and even political importance.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

La Civilisation arabe en Espagne; vue générale. Par E. Lévi Provençal. Le Caire, 1938. 8vo. pp. 208. (No publisher's imprint.)

This small but extremely useful volume contains the three public lectures which the author delivered at Cairo in March, 1938, under the auspices of the Faculty of Letters of the Egyptian University. For many years now M. Lévi Provençal has been producing monographs of a specialist nature on a number of problems connected with the Islamic period of Spanish history, and there are probably few students unacquainted with his *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne* (1931) or his *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle* (1932), while his text and translation of the *Rawḍ al-Mi'tār* of al-Ḥimyarī, which contains so much material of value on the Iberian peninsula in the Middle Ages, was published by the De Goeje Stiftung in 1938. These lectures are intended to give in a popular way a glimpse of the new standpoint in these studies that has resulted from the work of recent investigation.

Students have for long turned to the monumental works of Dozy, both to his *Histoire* and to his *Recherches*, and they will still have to

turn to them, for they remain works of fundamental importance. But a lot of new material has accumulated since 1861, new documents have come to light, and much research has been done on points of individual interest, so that Dozy's statements in many cases are no longer adequate, and indeed, on not a few points the judgments he based on such evidence as was available to him at the time, are now, in the light of our modern knowledge, seen to be positively misleading. Spanish and French scholars have been particularly active in this field, and in recent years it has proved itself one of the most rewarding fields of Islamic study.

As an introduction to the study of Muslim Spain, as now conceived, one could not desire a better statement than this. Perhaps the author is a little over-enthusiastic about the value of the contributions of this period of Spanish history, but in an introductory study that is not a bad fault. The three lectures cover—(i) *L'Occident musulman et la civilisation arabe hispanique*; (ii) *L'Orient musulman et la civilisation arabe hispanique*; (iii) *L'Espagne chrétienne et la civilisation arabe hispanique*,—placing this civilization of Muslim Spain in its setting in the Muslim empire of the West, then in the more extensive Muslim empire of the Orient, to which it formed a sort of Western appendix, and studying the mutual influence of Muslim and Christian cultures on each other as they dwelt for so long side by side in Spain.

There is a good Bibliography, particularly of more recent works, and at the end a chronological table of twenty-eight pages, in which the dates of important political events and those of events important in the cultural, social and monumental history face one another on opposite pages, a Table which in itself is worth the price of the book. The volume has been carefully printed at the press of the Institut français d'Archéologie orientale at Cairo, which has turned out a piece of work that might well serve as a model of what such printing should be.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

La Divinità di Cristo e la Dottrina della Trinità in Maometto e nei Polemisti musulmani. Di Mons. Ignazio di Matteo. Roma, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1938. 8vo. pp. 85.

This thin volume, which appears as No. 8 of the *Biblica et Orientalia Series (Sacra Scriptura Antiquitatibus Orientalibus illustrata)* of the Pontifical Biblical Institute at Rome, contains what is in some sense a continuation of the studies published by Dr. di Matteo in *Bessarione* in 1922 and 1923 on the Muslim polemic against the Christian Scriptures.

In this study he takes up independently the two questions of the Divinity of Christ and the Trinity, setting forth first the Qur'anic teaching on these doctrines, with his theory of what Muḥammad actually taught concerning them, and then discussing, with copious quotations from their works, the arguments of the chief Muslim polemical writers against these Christian doctrines.

With regard to the Divinity of Christ he seeks to prove that Muḥammad himself did not deny it, and that its denial by the theologians and polemical writers of Islam is due to their not having rightly understood the teaching of the Qur'an on this point. His

claim is that Muḥammad at no time denied that Christ was God, only that He was the Son of God, and that by explicitly stating that Jesus was the Word of God, he was admitting His essential divinity. It is very doubtful if any modern scholars will follow him in this contention. Muḥammad did, indeed, use concerning Christ expressions that he had heard used among Christians in his early environment, but surely the whole teaching of the Qur'ān excludes any admission of the divinity of Christ.

In treating of the polemical writers the author takes them chronologically, from the ninth century to the nineteenth, and considers only orthodox Muslim writers, not writers of the modern mushroom sects, who have been greatly influenced by modern Western education. This part of his work is exceedingly valuable, for some of the writings he uses are difficult of access, and he has unusual skill in setting out their argument clearly and concisely; whereas their own writings are generally diffuse and ill-arranged, so that the student often has great difficulty in following their line of reasoning. The writers whom he considers are: al-Hāshimī (c. 844) with whom al-Kindī held controversy; al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 860) the Zaidite savant; Jāhīz the goggle-eyed rationalist of Baṣra (d. 869); al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb of the 10th century; the Zāhirite Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) of Cordova; the Heresiologist ash-Shahraṣṭānī (d. 1153); al-Qarāfī, known as aṣ-Ṣinhājī (d. 1286); Ibn Taimiyya (d. 1327) the Ḥanbalite theologian, whose works have recently come into renewed prominence through the Wahhābī movement; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1350) the most noteworthy pupil of Ibn Taimiyya; at-Tarjumān (c. 1420) the Christian of Majorca, who became a Muslim; al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442) the well-known author of the *Khīṭaṭ*; Abū'l-Faḍl (c. 1535) the author of the *Muntakhab*; Raḥmatallah al-Hindī (c. 1854) who wrote the *Izhār al-Ḥaqq* in reply to Dr. Pfander; and the almost contemporary writers, the Shī'ite an-Najafī of Sidon; al-Baghdādī, the author of the *Farq*; and that Muḥammad b. 'Alī whose tractate was printed on the margin of the *Izhār al-Ḥaqq*.

It is a simple matter to show the inadequacies of these polemical treatments of the subjects under discussion, but unfortunately Mgr. di Matteo has not gone very far in indicating how the arguments may be met. It is not difficult to show that these writers have not understood the Christian position, and often attribute to the Christians views that no Christian group known to us has ever held, but our problem is to discover how the Christian position can be put in a way that they will not misunderstand. Mgr. di Matteo of course assumes the Roman Catholic dogmatic position on these points at issue, and occasionally his form of statement will make a Protestant raise his eyebrows, but in general we can follow him so far as he goes, and would wish that he had gone further in the formulation of a Christian presentation that would adequately meet the problems raised in the Muslim polemic.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Raison et Foi en Islam. Par Louis Gardet. Paris, 1938. 8vo. pp. 36.
[Extrait de la *Revue Thomiste* d'avril, 1938.]

