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INGRAMS' PEACE IN HADHRAMAUT¹

In the story of the penetration of Arabia and its exploration, the region of Hadhramaut has at last come into its own. Until 1843, when Adolf Von Wrede sailed from Aden to Mukalla and went inland as far as Wady Do'an our knowledge of the interior was almost a perfect blank. Yet Ptolemy described the coast of *Adramitae* in his geography, and there seems little doubt that Hazarmaveth of Genesis X is identical with the present name of these fertile highlands and wadies. In 1870 Joseph Halévy made a bold attempt to penetrate into Hadhramaut from Yemen but failed. Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent made two journeys in 1893 and 1897 and their book *South Arabia* was for many years the only authority, although, strange to say, the best map and the best description of the people were provided by a Dutch scholar, L. W. C. Vanden Berg, who wrote from Java—a compilation from the lips of the Arab immigrants.² In 1891 I visited the coast towns from Aden to Mukalla and in a report said: "Hadhramaut will not always remain undiscovered and unremembered. The incense-country of antiquity has a future before it, even as it has had a glorious past". Little did I imagine that only after forty years the real exploration and resurrection of this land would take place. Then Freya Stark lifted the curtain and Harold Ingrams set the stage for a new drama. The book before us is a dramatic unfolding of constructive and progressive work, introducing

¹ *Arabia and the Isles*. By Harold Ingrams. With Foreword by Lt. Col. Sir Bernard Reilly, Governor of Aden. John Murray, London. pp. 367. Illustrated. 18 shillings.

² *Le Hadramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'Archipel Indien*. Batavia, 1886.

peace where there was war, and progress where there was stagnation. The story deals with the interplay of politics; it reveals the Arab mind and goodwill toward Britain amid foreign intrigue and religious prejudices; it is a living piece of history in the making and therefore merits careful study. On the title-page of the book is the text from the 72nd Psalm: "The mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills, by righteousness."

Harold Ingrams is in the succession of those great British statesmen and explorers who have shown the better side of imperialism by the application of unselfish Christian principles in the administration of backward peoples. His first interest in Arabia, he tells us, was aroused by an old missionary book *Far Off* and this led him, at the age of eleven, to begin the study of Hebrew! "I used to think that it was pure chance that sent me into the Colonial Service, but Chance, we are told, is a nickname for Providence and looking back on events it seems to me that I followed unquestioningly the beckoning of the Moving Finger." In July 1919 he applied for Colonial appointment as assistant District Commissioner in Zanzibar and since then the areas washed by the Indian Ocean seem like home to him. "Of all the waters of the world there is none to compare for romance and glamour with the one by whose shores I have worked. For one thing no other has been so long known to mankind. The first ships that sailed the seas came out of the Persian Gulf on to its broad waters. The Sumerians and their successors spread their culture far and wide in the lands surrounding it, and in the sixth century B.C., the Phoenicians under the auspices of Pharaoh Neco made the first great voyage of which we know by sailing down the east coast of Africa and circumnavigating the whole continent. The earliest known civilizations are still being uncovered in the lands between the Euphrates and the Nile, and somewhere in this area lay the traditional cradle of our race. It cannot be doubted then, that of all mankind, those who live in these regions have the deepest interest for us, and not even yet have we learnt all we should like to know about them."

This volume answers most of the questions one would ask on Hadhramaut. As for the isles of Zanzibar, Pemba and Mauritius, they were the training ground and spring-board for the author's great adventure and so occupy only a modest part of his book. By the time the reader comes to page 84 we already enter the Aden Protectorate and from then on the Arab dominates the scene. Even in Zanzibar and Pemba there are thousands of Hadhrami emigrants and there has for centuries been a brisk trade between this part of Africa and South Arabia. The first part of the volume closes with an account of the government of the Aden Protectorate; and Sir Bernard Reilly, the Governor, in his Foreword tells why and how Ingrams was sent on his difficult mission: "The Colonial Office wishing to establish closer contact with this outlying part of the Aden Protectorate, found in Ingrams an eager explorer of the country, of its needs and of its possibilities. A journey through the length of the Hadhramaut valley, in which Mrs. Ingrams shared with her husband the discomforts and local dangers, resulted in an invaluable report which proved a foundation for the evolution of British policy in the Eastern Aden Protectorate. In due course Ingrams was entrusted with the work of implementing the schemes of pacification and development for which the country called."

Even as the first part of the book is introductory, so the second part (pp. 137-235) is descriptive of the country, its tribal and city life, with all the adventure of travel. The third part tells us in detail how peace came to the Hadhramaut after centuries of bitter tribal wars and unrest. In fact, the story all hinges on that word *peace*. It is the keynote of the entire adventure and the author surely merits the beatitude of the peace-makers. The Egyptian Sudan and Hadhramaut are two great outstanding examples of Imperialism at its best. Both of these regions have been transformed and transfigured by the advent of strong and wise British administration. It is a policy of trusteeship and not of exploitation—not of imposing a foreign yoke but of teaching the people to govern themselves. "A lot of nonsense has been talked

about 'Imperialism' and the word has been given a meaning of exploitation of backward races. I do not think anyone will be able to find much about exploitation in the story of the Hadhramaut and I have not found it anywhere else in the Empire. I should not be in the Colonial Service if I had. But I am quite certain I am an Imperialist and equally certain that the vast majority of the Arabs in the Aden Protectorate are too, because we all believe in belonging to an Empire which runs itself on a basis of the mutual interests of all who belong to it."

This is bold language but even the prejudiced reader will agree with the author's conclusion when he reads the vivid account which tells of the tactful approach, sincere friendship and impartial justice tempered with mercy on the part of the Colonial representatives. Here is a primitive land and most of its inhabitants are bedouins with all the Semitic fanaticism of their creed. "You cannot help it, in the Hadhramaut you are living in Genesis. It is just as if the beduin had realized the latent possibilities of their land as a setting and had staged in it the story of the creation and of the peopling of the world. After telling who were the sons of Joktan the Bible is silent as to what became of them, so that you come to a country as if it were lost to you, and there feel you have discovered them and seen their life and adventures—the living story of the sons of Joktan in a world that lives still in the fashion of the Old Testament."

And then the author gives us a sketch of the history of Hadhramaut before and after the time of Mohammed. He introduces us to the structure of society—democratic in its ideals (as is Islam everywhere except for slavery and its attitude toward women) and yet with a curious diversity of social structure—Seiyids, Sheikhs, Tribesmen, Townsmen, Slaves and Subians—all of one religion, but sharply divided by privilege and prestige.

Over all this area of perhaps 70,000 square miles and its 300,000 population there are set two ancient governments: the Qu'aiti Sultanate, which attempts a compromise between Western methods (borrowed from India) and indigenous

institutions; and the Kathiri Sultanate built on native institutions alone. The capital of the former is the port of Mukalla, that of the latter is the inland city of Seiyun. There was long enmity and rivalry between these two Arab states, while the nomad and settled tribes were all to a greater or less degree loyal to one or the other when not at war among themselves. For example, the Hamumi tribe had given trouble to the Qu'aiti Sultan eighteen years before. The question was settled by inviting all the chiefs of the seven thousand warrior Arabs to a party at Shihr and there murdering them. This was done, and afterward a truce secured at the price of two thousand dollars a year! Ingrams tells how this and other feuds were settled by him. When a certain chief came he said: "I have heard of a new Government called Injerams, which is wanting peace. Will you give me protection? If you will not, I must go to some other Government." In a land of quarrels, blood feuds, raids, murders and internecine hatred this ambassador of goodwill preached peace, called for a five-year truce which was signed by 1,300 Arab plenipotentiaries from the largest to the smallest tribal groups. It is an amazing story and modestly told. The task was not easy also because of outside interference and intrigue. We read this between the lines. "There was a current fear amongst the common people that unless the British did something some other force would. Much of this fear was due to Philby's visit. They had thought he was the forerunner of a Saudian invasion" (p. 271). Once and again the Royal Air Force was called in to punish a recalcitrant tribe by bombing; but this was only a last resort and never done except by approval of the neighboring tribes, after the exhaustion of all other methods. The casualties were negligible and limited generally to destruction of village houses. "Used sparingly as it is, it is far the most effective and humane weapon possible." The R.A.F., however, have had a much larger mission of peace in their surveys of new highways, the building of landing-fields and in errands of mercy. The three-years' truce has been extended for ten years and there is peace throughout all this wide territory.

It remains to give the reader an idea of the cities of Hadrhamaut whose marvellous architecture is displayed in a score of beautiful photographs. (There are over forty illustrations and two excellent maps). Shibam, Tarim and Seiyun are among the important inland towns. Tarim has twenty-five forts and long walls; its stately palaces and three hundred mosques are not as astonishing as the fact that there are sixty motor cars in the town, each of which was brought up from the coast, piecemeal on camels! It all reminds one of the Arabian Nights. "In Tarim we found ourselves in the unfamiliar atmosphere of medieval surroundings and conditions of life, with no friendly policeman and only savagery outside the walls. It was as though men from this past had stepped forward several centuries of time and brought back twentieth century furniture, cars, telephones, electric light, iced drinks, baths and every 'mod. con.' At night when we sat under an electric fan in a modern drawing-room, the bulk of the population was sleeping in caves, or little stick huts, or in mud dars, every man with his rifle and dagger within easy reach".

The Sultan's palace at Seiyun resembles the hotels of New York, while its luxuries of baths and feasting surpass imagination. At Mukalla, Ingrams relates: "We sat down fifty to a dinner and amongst other things we consumed one whole sheep, three whole kids, twenty-five chickens, fifty pounds of rice, twenty-five pounds of ghee and an enormous quantity of fish, vegetables and sweets." There is no coffee rationing. What was more delightful than "to sit in a swimming-pool in the evening and listen to the strains of the B. B. C. Empire Orchestra". Now that they have daily broadcasting the people set their watches by Big Ben. The trade in rifles has decreased, that in motor-cars and radio sets is at a premium.

And what of the future? The author leaves no doubt of his own hopes and fears. He trusts that no mineral wealth will be discovered to lead to foreign exploitation but that agriculture and irrigation will be widely developed. There are several hundred square miles of rich alluvial silt. Edu-

cation is making strides and the school at Aden for the education of sons of Sheikhs and Sultans is doing fine work. There are few qualified physicians but at the coast is a sanitary inspector, while a child-welfare worker has joined the Residency Staff at Mukalla. A small hospital is to be erected.

All this raises the question whether Missions are to have opportunity. One may question whether even under Ingrams' peace man can live by bread alone. The seventy-second Psalm tells of a Prince of Peace whose life and death and resurrection also concern Hadhramaut. Therefore we are not so sure as is the author that "one thing that will not change in the Hadhramaut will be the word of God as it was revealed to the people by their Prophet, and I believe myself that, if they follow the spirit of their faith, there shall no harm come to them."

Harold Ingrams acknowledges in fact, that Islam has failed in South Arabia to produce sterling character. The Arabs need a new spiritual dynamic. He writes (page 100): "Too often in South Arabia you find that religion and the everyday things of life are entirely divorced from each other, and though the mosques in the town are full, the lives of many of those who fill them would hardly bear the highest investigation from a moral standpoint—cheating, lying, defamation, oppression and dishonesty of all kinds are only too common, and in fact it is generally amongst the bedouin, many of whom barely pray or fast, that the highest standard of honour and of patient resignation to the will of God is to be found".

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ISLAM THE RELIGION OF MUHAMMAD

ITS DIFFUSION AND GENIUS

When the first World War had finally come to an end, and the last of the treaties, that were to resolve the racial difficulties of a war-worn world, had been signed and registered with the League of Nations, there remained, outside Arabia Proper, only three free, self-determining Muslim nations. Of the two or three hundred million followers of the Arabian prophet, who turned their faces towards Mecca in prayer, throughout Asia, Africa and part of Europe, from Morocco to Zanzibar, Sierra Leone to Siberia and China, and Bosnia to New Guinea, only the Turks, the Persians, the Afghans and the Arabs of the Peninsula had retained, or re-asserted, their independence. The other Muslim peoples were subjects of Western powers, whose authority, in theory at least, they could not lawfully recognize.¹ For a well-authenticated saying of the Prophet, with all the authority of God behind it, declares that "he who dies without acknowledging the Imām (or Caliph) of his time, dies in unbelief".

The Imām is that prince whose power is derived ultimately in some fashion from that transferred by God to the Prophet. The last acknowledged Imām, or Caliph, was Abdu'l-Majid, the last Sultan of Turkey, who was deposed by the Kemalists government at Ankara in 1923. With him came to an end the Turkish Empire, the last representative of the once mighty Muslim Caliphate, conceived of by Muhammad and his early successors as a world dominion. The Turks themselves abolished the Caliphate on March 3, 1924, a belated recognition of the political realities of a thousand years. For no Muslim ruler, with the exception of the first Turkish Sultans, had pursued a world-polity since the tenth century. The Caliphate, as a great ideal world-kingdom, followed its Christian counterpart of the Holy Roman Empire into the limbo of forsaken human aspirations. It had never

been wholly Muslim; nor had it included, from the ninth century at least, all Muslims. Its symbol of unity was now abandoned. But the spiritual authority of Islam still lives on, even if its traditional material embodiment has been discarded.

The creative idea behind this ideal world-order was born in the mind of Muhammad, a Meccan trader, who fought and schemed his way to the overlordship of almost the whole of Arabia but ten short years after he had fled his native city in dread of his life (622 A.D.). Muhammad died that same year (632 A.D.). But within twenty years his successors, the Caliphs, had crushed and occupied the Persian Empire of the Sassanians and had driven the Byzantines from Syria, Egypt and part of Cyrenaica in a series of campaigns unmatched for speed and decisiveness in the annals of war; and sixty years later they had overrun North Africa and Spain and were making forays over the Pyrenees into Southern France, while in the East their armies had crossed the Oxus and raided India as far as the Indus river. A century, indeed, had not elapsed since the Prophet's flight, or Hijra, from his birthplace, when his countrymen ruled over an empire bounded on the west by the Atlantic and on the east by the frontiers of India and China.

This astounding sweep of Arab armies east and west seems to have fascinated the minds of Christian historians. But to attribute the spread of Islam to the sword, as most of them do, is a general indictment of Muhammad and his followers, which this formidable feat of arms does not in itself justify, and which is, as a matter of fact, refuted both by the evidences of Arab history and by the precepts of the Koran itself. The Prophet may have maintained, as is now widely admitted,² the universality of Islam and its laws as the one true religion;³ and this probably implied for both him and his disciples, as a logical consequence of their theocratic ideal of government, the political supremacy of Islam in the world,⁴ since God's realm of authority therein must ultimately be that of Islam also. But history shows that both Muhammad and his successors recognized and in general

honored the spiritual truth enshrined in the Koranic verse, wherein God admonishes His Prophet in these words: "But if the Lord had pleased, verily all who are in the world would have believed together; *wilt thou then compel men to become believers?*"⁵ And significant for the Prophet's mind at least is the fact that the verse containing God's prohibition, "*Let there be no compulsion in religion*" occurs in a passage assailing Idolatry.⁶

For Polytheism is and always has been in Muslim eyes the unpardonable sin. It is the great impiety.⁷ And yet even idolaters, or polytheists, have not always been given the choice of either accepting Islam or perishing, whenever and wherever the power of Islam has become firmly established. The Prophet himself did not mete out such summary treatment to his own idolatrous countrymen. Nor did he teach his followers that it was a religious duty to fight against their pagan fellows because of their unbelief. The reason advanced for attacking them in the latest revelations of the Koran is not, in fact, their unbelief, but their hostility. And polytheists of later ages and other climes have also been tolerated by their Muslim rulers, when political conditions were stable and religious fanaticism had abated.⁸

According to the strict interpretation of the law, indeed, as it was developed after Muhammad's death and the expansion of Muslim power beyond Arabia, unbelievers should be fought until they confess Islam. But there were exceptions to this rule.⁹ For Muslims have always freely acknowledged, as did also the Prophet himself, that Islam is only the final stage of a long historical development and that there had been prophets previous to Muhammad bearing similar revelations of God's will to other peoples, which were as true as Islam, if not as complete.¹⁰ And such peoples have never been regarded as unbelievers, according to the full import of that word, but rather as heretics, who have corrupted the revelation vouchsafed them either by false interpretation or by changing its text.¹¹

But polytheists they were not; and that is ultimately the Muslim's touchstone of faith. They still held fast to the car-

dinal doctrines of the one God, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment and prophecy itself. The various revelations constitute, you might say, just so many versions of one book, which is their heavenly prototype.¹² The Koran is only the final and definitive version, the validity of which is guaranteed by the prophetic character of the author and by the scrupulous transmission of its text.¹³ But the other revelations have also a certain adequacy of their own; and the peoples who possess them, the peoples of the book, as they are called in accordance with Koranic usage, have always been granted liberty of belief under Islam on that basis and have always enjoyed to a large extent liberty of practice also. And they have been allowed, moreover, to administer their own internal affairs more or less according to their own laws, since that was the only practical solution of the problem of their relationship to a theocratic state, which nevertheless recognized the divine origin of other laws besides its own.¹⁴

This peculiar position of the peoples of the Book in the Muslim state was based not only upon treaties, but also upon the express will of God and His Prophet;¹⁵ and Christians and Jews, and the Zoroastrians also, to whom according to Tradition the Prophet himself had granted these rights, constituted thus foreign states within the Muslim state governed by their own chiefs, who were hereditary rulers in the case of the Jews and Zoroastrians and actually named kings.¹⁶ The protected peoples, as they are often called, were taxed, it is true, for the privilege of living under Muslim rule and being defended by Muslim power.¹⁷ But liberty in the choice and exercise of occupation, or profession, was seldom denied them except in times of political stress and religious ferment; and the number of Christians that were appointed by Muslim princes to such high administrative posts as secretary of state, secretary of war, chancellor of the exchequer, governor, or even prime-minister, is astonishing.¹⁸ The Nestorian Patriarch, Isho'-Yahb III (647-658), the contemporary of the third and fourth Caliphs, 'Uthman and 'Ali, describes the condition of the Christians of his time, indeed, in the following glow-

ing terms: "The Arabs, to whom God at this time has granted dominion over the world, are, as you well know, among us. But they are not enemies of Christianity. On the contrary, they praise our faith and honour the priests and 'saints of the Lord and confer benefits upon the churches and monasteries."¹⁹

The Arab armies were not, therefore, single-minded warriors inspired with a fervent zeal for the conversion of souls. They have sometimes been envisaged, on the contrary, as migratory hosts driven by want and hunger to abandon their desert pastures and seize the more fertile lands of their happier neighbors.²⁰ But this description of the Arab expansion depends largely upon the theory of the gradual desiccation of the soil of Arabia, which has not been generally accepted; and a truer picture of the advancing Muslim hosts, historically, would be that of brigands under the leadership of *condottieri* eager for honor and gold, who made foray after foray, east and west, so long as God pleased.²¹ The unifying and stabilizing power behind these forays, however, was the theocracy established in Medina; and the new state was organized by the devoted companions of the Prophet, who kept his ideals alive despite Arab indifference and laid the foundations of Muslim law and theology.²²

The religion of Muhammad may be regarded, then, as one of the chief causes of the Arab Empire, the vital spark, probably, which touched off the Arab movement, and its unifying principle. But that Empire itself became in turn the theatre of the development of Islam as was the Roman Empire in the case of Christianity. And every element of the population, Christian, Jewish, Magian, Manichean, Gnostic, Buddhist and pagan, had part in that development along with the Muslims, who were themselves, in fact, very largely recruited from all the races and religions of the Empire. For even the protected peoples, the Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians, were converted, it is apparent, in great numbers, if not through fear, then by social and economic pressure, the lure of position, or the greed of gain, and un-

doubtedly also in numerous instances by the very simplicity and fervor of the Muslim believers.²³

From the ninth century onward Muslim dominion has been expanded in only two directions. In Europe the Moors were driven out of Spain finally in the fifteenth century, when their last stronghold, Granada, fell in 1492. But in 1354 the Ottoman Turks crossed from Anatolia into Thrace; in 1365 they took Adrianople; and in 1453 they captured Constantinople. Islam had receded in the West, but had advanced in the East of the European continent. The only other extension of Muslim power took place in Asia. The Turkish house of the Ghaznavids annexed the Punjab in India at the beginning of the eleventh century; from the twelfth to the fifteenth century Turkish dynasties ruled in Delhi, when an Afghan house replaced them; and in 1526 a descendant of the great Tamerlane, Babar, founded the Mogul Empire, which ceased only with the siege and capture of Delhi by the British in 1858, which ended the Indian mutiny.

The Turks themselves accepted Islam of their own free will, as did also the pagan Mongols, who extinguished the Caliphate of Baghdad and established the dominion of the Il-Khans of Persia;²⁴ and these two races, more especially the Turks, became henceforth the foremost protagonists of Islam. Neither in Europe, however, nor in India, do they appear to have spread Islam by force, violent as may have been their first incursions into these two continents. The Turks were, as Sir T. W. Arnold has observed, zealous proselytisers.²⁵ But Muhammad the Second, who besieged and took Constantinople, proclaimed himself also the protector of the Greek Church; and that crusty Aberdeen divine, Alexander Ross, who first translated the Koran from French into English, in 1649, and who called it "a gallimaufry of Errors (a Brat as deformed as the Parent, and as full of Heresies as his scald head was of scurf)", had still to acknowledge, when speaking of the Turks, that "their devotion, piety and works of mercy are main causes of the growth of Mahometism."²⁶ Many Christians, indeed, became Muslims in order to escape

the tyranny of their own Prelates; and in Albania, Montenegro, Serbia and Crete, Islam seems to have been propagated by the people themselves generally, and not as the result of religious persecution.²⁷ "The moral superiority of Ottoman society", says Arnold, "must be allowed to have had as much weight in causing these conversions . . . as the personal ambition of individuals."²⁸

The Turkish conquerors of India, remarks the same authority, appear to have had very little of that "love of souls" which animates the true missionary.²⁹ Some of the Mogul emperors, it is true, persecuted their Hindu subjects. But to this very day Muslims form only about one tenth of the population around Delhi and Agra, which were the chief seats of Muslim power;³⁰ and that fact alone is in itself significant of the general attitude of Indian Muslim potentates to their pagan vassals. "Islam has gained its greatest and most lasting missionary triumphs", Arnold declares, "in times and places in which its political power has been weakest, as in Southern India and Eastern Bengal".³¹ And it owes these triumphs, in his opinion, to its lack of class prejudice, which he regards as the real strength of Islam in India, that has won for it so many converts from Hinduism, especially from among the low-caste Hindus and outcastes.³²

Further eastward the political power of Islam did not penetrate. But in 756 the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Manṣūr sent Arab troops to China to help Su Tsung of the T'ang dynasty against a usurper; and these troops remained in China and married Chinese wives.³³ And with the Mongol conquests a vast host of Muslims of various nationalities—Arabs, Persians, Turks and others—entered China and settled there permanently.³⁴ Marco Polo speaks of Muslims in Yunnan in the thirteenth century.³⁵ The Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta, was welcomed by his co-religionists in several coast towns in the fourteenth century and relates that "in every town there is a special quarter for the Muslims, which is inhabited solely by them, and where they have their Mosques; they are honoured and respected by the Chinese".³⁶ And today there is a considerable Muslim population in every province of China.³⁷

The various Chinese dynasties seem to have treated their Muslim subjects generously and to have granted them religious liberty. We do not hear, at least, of Muslim rebellions in the land up to the establishment of the Manchu dynasty in 1644.³⁸ And even the Manchus appear to have maintained amicable relations generally with their Muslim vassals and to have honored their faith. For it was the Manchu Emperor Yung Chen who said of Islam in an edict of 1731: "This religion respects the fundamental basis of government, and what more can be asked for?"³⁹

Muhammad's creed was also disseminated from the twelfth century onward, in Indo-China and throughout the Malay Archipelago, by means of peaceful missionary activity for the most part and without the advantage of political supremacy or social prestige, ousting paganism, Hinduism and sometimes even Christianity, as in the island of Celebes. Sumatra, Java and Borneo are now almost wholly Muslim; and New Guinea and the northern islands of the Philippines are being slowly but surely won over to the faith of the Meccan prophet.⁴⁰

Darkest Africa, however, throws perhaps the clearest light upon the proselytising power of Islam. North Africa from Egypt to Morocco has been, of course, classical Muslim territory from the eighth century, a prize of the first headlong rush of Arab conquest; and to extend the sway of Islam southwards, either by force or by peaceful penetration, has been a constant purpose of Muslim policy ever since. But neither Muslim arms, nor Muslim propaganda, met with any great success in the realization of this end until the partition of Africa among the European powers in the nineteenth century; and compared with what its missionaries have since accomplished for Islam, the results achieved by the wars and missions of the ten previous centuries appear quite insignificant. As Sir T. W. Arnold observes, this development of events has initiated a Muslim propaganda in Africa "which seems likely to succeed where centuries of Muhammadan domination have failed."⁴¹

"Islam", writes T. R. Threlfall in *The Nineteenth Cen-*

ture of March, 1900, "is making marvelous progress in the interior of Africa. It is crushing paganism out. Against it the Christian propaganda is a myth." And from the Atlas Mountains to the Congo in the West, through the Sahara and the Sudan to Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Ashanti and Dahomey, Nigeria, the Camerouns, and French and Belgian Congo, and in the East from the Blue Nile to the Zambesi, in Nubia, Abyssinia, Somaliland, Kenya and Nyasaland, and even down in Cape Colony, the prestige of Islam and the number of its converts grow day by day. "The Negroes regard Islam today", says one who is himself an African, "as the religion of the blacks and Christianity as the religion of the whites."⁴² And the reason of this is, as Arnold points out, social rather than religious. For the Negro is admitted into the brotherhood of Islam not as "a privilege grudgingly granted, but one freely offered by zealous and eager proselytisers"; and once admitted, he is recognized and treated as an equal socially. He feels more at home also in Muslim than in Christian society, finding in Islam "a culture corresponding to his needs and capable of understanding his requirements and aspirations."⁴³ For the Muslim creed is very simple and free of subtleties. The prescribed duties are, moreover, mainly ritual. And Muslim missionaries, as Buckle has remarked, "are very judicious."

No one will deny, then, Islam's claim to be an international religion and in this sense at least, universal. For there are still other Muslim communities, large and small, scattered throughout the world, in England and France, in Finland, Poland and Russia, in several South American countries and Japan, and here in the United States of America as well. But some hundred million Muslims live under British rule, some fifty million under French rule, some forty million under Dutch rule, and some thirty million in Russia; and the Italian colonies are also mostly Muslim in population. Five sixths of the Muslim peoples of the world live under foreign domination and are not free to govern their lives wholly in accordance with the spirit and laws of their religion, a circumstance which the Prophet never contemplated,

and which his followers find unacceptable, which they must oppose, indeed, by every means in their power, if they would remain true to the inspiration of the founder of their faith.

For Muhammad established not only a religion, but also a political and social system, which still remains, in theory at least, an integral part of that religion. The Koran reveals not only man's duty to God, but also those to his fellows, or in his personal conduct; and religion and law are thus inseparable in Islam. The law merely formulates, defines and develops the right relations between man and God and man and man, which have been delivered in principle in revelation; and no fundamental distinction can be drawn, therefore, between the various kinds of law recognized by us, ceremonial, or moral, civil, criminal or commercial. For all law is statutory; and its source is the will of God as revealed in the divine precepts and prohibitions contained in the Koran and in the inspired sayings and doings of His Prophet.⁴⁴

Orthodox Muslims agree, therefore, with Calvin, Luther and Pope Boniface, VIII, in the proposition that the state is merely the executive of the divine law and that it is itself subject to that law.⁴⁵ The state has no legislative authority in Islam except in administrative affairs, civil or military. All sovereignty belongs to God. "The state", says the late distinguished Indian philosopher and modernist, Sir Mohammed Iqbal, in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, "is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization."⁴⁶ "Primitive Christianity", he points out, "was founded not as a political or civil unit, but as a monastic order in a profane world, having nothing to do with civil affairs, and obeying the Roman authority practically in all matters"; and "the result of this was, that when the State became Christian, State and Church confronted each other as distinct powers with interminable boundary disputes between them." "Such a thing", he maintains, "could never happen in Islam; for Islam was from the very beginning a civil society, having received from the Qoran a set of simple, legal principles."⁴⁷

Calvin and Boniface separated the spiritual authority

completely from that of the temporal magistrates. Islam, on the contrary, tends to identify Church and State, as did the nationalistic Protestants of England and the northern Lutherans.⁴⁸ "The State", observes Sir Mohammed Iqbal, "is the same reality as the Church", only looked at from another point of view.⁴⁹ "Religion and politics exist in Islam", declared the Egyptian doctor Taki Ali, as late as 1937, "in a perfect symbiosis."⁵⁰ Religion, law and politics have theoretically a common origin in Islam and also a common development in virtue of that common origin. For all expressions of the national life are conceived to be of the same nature, since they are all implements for the fulfilment of God's decrees. The conduct of worship in the mosque is a state function just as much as is the administration of justice, or the ordering of the country's financial affairs, or the waging of war. On the other hand, these activities are all equally sacred, functions of the Imām, Caliph or King, who is God's Vicar or Shadow on earth, the appointed guardian of the faith and of the revealed law, which comprehends every circumstance of life, and the bearer of the one and indivisible religious, political power.⁵¹ To be a heretic is at the same time to be a rebel and to seek the overthrow of the divinely instituted government; for every heresy is an attack upon the constitution of the state. Rebellion against a duly constituted authority is rebellion against God, even if that authority fails in its duty, as John Calvin himself has argued.⁵²

In a revealed religion the law is given; and obedience is demanded to the whole and every part of it, reason and inclination to the contrary notwithstanding. For, "I am the Lord." "I, the Lord, have ordained it; and you have no right to have notions of your own."⁵³ That, as George Foot Moore has pointed out in his *Judaism*, is the logical attitude of a revealed religion.⁵⁴ Conformity to the declared will of God is the whole substance of religion and the supreme moral obligation of man. And the foundation of Islam, as of Judaism, is the belief that religion is revealed;⁵⁵ and its essence is belief in the One God, Allah, just as the essence of Judaism is belief in the One God, Jehovah.⁵⁶ Like Judaism also, Islam

maintains that, since God is one, there is only one true religion, and that revelation is identical throughout, perfect and unalterable.⁵⁷

Both Islam and Judaism, therefore, claim to be the one, true religion; and yet both have retained in different forms and for distinct reasons a national character. "The historical limitations of nationality", says George Foot Moore, of Judaism, "maintained themselves," despite the belief in the future universality of the worship of the One, True God and the acceptance of the doctrines of resurrection and last judgment and of the ideas of immortality and of retribution and a disembodied existence. "Nothing was more deeply impressed on Judaism", he observes on another occasion, "than the idea of national and religious solidarity. The individualizing of the principles of the prophets concerning sin and its consequences, repentance and divine forgiveness, was accomplished beside, not in place of, this solidarity." And the significance of its initiatory rite, he points out, was not entrance into a religious community, but naturalization in the Jewish nation, or rather adoption into the Jewish race, since the idea of nationality was racial and not political.⁵⁸

The development of Judaism from a national, or racial religion, and the historical situation during its formative period may explain this characteristic of Judaism to some extent. But Muhammad's inspiration did not have its origin in any of the pagan, tribal religions of pre-Islamic Arabia; and Islam grew to its full stature in the Arab world-empire. From the beginning it was a universal religion; and at all times it enjoyed the privileges and powers of a state religion. For it was, in a sense, itself the state. Muhammad's energies, however, during the last eight years of his life were largely directed towards the unification of his people. Many passages in the Koran bear witness to the Prophet's pre-occupation with this problem;⁵⁹ and Sir T. W. Arnold asserts that the change of direction during prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca, which established the Ka'ba in Mecca as a religious centre for all Muslims, was really the beginning of the national life of Islam, and that the incorporation of the ancient Arab cus-

tom of pilgrimage to Mecca into the circle of the religious ordinances of Islam was equally important in this regard.⁶⁰

Muhammad has been accused of playing politics because of his introduction of old pagan rites into Islam. They were revealed, it is claimed, only in order to win the adherence of his fellow-countrymen.⁶¹ And it is true that the pilgrimage and the ceremonies associated with it such as sacrifice in the Valley of Mina and the succeeding visitation of the Ka'ba in Mecca with its circumambulation, are not mentioned in the early Meccan Suras, or chapters, of the Koran; and this has been interpreted as proving that Muhammad considered them then as at least superfluous.⁶² But the Koran itself gives evidence of the Prophet's lifelong, pious feeling for the holy places of his native land, and that he regarded them all as houses of the One, True God;⁶³ and the pilgrimage and the rites accompanying it are nowhere denounced by him as pagan practices. It is more probable than not, indeed, that he and his followers, while still in Mecca, performed the pilgrimage like any other Arab, since even Christian Arabs took part in the cult⁶⁴ and that there was no need, therefore, nor occasion, for any clarification of his position regarding it until the opportunity to take part in it was lost to him and his adherents, by their exile from Mecca and the hostility of the Meccans. Muhammad, like Isaiah, may have rejected the notion of sacrifices as the food of God;⁶⁵ but that does not mean that he denied their sacred character as a divine institution set up of old by God and practised by pious forefathers.

The Arabian Prophet does not seem, in fact, to have freed himself entirely from the primitive conception of religion, wherein the basis of religion, as Robertson Smith has observed, is not fear, but the feeling of kinship, and the circle of worship is identical with that of blood.⁶⁶ Muhammad may have conceived of Islam as the one true religion. But he also considered the Arab people to be the pole of the nations,⁶⁷ a position assigned to the Jewish people in such books as Enoch and Sirach; and next to belief in the one God the tie of blood is still for him the decisive factor in human relations.⁶⁸ In Medina, says Grimme,⁶⁹ "the first Islam, which

had been sown in the soil of Mecca, was uprooted. For although it had originated in a purely humanitarian principle and was accepted in the beginning with enthusiasm by the classes, whose social position it promised to improve, it ran up against an impenetrable rock too soon, the obdurate tribal and class spirit of the Arabs, which blunted the power of the new ideas." "It was not the old gods of Arabia", Grimme concludes, "that flung back the religion assailing them. It was the ancient, Arab tribal constitution that triumphed over the theocratic state."

Without endorsing Grimme's contention that Muhammad preached a social gospel in Mecca, which was sabotaged in Medina, it may still be conceded that there is some justice in his remarks concerning the Arab tribal constitution and the theocratic state, if only we remember that a religious community, that was not at the same time a political and social body, was probably as repugnant to the thought of a pagan Arab as to that of a theocrat. The theocratic state, which the prophet established and administered in Medina, was moulded according to the patterns of the tribal institutions with which he was acquainted; but it also transcended them. For Muhammad awoke the spirit of Arab nationality and linked it at birth with his religion, so that that nationality and his religion became, to all intents and purposes, identified in the eyes of his followers, and together they advanced to the conquest of the world.