Two earlier chapters of Père Gardet's essay have already been

noticed in the pages of *THE MOSLEM WORLD* (Vol. xxviii, pp. 408f.). The present section, which is chapter IV of the whole, concludes the study. It is concerned with the orthodox Islamic solution of the problem of faith and reason, and in particular with the thought of al-Ghazzālī. The problem is one of particular interest, for it marks one of the great weaknesses in Muslim dogmatic theology. The Hashwiya rejected reason altogether and would base theology on Tradition alone. The Mu'tazila would reject Tradition, and then build a theology on reason, working through the Aristotelian dialectic. The Ash'arites, who became the standard of orthodoxy, were dissatisfied with this rationalism, but would interpret by the processes of reason that which is given in Tradition. In this al-Ghazzālī is an Ash'arite, but his thought swings perpetually between the supremacy of reason, which he had learned from his association with the philosophers, and the acceptance of revealed truth, which, according to orthodox Islam, cannot be contrary to reason. Where there is no statement of revelation to settle a point under discussion we see him building his system by the same processes of reasoning as we find in the philosophers. Where revelation has settled a question by a definite statement, we find him arguing for a super-rational knowledge, attainable only by prophets—a conception that appeals particularly to him because of his experience of Ṣūfī ecstasy.

This is but a brief study, but it is based on a masterly acquaintance with the original texts and a wide reading of the best modern literature, and deserves the earnest attention of all students interested in the development of Muslim dogmatics.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Quelques aspects de la pensée avicennienne dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie musulmane. Par Louis Gardet. Paris, 1939. [Extrait de la *Revue Thomiste*, juillet-sept. pp. 537-575; oct.-déc. pp. 693-742.]

Orthodox Islam has always looked askance at both the philosophers and the Ṣūfīs. For this, orthodoxy has every justification, for, to the Western scholar at any rate, the systems both of the *falāsifa* and of the Ṣūfīs seem utterly incompatible with that of Islamic orthodoxy. Yet both philosophers and Ṣūfīs have striven hard to prove to the world of Islam that they are orthodox. The most striking thing about al-Kalābādhi's *Kitāb at-Ta'arruf* is the amount of space the author takes and the energy he uses in endeavoring to show how really orthodox the Ṣūfīs are in spite of the peculiarities of their system. Ibn Sinā' (Avicenna) as a representative of the philosophers, also had his troubles with orthodoxy, and in numerous passages in his works replies to the charges that the system of the philosophers was in contradiction with that of orthodox Islam. This is the problem Père Gardet tackles in this essay. The three grave charges levelled against the philosophers were that (i) they denied the doctrine of creation, or at least a special creation, teaching rather an eternal creation; (ii) they denied that the Divine could have knowledge of particulars, His knowledge being of the whole; (iii) they denied the doctrine of the hereafter. In each case Ibn Sinā' makes out a case for the orthodoxy of the philosophers, but only by interpreting these orthodox doctrines in a very peculiar way. Père

Gardet, with a wealth of illustration and great critical insight examines the way in which Ibn Sīnā' makes his peace with orthodoxy, giving us a very clear, well documented study, which is a distinct contribution to our all too scanty literature on the development of Muslim thought.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Le Serment du Prophète. Par Mme. Jeanne Aubert, Paris, Geuthner, 1938. 8vo. pp. 112, (with ten pages of facsimiles and a sketch map).

The discovery of a packet of old papers which had apparently belonged to a French officer attached to Napoleon's expedition to Egypt, was the cause of this volume. The most important item among the documents was a copy of the famous "Oath of the Prophet," a document which the monks of Mt. Sinai, as late as December, 1937, quoted to the Egyptian Finance Minister of that time, Makram Obaid Pasha, as their title to exemption from the new taxation proposed by the Egyptian Government. This "Oath of the Prophet," as is well enough known, has no claim whatever to its pretended origin, but a note appended to the copy that turned up in these old papers stating that only three copies of it were known to exist, has led Mme. Aubert to publish a French version of it, preceded and followed by historical disquisitions ranging from Nebuchadrezzar to Napoleon. This historical material is for the most part quite worthless, and its grade of scholarship may be illustrated from such gems as that on p. 42, where we are informed that the word *Pascha* (the Easter word) in Hebrew means "passage," and is a reminiscence of the passage of the Red Sea under Moses. The latter part of the book, however, contains some documents concerning the Napoleonic expedition in Egypt which are of some interest. The facsimiles are on a reduced scale, and the reviewer, at least, found them so small that the reading of them imposed too heavy a strain on the eyes.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Adventuring with Anatolia College. By George E. White, D.D., LL.D. Grinnell, Iowa: Herald-Register Publishing Company, 1940. pp. 199, 8 pp. illustrations. \$1.00.

In 1890 Dr. White joined the staff of the recently organized Anatolia College at Merzifoun in north-central Anatolia. He became the second president of the college (1913-33) and led it through many tribulations to ultimate rehabilitation at Thessaloniki, Greece. To the vivid story of his experiences he adds articles on "The Armenian Problem" and "Turkey Faces West."

Dr. White studied Arabo-Turkish when many missionaries did not. He entertained Turkish callers, and "went frequently to mosque services." He can add that "the preachers would habitually discuss their sermons with me in talks before or after preaching," and gives examples from their sermons, also a firsthand description of Rufa'i dervish practices. Muslim students were rare in the college before 1908 and the "change in public spirit." Thereafter a Turkish teacher and one Turkish graduate are recorded, with twenty Muslim students in attendance the year before the war. The college gave them a room for a *masjid* and facilities for attending Friday *namaz*.

Despite all this interest, intimacy and good will, the influence of

the college upon the Muslim population was limited. Explanations given are orders from the Turkish authorities, at first, that "no young Moslem was to attend a Christian school." Later there was misapprehension as to the treatment of Muslim students by the college. There was feeling against an American and Christian institution. Racial antagonisms and political suspicions played their part. All of this may be said to have been in the nature of the case in the Near East.