Religion and nationality are thus almost identical ideas in Islam. Confession of the Muslim creed meant not only incorporation into a religious community; it also signified naturalization in the Arab state; which explains, perhaps, the use, in the earlier days of Islam, at least, of the old Arab custom of clientage as the mechanism for the admission of foreigners into the state, or religion, whereby non-Arabs who accepted Islam, became the clients of some Arab patron or tribe.⁷⁰ No other solution of the problem presented itself probably to the Arab mind; and the boasted equality of all true believers, or the brotherhood of Islam, which some Christians have deemed so praiseworthy, was not, in fact,

actually realized for some two centuries.⁷¹ And when that equality, social as well as political, was finally won by the clients of Islam, its justification was found, not in the doctrine of God's sovereignty and omnipotence and the consequent identity of all men in bondage and impotence, as is sometimes urged, but in the ancient, well-worn idea of the kinship of all worshipers of the same God, refined and purified from its carnal associations in the crucible of pious thought.⁷² The same principle, however, also decided Islam's recognition of the political character of the non-Muslim religious communities that lived under its rule. In Christendom, religion and nationality were brats of a different breed. In Islam they were conceived together and grew up in the same house.⁷³

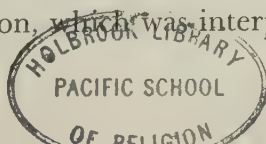
Unlike Christianity, then, Islam did not found a church with an independent constitution and a recognized relationship to the state. It set up no organization for the propagation and preservation of the pure and perfect faith. It created no corporations of teachers and scholars to build up its religious system, defend its principles and resist all attacks upon its unity. And it devised no interpretative authority, like the Councils of the Christian Church, except, perhaps, in the case of the Turkish institution of the 'Ulemā, which was mainly, however, a legal body for the interpretation of the law and made up mostly of jurists and judges. The definition and systematization of the Muslim faith have been the work of individual scholars, who gained the respect and support of their fellows and thus established the doctrines and principles which they advocated. Scholars have been the clergy in Islam. But they did not serve a cult. They were knowers of the law and custodians of religious thought. And all the various traditional schools of Muslim theology have originated in this fashion and have been developed and preserved in circles that had in general no official recognition or standing. Religious authority in Islam, like the wind, bloweth where it listeth.⁷⁴

Like Judaism, therefore, if for a different reason, Islam has no priesthood. A class of religious officials arose, indeed,

as a result of a felt need, preaching sheikhs, Koran reciters, Imāms, or leaders in prayer, and muezzins. But these officials do not form a closed profession. They have no especial obligations. They are not guides and keepers of the public conscience. They are seldom teachers of the young. Their functions can be performed by any other Muslim just as well. And they themselves are free to adopt any other business or profession. For there is no bond of consecration, no ordination that joins them with the founder of their faith in a spiritual union.⁷⁵ All believers are equally priests, or there are none.

For Islam has no sacraments, except perhaps in the Augustinian sense of a sacred sign by which a religious community is bound together;⁷⁶ and it has remained quite untouched by soteriological ideas. It has rejected absolutely the doctrine of inherited sin, which Muhammad apparently never heard of, as a contradiction of divine justice; and the need of redemption is not, therefore, a special phenomenon of Muslim religious feeling. The transgression of the first human pair is not represented in the Koran, nor regarded in Islam, as a fall from grace including the total depravity of human nature. "Man's first act of disobedience", says Sir Mohammed Iqbal, "was also his first act of free choice; and that is why, according to the Quranic narration, Adam's first disobedience was forgiven."⁷⁷ "The Quran", he observes on another occasion, "is led to reject the idea of redemption in consequence of this (its) view of man as a unique individuality, which makes it impossible for one individual to bear the burden of another, and entitles him only to what is due to his own personal efforts."⁷⁸ And the Koran also teaches that God reveals to each believer full knowledge of His means of salvation.⁷⁹ Man can accept these means, or reject them.

The late C. H. Becker of Berlin has shown that Islam was in many respects the heir of Eastern Christianity, and that Medieval Christendom and Islam were, so to speak, obverse and reverse of a single civilization that stretched from the Atlantic to the frontiers of India.⁸⁰ Both were rooted in a Semitic revelation religion, which was interpreted in terms



of Greek philosophical thought, and which formed the synthesizing force of a culture largely regulated by the social, economic and political principles and practices of the Graeco-Roman world. The definitive Muslim doctrines, moreover, such as those on Predestination, the Uncreatedness of the Koran and the Attributes of God, were all developed, not only under the influence of Christian dogma, but actually as a result of the pressure of Christian polemics;⁸¹ and almost every theological idea that occurs in Christianity can be found somewhere in Islam,—even the Logos idea, which has been used in some Muslim circles to describe the place and part of Muhammad in the divine scheme of things, however hotly denied this mixture of the eternal and the temporal may be in respect of Jesus.⁸²

But Islam's rejection of the doctrine of the corruption of man's nature as a consequence of the Fall and of the other two doctrines intimately associated with it in Christianity, those of the Redemption and the Incarnation, distinguishes it, as a religion, specifically from Christianity. Islam knows nothing of a vicarious atonement, or of a mystery of redemption, or of a personal saviour. The crux of the opposition between Christianity and Islam, says Becker, lay from the beginning in Christology.⁸³ Islam, says Döllinger, is neither a priestly, nor a symbolical, nor a sacramental religion.⁸⁴ Muslim polemical literature may devote itself in the dogmatic realm to an attack upon the Trinity in the first place. But this attack is due not only to the Muslim's passion for the unity of God and his abomination of the irrational. It is the spearhead of his assault on the divinity of Christ and the Christian doctrine of the atonement.⁸⁵

With Judaism, however, Islam has still another aspect in common. Muslim law, like that of Judaism, is based upon revelation, written and unwritten, the scriptures and tradition, which are thought of as identical in authority and as together making up the whole content of revelation, the latter "interpreting, supplementing, adapting and applying the written word."⁸⁶ In Islam the written law is the Koran. The unwritten consists of the judgments and practices of the

Prophet, or of those sayings and doings, at least, which have been ascribed to him, much as was the unwritten law in Judaism to Moses.⁸⁷ The law so declared was complete, perfect and unchangeable.⁸⁸ It required only further definition and formulation to comprehend all the actual, concrete, individual questions that could come before a judge.

But Islam passed from the stage of a simple society of nomads, traders and agriculturists to that of a world empire in a few short years; and Muslim jurists were at once confronted with a wide range of wholly new and very complex conditions and circumstances, such as the Prophet had never faced nor dealt with, and which were neither covered nor touched by the few, simple elementary principles contained in his revelation, or by the precedents to be found in his Medinan judgments. The early Muslim jurists exercised a certain liberty of thought and made use of such notions as the "Greatest Good", or, the "Welfare of the Community", and the "Preferable", or "Expediency", to supplement the two recognized sources of law, the Koran and the Traditions. But however much these principles may have, in fact, contributed to the body of Muslim law, they did not in the end win general recognition as "pillars of the law".⁸⁹ And instead of further principles or sources, of law, in addition to the Koran and the Traditions, there were accepted finally as "pillars of the law" a method of application or development of the law, namely, deduction by analogy, and a standard or criterion of the law, namely, *Ijmā'*, or the Consensus of the Muslim people.

The method of analogical reasoning was probably borrowed from Judaism⁹⁰ and consists in expanding the scope of laws concerning particular acts so that they comprehend all cognate operations that have the same end in view, or operations which are analogous to these acts, but seek a different end. The Consensus of the Muslim people was expressed through the consensus of their jurists,⁹¹ whereby the decisions of a recognized jurist became precedents, once they had been approved by fellow jurists. All valid precedents, however, are assumed to have been established by the tenth cen-

tury, and in that century independent juristic thought is supposed to have ceased, or so it was maintained. Some scholars have considered the Consensus as an instrument for progress in Islam, whereby the will of the people could express itself as the will of God. But Hartmann has pointed out that, as a normative factor in law, it has been subordinated to and practically effaced by the knowledge of the scholar concerning God's decrees in the Koran and the Traditions and the power of the Caliph as defender of the faith.⁹²

Other elements have also entered into the development of Muslim law, such as *Insāf* (Fairness), which has been compared to the English idea of equity, but which determines only the method of applying the law without suspending it, and *Ḥiyal* (Subterfuges), which occasionally resemble our legal fictions, but more often descend into mere casuistry, and *‘Āda*, custom, or *‘Urf*, wont.⁹³ But the fundamental relation of Islam to Judaism, in the legal as well as in the theological sphere, is so obvious that little wonder need be expressed over the pronouncement of a German scholar that Islam is "a rigid Judaism based on the abstract unity of God, but divorced of its messianic character and of all the deeper, spiritual elements which accompany it."⁹⁴ Döllinger's characterization of Islam is not entirely justified. Orthodox Islam may not have accepted the messianic idea as dogma; but that idea is still at work in the religious conscience of Islam; and so also are many of the spiritual truths that Döllinger denies to it.⁹⁵ His comparison of Islam to Judaism is, nevertheless, apt and pertinent. For so close and intimate has been the tie between Judaism and Islam from the very beginning that the Catholic scholar, Lammens, has declared that Muhammad's Islam was "the Jewish religion simplified according to Arab wants and amplified by some Christian and Arabian traditions";⁹⁶ and Professor Torrey of Yale has recently asserted that "the idea of the prophet and his mission and authority and the picture of the chosen people holding the religious leadership of the nations of the earth . . . meant more to the Meccan tradesman than any other of his acquisitions."⁹⁷

The Christians of the Oriental Churches seem to have

recognized the immediate connection between Islam and Judaism, for Michael the Syrian affirms that Muhammad learned of the belief in the One God from the Jews and attached himself to their belief.⁹⁸ The theologians of the Greek and Latin Churches, on the other hand, regarded Islam as a Christian heresy from the earliest times. John of Damascus, himself perhaps of Arab origin, and who lived under the Omayyad Caliph, Hishâm (724-743), calls it Arianism;⁹⁹ and John knew his Koran and the Muslim Tradition of his day better than most, if not all, of his successors in the field of polemics down to Ricoldus of Florence (A.D. 1309), for whom, as for all the Byzantine polemicists, Islam was the latest and most dangerous Christian heresy.¹⁰⁰ Dante follows this tradition and places Muhammad, as a heresiarch, in the ninth circle of his *Inferno*, ripped downward from the chin to the abdomen, while his cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali, goes before him in tears.¹⁰¹ But such a conception of Islam and its founder is quite evidently based almost wholly upon their denial of the Trinity and of the divinity of Jesus Christ and leaves out of account altogether the positive dogmas of Islam.¹⁰²

The central significance, for example, of the conception of the Last Judgment in Muhammad's earlier revelations is indisputable; and some modern scholars, such as Snouck Hurgronje and Tor Andrae, Ahrens and Schwally, have argued that the Prophet must have received this doctrine from Christian sources.¹⁰³ Even if it be granted, however, that the Last Judgment together with the unity of God is the prevalent theme of the Syrian Apocryphal Gospels and of the ascetic literature of the Christian Churches of the East,¹⁰⁴ the possibility that Muhammad may have acquired this notion of the Judgment from a Jewish circle cannot be finally discounted, until we know a great deal more than we now do of the kind, or kinds, of Judaism that flourished in Arabia in the days of the Prophet. For what he preaches appears more or less complete in such Jewish apocalypses as the Sibylline Books, Enoch, Baruch, and the Book of Jubilees;¹⁰⁵ and the mood of his message is similar to theirs. Christian ideas there

undoubtedly are in the Koran and in Muslim theology; but Christianity and Islam cannot be compared. For Islam denies what historical Christianity asserts; not, indeed, the resurrection of Jesus, since God in the Koran takes JÉSUS to Himself after He has caused him to die,¹⁰⁶ but the meeting of the temporal and eternal in the Son of Man.¹⁰⁷ Islam accepts and respects the distinction between these two realms and refuses to confuse them.

Between Judaism and Islam there is also, however, an essential difference, which distinguishes them from each other as clearly and decisively as the Muslim's denial of the doctrine of the Incarnation with all of its implications distinguishes Islam from Christianity. Muhammad inherited two conceptions of God from his Jewish-Christian background. Both appear in Hebrew literature; and both re-appear in the Koran. In Job God demands of the patriarch: "Canst thou bind the cluster of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" and Job might have answered in the words of a later chapter, saying: "Behold, I am of small account." "I know," he confesses, "that Thou canst do all things, and that no purpose of Thine can be restrained."¹⁰⁸ And Ecclesiastes writes of God that "He hath made everything beautiful *in its time*; also He hath set eternity in their heart, yet so that man cannot find out the work that God hath done from the beginning even to the end."¹⁰⁹

Ecclesiastes adjusted his philosophy of life, at least, to his God, even if Job remained amazed and unconvinced. For he counsels his fellowmen not to be righteous overmuch, nor to act the wise man too much. "Why shouldst thou destroy thyself?" he asks of them. "Be not wicked too much", he continues, "nor foolish; why shouldst thou die before thy time? It is good that thou shouldst take hold of the one, but also do not draw back thy hand from the other. For the fearer of God will find his way out of everything."¹¹⁰ As an old Arab pagan poet has said: "Behold a man who has proved Time (*al-Dahr*) fears not the change of its seasons (*'aşrîhi*)."¹¹¹ There are curious analogies between the God of Ecclesiastes and the ancient Arab pagan conception of Time as the arbiter of fortune.

This cosmic God is not only omnipotent, but arbitrary. He is the ultimate and complete determiner of destiny; and no moral, or rational, principles seem to bind him, or direct His actions. The world is just His plaything. The other God, whom we meet in Hebrew literature, in Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, and in the Koran, is limited, on the contrary, to this extent at any rate, that He must deal justly and reasonably with men. He is the God of man's moral consciousness; and justice and mercy control his relations with mankind at least. "The religious interest [of the Jews] in the sovereignty of God, as in monotheism itself", says G. F. Moore, "is altogether in the unity of the moral government of the world."¹¹² "Jewish monotheism was reached", he declares, "through the belief that the will of God for righteousness is supreme in the history of the world; one will rules it all to one end." But "there is no assertion or implication of the unity of God in the metaphysical sense." "Its (monotheism's) origin was . . . moral, rather than physical or metaphysical."¹¹³ And that has remained the governing inspiration of the Jewish religious genius from the prophets until this day.

Muhammad was the heir of both these conceptions of God. The Koranic God also is the Merciful, the Compassionate, bounteous, gracious and just. "Meet is forgiveness in Him."¹¹⁴ "Say:" God bids His Prophet, "O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive; Gracious and Merciful is He."¹¹⁵ "Surely, however," says God again, "will I forgive him who turneth to God and believeth and worketh righteousness and yieldeth to guidance."¹¹⁶ But the God of Muhammad is also "the Lord who creates what He pleases and acts freely."¹¹⁷ "To Him doth everything submit, that is in the heavens and in the earth, in willing, or in forced obedience."¹¹⁸ "No mischance chanceth either on earth or in yourselves, but ere We created them."¹¹⁹ "Not the weight of an atom on earth or in heaven escapeth the Lord."¹²⁰

And in Islam the Cosmic God has prevailed. Omnipotence is the fundamental attribute of God for both the Mus-

lim Traditions and orthodox theology; and the relation of God to His creatures is conceived, therefore, generally in terms of power. Al-Ash'ari, the founder of the most popular school of Muslim orthodox thought, states his position in these simple words: "We maintain that God has power (quwwat) . . . And we hold that . . . there is nothing on the earth, good or evil, except what God has wished, and that things are by the will of God, and that no one can do anything before God causes him to do it, that we are not independent of God, nor can we pass beyond the knowledge of God, that there is no creator except God, that the works of man are created by God and predestined, and that men have not the power to create anything, but are themselves created."¹²¹

There is no cause, writes a later theologian, al-Qastalānī, save the first cause, the will of God. What God wishes happens, what He does not wish, does not happen. He who differs in regard to this doctrine is not a true Muslim in this respect, whatever he is in others. For it is contrary to the faith of Islam to teach that anything can exist without God's willing it, or that He can will anything without its happening. You can only will what God wills. That is the heart of the doctrine of the sovereignty of God. For we affirm that He is the Lord of the universe, the Eternal, and that He is occupied constantly in the affairs of His creatures,¹²² so that there is neither existence, nor riches, nor gift, nor deprivation, nor affliction, nor contentment, nor death, nor life, nor error, nor guidance, nor happiness, nor misery, save by the permission of God and in conformity with His will and by His creation. All human acts, both the movements of the body and those that constitute the operations of the soul, such as thoughts, motives and preferences, are all created by God, so that it cannot be said that man produces them. And if there is found in man the power to make resolutions and decisions, it is because God creates this power in his heart. However, this gift of decision, which man possesses by the power which God creates in him, justifies his condemnation and his chastisement, his praise and his recompense. The

firm resolution alone explains the problem [of free-will] and all the texts [in the Koran] that have reference to it.¹²³

The heretical Mu'tazilite sect, influenced probably by the doctrine of free-will taught in the Oriental Christian Churches, maintained that man has by nature the power to create his own acts.¹²⁴ Orthodox Islam denied this and reduced man's freedom to the power of decision which God creates in him at the moment of the act and which can only decide on the good, if God wills it so. This decision, or resolution, was named by them "appropriation" (Iktisāb); and by it man "appropriates" as his own the acts which God alone can create. The decision, however, is man's, we are told. It does not produce the existence of the act; but it gives to it a certain quality. It makes the act a voluntary act. But this quality, like the act itself and the power to decide on it, is also created by God.¹²⁵

By such subtle arguments the Muslim theologians have endeavored to reconcile the idea of a Cosmic God with morality and human freedom. It is to their credit that they have recognized and accepted the incompatibility, which John Stuart Mill has so lately pointed out,¹²⁶ of infinite power with the utilization of means for the achievement of purpose, and have built up a world-view in which there are no means, and God is the only and immediate cause of everything. But in such a world a rationally justified ethics is a contradiction; and in order to preserve the authority of religion they have been compelled to distinguish sharply between the divine will that determines the existence of things and God's good pleasure in what He commands in His word.

The realm of existences, or being, and the realm of moral and religious values have thus become two entirely separate worlds, both dependent, it is true, immediately upon the will of God, but with no other relation to each other than that. No thing, nor act, has any inherent value in itself, which reason or conscience could recognize. A thing, or an act, is good because, and only because, God prefers it and has revealed His preference in Scripture, or Tradition. Morality can be defined only as obedience to God's will; and that will

itself is beyond good and evil, since things are good, or evil, only as God wills them so. And man's only good act finally is surrender to God's will; and even this act is not man's, but God's. Ecclesiastes recommended his fellowmen to conform to God's will, however irrational and unethical it might seem to be. Islam exhorts men to do likewise, if only God will permit them to do so. The theologian who begins with the Cosmic God and conceives of His relations to things mostly in terms of cause and effect finds himself inevitably, if inconveniently, in almost complete agreement with the mechanistic philosopher. Only the will of God keeps them apart.

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NOTES

¹ Cf., however, Sir W. W. Hunter's *The Indian Muslims: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen* (London: Trübner and Co., 1871). The book records that leading Muslim religious authorities gave fatāwī, or legal opinions, that the Muslims in India were not legally bound to be hostile to non-Muslim rulers.

² Cf. Eduard Sachau, *Über den zweiten Chalifen Omar. Ein Charakterbild aus den ältesten Geschichte des Islams* (Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1902), pp. 293-4; Ig. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 25 seq.; Th. Nöldeke, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. xxi, pp. 307-8; and Sir T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (New York, 1913) pp. 30-31. For a contrary opinion see F. Buhl, in *Islamica*, vol. II (1926), pp. 135-149 and *Festgabe*. . . . A. Fischer; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, pp. 25, 26 and in *Rev. du Monde Musulman*, vol. L. For the Muslim position consult Ibn Taimiyya, *Al-jawāb as-sahīh ʿimān baddala dīn al-Masīh* (Kairo 1322-1905), I, 50-67, 80-117, 134-139, 168-171, 194-203, 202-207, 218-219, 230-237; 'Alī Tabari, *Kitāb addimwadda'ula* (ed. A. Mingana, Manchester, 1923, translated by A. Mingana, Manchester, 1922), pp. 16-17. Cf. L. Krehl in *Festgruss* to Rudolf von Roth, p. 169.

³ The late Muhammad 'Abduh, Egyptian modernist leader, conceived of Islam as the final expression of the true religion and considered that its supreme function was to unite all men in the bonds of that true religion (C. C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism*, p. 174).

⁴ Cf. Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes* (Leiden, 1908-1910), p. 340. Note the curious statement of the Patriarch Timothy to the Caliph Mahdi in his *Apology* (Woodbrooke Studies, ed. A. Mingana, II, 1, p. 80, text 152b, 16) "I shall here make bold to assert that you are God's representative on earth for the people of the world." Part of the program of Muhammad Rashid Ridā's journal, *al-Manar*, in modern Egypt, was the proof of the practicality of Divine Law as an instrument of Government (See C. C. Adams as cited, Note 3, pp. 177-201). [The prophet], says Sir Mohammed Iqbal in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 118, "returns [from the highest heaven] to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals. . . . The desire to see his religious experience transformed into a living world-force is supreme in the prophet."

⁶ Sura x. 99.

⁶ Sura ii. 257. Cf. also Sura ix. 6-11 and Sura xviii. 38. On the general theme cf. Suras v. 16; xvi. 84; xliiii. 47; and xlv. 13.

⁷ Sura iv. 5. Cf. Sura xxxi. 12.

⁸ See Sura ix. 1-24, especially verses 4 and 6, also Sura xlvii. 4. Cf. H. Grimme's *Mohammed* (Munster i. W., 1892), I, note 1 to page 128; T. W. Arnold's *The Preaching of Islam* (New York, 1913), ch. ix, *The Spread of Islam in India*; Th. W. Juynboll's *Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 338. On the Sabians see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms* (Heidelberg, 1922), p. 35 and references.

⁹ See Juynboll as cited, p. 350.

¹⁰ Cf. Sura xxviii. 48-50; also Sura xiv. 4; xxxv. 22 and xl. 48; and see Ibn Taimiyya *Al-Jawāb as-Sahīh* (Kairo 1322/1905), I, pp. 3-13.

¹¹ See Ibn Taimiyya as cited, I, pp. 308-310, 379 seq. But cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-fisal fil-milal wan-nihal* (Kairo 1317-1321/1899-1903), parts (fisal) I and II, especially I, 187-198 and II, 5, 7-10, 11-15, 18-20, 50-54, 70. See E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter* (Breslau 1930), p. 38 seq.; and Ign. Di-Matteo, *Le Pretese contraddizioni della S. Scrittura secondo Ibn-Hazm*, in *Bessarione* 39 (1923), 77-127. For a short statement of the Muslim position cf. *Disputatio de Fide cum Philosopho Saraceno* (Nova Bibliotheca Patrum ed. Mei, IV), p. 477.7 and p. 451.12. Cf. also *The Apology* of [the Patriarch] Timothy before the Caliph Mahdi in Woodbrooke Studies, ed. Mingana, A., II, 1, pp. 47-57, text, 120a. 3 from bottom seq. Ibn Ḥazm's position is briefly that the New Testament is not revelation, whatever revelation Jesus received. Jesus had few followers, and they lived in secrecy and fear during three hundred years of persecution. The Christians, therefore, have no authentic tradition. There is no continuous tradition for the Old Testament, and, therefore, none for the New. The Christian tradition is based on only three individuals, Paul,

Mark and Luke, and these again are dependent on only five, Peter, Matthew, John, James and Judas. The Gospels are history merely. The Koran itself contains the accusation that Scriptures were corrupted; cf. Sura ii. 169; ii. 96.

¹² Cf. Ibn Taimiya as cited, III, 282 and 294; Al-Birūnī, *Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 191; Ali Tabari, *Kitāb addm wadda'ula*, ed. Mingana, p. 74 seq.

^{13, 14} See Ibn Taimiya as cited, II. 10 and 18. See Sir T. W. Arnold's *The Preaching of Islam*, pp. 47-55 A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, pp. 40-41. Pages 28 to 55 give a general description of the position of Jews and Christians in the Muslim State in the tenth century. Cf. Tabari, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje et alii, Leiden 1885-93, I, p. 2041.

¹⁵ Sura ii. 59. The Sabians of this verse were probably the Hemerobaptists.

¹⁶ See Mez as cited, pp. 29-30, 31-35; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, p. 350. Cf. Balādhuri, *Liber Expugnationes Regionum*, etc. (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1866), p. 79. Tabari, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Prima Series, pp. 2050, 2055. R. J. H. Gottheil, *Dhimmi and Moslems in Egypt* (Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper, Vol. ii., Chicago, 1908). See O. Loth on Tabari's Koran Commentary in *Zeitsch. d. deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellsch.* xxxv. (1881), p. 621, on a tradition the aim of which is to prove that the Magians were a people of the Book.

¹⁷ See Mez, pp. 41-42.

¹⁸ See Mez, pp. 47-49; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁹ *Isō' Yahb Patriarchae III Liber Epistularum*, Corpus Scriptorum Chr. or., Scriptorum Syri, ser. II, tom. 64, Paris (1904-5), ed. R. Duval, text, p. 251, ll. 13-19, cf. p. 252, ll. 8-12.

²⁰ L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām* (Milano 1905-) vol. II, pp. 831-61.

²¹ M. Hartmann, *Die Islamische Verfassung und Verwaltung* (Die Kultur der Gegenwart II, 2)

p. 73. Cf. T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, pp. 46-47.

²² Isho' Yahb's letters as cited note 19, p. 248, 12; p. 251, 19-28; Caetani as cited note 20, Vol. II, p. 1180; T. W. Arnold as cited note 22, pp. 69-101; Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary* (Paris 1843-71) (translated by Baron MacGuckin de Slane), vol. I, p. 45; *Chronique de Michael le Syrien*, ed. J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1899-1902, vol. ii, pp. 412-13; *Maris, Amri et Sibae De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, ed. H. Gismondi, Pars Prior (Romae 1899), p. 115, ll. 1-2; also p. 101, ll. 3-4; Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy (Louvain 1872-77), vol. iii. pp. 194, 230, 248, 288-90.

²³ See T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, pp. 214-216, 218, 234.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 158.

²⁵ Ibid. pp. 146 and 170.

²⁶ Ibid. pp. 168 and 177-205.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 171.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 257.

²⁹ Ibid. pp. 258-262.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 263.

³¹ Ibid. p. 291.

³² Ibid. p. 296.

³³ Ibid. p. 297.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 298.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 298.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 304.

³⁷ Ibid. pp. 302-304.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 303.

³⁹ Ibid. pp. 363-407.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 362. Cf. also pp. 317-333.

⁴¹ L'islam et le Christianisme en Afrique d'après un Africain (*Journal des Missions Évangéliques*, 63^e année, p. 207) (Paris 1888).

⁴² T. W. Arnold, pp. 340, 356, 357, 361, 405. Observe Dougty's drastic comment on Islam, *Arabia Deserta*, i, p. 100: "Enormous indeed has been the event of Mohammed's religious faction! The old Semitic currencies in religion were uttered new under that bastard stamp of the (expedite, factious and liberal) Arabian spirit, and digested to an easy, sober rule of human life, (a pleasant, carnal congruity looking not above men's possibility). Are not Mohammed's saws today the mother belief of a tenth part of mankind? What would the world have been, if the tongue had not wagged of this fatal Ishmaelite? Even a thin-witted religion that can array an human multitude, is a main power in the history of the unjust world."

⁴³ See Sir T. W. Arnold's *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 32; H. A. R. Gibb, *Law and Religion in Islam* (in the series *Judaism and Christianity*, vol. III,—Law and Religion, (London 1937), p. 149 seq.; Martin Hartmann, *Die islamische Verfassung und Verwaltung* (*Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, II, 2), p. 56 seq.; D. de Santillana, *Law and Society*, in *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford 1931), p. 288 seq.; J. Schacht, *G. Bergsträssers Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts* (Berlin 1935).

⁴⁴ See J. W. Allen, *A History of Political Thought in the 16th Century*, pp. 21-26 and 52-67.

⁴⁵ Page 147.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 148.

⁴⁷ See J. W. Allen as cited in note 45, pp. 11-32.

⁴⁸ *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 146.

⁴⁹ See *Islam in the World* (Lahore 1938), p. 57.

⁵⁰ See Hartmann as cited note 44, p. 76, and cf. J. J. I. Döllinger, *Muhammed's Religion* (1838), pp. 35, 45, 68ff.

⁵¹ See J. W. Allen as cited note 45, pp. 54-56. Cf. for Luther pp. 18-21.

⁵² See G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1927), vol. II, p. 7, citing

Sifra, Aharè Perek 13.

⁵³ Ibid., vol. II, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Ibid., vol. I, p. 112.

⁵⁵ See M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christentums* (Zurich 1913), p. 101.

⁵⁶ See G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, p. 112. Cf. for this paragraph in the Koran Suras ii. 91, 209; iii. 2; xlii. 36; xxvi. 192; xxxvii. 117; xlv. 1; lxix. 40; lxxxi. 19; and lxxxvii. 18-19. Cf. the references in notes 2, 3, 7, 9, 10 and 11.

⁵⁷ Ibid., vol. I, pp. 229-232; vol. ii, p. 311.

⁵⁸ Cf. Suras iii. 98; ix. 3-28, 121; xix. 97; xx. 112; xxvi. 192, 195; xxxix. 28-29; xli. 44;

xliii. 5; xliiii. 2-8; xlv. 68.



- ⁶⁰ *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 27. For Koran cf. Suras ii. 192 seq.; iii. 90; xxii. 28 seq.; xlii. 28; ii. 136-140; v. 98; ii. 153.
- ⁶¹ H. Lammens, *Les Sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale* (en *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph, Beyrouth*, X. 2), pp. 91/127-133/169. Cf. also pp. 59/95 and 85/121.
- ⁶² See H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Zweiter Teil (Münster i. W. 1895), pp. 126-127.
- ⁶³ Cf. the Meccan Sura lxxii. 18, and the late Medinan ix. 17 seq., and Grimme as cited in previous note. Cf. also Suras ii. 119, 153 and iii. 90.
- ⁶⁴ See Tor Andrae, *Mohammed, sein Leben und sein Glaube* (Göttingen, 1932), p. 19.
- ⁶⁵ Cf. Sura ii. 57-58. Cf. with this Ps. L: 12-13 and Is. I.
- ⁶⁶ *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York 1889), pp. 46-55, especially p. 51.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Sura ii. 137 and M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik* etc., p. 138.
- ⁶⁸ Cf. Suras viii. 73 and 76; ix. 10; and xlvii. 24.
- ⁶⁹ See H. Grimme as cited note 62, p. 49.
- ⁷⁰ See Balādhuri, *Origins of the Islamic State*, vol. 1 (translated by P. K. Hitti), pp. 10, 91, 105-108, 440.
- ⁷¹ Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien* (Halle A. S., 1889), vol. I, pp. 147-176, on the *Shu'ubiyya*.
- ⁷² See Goldziher, *ibid.*, pp. 69 seq., for the Koranic basis and later development of the Muslim doctrine of the equality of all believers.
- ⁷³ The Egyptian moderate reform journal, *al-Manār*, writes: "The assertion that the Government and the State should be separated from religion is one that necessitates the blotting of Islamic authority out of existence and the abrogating entirely of the Islamic Shari'ah." Were Muslims to adopt the Christian position on this matter "we should have laid aside half of our religion." It characterizes the Nationalists of Egypt and Turkey as atheists and infidels, because religion is not fundamental in their ideas of nationality. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, on the contrary, holds that Muhammad did not attempt to found a state, nor was it part of his apostolic mission to do so, and advocates separation of Church and State (see C. C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism*, pp. 259-264 and 267).
- ⁷⁴ See Zaki Ali, *Islam in the World* (Lahore 1938), p. 21. The Ash'arite orthodox school came to power, however, through the good offices of Nizam ul-Mulk, the vizier of Malik-Shah (1072-1092). See C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten* (Munich and Berlin, 1939), p. 158.
- ⁷⁵ For a spiritual bond between the founder of a religious organization and its adherents we must turn to the Derwich brotherhoods in Islam.
- ⁷⁶ It is possible at least to take the sacrifice in the valley of Mina, the Bairam festival, in this sense, although it is commonly assigned as a memorial to Abraham, the father of all true believers.
- ⁷⁷ See his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 80. For Koran see Sura ii. 28-35.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 90. For the Koran cf. Suras liiii. 39; lxxiv. 41; lxxx. 34; lxxxii. 19. See also Suras xlv. 41 and xlv. 14.
- ⁷⁹ See C. H. Becker, *Islam studien*, vol. I, p. 1 seq.
- ⁸⁰ See H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, II, p. 110. For Koran cf. Suras ix. 116; also xxxvii. 69-71; xlv. 4-12; xx. 134. Cf. also I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten, Ihr Lehrsystem und Ihre Geschichte*, p. 99.
- ⁸¹ Becker, *Islamstudien*, pp. 432-449. This is his *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* etc., vol. xxvi, p. 125 seq.
- ⁸² See Tor Andrae, *Die person Muhammads in lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm 1917), ch. vi. pp. 333 seq. Cf. also Johannes Kantakuzenos, *Apologia* iv, Migne, PG. 154, p. 533/4.
- ⁸³ C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik* etc., p. 187.
- ⁸⁴ Muhammed's Religion, p. 59.
- ⁸⁵ See E. Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*; Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in Arabischer Sprache, p. 102 seq.
- ⁸⁶ See G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. I, 251-262, esp. pp. 254 and 258; vol. II, 5.
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 254.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 269 seq.
- ⁸⁹ *Istislāh* und *Istihṣān*. In practice the first is admitted by all schools in certain cases. See H. A. R. Gibb, *Law and Religion in Islam*, in *Judaism and Christianity*, vol. III, p. 153.
- ⁹⁰ Cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. II, 28-29.
- ⁹¹ See H. A. R. Gibb in *Judaism and Christianity*, vol. III, pp. 151-154. The extreme traditionalist school of the Zāhirites defined *Ijmā'* only as the agreement of the Companions of the Prophet, however (See I. Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten*, p. 32). The Zāhirites also did not accept analogical reasoning (*Ibid.*, p. 182).
- ⁹² M. Hartmann, *Die islamische Verfassung und Verwaltung in Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, II, 2, p. 56. For the general history and conception of *Ijmā'* see I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, pp. 53-56, section 6.
- ⁹³ See H. A. R. Gibb as cited note 89, pp. 159-161.
- ⁹⁴ J. J. I. Döllinger, *Muhammed's Religion*, p. 4.
- ⁹⁵ See I. Friedländer, *Die Messiasidee im Islam in Festschrift. . . . A. Berliner's*, 1903, p. 116 seq. Cf. also I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ch. iv, pp. 139-185.
- ⁹⁶ See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Muhammedanism*, p. 61.
- ⁹⁷ *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York 1933), p. 62.
- ⁹⁸ See *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris 1904), J. B. Chabot, p. 405, col. 2, l. 3; translation, p. 403.
- ⁹⁹ *De Haeresibus*, chap. vii, §§ 99-100 (PG. 94, 761-773).
- ¹⁰⁰ See C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung in Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* etc., xxvi., p. 179; Carl Güterbock, *Der Islam im Licht der Byzantinischen Polemik*, pp. 10-12, 24-33, 40 seq.
- ¹⁰¹ *Divine Comedy*, *Inferno*, Canto xxvii.
- ¹⁰² Almost the only other subjects of debate are Freewill or Predestination and the validity of the respective revelations. See E. Fritsch's book quoted in note 85. Cf. Theodore Abū Qurrah in Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 97, p. 1537.
- ¹⁰³ Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Muhammedanism*, p. 33; Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum* (Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift 1923), (Uppsala, 1926), K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Koran* (Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft, Bd. 84 (May 1930); *Muhammed als Religionsstifter* (Leipzig 1935); *Geschichte des Korans*, T. Nöldeke, 2nd edition by Schwally and others (Leipzig 1909-), esp. vol. I, p. 102. Cf. also R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London 1926); W. Rudolph, *Die Abhängigkeit des Korans von Judentum und Christentum* (Stuttgart 1922), p. 89.