Contrastingly, it may be asserted that this and other Christian colleges in Turkey did exercise a deep and pervasive though unobtrusive influence among Muslims. Impressive facts, indeed, may be adduced in support of this contention. Yet a fundamental hindrance must be recognized in the unsolved problems of spiritual understanding, approach and adjustment characteristic of Christian-Muslim relations. Constructive treatment of these religious problems is essential to any large degree of influence by a Christian college in a Muslim environment. They call insistently for solution today wherever there is a Christian institution in a Muslim country.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

J. E. MERRILL.

Garlands from Hafiz. By Henry Bertram Lister. San Francisco, La Bohème Club, 1939.

This little volume contains twenty-one short renderings from Hafiz. It has been printed by the author on a hand press, and is published by the La Bohème Club of San Francisco in an edition limited to 65 numbered and autographed copies. The book will appeal most to collectors who specialize in translations of Hafiz regardless of their linguistic accuracy as translation or effectiveness as English verse.

The melancholy sense of the transitoriness of life and the wisdom of plucking each wayside flower is the dominant mood of most translations from the Near East. Although there are poems which prove to be exceptions, it would seem that those translated have been chosen mainly to augment the note struck by Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyam*. Of course this is not the most important lesson the East has taught the West; but it apparently is the one that has most deeply appealed to sensitive lyric poets. The publication of Mr. Lister's little book clearly indicates that, although it is more than a century since the West discovered them, Near Eastern poets like Hafiz have by no means lost their Western audiences.

*Columbia University,
New York City.*

ARTHUR CHRISTY.

Mohammed. By D. S. Margoliouth. Glasgow, Blackie & Son, 1939. pp. 151, including an index. 5s.

This little book offers an account of what Mohammed *taught*. The author, the late Dr. Margoliouth of Oxford (he died on March 23, 1940), has been long and favorably known among Semitic and Islamic scholars for weightier volumes, including one on Mohammed as man, prophet, legislator, etc. This comparatively small work, intended to be widely read, exhibits the great learning characteristic of the author's notable career, and is assured an at least equally high

rank with other volumes in this new series "What Did They Teach?" It is not a mere reproduction of portions of the author's previous exposition of Mohammed's life, and it relies more exclusively upon the Koran with reference to the "teachings." Margoliouth had been severely criticised on the ground of many of the data used in portraying the Life, had been challenged on his use of references and parallels which the challenger declared not to be cogent. The book on teaching is not subject to the pertinent criticism directed against much biographical writing. In this case the Koran, which the author thinks Mohammed himself may have written, is the chief if not the only real basis of exposition (p. 13), and he warns us that "we should not expect complete consistency of teaching" (p. 14).

The six chapters discuss the Record, the Spiritual World, Cosmology and Anthropology, Ethics, Eschatology, and pre-Islamic History. The author has taken account of chronology, as, for example, in his dealing with "abrogated" passages and other inconsistencies, and with other "differences due to the period of communication" of the teachings (p. 17). He minimizes the value of dates, however, in fields other than the ethical. He is disposed to adhere to the view which allots much more to the Meccan period than many scholars would now grant (the bulk of the teaching, after all, is Madinan). He does not say whether inconsistencies are due to Mohammed's own confusion of thought, or to derangements or defects in the text, although he leaves somewhat open the problem of textual accuracy (cf. p. 98).

Taking as "the Prophet's teaching" "whatever is actually in the Qur'an" (p. 24), he finds "predestination the dominating doctrine,"—a doctrine applied in Islam to rich and poor alike. Belief in the Last Day is also "a cardinal doctrine." Some direct connection with the Koran is allowed by our author to Shi'ite and Sufi (cf. p. 115), and he finds "the middle course" or "moderation in all things" included within the scope of the Koran (p. 84), along with "the possibility of transmigration" (p. 117). The chapter on pre-Islamic history might well have been omitted, being somewhat too technical for such a volume, or else treated more lightly in its purpose to account for some of the Prophet's ideas. No new light is offered anywhere in the book on, for example, the origin of "Allah," the meaning of "hanif," etc. The volume is none the less valuable, authoritative, handy and readable.

*Yale University,
New Haven, Conn.*

JOHN CLARK ARCHER.

The Decline of the Saljūqid Empire. With an introduction by Sir Edward Denison Ross. By Sanallah Mawlawi Fāḍil. University of Calcutta, 1938. pp. xxxviii plus 150.

An enthusiastic introduction to this volume provided by E. Denison Ross would lead one to expect a work of first-rate importance. The present reviewer was disappointed. The study "aims at presenting for the first time a critical history of a period hitherto known only in general outline, and at isolating the features which marked the political life of the Eastern Islamic world during this period." The period under consideration is that of the reigns of Maḥmūd,

Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad, sons of Malikshāh, between the years 1092 and 1117 A.D. The subject matter is divided into two principal sections, the institutions of the Seljūq Empire, and a survey of the political history. Unfortunately neither the first part, which includes chapters on the court, the constitution of the armed forces, civil administration, etc., nor the second, contains much more illuminating than a fairly literal translation of Ibn al-Athīr's chronicles. Other authorities are cited, but there is practically no critical examination of the source material nor is there anything but the most superficial analysis of the institutions discussed. The work will perhaps be found useful as a translated summary of the political events of the period.

In the matter of editing, this reviewer feels that attention must be drawn to the really extraordinary carelessness evident throughout the volume. A few typical examples will suffice: Ibn-ul Athīr (p. xvi). Ibn-al-Athīr (p. xvii), Ibnul Athīr (p. xx), Ibn al-Athīr (p. xxv), and Ibn al-Athīr (p. 18). Or Ismail, Isma-'il, Ismail, Isma'il (all on p. 11), and Isma'il (p. 12). But for whimsies of this sort nothing surely can excel the varied guise of a word for which we have a perfectly good English version (vizier): wazīr, wazīr (p. 59), wāzīr (p. 66), wazīr and wazir (p. 83). A typical page of the bibliography (p. 140) has, by actual count, seventeen errors in spelling and punctuation. The index would be more useful if it were complete: there are only five references in the index to Rayy, but the reviewer found eight other places in the text where the city is mentioned (pp. 51, 54, 62, 81, 94, 107, 110, 111). These and numerous other instances of negligence might perhaps be overlooked if the substance of the work were of greater weight.