¹⁰⁴ See W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles* (London 1871), *passim*. Cf. Tor Andrae's *Ursprung* cited in previous notes on St. Ephraim and Apbraates.

¹⁰⁵ See M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christentums*. Ahrens cites the Revelation of John often as a Christian source of Koranic ideas (see note 103); but G. F. Moore points out in his *Judaism* (vol. II, p. 286), that it "not only adopts the conventional forms of Jewish apocalyptic, but appropriates and adapts a large part of its substance from Jewish sources. The nearness of the Judgment, that is sometimes emphasized as a peculiarly Christian characteristic, is found in Enoch and Baruch. The Koranic Abraham also appears in Jubilees. Cf. Sura xx. 15 for Muhammad's feeling of the nearness of the Judgment.

¹⁰⁶ See Sura iii. 48.

¹⁰⁷ See Sura iii. 52.

¹⁰⁸ xxxviii. 31; xl. 4; and xlii. 2.

¹⁰⁹ iii. 11.

¹¹⁰ vii. 16-18.

¹¹¹ See Ö. Rescher in *Wiener Zeitsch. f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxvii (1913), p. 397.

¹¹² Cf. his *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 401.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 360-361.

¹¹⁴ Suras i, 1-7; lxxiv. 55; xcvi. 3; xcix. 7-8; xciii. 5; xvi. 38-41; xxv. 64; xxxix. 35-36; xlv. 10.

¹¹⁵ Sura xxxix. 54. Cf. xxvi. 7.

¹¹⁶ Sura xx. 84.

¹¹⁷ Sura xxviii. 68.

¹¹⁸ Sura iii. 77.

¹¹⁹ Sura lvii. 22. Cf. lxiv. 11.

¹²⁰ Sura x. 62. Cf. lxxxv. 9 seq.

¹²¹ Cf. his *Ibānah* (Haidarābād, Deccan, 1321 H), p. 8, bottom seq. For a translation cf. W. O. Klein, *Abu'l Hasan. . . . Al-Aṣṣarī's Al-Ibānah* etc. (New Haven, 1940), pp. 50-51; cf. also his *Die Dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam*, hrsg. H. Ritter (Istanbul, 1929-30), vol. II, p. 548 seq.

¹²² Cf. Sura liv. 29.

¹²³ This paragraph is based on the *Kitāb al-Qadr* of Al-Qaṣṭalānī's *Irshād al-Sārī* on Al-Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* (Bulaq, 1305 A. H.), vol. ix, pp. 343-362.

¹²⁴ See I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, ch. iii, p. 104.

¹²⁵ See note 123. For Al-Ash'ari cf. his *Die Dogmatischen Lehren* etc. (see note 121), vol. II, pp. 538-542.

¹²⁶ See his *Three Essays on Religion* (London 1874), Part II, pp. 176-177.

The Word "Pakistan"

For the benefit of its readers in England *The Manchester Guardian* explains the origin of the word "Pakistan" as follows:—Powerfully reinforced by material extracted from *The Encyclopoedia of Islam* it may be said that *Pakistan* means the land of the *Paks* and that the word "Pak" means "pure, clean," and comprises "all that is noble and sacred in life for a Muslim." But *Pakistan* is also evolved from the names of five provinces in the North-West of India which includes large numbers of Muslims. In the spelling and terminology of the authority already mentioned "P" from Punjab, "A" from "Afghanistan" (or the North-West Frontier Province), "K" from "Kashmir," "S" from "Sindh," and "TAN" from "Baluchistan," the whole forming, in the intention of C. Rahmat Ali, who founded the Pakistan National Movement, a name which would assist those five regions in "preserving their historical, national, and political entity as distinct from Hindustan proper." In other words, Pakistan is a symbol of the claim of Indian Muslims to a nationhood of their own and of their anxiety not to be overwhelmed by the numerically superior Hindus.

—Dnyanodaya.

THE TERMS *TAŞAWWUR* AND *TAŞDĪQ* IN ARABIC PHILOSOPHY AND THEIR GREEK, LÁTIN AND HEBREW EQUIVALENTS

Throughout the history of Arabic philosophy, beginning with Alfarabi, works on Logic open with the formula that knowledge is divided into *taşawwur* and *taşdıq*. These two terms lend themselves to various translations,¹ of which "formation" and "affirmation" are closest to the original Arabic. The distinction, on the whole, corresponds to the distinction usually made by logicians between "simple apprehension" and "judgment." But the origin of these two Arabic terms has baffled modern scholarship for over a century. As to the various explanations which have been offered, we shall enumerate them and comment upon them at the end of the paper, after we have completed our own investigation of the subject.

But let us first get a complete and orderly picture of the manner in which the distinction is used in Arabic philosophy. As the basis of our investigation we shall take eight texts of five Arabic authors: I. Alfarabi's (1) *'Uyūn al-Masā'il*,² II. Avicenna's (2) *Shifā'*,³ (3) *Najāt*⁴ and (4) *Ishārāt*,⁵ III. Al-gazali's (5) *Maqāşid al-Falāsifah*,⁶ IV. Shahrastani's (6) *Kitāb al-Milal wal-Niḥal*,⁷ and V, Averroes' (7) *Faşl al-Maqāl wal-Taqrīr mā bain al-Sharī'ah wal-Hikmiah min al-Ittişāl*,⁸ and (8) *Epitome of the Organon*.⁹ Of these eight texts, the *'Uyūn* and the *Maqāşid* give complete treatments of the subject; the others contain abridged or fragmentary treatments of it.

To begin with, there are two terms which are used in the various Arabic texts as a description of that which is divided into *taşawwur* and *taşdıq*. They are the terms doctrine (*ma'rifah*) and discipline (*'ilm*),¹⁰ though sometimes only the term doctrine (*ta'ālīm*)¹¹ or only the term discipline (*'ilm*)¹² or disciplines (*'ulūm*)¹³ is used.

Then, in the various definitions of the *taşawwur* and *taşdıq* in these Arabic texts, we find certain characteristic

terms which describe the distinction between them. As contrasted with *taşdîq*, *taşawwur* is called the first knowledge (*al-ilm al-awwal*).¹⁴ It is said to imply that there is (1) a thing (*al-shai*,¹⁵ *res*¹⁶) or a simple thing (*amr sâdiğ*)¹⁷ and that that simple thing is designated by (2) a term (*ism*,¹⁸ *nomen*¹⁹) or by a single term (*dictio separata*²⁰), which conveys to the mind (3) the meaning (*ma'na*,²¹ *intentio*²²) or the essence (*substantia*²³) of that thing, in which meaning, however, (4) there is no truth or falsehood.²⁴ In contradistinction to this, *taşdîq* is said to be the "assertion or the denial of something about something."²⁵

Besides the main distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdîq*, each of these two is further subdivided into primary (*awwaliyy*) and acquired (*muktasib*).²⁶ The primary kind of *taşawwur* is described as that which "comes to a stop and is not connected with any preceding *taşawwur*,"²⁷ whereas acquired *taşawwur* is that which "is completed only by some preceding *taşawwur*,"²⁸ and similarly primary *taşdîq* is that which "is not preceded by another *taşdîq* upon which it is dependent,"²⁹ whereas acquired *taşdîq* is that "which one cannot comprehend without having comprehended some other things."³⁰ Or, the distinction between primary *taşawwur* and *taşdîq* and acquired *taşawwur* and *taşdîq* is said to be between "that which is comprehended primarily without investigation and search and that which is obtained only by investigation."³¹ There is thus altogether a fourfold division: (1) primary *taşawwur*, (2) acquired *taşawwur*, (3) primary *taşdîq*, and (4) acquired *taşdîq*.

Each of these four kinds of knowledge is illustrated in the various Arabic texts by certain examples. Let us examine these examples.

Primary *taşawwur* is illustrated in the 'Uyûn by the terms "necessity" (*al-wujûb*), "existence" (*al-wujûd*) and possibility (*al-mukn*),²⁹ and these are described as "self-evident and true concepts which are implanted in the mind."³⁰ In the *Maqâşid*, it is illustrated by the terms being (*al-maujûd*) and thing (*al-shai*).³¹ Now, the term "that which exists" or "being" ($\tau\omicron\delta\ \acute{o}\nu$, *ens*, *al-maujûd*), together with the term "unity",

is described by Aristotle as one of the most generic terms, transcending even the categories.³² Similarly the term "thing" (*res*) is included in what in post-Aristotelian philosophy is known as the six *transcendentales*, which, like the terms "being" and "unity" in Aristotle, are described as the most generic terms.³³ Consequently in these Arabic texts, the primary kind of *taṣawwur* refers to those concepts which, like "being" and "one" in Aristotle and like the six *transcendentales* in post-Aristotelian philosophy, are most generic and therefore conceived without the aid of anything prior to them.

The acquired kind of *taṣawwur* is illustrated in the '*Uyūn* by the term body (*al-jism*), which, it says, implies a prior knowledge of the terms "length, breadth and depth,"³⁴ and to this kind of *taṣawwur* also evidently belong the terms sun, moon, soul and intellect, mentioned there previously as illustrations of the term *taṣawwur* in general.³⁵ In the *Maqāṣid* it is similarly illustrated by the terms body, tree, jinn, and spirit,³⁶ for all of these it says, depend upon "the conception of the things which reveal their essences."³⁷ In the *Shifā'*, it is illustrated by the term "man."³⁸

The descriptions or illustrations of these two kinds of *taṣawwur* in the other texts are not so clear, but we shall try to explain them in the light of the statements in those texts which we have quoted.

In the *Najāt* it is said that *taṣawwur* is acquired by a definition and what is like it, as, e.g., our forming the concept of the quiddity of a man.³⁹ This is evidently a description of the acquired kind of *taṣawwur*, though no distinction between these two kinds of *taṣawwur* is made in the *Najāt*. In Shahrastani the expression "definition and what is like it" is definitely used as an illustration of the acquired kind of *taṣawwur*.⁴⁰ Similarly in the *Ishārāt*, when "simple *taṣawwur*" is illustrated by "our knowledge of the meaning of the term triangle,"⁴¹ the reference is to the acquired kind of *taṣawwur*, for the term "triangle" implies some prior conception, namely, that of "angles" and "three."

In the *Faṣl*, *taṣawwur* is illustrated by the terms "[1] the thing itself (*al-shai nafsuhu*) and [2] the image thereof (*mith-*

āluhu).⁴² Here, I take it, the term “the thing itself” should be understood in the sense of “the concept of thing” and as the equivalent of the term “thing” used in the *Maqāṣid*, where, as we have shown, it is used in the sense of what is known as the *transcendentales*, and hence this term should also be understood as being used by Averroes as an illustration of the primary kind of *taṣawwur*. Accordingly, the term “the image thereof” is to be taken here as referring to some perceptible thing, analogous to the term “body” in the ‘*Uyūn* and the *Maqāṣid*, and hence as being used by Averroes as an illustration of the acquired kind of *taṣawwur*.

If our interpretation of this statement of Averroes is correct, then the terms “the thing itself” and “the image thereof” are survivals of the Platonic philosophic vocabulary in a system of philosophy which is not Platonic. The term *al-shai nafsuhu* reflects exactly such Platonic terms as αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν⁴³ and πῦρ αὐτό,⁴⁴ which in Plato mean “the idea of beauty” and “the idea of fire,” and the term *mithāl* is an exact translation of the Greek εἰκὼν, which is used by Plato as a description of perceptible objects.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Averroes’ term *al-shai nafsuhu* is an exact literal translation of the term αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα which occurs in a Stoic fragment in Sextus Empiricus,⁴⁶ and which means the concept of a thing. Later, we shall show that some such passage as that recorded in Sextus Empiricus is one of the sources of the discussion of *taṣawwur* and *taṣdīq* in Arabic texts.⁴⁷

The primary kind of *taṣdīq* is illustrated in the ‘*Uyūn* by the law of excluded middle and by the geometrical axiom that “the whole is greater than the part.”⁴⁸ In the *Maqāṣid*, it is illustrated by two geometrical axioms and by what Aristotle calls primary premises (ἀρχαί) of which Algazali gives a list of thirteen.⁴⁹

The acquired kind of *taṣdīq* is defined in the *Najāt* and in Shahrastani as that which is obtained by a syllogism (*qiyās*).⁵⁰ In the ‘*Uyūn* it is illustrated by the proposition that “the world is created.”⁵¹ The *Maqāṣid* adds to this the propositions that bodies will be resurrected at the last judgment and that the obedient will be rewarded and the rebellious will be pun-

ished.⁵² The *Najāt* uses as an illustration the proposition that "for everything there is a beginning,"⁵³ which is only another way of phrasing the proposition, "the world is created" used in the *Uyūn*, and the *Ishārāt* uses the proposition that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles.⁵⁴ In the *Shifā'* the proposition that white is an accident is evidently also used as an illustration of the acquired kind of *taṣdīq*. In the *Epitome of the Organon*, it is illustrated by propositions regarding the existence of a vacuum and the creation of the world.

In the *Faṣl*, no formal distinction is made in *taṣdīq* between primary and acquired. All that Averroes says is that the methods of *taṣdīq* are three: "demonstrative (*al-burhāniyyah*), dialectical (*al-jadaliyyah*) and rhetorical (*al-ḥuṭbiyyah*)".⁵⁵ Ostensibly, this statement is based on a passage in *Analytica Posteriora* I, 1, quoted below,⁵⁶ where rhetorical persuasion is said to be based on "pre-existent knowledge", inasmuch as it uses "either example, a kind of induction, or enthymeme, a form of syllogism".⁵⁷ But, as used here by Averroes, I take it, "demonstrative and dialectical methods" refers to acquired *taṣdīq* and "rhetorical method" refers to primary *taṣdīq*. My reason for this interpretation of the passage is Averroes' explanation of the rhetorical method, in contradistinction to the dialectical and demonstrative methods, as a method which endeavors to establish belief by means of *mathal* and *shibh*.⁵⁸ These two terms, I take it, represent respectively the Greek γνῶμη, *maxim*, and παράδειγμα, *example*, which, according to Aristotle, are two of the three rhetorical methods of establishing faith (πίστις *taṣdīq*), the third being the enthymeme,⁵⁹ which is left out here by Averroes. Now both *maxim* and *example*, in contradistinction to enthymeme, are considered by Aristotle as immediate or as non-syllogistic knowledge. Maxims are described by him as "conclusions or premises of enthymemes without the syllogisms"⁶⁰ and as being generally known or agreed upon or self-evident.⁶¹ Similarly *example* is defined by him as a "rhetorical induction"⁶² and induction is considered by him as being the opposite of syllogism and demonstration⁶³ and as depend-

ing upon our senses.⁶⁴ When therefore Averroes says that the methods of *taşdīq* are “demonstrative, dialectical and rhetorical”, he means thereby that *taşdīq* is either acquired, such as is obtained syllogistically by arguments, or primary, such as is learned not syllogistically but rather immediately by “maxims” or inductively by “examples”.

Here then we have a composite outline of what Arabic philosophers thought of *taşawwur* and *taşdīq*, how they defined these terms, how they subdivided each of these terms, and how they illustrated them by examples. We shall now try to show the Greek sources not only of the distinction in general, but of the general scheme of classification and of the examples used, and on the basis of all this we shall establish the origin of the terminology.

II

The key to these Greek sources is furnished by Averroes, who in at least three places in his commentaries on Aristotle connects the Arabic distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdīq* with a particular passage in Aristotle which he happens to discuss.

The first passage in Aristotle with which Averroes connects the distinction of formation and affirmation is *De Interpretatione*, ch. 4. In that chapter, Aristotle makes a distinction between a sentence (λόγος, *qaul*) and a word (φάσις, *lafzah*).⁶⁵ A sentence, he says, if it is enunciative (ἀποφαντικός, *jāzim*), has in it either truth or falsity,⁶⁶ whereas a word, though it has meaning (σημαντική), expresses no affirmation or negation.⁶⁷

Commenting upon this, Averroes in the Latin translations of his Middle Commentary on the *De Interpretatione* says that what Aristotle calls “word” is *per modum intelligentiae et conceptionis* (or *intellectus et formationis*), *non per modum affirmationis et negationis*.⁶⁸ The Latin term *conceptio* or *formatio* here reflects the Arabic *taşawwur*. Thus, according to Averroes’ suggestion here, the Arabic distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdīq* corresponds to Aristotle’s distinction here between a “word” and an “enunciative sen-

tence." This passage of Aristotle will also explain the use of the terms word (*'ibārah, ism, φάσις*) and meaning (*ma'na, σημαϊνόμενον*) in connection with *taṣawwur* and the expressions affirmation and negation in connection with *taṣdīq*. Still, while the distinction made here by Aristotle undoubtedly corresponds to the distinction between *taṣawwur* and *taṣdīq* in the Arabic texts and while also Aristotle's ἀποφαντικός λόγος may explain the use of the term *taṣdīq*, for the ἀποφαντικός λόγος is defined as that "in which there is either truth or falsity"⁶⁹ and the term *taṣdīq* literally means "to consider truthful" or to "affirm," there is no explanation in this passage for the use of the term *taṣawwur*. Furthermore, Averroes couples here the term *intelligentia* or *intellectus* (= *'aql.*) with the term *conceptio* or *formatio* (= *taṣawwur*). We should like to know what reason is there for his coupling these two terms.

The second passage in Aristotle with which Averroes connects conception and judgment is *De Anima* III, 6.