*Princeton University,
Princeton, N. J.*

GEORGE C. MILES.

Buddha, Muhammed, Jesus, en bok om världsreligionernas tillblivelse.
By Efraim Briem. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerups Förlag, 1938.

Professor Dr. Briem's volume of 282 pages, is a scientific but popular and most interesting contribution to the inner understanding of Buddha, Muhammed and Jesus and their teaching. The author's endeavor has been to give an authentic view of the latest scientific researches into the life and work of these great teachers, who in relation to religion have been of more importance than any other human beings on earth. By placing them side by side in his investigations he has aimed at throwing light upon what is typical for each of them. And the result is clear and enlightening. The comparisons drawn between the three show how Jesus, even looked upon from an objective scientific standpoint, holds a special place in the way of religion by the position he has given himself in the history of the divine revelation.

The author has obviously gone to his task in the humble spirit of a true scholar, who is well aware of the fact that we in dealing with religious problems always "know in part and prophesy in part." And that is why the reader can trustingly follow him as an able and prudent guide.

It would be of little use to enter into details of the contents.

Only this much is to be said, that the author without omission of anything in favor of either Buddha or Muhammed, has presented Jesus with an admirably deep and clear understanding as to the glorious aspect of how He in every respect stands aloft above everybody else, like a mountain that rises over the hills of the plain.

It is only to be regretted that a work of this standard has not been translated into a more generally known language than the Swedish, in order to bring its valuable contents within easier reach of English, French and German readers.

Lund, Sweden.

G. RAQUETTE.

Land Without Laughter. By Ahmad Kamal. New York, Scribners, 1940. pp. 346. \$3.00.

Ahmad Kamal may well write as he pleases, for few if any representatives of our western culture have penetrated to Central Asia, and therefore it is difficult to check, correct or supplement his narrative. Born of Turkoman ancestry, but in the U. S. A., Kamal determined to visit the land of his forbears, presumably as an amateur anthropologist. His trek took him via Japan and India and across the Karakoram Mts. in December with the temperature—36°. After this, he plunged into adventures that read like and almost rival those of other famous Near Eastern travellers—Sinbad the Sailor and Haji Baba of Ispahan—except that the light opera humor is missing.

The purpose of his book is compressed into a single sentence, "Instead of Tartar Skull measurements, I have attempted to preserve for all peoples and time, their souls."

It is a grim story—every few pages being punctuated with death—by frost, robbers, war, mutiny and the firing squad. To complete the list of horrors, the experiences one "enjoys" in a Soviet political prison for four months, ornament many pages. What little humor there is is brutal. Life is cheap and the only contributions that our western cultures have made, seem to be those of tools of war: the revolver, rifle, machine gun, and at long last, the bombing plane, now added to the seven pound scimitar of the Tartar. In this welter of blood and iron, Kamal incidentally mentions that he spent some pleasant hours in the home of Swedish missionaries in Yarkand, and though there are long and detailed descriptions of British agents, or of Russian commissars, only two lines (and those to describe the delicious food) are devoted to these heroes of healing, education and service. Yet the courage and suffering of these missionaries have been no less than his own, and in their spirit lies the one hope for controlling the primitive passions described in the rest of the book.

The habits of the people in their folk ways largely resemble those of Muslims in other parts of the world. Islam has stamped upon its followers a cultural stamp that identifies them from China to Gibraltar. His descriptions are rather dramatic and interesting.

The transliteration of Arabic and Persian words seems strange. The Creed is given as ending "Mohammed rasool Ullah" where the usual one is "wa Mohammedar rasool Ullah." The definite article is often incomplete, *e.g.*, "Peace with you" is given "A-salaam ali Qum." To give Latin equivalents the Arabic usually appears as "As-salaam ala (y) Q(k)um." Heaven is written "Beist" for the

Persian "Behisht," etc. These are very minor points and have nothing to do with the "soul of a people."

It seems incredible that one man should experience so much in one year. At times, the reader thinks the book must be a novel rather than a history. But novel or history, "Land Without Laughter" well interprets the almost unknown peoples of Central Asia, and is exciting reading.

*Columbia University,
New York City.*

EDWIN M. WRIGHT.

Syria, as it Is. By Helen Cameron Gordon (Lady Russell). London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1939. pp. 211. 10s. 6d.

One who reads "Syria, As It Is" finds himself sharing the eager anticipation with which the author approaches Syria after an absence of fifteen years. It is almost as if the writer were meeting an old friend after a long separation. She is keenly aware, at first, of the surface changes which have taken place during the intervening years; and she finds that the transitions have been so rapid and so revolutionary that she sees "a whirl of puzzling contrasts in its towns." But as the strangeness wears off, she realizes that Syria is, after all, very much as she had known it before, and that it yet holds for her the same absorbing interest and indefinable charm as on her former visit.

This feeling which she has for the country and the impression which it has made upon her, she seeks to convey to her readers. Her real purpose seems to be to create an atmosphere and to reveal what might be called the "personality" of the country, rather than to inform or to describe. She endeavors to accomplish this aim by taking the reader, unhurriedly, through the land, visiting the chief points of interest, and pausing long enough to record the historical facts, to relate the traditions, and to picture the scenes and the people that contribute to the creation of the desired impression. Numerous excellent photogravures and three interesting maps add much to the fulfillment of the purpose of the book.

The author makes the necessary distinction between the use of the name "Syria" as she employs it in the title of the book and the present more restricted use for the Republic of Syria. Several inaccuracies of statement occur, however, in the pages of the book; and certain inconsistencies in the transliteration of Arabic words are apparent to the reader who is familiar with the Arabic language. But in spite of these inaccuracies, the author undoubtedly accomplishes what she sets out to do in making the reader feel the charm, the interest, and the importance of "Syria, as it is." Moreover, the reader obtains from the book a better understanding of the future potentialities of the country and of the reasons why great nations of the present day might covet this small country, even though it is, as Pierre Bonardi said, "a weapon bristling with sharp edges . . . no one knows how to handle."

Hartford, Conn.

LOIS C. WILSON.

Social Relations in the Near East. By Stuart Carter Dodd, Ph.D., and Assistants. Beirut, Lebanon, American Press, 1940. pp. 790.

Published while millions of Germans are aiding their leader in

his endeavor to turn the views expressed in *Mein Kampf* into realities, this book approaches the complicated Near Eastern situation with scientific objectivity, nicely balanced with a consideration of the people, their social organizations, their values and the future. This 800-page tome, "a textbook in citizenship prepared for the Freshmen at the American University of Beirut," can be visualized by one who understands the make-up of the student body of Beirut as a literary milestone in the evolution of the Near East of the future.

The book gives a clear presentation of the essential concepts used in the social sciences with illustrative material drawn largely from Near-Eastern sources. The material is of many forms: maps, tables, photographs, graphs, biographies, and a series of thought-provoking "projects" at the end of each chapter. It is presented with delightful impartiality: after reading the biographies of Moses, Jesus and Mohammed, one is convinced that they were *all* great seers and fearless men. Each chapter adds to the conviction that since the Near East of tomorrow will draw upon the accomplishments of all the present culture groups, and not one alone, there is much to be said for inter-cultural cooperation today.

The theme of the book "is simply that social relations are seen as (a) constantly changing, whether slowly or rapidly; (b) never perfect; and (c) needing therefore to be studied with a view towards controlling them in whatever ways the people concerned wish to have them controlled." Such a theme requires honest thinking by the students, and Professor Dodd and his assistants have combined sympathetic insight, good literary style, and numerous pedagogical devices to bring it about. This is a difficult task where many of the Freshmen have been brought up in the tradition "that the business of the student is to memorize."

A misleading aspect of the book is the reference in the subtitle to Freshmen. Sections are elementary, to be sure, but other parts, such as the chapters on Bedouins and on Village Life, are excellent; while chapter 38, "Social Processes and Forces," contains a stiff description of the author's interesting attempt to reduce the social processes to formulae permitting quantitative analysis and statistical comparison.

The book should be read, in part at least, by all Christians planning to work among Muslims. It also has a place in Sociology courses in the United States, where it will certainly disabuse any who imagine the academic standards of the American University of Beirut to be low.

Hartford, Conn.

JOSEPH VAN VLECK.

Minaret and Pipe-Line Yesterday and To-day in the Near East.

By Margaret Boveri. Translated from the German by Louisa Marie Sieveking. Oxford University Press, New York, 1939. pp. 422. \$5.

Under this rather fantastic but ambitious title and subtitle a German traveller reports on the history and present-day development of the Near East. She has written an earlier volume of travel, "Mediterranean Cross Currents," which had favorable reception.

The present work deals with events up to the end of 1938 but the author is aware of changes that may take place because of the present war. Speaking of the entire Near East she writes in the

Introduction: "Shall they take sides with the authoritarian Powers or with the Western democracies? The answer to this question may depend partly upon the trend of Near Eastern politics. If Turkey takes one side, perhaps Iraq may find it expedient to take the other. The most important consideration, however, in the eyes of all these States is the answer to the question: which of the two combinations will prove the stronger? Throughout the summer and autumn of 1938 the scales fell in favor of the democracies and, above all, in that of England. The events of the spring of 1939 may have tended to alter the balance. Only when these grave questions are decided, or if a lasting peace seems assured, will forces that today still lie hidden have the freedom to evolve and to hasten forward the development of the Near Eastern countries. Only then will it be possible to say whither the Near East is tending."

So we have practically a German view of the importance and future of these lands. Her kaleidoscopic method, intermixing history with personal narrative, leads to numerous mis-statements and her knowledge of Arabic and Persian is too scant for a satisfactory *glossary* of eighteen pages of familiar words in these languages. One-half of the book deals with the situation before the close of the World War. The other half with post-war imperialism and present-day nationalism. The account given of the Christian Churches and Moslem sects is well written and the analytical table of the divisions of the Christian minorities unique and valuable. We agree with a criticism of the book by Kenneth Williams in *Great Britain and the East*: "Her horizons are wide indeed, but her vision is superficial and emphatically her judgment is not to be trusted. . . . But it is in her chapter on 'The Arabic World' that she will most consistently misdirect the uninformed reader. She says that the Hussein-Mac Mahon letters were exchanged in 1916, that the Arabic and Hebrew (*sic*) versions of the 'Faisal-Weizmann agreement' contradict each other, that Sir Henry Dobbs who so stoutly defended the establishment of police posts in the Iraq desert 'possibly did not know of the existence of the Protocol of Uquair,' that the Sultan of Mukalla asked for an adviser in Saiyun, the capital of the other chief Sultan of the Hadhramaut, that 'France took no part in the war in Syria,' and that because an R. A. F. man is occasionally killed in Trans-Jordan 'the country is still not behaving in a wholly seemly manner.'"

However, the chapters are all written in excellent style and with virile touch. The whole Near East is in a state of transition; the Pipe-Line draws more attention than the Minaret and the motor-car is superseding the camel. It is well to peruse this study carefully but with discrimination. It contains sixteen sketch maps and an excellent index.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Once in Sinai. By J. M. C. Plowden. London, Methuen. 12s. 6d. net. pp. 302.

The author of this book, whose present name is Madame Charles Jullien, set out alone from Suez without previous experience of exploration and with slight knowledge of Arabic, to cross the peninsula of Sinai. She was attended by six Arabs and travelled by camel

through the desert. The district of Sinai is not unknown, but she is the first woman who has hitherto travelled by herself and successfully in a land fraught with constant danger until recent years. Her success is a tribute, both to her own bravery and enterprise, and to the state of security which now prevails, where formerly there were Bedouin raiders and outlaws.

Interwoven with the narrative there is much information regarding the route of the Exodus, some legends and stories connected with this part of Arabia and a full description of the Monastery of Saint Catharine.