In that passage of *De Anima*, Aristotle says: "The thinking (*νόησις*) of indivisibles is in those cases in which there is no falsehood; but in cases in which both truth and falsehood are possible, there is already some combining of notions into one."⁷⁰ Then later Aristotle explains these two statements. With regard to the second statement, he says: "The assertion (*φάσις*) of something about something, as, e.g., an affirmation, as well as every composite sentence, is either true or false."⁷¹ With regard to the first statement, he says that in the case of thought (*νοῦς*), i.e., in the case of thinking (*νόησις*), "the assertion of the quiddity of a thing is true."⁷²

Now in the Arabic translation of the *De Anima*, as may be judged from the Latin⁷³ as well as the Hebrew⁷⁴ translation of it which is included in Averroes' Long Commentary on it, the term *νόησις* in this passage was translated by *taṣwīr*, for in the Latin it is *formare* and in the Hebrew *zayyer*. By *formare* and its underlying Arabic *taṣwīr* is meant here the process of forming a concept in the mind, for in Arabic the

term *taşwîr* by itself may mean both the forming of an image and the forming of a concept,⁷⁵ though, through usage, it is more often associated with the formation of images. Commenting on this passage, Averroes identifies Aristotle's distinction between these two actions of the mind, namely, that of thinking ($\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$) of indivisibles, or the thought ($\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$) of them, and that of the assertion of something concerning something with what he describes as the "more renowned" distinction between *formatio* and *fides*—two terms which reflect respectively the Arabic terms *taşawwur* and *taşdîq*.⁷⁶ Similarly, in his comment upon the statement in which Aristotle contrasts the "assertion of something about something" and "the assertion of the quiddity of a thing," Averroes refers to these two as *fides* and *formatio*, that is to say, *taşdîq* and *taşawwur*.⁷⁷ Furthermore, in his comment on Aristotle's expression "thinking of indivisibles," the term indivisibles ($\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha\iota\acute{\rho}\epsilon\tau\alpha$) is explained by him by the term simple things (*res simplices*).⁷⁸ In this passage then, we have the source of the distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdîq* in Arabic texts, the use of the terms "simple" and "quiddity" in the description of *taşawwur* in some of those texts. Though the *taşawwur* in the Arabic texts is said to be neither true nor false, whereas the $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of simple things is said here by Aristotle to be "in those things in which there is no falsehood," this statement must have been understood by Arabic philosophers to mean that there is in them neither falsehood nor truth. In fact, this is how this statement is interpreted by Averroes.⁷⁹ On the basis of this passage, too, we may assume that the Arabic *taşawwur* is a translation of the Greek $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and is the equivalent of $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$. This will explain the use of the expression *per modum intelligentiae* (or *intellectus*) *et conceptionis* (or *formationis*) used by Averroes in the passage of his Middle Commentary on the *De Interpretatione* referred to above. In that passage *conceptio* or *formatio* (*taşawwur*) represents $\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$, whereas *intellectus* (*'aql*) represents $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, both of which are used interchangeably here in *De Anima*.

The third passage in Aristotle with which Averroes connects the distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdîq* is in *Analytica Priora* I, 1-2.

In that passage Aristotle begins with the statement that "all doctrine (*διδασκαλία*) and all intellectual discipline (*μάθησις*) arise from pre-existent knowledge (*προϋπαρχούση γνῶσις*)." ⁸⁰ The terms "doctrine" and "intellectual discipline" are explained by him to refer to (1) mathematical sciences and other arts, (2) logical reasoning and (3) rhetorical persuasion. ⁸¹ Then "pre-existent knowledge" is said by him to be of two kinds: (1) "with some things we must presuppose that they are, but (2) with others we must understand that which is spoken of." ⁸² As an illustration of the first kind of pre-existent knowledge he quotes the proposition stating the law of excluded middle, ⁸³ and as an illustration of the second kind of pre-existent knowledge he mentions the term triangle. ⁸⁴ In the course of his discussion he also mentions the geometrical proposition that the angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles as a previously known major premise in a syllogism, ⁸⁵ but evidently this proposition, though described here as a previously known major premise in a syllogism, is itself subject to demonstration. ⁸⁶

In his Long Commentary on this passage Averroes quotes Alfarabi to the effect that the distinction drawn here by Aristotle refers to the distinction between primary and acquired under both *taṣawwur* and *taṣdīq*. Averroes, however, disagrees with him, contending that in the *Analytica Posteriora* Aristotle deals only with *taṣdīq*. ⁸⁷ In his Middle Commentary, commenting upon Aristotle's two kinds of pre-existent knowledge, he says of the proposition stating the law of excluded middle that it is what is called *verificatio*, i.e., *taṣdīq*, and of the term triangle that it is what is called *formatio*, i.e., *taṣawwur*. ⁸⁸

From Averroes' discussion of this passage we may gather that the main distinction between *taṣawwur* and *taṣdīq* is already assumed and that all that this passage does is to introduce the subdivision of "primary" and "acquired" either under both *taṣawwur* and *taṣdīq* according to Alfarabi, or only under *taṣdīq* according to Averroes.

But though the main distinction between *taṣawwur* and

taşdīq is not based upon this passage, some of the expressions and illustrations found in the Arabic texts we have quoted, in their discussion of this main distinction, are derived from this passage. Thus the terms *ma'rifah* and *'ilm* used in the *Najāt*⁸⁹ as that which is divided into *taşawwur* and *taşdīq*, and also the term *ta'alīm* used in the *Faṣl*⁹⁰ as the equivalent of *ma'rifah*, are literal translations of the terms *διδασκαλία* and *μάθησις διανοητική* used in this passage by Aristotle. Similarly the illustration of *taşawwur* by the meaning of the term triangle,⁹¹ the definition of *taşdīq* as that which is true or false,⁹² the illustration of the primary kind of *taşdīq* by the proposition stating the law of excluded middle,⁹³ the definition of the acquired kind of *taşdīq* as being based upon demonstrative, dialectical and rhetorical arguments,⁹⁴ and the illustration thereof by the geometrical proposition that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles⁹⁵—all this is to be found in this passage of the *Analytica Posteriora*.

We have now collected from the writings of Aristotle all the strands from which were woven together the various discussions in Arabic literature of the distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdīq*. In Aristotle, too, we have found the prototype of these two Arabic terms. Of *taşawwur* it is *νόησις*; of *taşdīq* it is *ἀποφαντικός λόγος*. But still all this does not seem to us to explain everything. We have a feeling that between the scattered statements in Aristotle and the concise formal distinction which we find in Arabic literature from Alfarabi on, there must have been some intermediate source in which that formal distinction as we find it in Arabic literature is already to be found. Can we find some such source? Then, again, with regard to the term *taşdīq*, while it may be explained etymologically as having been suggested by the definition of *ἀποφαντικός λόγος*,⁹⁶ we have a feeling that there must have already been in Greek one single term which expressed that idea and of which one single term the term *taşdīq* is a direct translation. Is there such a term to be found in Greek literature?

A passage like the one which we feel must have been the immediate source of the Arabic discussions of *taşawwur* and *taşdīq* is to be found, I believe, in Sextus Empiricus.

Speaking in the name of the Stoics, he says: "Three things are connected with each other, the meaning (τὸ σημαίνόμενον), that which expresses the meaning (τὸ σημαίνον) and the thing (τὸ τυγχάνον). Of these, that which expresses the meaning is the spoken word, as the word Dion; the meaning is the concept of the thing (αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα), which is designated by the spoken word and which, when presented before our mind, is apprehended by us; the barbarians do not understand this, even though they hear a voice; the thing, finally, is that which has external existence, as Dion himself. Of these, two are corporeal, namely, the spoken word and thing, and one is incorporeal, namely, [the concept of] the thing meant (σημαινόμενον πρᾶγμα) and expressed (λεκτόν), and this may be either true or false. This last statement, however, does not apply to all verbal expressions alike, for of verbal expressions some are defective (i.e., words) and others are complete in themselves (i.e., enunciative sentences), the latter kind being called judgment (ἄξιωμα), and it is this latter kind which they (the Stoics) describe by saying: 'Judgment is that which is either true or false'."⁹⁷ To this statement of Sextus Empiricus, we may add the fact that in Dlogenes' restatement of the teachings of the Stoics, the term φαντασία λογική, *rational imagination*, is used as corresponding to the terms τὸ σημαίνόμενον, *the meaning*, and αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα, *concept of the thing*. But the Stoic φαντασία λογική, we know, is used as the equivalent of what Aristotle calls νόησις.⁹⁸ Similarly we know that the Stoic ἄξιωμα is used as the equivalent of what Aristotle calls ἀποφαντικός λόγος,⁹⁹ and it differs from Aristotle's use of the term ἄξιωμα, with whom it means the indemonstrable premises of a demonstration.¹⁰⁰

It is some statement like the one quoted in Sextus Empiricus in the name of the Stoics that may be considered as the intermediary source under the influence of which the Aristotelian views on this subject were formulated in Arabic philosophy. Here we get all the four characteristics of *taşawwur* that we have met with in the Arabic texts, viz., (1) thing,

(2) meaning, (3) word, and (4) neither true nor false. Here, too, we find the single word ἀξιωμα, which can perfectly serve as a model of the Arabic term *taşdīq*. Diogenes, quoting Chrysippus, says: "A judgment (ἀξιωμα) is that which in and by itself can be denied or affirmed," and then adds: "The Greek word for judgment (ἀξιωμα) is derived from the verb ἀξιῶν, to consider worthy, as signifying acceptance or rejection."¹⁰¹ The Arabic word for judgment (*taşdīq*), we may similarly say, is derived from the verb *taşdīq*, to consider truthful, as signifying acceptance or rejection. We have already called attention to the fact that the term *al-shai nafsuhu* used by Averroes is an exact translation of the term αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα used in the Stoic quotation in Sextus Empiricus.¹⁰²

In the light of this discussion, let us examine the various explanations of the origin of *taşawwur* to which we have referred at the beginning of the paper. Schmoelders, who was the first among modern scholars to deal with the subject, merely refers to Aristotle's distinction between axiom or thesis and demonstration.¹⁰³ But these terms can at best be used only as source of the distinction between primary and acquired *taşdīq*, but not of the distinction between *taşawwur* and *taşdīq*. Prantl, in the first edition of his work, identified *formatio* and *verificatio* in the Latin translation of Averroes' *Epitome of the Organon* with definition and argumentation respectively, and suggested that the terms *formatio* and *verificatio* were introduced from "Arabic-Jewish" literature.¹⁰⁴ Steinschneider corrected him and added references, but did not explain the origin of these terms.¹⁰⁵ Beer confesses ignorance of the origin of these two terms and suggests that they must have been original Arabic terms coined especially for the purpose of designating the two parts into which logic was usually divided.¹⁰⁶ Nallino positively declares that these terms have no equivalents in Aristotle's logic, and described them as oriental.¹⁰⁷ This, as we have seen, is incorrect. Madkour declares this distinction to be a restatement of what he describes as Aristotle's distinction at the beginning of the *Analytica Posteriora* between "intuition and rational" knowledge.¹⁰⁸ This passage, as we have seen, explains only the origin of the

distinction between primary and derivative either under both *taṣawwur* and *taṣḍīq*, according to Alfarabi, or only under *taṣḍīq*, according to Averroes, but it is not the origin of the main distinction between *taṣawwur* and *taṣḍīq*. Kraus suggests the Stoic φαντασία and συγκατάθεσις as the origin of the terms *taṣawwur* and *taṣḍīq*.¹⁰⁹ As we have seen, the equivalent of *taṣawwur* in Stoic vocabulary is not φαντασία but rather φαντασία λογική, and the opposite of that term in the Stoic vocabulary corresponding to *taṣḍīq* is not συγκατάθεσις but rather ἀξίωμα. The term συγκατάθεσις is never contrasted with φαντασία in the same way as *taṣḍīq* is contrasted with *taṣawwur*.

In conclusion we may now give the genealogy of these two terms in Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Latin.

Taṣawwur

Greek—(a) Aristotle: νόησις (b) Stoics: φαντασία λογική.

Arabic—from Greek (a): *taṣawwur*.

Hebrew—from Arabic: *ziyyur*.

Latin—(a) from Arabic:

(1) *imaginatio* (Algazali's *Maqāṣid*).

(2) *formatio* (Averroes' Long Commentary on *De Anima* III, Comm. 21).

(3) *informatio* (*Ibid.*, Comm. 26).

(b) from Hebrew:

(1) *conceptio* (Abraham de Balmes' translation of the Long Commentary on *Analytica Posteriora* I, Comm. 1).

(2) *formatio* (Burana's translation of the same).

(3) *notitia* (Mantinus' translation of the same).

(4) *conceptus* (*ibid.*); also *formatio*.

Taṣḍīq

Greek—(a) Aristotle: ἀποφαντικός λόγος (b) Stoics ἀξίωμα.

Arabic—from Greek (b): *taṣḍīq*.

Hebrew—from Arabic: *zidduq*, (also *haṣḍaḩah*, *heṣḍeḩ*)¹¹⁰ *immuṭ*, *ha'amatah* (cf. above n. 76).

Latin—(a) from Arabic:

(1) *credulitas* (Avicenna's *Shifā'*; Algazali's *Maqāṣid*).

(2) *fides* (Averroes' Long Commentary on *De Anima* III, Comm. 21 and 26).

(b) from Hebrew:

(1) *assertio* (Abraham de Balmes, *loc. cit.*).

(2) *verificatio* (Burana, *loc. cit.*).

(3) *certificatio* (Mantinus, *loc. cit.*).

(4) *certitudo* (*ibid.*); also *fides*.

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NOTES

- ¹ See list of translations at the end of the paper.
- ² F. Dieterici, *Alfarābī's philosophische Abhandlungen*, Arabic, 1890, p. 56; German, 1892, pp. 92-3.
- ³ Logyca, Prima Pars, fol. 2va, in *Avicennae opera*, Venice, 1508.
- ⁴ ed. Cairo, 1331 A. H., pp. 3-4.
- ⁵ *Kiṭāb al-Ishārāt wal-Tanbihāt. Le Livre des théorèmes et des avertissements*, ed. J. Forget, 1892, pp. 3-4.
- ⁶ *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah* I, ed. Cairo, no date, pp. 4-5. Latin from quotations in Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik*, II, 2nd ed., 1885, p. 368, nn. 236-7; Hebrew from MS. in the Jewish Theological Seminary.
- ⁷ Arabic, ed. Cureton, pp. 348-9; German by Haarbrücker, II, pp. 213-214.
- ⁸ ed. M. J. Müller, *Philosophie und Theologie von Averroes*, 1859, p. 19.
- ⁹ Latin translation in *Aristotelis opera*, Venice, 1874, Vol. I, Pars II, p. 36B-H. Hebrew translation: *Kol Meleket Higgayon*, Riva di Trento, 1559, p. 2a-b.
- ¹⁰ *Najāt*, p. 3, l. 13. Perhaps, instead of *ma'rīfah*, the reading here should be *mu'rīfah*, inasmuch as this term here, as we shall show later, is a translation of the Greek *διδασκαλία* as distinguished from *'ilm*, *μάθησις* (cf. below at nn. 89 and 90).
- ¹¹ *Faṣṭ*, p. 9, l. 10.
- ¹² *Uyūn*, p. 56, l. 3; Shahrastani, p. 348, l. 17.
- ¹³ *Maqāṣid*, p. 4, l. 7.
- ¹⁴ *Najāt*, p. 13, l. 14; Shahrastani, p. 348, l. 18.
- ¹⁵ *Ishārāt*, p. 3, l. 15.
- ¹⁶ *Shifā'*, p. 2va, l. 27.
- ¹⁷ Shahrastani, p. 348, l. 18; cf. *Ishārāt*, p. 3, l. 16; *Epitome of the Organon*, Latin: *intellectus rei* (p. 36E); Hebrew: *habanat ha-dabar* (p. 2a, l. 20).
- ¹⁸ *Ishārāt*, p. 3, l. 16.
- ¹⁹ *Shifā'*, p. 2va, ll. 28-9.
- ²⁰ *Epitome of the Organon*, p. 36F; Hebrew: *millah nifredet* (p. 2a, ll. 29-30).
- ²¹ *Ishārāt*, p. 3, l. 16.
- ²² *Shifā'*, p. 2va, l. 30.
- ²³ *Epitome of the Organon*, p. 36E. Hebrew: *'aḥmut* (p. 2a, l. 21), which reflects the Arabic *dhāt*. Hence the definition of *taṣawwur* in the *Maqāṣid* (p. 4, ll. 8-9) is to be translated as follows: "It is the apprehension of the essence of individual things (*al-dhawāt*; Latin: *rerum*; Hebrew: *'aḥmuyyot*) which are designated by single words (*'ibārāt mufradah*; Latin: *singulae dictiones*; Hebrew: *melizot nifradot*) as a means of communicating their meaning (*al-tafhīm*; Latin: *ad intelligendum*; Hebrew: *al derek ha-habanah*) and imparting a knowledge of their true nature (*al-tahqiq*; Latin: *ad certificandum*; Hebrew: *ha-hit 'atmut*)." ²⁴ *Shifā'*, p. 2va, l. 30: *quamvis non sit ibi veritas nec falsitas*.
- ²⁵ *Epitome of the Organon*, p. 36E; Hebrew: p. 2a, ll. 23-4; Shahrastani, p. 348, ll. 19-20.
- ²⁶ Shahrastani, p. 349, l. 1.
- ²⁷ *Uyūn*, p. 56, l. 8.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 5.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, § 2, p. 56, ll. 16-7.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56, l. 13.
- ³¹ *Maqāṣid*, p. 5, ll. 4-5.
- ³² *Metaph.* III, 3, 998b, 17-21.
- ³³ Thomas Aquinas, *De Veritate*, I, 1 c.
- ³⁴ p. 56, l. 6.
- ³⁵ p. 56, ll. 3-4.
- ³⁶ p. 4, l. 10; p. 5, ll. 6-7.
- ³⁷ p. 56, ll. 17-18; cf. Euclid, *Elements*, Common Notion 5.
- ³⁸ p. 5, ll. 7-11; cf. p. 52, l. 4-p. 57, l. 17.
- ³⁹ p. 4, l. 1; p. 349, ll. 2-3.
- ⁴⁰ p. 56, l. 14.
- ⁴¹ p. 5, l. 12-13.
- ⁴² p. 4, l. 2.
- ⁴³ p. 3, ll. 17-18; cf. Euclid, *Elements*, I, 32.
- ⁴⁴ *Faṣṭ*, p. 19, ll. 11-12.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. below n. 81.
- ⁴⁶ *Anal. Post.* I, 1, 71a, 10-11.
- ⁴⁷ *Faṣṭ*, p. 15, ll. 8-13.
- ⁴⁸ *Rhet.* II, 20, 1393a, 23-24.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.* II, 21, 1394a, 27-28.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.* II, 21, 1394b, 10-15.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.* I, 2, 1356b, 4-5.
- ⁵² *Anal. Pr.* II, 23, 68b, 13.
- ⁵³ *Anal. Post.* I, 18, 81a, 38-81b, 9.
- ⁵⁴ *De Interp.*, 4, 16b, 26-27. For *ḥāsūs* in the sense of "assertion" see quotation below n. 71 and cf. Bonitz, *Index Aristotelicus*, s. v.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 17a, 2-3.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 16b, 27-28.
- ⁵⁷ In *Aristotelis opera*, Venice, 1574, Vol. I, Pars I, p. 72E.
- ⁵⁸ *De Interp.*, 17a, 3.
- ⁵⁹ *De Anima* III, 6, 430a, 26-28.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 430b, 26-27. In the Latin translation from the Arabic, this passage reads: "Et dicere aliquid de aliquo, sicut affirmatio, et omne compositum est verum vel falsum". In this translation, the Greek *πάσα* (1.27), which underlies the Latin *omne compositum*, was evidently taken by the Arabic translator to refer to *λόγος σύνθετος* in *De Interp.*, 5, 17a, 22, i.e., a proposition consisting of both an affirmation and a negation, as, e.g., A is B, not C. My translation of this passage follows the Latin translation from the Arabic. Cf. the same passage in English translations of *De Anima*.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 430b, 27-29. In the Latin translation from the Arabic (Text. 26) this passage reads: *sed qui dicit quidditatem rei est verus*. Evidently the expression *quidditatem rei* is a translation of the direct Greek expression *τοῦ τί ἐστὶ κατὰ τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι* in I. 28. My translation of this passage here follows the Latin translation from the Arabic.