The author pays tribute "to the unfailing care and kindness which the untutored Arabs accorded me throughout my journey, always placing my wellbeing before their own weariness." Nevertheless, the record shows on the part of these very Arabs and especially the Egyptian servants, plenty of mendacity, avarice and chicanery. Strange to say, in the whole narrative there is slight reference to Islam or the religious practices of the people.

Eight small maps and eighteen photographic illustrations add to the value of this excellent book of travel. The events she tells of took place three years ago, "in that brief and beautiful spring season when the wilderness is literally a paradise . . . when it puts on a semblance of companionship, when starry flowers blossom abundantly along the sandy slopes, when there is a mist of green in the wadi beds, when the breeze croons along the uplands and sways the huge *rethe* bushes whose cream and crimson flowers have a perfume of honey and vinegar and, they say, make drunken the goats that browse upon them."

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Persian, Turkish, and Indic Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library.

By Muhammad E. Moghadam and Yahya Armajani, under the supervision of Philip K. Hitti. Vol. VI of the Princeton Oriental Texts, pp. 116. \$7.50.

The 191 titles in this interesting collection have been carefully studied for the purposes of identification and description. Among them are valuable fifteenth century illuminated manuscripts of the *Rubā'iyāt* of 'Umar Khayyām and of the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī; and from early in the sixteenth century we find the *Khamsah* of Amīr Khusraw, the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiz, and the *Gulistān* of Sa'di.

One old royal treasure, the value of which is "enhanced by the entries in the handwriting of the Mogul emperors Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān and one word from the pen of the Emperor Akbar," and also containing miniature paintings of Bihzād, is a manuscript of the *Zafar-nāmah*, "The Book of Victory," which was copied by the celebrated calligraphist Shīr 'Alī in A.D. 1467-8. This important biography of Timur, with its vivid accounts of his ravages, (published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1888), was written by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, who died about A. D. 1454.

Aside from items of special artistic value, there are a number of unpublished works that are of interest. Among these is a Turkish treatise on Ethics, the *Akhlāq-i-'Alā'i*, which was composed in A. D. 1564; and an earlier and similar work in Persian, the *Akhlāq-i-Humāyūn*, which is dated A.D. 1506 and has the virtues and the vices arranged very clearly in tables.

Nos. 88-135 are various Ṣūfī writings, some of them anonymous collections of no extraordinary significance, but there are also manuscripts of such favorite books as the *Gulshan-i-Rāz*, "The Rose Bed of Mystery," copied A. D. 1765, and the *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ*, "The Light of Souls," which was copied in A. D. 1450.

The Ṣūfī writings of Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Aḥmad al-Jāmī, who died in the year Columbus discovered America, are represented by a sixteenth century copy of the *Nafahāt al-Uns min Ḥaḍarāt al-Quds*, "Zepthers of Fellowship from the Presence of Holy Men", and a nineteenth century copy of the *Lawā'ih*, "Flashes of Light". Another interesting Ṣūfī item is a collection of letters from al-Jilānī (d. A.D. 1166), the founder of the Qādirī order.

The compilers of this catalogue are to be heartily commended for the thorough work they have done to make this important Garrett collection so readily accessible for reference and study.

Meshed, Iran

D. M. D.

Annali Lateranensi. Pubblicazione del Pontificio Museo Missionario Etnologico. Vol. III. Citta del Vaticano, Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1939. pp. 366.

This is Volume Three, of the Annual published by the Pontifical Missionary Museum at Rome. Those who have seen this extraordinary collection will realize the value of the Annual. The present number contains articles on early Christianity in Japan, on the Funeral Rites of the Shinto faith and on the Initiation of the "medicine-men" in Basutoland.

There are other articles of interest and a necrology of Orientalists.

The book reviews are extensive but not numerous. The review of periodicals seems to be complete and includes our own Quarterly.

References to Islam, however, are rather meagre, although we have an interesting communication regarding Islam in Ethiopia, p. 310.

The volume is beautifully illustrated and has a complete index.

S. M. Z.

CURRENT TOPICS

The Influence of Islam on Indian Religion

The conversion of a large number of Indians to Islam produced the result that the people of India gradually left their own ways and manners and adopted, either wholly or partially, the manners, customs and traditions of Islam. The result was a synthesis which has been described by several travellers, and also in books like those of Jafar Sharif's *Qanun-i-Islam* and Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali's *Observations on the Mussalmans of India*. Apart from complete conversion, there were sects like the Khojas and Satpanthis, and communities like the Girasias, Moplahs, and others, which may be described as hybrids between Islam and Hinduism. The Khojas are Muslims, but observe several Hindu customs. The Girasias have Hindu names, but marry in Muslim form and pray according to the Muslim ritual. The Memons are strict Muslims, but their law of inheritance is Hindu. The Moplahs are Muslim in faith, but observe matriarchal customs in their legal system. Then there are worshippers of Sufic Pirs and Bengali Muslims who worship the goddess Kali.

Apart from these we have a religion, Sikhism, which aims at a real synthesis between Islam and Hinduism. Guru Nanak, the illustrious founder of the Sikh religion, preached the unity of God and a mystic progression of the soul, which has clear affinities with the Sufi doctrine. And yet he came of a Hindu family, and remained to a large extent under the influence of Hinduism. Islam itself was influenced in its Indian environment by Hindu practices. Muslims not only began to revere saints, but to worship the tombs of great personages, called *pirs*, in forms clearly derived from Hinduism. And even to this day the ignorant masses of Islam indulge in practical idolatry in the shape of the worship of tombs. Practices which are to be found in Ajmer and Delhi and Aurangabad would be viewed with horror by the puritanical followers of Ibn Saud.

Apart from Nanak and even Akbar the Great—whose synthetic religion, *Din-i-Ilahi*, died in infancy—there were and are to this day high-souled personages, who have gone beyond the outward trammels of religion and have absorbed the religious cultures of Islam and of Hinduism to such an extent that it is difficult to label them as either Hindu or Muslim. Perhaps the most well-known figure in this class is the great Kabir (15th century, A.D.) Himself born in shame, he became an outstanding emblem of Hindu-Muslim religious unification. His central theme is God—whether you call

Him Rama, Hari, Allah or Khuda. Kabir has left behind him devotional songs of the greatest simplicity and beauty, and they are to be found on the lips of thousands of Indians all over the country. He criticized mulla and pandit alike; he was opposed to all cant and humbug preventing the human soul from ascending to Him in love and devotion, and by the purity of his life gained both Hindus and Muslims as his disciples. When he died, both the communities claimed his body and quarreled over it, the one to cremate, the other to bury, forgetting that the beautiful spirit of Kabir had come to unify and not to disunite.