⁷³ Liber III, Text. 21, in *Aristotelis opera*, Venice, 1574, Vol. VI, p. 165F.

⁷⁴ MS. Berlin, Cod. Heb. 1387-8.

⁷⁵ Cf. *The Moslem World*, XXXI (1941), 38.

⁷⁶ *De Anima*, III, Comm. 21. The corresponding terms in the Hebrew translation are *ziyyur* and *ha'amatah* (but *immut* in Comm. 26). St. Thomas, in his restatement of this passage of Averroes (*De Veritate*, XIV, 1 c), has the term *imaginatio* in place of *formatio*: "Unde etiam et apud Arabes prima operatio intellectus vocatur imaginatio, secunda autem vocatur fides, ut patet ex verbis Commentatoris in III. De Anima (com. XXI)".

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Comm. 26.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Comm. 21. Hebrew: *ha-debarim ha'bilti mithalkim*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Comm. 21. But in Comm. 26, Averroes says: "sed actio quae est informatio, est semper vera"—an inconsistency to which attention is called on the margin of the 1574 Venice edition, p. 169B-C.

⁸⁰ *Anal. Post.* I, 1, 71a, 1-2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 71a, 3-11.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 71a, 11-13.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 71a, 13-14.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 71a, 14-15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 71a, 19-20.

⁸⁶ In Euclid (I, 32) this is given as a geometrical proposition and not as a common notion or postulate. So also in *Metaph.* IX, 9, 1051a, 24-26.

⁸⁷ Long Commentary on *Analytica Posteriora* I, Comm. 19, Burana's translation:

"Enuntiatio haec, quemadmodum dixit Abunazar, comprehendit sub subiecto suo omnia, quaecumque sunt in hoc libro et hoc, quia cum dixit: Omnis doctrina et omnis disciplina, comprehendit sub se omnes species quaestorum, quae procedunt secundum viam verificationis et secundum viam formationis" (p. 12E).

"Sed oportet etiam, ut consideremus de hac enuntiatione quae dixit Abunazar et alij, an comprehendat verificationem inductam et formationem. Quoniam verba Aristotelis et exempla, quibus utitur, videntur esse ex materia verificationis, non ex materia formationis" (p. 13F).

⁸⁸ Middle Commentary on *Analytica Posteriora* I, p. 1E-G, Burana's translation:

"Cognitio autem, quam oportet praecedere in omni eo, quod assequimur per cogitationem ac syllogismum, est duobus modis: aut enim cognoscitur quod res sit, aut non sit, et haec cognitio vocatur verificatio; aut cognoscitur quid significet nomen ipsius, et vocatur formatio. Oportet autem discipulum in quibusdam praecognoscere quod sunt tantum, quemadmodum in propositione, quae dicit de omni vera est aut affirmatio, aut negatio, propterea quod in huiusmodi propositionibus, opus est, ut cognoscamus veritatem ipsorum tantum, quodque nemo ipso renuit praeter Sophistas. In quibusdam vero oportet ut praecognoscat quid significet nomina eorum tantum, quemadmodum oportet Geometram praecognoscere, quid significet nomen circuli in arte sua, et nomen trianguli."

It is evidently on the basis of this passage of Averroes that Narboni in his Hebrew commentary on the *Maqâsid*, 1 c. (MS. Jewish Theological Seminary) says: "*Ziyyur* (*tašawwur*) is the knowledge of quiddity; *immut* (*tašdiq*) is the knowledge of existence".

⁸⁹ Cf. above n. 10.

⁹⁰ Cf. above n. 11.

⁹¹ Cf. above n. 41.

⁹² Cf. above nn. 24, 25.

⁹³ Cf. above n. 48.

⁹⁴ Cf. above n. 55.

⁹⁵ Cf. above n. 54.

⁹⁶ Cf. above n. 66.

⁹⁷ Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Logicos* VIII(II), 11-12. With this translation of the passage compare the translation by Bury in The Loeb Classical Library and also the Latin translation by Hervetus in ed. Fabricius, Leipzig, 1841.

⁹⁸ Cf. Index to Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, sub *νόησις*.

⁹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, sub *ἀίτιουα*.

¹⁰⁰ *Metaph.* III, 2, 997a, 7-8.

¹⁰¹ Diogenes Laertius, VII, 65.

¹⁰² Cf. above n. 46.

¹⁰³ *Documenta Philosophiae Arabum*, 1836, p. 88.

¹⁰⁴ *Geschichte der Logik*, II, 1st ed., 1861, p. 385, n. 346. In the 2nd ed. (1885, p. 397, n. 386) Prantl changed his entire treatment of the *Epitome of the Organon*, evidently as a result of Steinschneider's criticism (see next note).

¹⁰⁵ *Al-Farabi*, 1869, pp. 147-148.

¹⁰⁶ *Al-Gazzali's Makasid al-Falasifat*, 1888, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰⁷ "Filosofia 'orientale' od 'illuminativa' d'Avicenna?", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, X (1923-25), 460.

¹⁰⁸ *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, 1934, 54-55.

¹⁰⁹ "Abstracta Islamica", p. 220, in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 9 (1935). Cf. *The Moslem World*, XXX (1941), 38, and above n. 69.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Klatzkin, *Ozâr ha-Munahim ha-Pilosophiyim*, s. v.

A PERSIAN APOSTLE—DR. SA'EED KURDISTANI

On the twenty-ninth of July, 1942, Dr. Sa'eed Kurdistanani passed to his reward in the city of Hamadan, Iran. The trumpet has sounded over on the other side for a great character, who should be known by the world-wide Christian church. His life story illustrates what it means for a bigoted Moslem priest to make the great adventure of faith and become a Christian, to confess openly his new allegiance and finally win a place in the highest circles because of his strength of character and beautiful Christian life.

Fortunately the story of Dr. Sa'eed has been published in English in the book where he is called "The Beloved Physician of Teheran."¹ At one time he recounted to me the story of his own life and religious experience. Now that he has passed to the church triumphant from the church militant, it is well to review his life just as he told it to me, keeping as near as possible to his own words. Dr. Sa'eed Kurdistanani began:

"I was born in the year 1863 in Senna, a city of Kurdistan. My father was Mullah Rasul; he was from the village of Buzan, near Sulemanieh. My mother's name was Mahenisa, meaning 'Moon of Women.' For seven generations our people had been Mullahs of the Sunni sect.

"My father conducted a school for children, which I attended. I was known as a very precocious child, and at six or seven years of age I was reading the Koran. The people thought that the Angel Gabriel had taught me in a dream. By the age of nine I was reading the poems of Sa'di and astonished everyone.

"When I was about ten, it occurred to me that it was not right for the Kurds to pray in Arabic, and not understand what they were saying so I endeavored to put the regular prayers into Persian poetry. When eleven years old I began to study Arabic with men who were more learned than my

¹ *The Beloved Physician of Teheran*, by Dr. Isaac Malek Yonan, Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1934.

father. At twelve or thirteen I became a follower of the Naqshbandi sect of dervishes and went to their meetings. Their leader was named Sheikh Mohammed.

"I was very regular in my prayers and attendance at the mosque. I intoned the call to prayer and also the prelude to the prayers of the leader in the mosque. I pursued other studies, the laws of Islam and religion in Arabic. I still have a copy of the '*Fiqh*' which I wrote and read as a boy.

"When I was about ten years old a great famine came over the country. Thieves broke into our house and stole almost everything we had. My father with my brother Kaka and me started on foot on a seven days' journey to the region of Meriwan, west of Senna. There was food there and we stayed with relatives. My mother remained in Senna. We returned after a few months to our home to find cholera raging there. My mother died a short time later. Our house was at the outskirts of the town and there was a spring of pure water near us. None of us came down with the cholera.

"As a boy I was always busy with books. I read the Persian poets and was so well versed in Arabic and Persian that, when my father died, when I was thirteen years of age, the *Imam Jumeh* placed the white turban on my head and made me a teacher in the same school where my father had taught in the mosque.

"My father was a very pious Mohammedan. I can never forget his supplications to God at midnight. He said that he had the promise that, at the resurrection, he would be raised to the platform of Joseph, because as a youth he had fled from the same sin as Joseph, under similar circumstances.

"Father used to tell us stories of the mystic saints when we were children. During the famine he found a sum of money, but sought out the owner and returned it though we were ourselves in desperate need. Years later the great difficulty of my brother Kaka accepting Christianity was what would become of father, for he thought he must be among the saved. Finally I helped him to solve the difficulty by saying that if we live up to the light we have, our future is in the hands of a just God. I had very early acquired from my father a deep sense of the reality of God.

“There were seventy or eighty Roman Catholic Assyrian families in Senna, and the bishop used to come from Mosul to visit them. I got part of the Old Testament in Persian from an Assyrian Catholic, named Fatah Petros, a deacon who had sympathy with the Protestants. He knew by heart the whole of the Psalms in the ancient Syriac. At one time the bishop found some Protestant books in his library and burned them. I read a good deal of the Old Testament, but did not get much help out of it. I did not admire the worship of the Catholic church, and put them on the same plane with idol worshippers. I prayed daily for my ancestors who had suffered but had accepted Islam, and thanked God for the great benefit I had received from them. I was devoutly thankful for Islam and considered it the very truth as compared to Christianity. But I was ever a searcher. Finally I obtained a New Testament in Persian from a man who had been in Teheran. I read it, and asked the Catholic priests why they had taken out of it the references to Mohammed. I was shown the last verses of Revelation, but I told them they had put that in to make people think it had not been changed. At one time two Assyrian colporteurs came to Senna, but I did not talk to them or get books from them. I also taught a boy whose father was Assyrian, and his mother Armenian. The more I saw of Christians, however, the more I was confirmed in my Islamic views.

“Then Kasha Yohanna of Sulduz came to Senna with two colporteurs, Shemisha Seyad and his son. Kasha Yohanna asked for a Persian instructor, and I went to teach him. But I did not wish to give the salaam (Greeting of Peace) to an infidel. Shemisha Seyad told me that they also were ‘people of the Book,’ and that therefore it was lawful for a Moslem to give them the greeting of peace. I had no answer, and so, as a hypocrite, I used to greet the Christian colporteurs half under my breath with the words: ‘*Sahum ile kum.*’ This sounded like the greeting of peace, but means ‘May a sword come upon you.’

“Kasha Yohanna, whom I taught early in the morning before his school, had the Psalms in Syriac, and a copy in Per-

sian was given to me. Shemisha Seyad led in prayer, and I heard a real Christian prayer for the first time. I was astonished to hear him pray for his enemies. There was no swinging censor—just a spiritual prayer. Shemisha Seyad and his son went on to Kermanshah, and I continued teaching Persian to Kasha Yohanna. I wanted to learn other languages, so he taught me Syriac. We used the New Testament as a textbook.

“Kasha Yohanna was a very bright man. The Jews used to come to argue with him. He asked me to take the Persian Bible and look up references as the Jews looked them up in Hebrew and Kasha in the Syriac. (Missionaries to Moslems may well note the methods of Kasha Yohanna—a great evangelist and preacher). I was deeply impressed by the wonderful evidences of fulfilled prophecy concerning Christ. When I showed the New Testament in Syriac to my brother, he was displeased, and told me not to study it. But I continued to do so in secret. Marking in a Persian Bible the prophecies we had read, I showed them to my brother, saying: “These must be about Mohammed for no one else could be worthy of such references. Let me study this branch of knowledge, and we shall soon be able to turn all the Catholics and Jews into Mohammedans. I interpreted the prophecies according to my own ideas and clustered them around Mohammed, until I came to the words in Isaiah, ‘A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench.’ I could not apply these words to Mohammed.

“Then the life of Kasha Yohanna began to affect me very much. He was truthful, honest—and in fact quite the opposite of what I saw in our own Moslem religious leaders. My conscience awoke and I felt very miserable. I was about sixteen years old at this time. Once I asked Kasha his idea of Mohammed, but he did not wish to tell me. I assured him no harm would come, and finally he gave me some hints. Often, as I taught the Koran, I saw that the things he had hinted as to faults in the life of Mohammed were confirmed. I got more miserable and became uneasy about the character of Mohammed. One evening, as I was going to the mosque to call the faithful to prayer, the idea came to me: ‘What if Mohammed

is not true?' I banged myself on the head with my fist, and said, 'You should be cursed for such a thought concerning the holy prophet.' I went to the mosque for the ablutions and prayers, but came home very miserable.

"In my despair I burned the calves of both legs, so that the scars will be there to my dying day. According to this Kurdish custom, I took up an irrevocable vow, first, never to go to Kasha Yohanna again or argue religious matters with any Christian; second, to live a holy life. I was ashamed, for I knew that the life of Kasha Yohanna was better than my own; I gave up going to him but I felt very miserable. Whenever I saw him on the street, he was like Jonah to me; and in my heart I knew that I was wrong. His life, so in accord with what he believed and taught, had affected me so that I could not sleep. At last I went back to him, and renewed my inquiries about passages in the Bible.

"One night I was very miserable during prayers in the mosque. Realizing my sin, I went home and fell on my face in the dust of the hallway. I prayed God to guide me to the Truth, as he was the Saviour of the lost. Then I went back to Kasha, and studied both the Bible and the Koran. I took some of my difficulties to the Imam Jumeh and others, but was not satisfied with their explanation of the Koranic passages. After four months of such study, the Light broke in upon my soul. I can never thank Him enough.

"How happy the old man was when I confessed my faith in Jesus as the Saviour. My not going to the mosque or getting up early for prayers made my brother Kaka uneasy. Several people came to our home and argued with me, but I took the Christian side and defeated them. Though I did not say I was a Christian, Kaka took up his rifle and wanted to kill me. For some time things went on in this way, growing more difficult all the time. People were talking about how to kill me.

"At last I felt I must let Kaka know of my new faith, and I wrote a letter to give to my brother. I feared it would mean certain death and went out in the yard and prayed to God. Then I went back and gave Kaka the letter. He read it and

began to tremble. Another man who was there burned the letter on a castor oil lamp in the room. I confessed my faith again and begged Kaka not to argue while he was so angry. I would gradually explain to him. If he killed me, I was a martyr. If he let me live, I might help him. We went to bed under the *kursi*, and when my foot touched his, he roused and said, 'Get away, dog. A dog of a man cannot live in a house.' It was midnight, and we could hear the wolves howling about, but I had to leave at once. Some of the Roman Catholics knew I had become a Christian, and I went to one of their houses, but they feared to let me in. At last a Catholic woman, named Sherin, took me in. In the morning I went to my school in great fear, especially of Kaka. He thought I would attend prayers in the Catholic church, so he took his gun and sat in a shop across from the church intending to shoot me as I entered. Life in the town was miserable.

"About April, in the year 1882, Mr. Hawkes, of the American Mission, came to Senna with Agha Hyeem, the Jewish convert, and a colporteur named Johannes. One day when I was in his room, about fifty men ran into the yard to kill me. The Lord had so ordered that the son-in-law of the Imam Jume'h was there, and he took me home without allowing the people to touch me.

"About this time Fatah, who had first given me the Old Testament, came back from Russia. An Assyrian preacher in Ardabil had lent him '*Mizan ul Haqq*,' '*Tariq ul Hayat*,' and '*Meftah ul Asrar*,' (the three great books by Dr. Pfander, which though written a century ago, are still classics in their field), books that were a wonderful help to me.

"Mr. Hawkes went back to Hamadan, and he wrote me inviting me to come. He would teach me English, and I could teach him Persian and Arabic. But how was I to get permission from my brother to go? I showed the letter and told him it was sure death for me to stay in Kurdistan. He knew this was true, and at last he accompanied me to a river and carried me through on his back. He deposited me with the muleteers, and we started on our troubled journey.