Kabir was one of a host of Indian saints. Indian saints may be classified as Hindu, like Tukaram and Chaitanya; Hindu-Muslim, like Kabir and Nānak; and Muslim, like Muinuddīn Chistī (Ajmer) and Muhammad Gisudarāz (Gulbarga, Deccan). All of these had that purity of character, utter selflessness and transcendent love of God which made their lives a beacon light to others, and after death they were revered, nay even worshipped, by Hindus and Muslims alike.

—Asaf A. A. Fyzee,
in *The Times of India Annual*, 1940.

Limitation of Divorce, Plurality of Wives, and the Social Status of Women

Conversation with the Sheikh of al-Azhar

(NOTE: Although the following originated in the Egyptian press, it has been copied by numerous Syrian papers, showing a wide interest in the topics discussed. Substantially the same account is found in "*Beirut*," Jan. 3; *al-Wakt*, Aleppo, Jan. 25, and other papers.)

Miss Munira Thabit, well known leader of women, prepared a memorandum offering suggestions and requests in connection with the status of the Egyptian woman, and sent it to the Prime Minister and his associates and to the Sheikh of al-Azhar. . . . She got replies from nine of the Ministers in writing or by telephone, all of them cast in the form of extreme cautiousness, which she described as "compliments."

The Sheikh, however, invited her to meet him, and when she accepted the invitation, a discussion took place, about which she wrote as follows:

I threw out for investigation all the ten items of my memorandum. The Sheikh preferred to give his views in detail on each subject . . . from the religious point of view.

I chose first the limitation of divorce. . . . I strongly objected to this limitation, because it is incompatible with the Moslem religion, and would lead among many classes of people to avoid legal marriage . . . because the Moslem religion does not allow a man or a woman, united in marriage, to be prevented from carrying out a divorce any time they wish. . . .

The Sheikh said, "It is clear that married life is a purely personal relationship, concerning the couple themselves alone . . . Truly the best means for the preservation of married life is the raising of the standard of scientific education and moral training in society, and the punishment of the lawless by civilized forms of

punishment. . . . ” I was pleased to see that my point of view was in accord with the opinion of the Sheikh.

I had asked in my memorandum . . . that plurality of wives should be forbidden altogether, or allowed only in exceptional cases with the permission of the court, such as the illness or barrenness of the wife; and I based this request on the words of God in His Holy Koran. “Marry what seems good to you of women, two, or three, or four; and if ye still feel that ye shall not act equitably, then only one.” Also the word of God, “You will not be able to treat your wives equitably, even though you wish to.”

Here the Sheikh objected, saying, “The quotation has a sequel, and it is the words of the Most High, ‘Do not yield altogether.’ This sequel which completes the quotation proves clearly that God, after He had acknowledged the impossibility of perfectly just dealing in regard to wives, excused the husband for lack of justice in what was beyond his control and outside his will, and was satisfied with the justice which he found possible and under his will.” The Sheikh mentioned in this connection the example of Muhammed, who dealt justly with all his wives, dividing his time equally among them, as well as his property, though he did not divide equally among them the things of his heart—his personal feelings. So he asked pardon of God, saying, “O God, this is the part of me which I control, do not blame me for that which is under thy control and not mine.”

—*El-Qabas*, Damascus, January 7, 1940.

Mulla's Decision Challenged Marriage Case

What is known as the “no beard, no bride case” came up for hearing today before Mr. Justice B. J. Wadia of the Bombay High Court. In this case, the decision of his Holiness Syed Sirdar Taher Saifuddin Sahib Mullaji, the spiritual head of the Dawoodi Bohra sect of Moslems, in ex-communicating Mr. Abdealli Amiruddin Salehbhai Tyabji, son of Salebhai Tyabji, and his wife Bai Fatmabai Abdealli Tyabji, daughter of Abdul Ali Chibawala of Surat, for marrying without his consent and declaring the marriage null and void, is challenged by the parties to the marriage in separate suits claiming Rs. 50,000 damages each.

The parties allege that the Mullaji Saheb would not accord his sanction to the marriage in spite of repeated requests, on the ground that the bridegroom would not grow a beard as ordered by the Mullaji Saheb. They, therefore, got married in Bombay before a Moslem Kazi in the presence of witnesses, Sir Ebrahim Currimbhoy and Sir Suleiman Cassum Mitha among others. The Mullaji Saheb claims not only spiritual but also temporal suzerainty over his followers, who number nearly three millions and are scattered all over India, Burma, the Far East and Africa.

(*The Statesman*, March 7, 1940.)

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

LE CINQUANTENAIRE D'UN GRAND COLONIAL. Georges Hardy.
FAIDHERBE ET LES ÉTUDES COLONIALES. Henri Labouret.
(In *Renseignements Coloniaux*. Supplement à *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Janvier, 1940. pp. 1-9).

Treats of the life and work of General Louis Faidherbe (1818-1889), governor of Senegal and an eager student of native customs and languages.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF MUSLIMS TO SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT.
M. Razi-ud-din Siddiqui. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1940. pp. 33-44).

Considers their mathematical and astronomical legacies.

QUACKERY IN SYRIA. Khalil Wakim. (In *Asia*, New York. April, 1940. pp. 187-190).

Describes the methods and remedies used by native doctors.

THE TURKISH RAILWAY SYSTEM. (In *The Geographic Journal*, London. January, 1940. pp. 55-56).

Reports the great advance in communications achieved within the last fifteen years.

II. ARABIA

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

Travelling over a large part of the country for entomological purposes, the author and Mr. E. B. Britton secured also considerable archaeological and architectural data.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE HINDU-MUSLIM SITUATION. Yakub Hasan. (In *The Indian Review*, Madras. April, 1940. pp. 214-218).

Pleads for union of action toward a Nationalist India.

HISTORICAL POEMS IN THE DIWAN OF ABŪ TAMMĀN. S. M. Jaffar. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1940. pp. 17-32).

The author, who lived 807-846 A.D., tells of the victories of the Caliph al-Mu'tasim against the heretic Bābek and against the Emperor Theophilus.

RECHERCHES SUR LES DEUX SECTES MUSULMANES DE LOMBOK. G. H. Bousquet. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier II, 1939. pp. 149-177).

A study of the Waktou Telous and the Waktou Lima, inhabitants of an island near Bali.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

L'ACADÉMIE AFGHANE ET SES PUBLICATIONS. Henri Massé. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier II, 1939. pp. 179-199).

Founded at Kabul in 1931 by S. M. Mohammad Nadir Shah, the Afghan Academy has achieved a great deal in diffusing knowledge of the literature, arts, folklore and history of the country.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS POETRY. Gustave von Grunebaum. (In *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. March, 1940. pp. 23-29).

Although Mohammad discouraged poetic expression, the art began to rise after his death and reached a high state of perfection in the work of Abū 'l-'Atāhiya.

NOTES SUR L'HISTOIRE DE L'ORGANISATION JUDICIAIRE EN PAYS D'ISLAM. Gaudefroy-Demombynes. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier II, 1939. pp. 109-147).

Detailed study of the first volume of a work by M. Tyan, which was published in Paris in 1938.

THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ROLE OF ISLAM IN THE HISTORY OF INDIA. Dr. Omar Rolf, Baron v. Ehrenfels. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. January, 1940. pp. 45-62).

Islam has tried constantly to abolish the caste system and the supremacy of the Brahmins and to revive equal human rights for women.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AL JEZIREH. Eliahu Epstein. (In *The Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1940. pp. 68-82).

A border country on the Turkish-Iraqi-Syrian frontier, rich in oil, sparsely inhabited, Al Jezireh may easily become a Middle-Eastern storm center.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT. Dr. Ibrahim Rashad Bey.

(In *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. May, 1939. pp. 485-492).

Started by a lawyer, Omar Loutfi, in 1908, this democratic institution now numbers 800 societies with a membership of about 80,000.

CLASSIFICATION OF LANDS IN THE ISLAMIC LAW AND ITS TECHNICAL TERMS. A. N. Poliak. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago. January, 1940. pp. 50-62).

Documented account of the many differences in the land laws and their applications from the time of the conquest of Islamic lands by European powers.

LA HAUTE MOULOUYA. Commandant Saïd Guennoun. (In *Renseignements Coloniaux*. Supplément à *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Février-Mars, 1940. pp. 25-32).

Continues an article begun in a previous issue and describes various native dances and also the legal practices employed in this section of Morocco.

INSIDE AFGHANISTAN TO-DAY. Alfred E. Hudson and Elizabeth Bacon. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1940. pp. 119-122).

Sketches the economic and social development and needs of this remote state, which enjoys a progressive government under its young king, Mohammed Zahir Shah.

A POPULATION PLAN FOR EGYPT. Wendell Cleland. (In *L'Egypte Contemporaine*, Le Caire. May, 1939. pp. 461-484).

Presents a general outline which may be summarized thus—encourage emigration, raise standards of living and hygiene, raise the age for first marriages, teach birth control and increase national wealth by using arable land for agriculture only.

V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

UNE FAILLITE MAROCAINE DE LA PROPAGANDE ALLEMANDE. J. Desparmet. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Février-Mars, 1940. pp. 38-40).

Germany's insidious methods have failed to lure the Moroccans from their loyalty to France and to their fellow Moslems.

NO NAZI REVOLT IN THE DESERT. Ladislav Farago. (In *Asia*, New York. April, 1940. pp. 175-178).

In the face of constant Italo-German pressure, the Arab world appears to be supporting Britain's war aims.

LE PACTE D'ANKARA ET LE MONDE ISLAMIQUE. J. Desparmet. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. January, 1940. pp. 5-8).

Discusses reactions to the treaty as shown by quotations from the Mohammedan press throughout the Near East.

PALESTINE: THE NEW LAND POLICY. Israel Cohen. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. May, 1940. pp. 536-542).

Areas free, restricted and prohibited are a disillusionment to the Jews and the whole plan has been declared contrary to the provisions of the Mandate.

LES PEUPLES ARABES ET LA GUERRE. Eka. (In *Correspondance d'Orient*, Paris. Mars, 1940. pp. 113-117).

Islam has shown a profound distaste for dictatorships and its aversion for totalitarianism has caused it to support the democracies vigorously.

TURKEY AND HER ALLIES. Halidé Edib. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. April, 1940. pp. 442-449).

Gives the basic reasons for Turkey's present alliances with France, Great Britain, Greece and the Balkans.

TURKEY AND THE ALLIES. Maqbool Aziz Ansari. (In *The Indian Review*, Madras. March, 1940. pp. 147-149).

The desire to check Italy's Mediterranean aspirations joined to fears of a powerful German *Drang nach Osten* is enough to draw Turkey toward England and France.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

THE CHALLENGE. Helen L. Holmes. (In *Egypt General Mission News*, London. January-March, 1940. pp. 10-13).

For forty years the Egypt Mission Band has labored to present the Gospel to the Moslems and, though progress is slow, the ardor of the missionaries still burns bright.

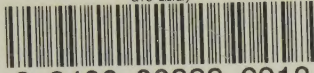
THE FUTURE OF ISLAM. M. Sinclair. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1940. pp. 241-248).

An epitome of articles by the Rev. Fr. A. Perbal in *Les Missions Catholiques*, Nov. 1 and Nov. 16, 1939, concerned principally with the assimilation of Moslems into European civilization and their need for a Christian welcome in their new milieu.

MUSLIM EVANGELIZATION. Lootfy Levonian. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1940. pp. 236-240).

In an effort to discover the reason for the psychological difficulty Moslems encounter in trying to understand the Christian faith, the author finds the root trouble is often in the definition of words.

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