"Later I found that a relative of ours, who owned villages

along the way, had told Kaka he would bind me and bring me back, but like Saul he had gone away to hunt his asses. Next day the people wanted to kill Kaka for having sold his brother to foreigners. So my brother and a bosom friend of mine came on a day's journey after me, and found me reading Christ's Sermon on the Mount in Persian to the muleteers. They told me at once that unless I should go back Kaka would be killed and our house would be ruined. I said I would not go. Kaka knew how I loved my Bible, so he took the saddlebags that contained my books. I went after him and wept. He told me I must go to the great Sheikh and renounce Christianity; otherwise he would be killed and our house destroyed. Kaka began to torture and beat me like a dog. Though I repeatedly kissed his feet he would not give back my Bible. How delightful are God's comforts! Persecution is the better life, much more wholesome!

"My brother saw that I was determined. Both he and my friend wept, but they left the saddlebags and went away. It was indeed a painful separation. I went to bed and wept bitterly, thinking that perhaps I should better go back to the village of our relative. I even thought of returning to the Sheikh to renounce my faith so as to bring peace to all of us. Then like a flash of lightning Jesus' words came to me, 'He who does not renounce . . . even his own life is not worthy of me.' Then I lay down and went to sleep. How I thank Him for the revelation of His presence.

"Kaka went home and said he could not reach me. The people of the quarter collected, and a brave rider was chosen to go after me. He had his horse saddled and ready to start, but at that moment his master sent for him. When the latter learned what he was about to do, he sent him off in an opposite direction on business connected with his property.

"I came to Hamadan and there I learned English. In September of 1882, Miss Montgomery and Dr. Alexander and his wife came to Hamadan. With my bit of English I interpreted for Dr. Alexander, and so fell into the practice of medicine. I also continued to teach in the school and with Mr. Hawkes. People from Senna came and tried to get me out by a trick

to kill me. I had many conversations with Bahais and others. I still had difficulties with many passages of Scripture, but I got great help from Mr. Hawkes and from the home life of Dr. and Mrs. Alexander. Miss Montgomery read and explained the New Testament. Mr. Hawkes gave me very helpful spiritual books to read, but still I had a thousand and one difficulties and could not find real satisfaction. I was like a child who loves his parents but is not able to explain it. I loved the Lord Jesus passionately. Often I wished that Mohammed's words were true, that such a beautiful person as my Lord and Saviour was not tortured on the cross. One day I came across a hymn by Francis Xavier,

‘My God, I love thee not because
I love thee because thou didst take my place.’

From that moment I knew that He took my sin, and became sin for me that I should be the righteousness of God in Him.

“After a year Kaka paid me a visit. Later he came to stay. It is not true, as has often been said, that Kaka came to Hamadan to kill me. We had many long discussions. After several years he was converted, when I was able to allay his doubts about my father. He was not sanctified until troubles came and he broke his knee; like Jacob he finally became lame, but a true believer.

“In 1888 I was married to a Nestorian girl, Rebecca, the daughter of Kasha Shimun of Geogtapa. The whole town made a demonstration during the month of Moharram, and notices were posted on the mosques and in the bazaars. The governor quieted the town by a trick, without my knowledge. He told the people I had deceived a Christian girl and wanted to make her a Moslem. Persecution finally drove me with my wife to Teheran. Even there the mullahs of Senna wrote a letter to the Turkish Ambassador to have me put out of the way, saying that I was a blight on Islam.

“In Teheran Dr. Potter, with his beautiful Christ-like life, was a great help to me, as were also the ladies of the mission station. While there I determined to go to Europe to study, leaving my wife and two children in Hamadan. On the

way I became very homesick, and wanted to return. But I thought, if God would settle my difficulties and satisfy my longing soul I would go on. The answer came that He would.

“I had a medical certificate from Teheran, and had practiced in Hamadan, but I wished to become a really good physician. I was attracted to Sweden by some good people, but I could not agree with the views of my friends there in some matters of doctrine. So I went to London, still feeling that I was in darkness. I read how Agrippa thought Jesus was dead, but Paul argued that He was alive. I thought: that is enough for me; Christ is alive.

“None of the great men in London solved my difficulties. Then I came across some poor workers who studied their Bibles, and in their company every difficulty was solved. God gave me understanding of mysteries, prophecies and all. Ah, my soul rejoices in Him. Thank God for His mercy.

“I studied for two years at Cook’s School of Anatomy and Physiology. I attended post-graduate lectures and demonstrations. In 1895, after my studies there, I returned from London to Hamadan and took up my medical practice. We have had three children: Sarah, who is now the wife of a Christian physician in Hamadan; Samuel, who married an American girl and mixed the royal blood of the Kurds with that of the Americans; and Lemuel, who died in London. His name means ‘portion of God’, and that he was. I made two other trips to England for the purpose of further study. On the first of these I took my son Samuel with me. On the second I met Sir William Osler, and some of my letters to him are published in his biography.

“In Hamadan at one time I took Dr. St. Clair Tisdall’s book, *Yanab ul Islam* (“The Roots of Islam”), to a Mujtahid. Many people thought that I had written it, as they thought that no other Christian in Persia knew enough languages, nor enough Islam to write it. When persecution broke out against me, the Governor Ein id Dowleh took me to his own house and helped me to leave town. I fled to Teheran, after the Mujtahid had issued the death sentence against me. Later, after I had become a well-known physician in Teheran, I re-

turned to Hamadan and this same Mujtahid called on me. He said, 'You have made a lot of money in Teheran. You ought to give me half, because I was the cause of your going to Teheran.'

"The second time I located in Teheran, Ein id Dowleh was Governor of Khuzistan, where I had been his private physician. I was in Teheran when Ein id Dowleh became prime minister. He wrote a letter to many of his friends saying I had come to Teheran and he wished people would give me a trial. When the prime minister says anything, the people are ready to do it in a hurry. So I stepped immediately into a practice with the aristocracy and best families.

"I was able to speak for Christ to the prime minister and to the leading men of the country. Dr. S. M. Jordan asked me to preach in the church, but I asked if he did not think it too soon. He said, 'All know you are a Christian.' So I prayed over it, and I think I was the first convert from Islam to preach in that church. The greatest I can say is that the Lord Jesus Christ loved a great sinner. He saved a brand from the burning, and He loved me to the end in spite of all my sins and failures.

"In 1912 I made a return journey to Kurdistan. While I was in Hamadan, a note came asking me to visit a wealthy man in the mountains. I immediately wrote saying that I could not do it. But as I was waving the letter to dry over the fire I said to myself that I had not first prayed about the matter. When I prayed, I received my answer and wrote that I could come if they would promise me security from attack. I went and was used to cure the great man of blindness. The mullahs of Senna sent eighteen men to kill me, but they did not succeed. My escort heard of their plans and wanted me to change my cap to disguise my identity. The man who had charge of the attempt was later brought by the government to Teheran, and showed that he has been very much ashamed. He often calls on me and I give him Christian books and tracts.

"The missionaries sent an evangelist to Senna, who was no doubt sent to Assyrian Catholics and Jews, but I, a poor

Kurd, was most blessed. Praise be to God. How wonderful are His ways. I have told you the good things of my life. If I should tell you everything you would not want to write it down or look at me. But Jesus forgives me all. How good is the God whom we adore."

Subsequent to this conversation Dr. Sa'eed was imprisoned by the authorities because of a letter which he had written to some Kurds who were thought to be against the government. He was later released, and faithful to his Christian profession. To the end he lived a victorious life in his Master Christ Jesus.

J. CHRISTY WILSON.

Princeton, N. J.

The Moslems of England

Mr. T. S. Bugby of the London City Mission gives an interesting account of Moslems he met in his work:

The presence of Moslems in our midst is in itself a challenge as well as an open door of service. In cities like Cardiff, South Shields and London, there are colonies of Arabs from Arabia who have married English wives either at the Mosques or Registration Offices, or in many cases, not married at all. The number of Malays too, in London is considerable; these are seamen who, unable to return home, congregate together. There are also Moslems from the North West Provinces of India and many from Assam, who are in my opinion, lowest in the scale. There are also Moslems from Egypt, one of whom teaches, in the East End Mosque in Commercial Road, the Moslem prayers in Arabic to half-caste children who, like all Moslem children soon learn off by heart what they do not understand. There are also some Somalies, several of whom are educated.

Most of them can speak English as well as their vernacular. Some of them have a good knowledge of the Bible and appear to have been influenced by its teaching, and I believe that several of them have professed Christ, but are content to pass muster as Moslems. One of them, whose religious home is the Mosque at Southfields, knows the Bible better than many professing Christians. I have never seen any of the Moslem soldiers at prayer and I doubt if they fast during Ramazan. They are very friendly towards the Missionary and several attend Christian places of worship, but I think they have been taken there by girls they know. Few of the Indian soldiers appear to visit the Southfields Mosque.

There are also in this country numbers of Indian Army Service Corps men (with their riding and pack horses) and these I have visited in their quarters and received a good reception and open ear for the Gospel. The Mullah (a Pathan) has an Urdu Bible and is very open."

ŞAFAR ABLUTIONS IN MALACCA

On the last Wednesday of the month of Şafar there is great activity in the environs of Malacca (British Malaya). From the previous day people have been passing along the road on foot, on bicycles, in bullock-carts—all going in one direction. The bullock-carts are laden with people and their property which includes food, clothes, canvas for tents, and musical instruments. As they pass along the road, there is a continuous beating of drums and the sound of stringed instruments and singing. Evidently these people are out for a holiday.

Those who come from a long distance start early in their bullock-carts so that they may arrive at the appointed place on the preceding afternoon and get their tents up and be ready to join in the fun in the evening and the following day. On the afternoon of Wednesday, they pack their belongings into the bullock-carts again and start on their return, travelling all night and perhaps a second night before they reach home. Those who live nearer or have more rapid means of transportation do not spend so long on the road, but a large majority of those who attend this function plan to spend a full day, including Tuesday night, which is a time of great hilarity—music, singing, dancing, and, in these later days, a picture show.

The place is called Tanjong Kling, about seven miles from Malacca on the sea. For a long time it has been famous throughout the country for this occasion. People come by thousands from hundreds of miles to meet old friends and join in the merriment. Not that Tanjong Kling is the only suitable place for observing this occasion—indeed, many other places are used by smaller groups—but for generations the most acceptable place has been Tanjong Kling, and to this place people flock in crowds from all over the country to celebrate Mandi Şafar.

What is Mandi Şafar? Mandi is the Malay equivalent for *ghusul* which is one form of ablution for Muslims. It is the

complete washing of the body. So Mandi Şafar is the ceremonial ablution which is observed on the last Wednesday of the month of Şafar. A common explanation of this ceremony is that Şafar is an unlucky month because so many evils occur to people during that month. One morning just at dawn a man was suddenly called. The light was not yet good, and in his hurry he stubbed his toe against a stone and broke it. People in sympathizing with him attributed his misfortune to the fact that it occurred in the month of Şafar. In this situation, it is well to observe a ceremonial at the end of this unlucky month which will cleanse the life of these evils and give a good start for a life free from evil for the remainder of the year.

Religious teachers in Malaya agree that there is a religious significance to Mandi Şafar which people should observe. The ceremony may best be observed at home, but in the eyes of these teachers the occasion should not be turned into a holiday for merry-making. Considerable pressure has been brought to bear upon the people by the religious leaders not to attend the pleasure resort at Tanjong Kling, but in this matter the Malays show themselves to be human, and the advice and warning of the religious leaders do not seem to have affected the attendance at Tanjong Kling very greatly. Crowds still travel to this resort from near and far. At no time in the year, probably, is there so great freedom for merry-making, especially for women and girls, as at Mandi Şafar.

There is, no doubt, good reason for making Mandi Şafar a religious observance. In a Malay translation of an Arabic text, mention is made of the ablution made at the end of the month of Şafar. (I was compelled to leave this book in Malacca and therefore cannot quote this passage or name the book.) A full annotation on this matter is given by Hughes in his *Notes on Muhammadanism*, p. 167 (Ed. 1894), as follows:

“Akhiri Chahar Shamba is the ‘last Wednesday’ of the month of Şafar, and is a feast held in commemoration of Mohammed’s having experienced some mitigation of his last illness and having bathed. It was the last time he performed the legal bathing, for he died on the twelfth day of the next

month. In some parts of Islam it is customary, in the early morning of this day, to write seven verses of the Quran, known as the Seven Salams, and then wash off the ink and drink it as a charm against evil."¹

I have made many inquiries into the reason for Mandi Şafar, but in no instance has the answer referred to the end of Muhammad's life. Some may know of the connection, but most of the people seem to have taken it as a matter of course that the day is an occasion for all people—old and young, men, women, and children—to have a good time, and they make the most of it.

ROBERT A. BLASDELL.

*Henry Martyn School of Islamics,
Aligarh, India.*

¹ [A full account of this bathing-feast is given in the *Qanoon-e-Islam* by Jaffur Shureef, translated by G. A. Herklots, M.D., London 1882, pp. 229-232.—Z.]

BOOK REVIEWS

British Policy in Palestine. By Paul L. Hanna. With an Introduction by Josephus Daniels. American Council on Foreign Affairs, Washington, D. C. 1942. pp. xiii + 214. Cloth Ed. \$3.50; Paper Ed. \$3.00.

With the exception of the introduction, which contributes nothing either to the history of the case or to its solution, this is a good book. The author has addressed himself to the task of stating the case with all its ramifications. He has no axe to grind, no cause to plead. As a result this good book is free of the righteous indignation of the propagandist and the emotional outbursts of lesser historians. He approaches the whole problem dispassionately, beginning with a general background which might have been expanded, followed by a good chapter on wartime commitments, the peace settlement (or lack of settlement), the mandatory regime, the 1929 disturbances, disorder and partition schemes, wartime problems and policies, and retrospect. An appendix, including the text of the mandate for Palestine, notes, a good though not comprehensive bibliography, and an index, is also attached.

At present, the Palestine problem is a struggle between Arab nationalism and political Zionism. British interests in Palestine and the Near East complicate the matter further. The conclusion is reached from reading this book that at present there is no possible solution for Palestine satisfactory to the three conflicting parties. Perhaps the problem has been approached from the wrong angle. Too much emphasis has been placed on promises and counter-promises, while the imperious question is whether or not a native majority should submit to a minority which is dominantly immigrant and which is bent upon becoming a majority through immigration. Moreover, I venture to say that Palestine belongs neither to the nationalist Arab nor to the Zionist Jew, but to its native population, Moslems, Jews, and Christians alike, as well as to the whole civilized world. Certainly it is not for Britain to dispose of a land which is not hers to dispose of. No solution for the Palestine problem can be found so long as this mentality of empire persists.

It is futile to appeal to history, ancient or modern. Likewise it is futile to inject religion into the question. The following considerations should be borne in mind, when considering the problem of Palestine:

Palestine cannot solve the world-wide Jewish problem; about 70 per cent of the population of Palestine is non-Jewish. Besides Judaism, Christianity and Islam are intimately concerned with the Holy Land. The United Nations cannot afford to compromise in the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, either now or after the war. The solution most likely to succeed must begin with the crystallization of the present ratio in the population. No solution to which the majority of the population does not subscribe willingly has a chance of being lasting.

Perhaps the best immediate programme is to crystallize the pres-

ent ratio in the population for a period of ten or fifteen years, and entrust the supervision of this interim period to a number of powers including one Arab state, as for example Egypt. This would allay the fears of the Arabs, while the presence of, say, the United States and Britain would safeguard the Jewish interests. During this period it is hoped that the two elements would be diverted to constructive work, the result of which might bring into being a community of interests more compelling than political agitation.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

Princeton University.

Europe in Transition: The Churches Face the Future. By Alexander McLeish. World Dominion Press, London & New York. pp. 39 with map. 40 cents.

What eventually happens to the churches of Europe will have powerful repercussions in the whole world. Adolph Keller and Karl Barth have in recent publications dealt at some length with the situation from the standpoint of the theologian. Here we have a brief summary by a missionary statistician. The booklet is timely and is intended for study groups. It gives a brief historical sketch as background, reveals that the divided church of Europe faces nearly nine million Jews, over eight million Moslems and probably 400,000 pagans and Buddhists in Russia. It is not only a time of transition and trial, but of declining prestige. The churches of Europe "have been marked by latitudinarianism, theological controversy and lack of realism in evangelism." If the church does not present a united front in these days of crisis there is little hope the nations will do so. They alone can form a bulwark of the people's liberties after the war. They alone can preserve European life from complete disintegration. There are elements of hope in various lands and in several revival movements. The new attitude toward the Bible in the Roman Catholic Church is hopeful and reassuring. Most of all the author believes, "there has been what is almost a rediscovery that the Church's message is supernatural and grounded in the revelation of God to men. Men feel again that God did in fact break through into human history and revealed His grace and love in Jesus Christ, and that by faith in Him men are redeemed from sin and enter a new world of life and hope. This supernatural revelation found its climax and measure in the resurrection of Jesus Christ which gives the miraculous a permanent and indispensable place in the ordering of the world (Eph. 1: 19-23). The 'ifs' of history become potent for good in unpredictable ways simply through the faith of men in the divine direction of human life. This supernatural character of the Church's faith has been experienced beyond all question in the story of foreign missions and will always be felt where the Church is fulfilling its true mission. For the same reason we see a Church of faith being born again to-day in Europe. At a time when its organization is being destroyed the Church is discovering its true character as a fellowship of like-minded people prepared to suffer persecution and even death for their faith." This is a real *multum in parvo* handbook for a study of the signs of the times and will stir to faith and prayer for the post-war world.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Broken Silence. By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. New York, Universal Publishing Co., for The New History Foundation. 1942. pp. 608. \$2.50.

The author of this book, Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, was the secretary and interpreter for Abdul Baha on his trip made about a quarter of a century ago through the United States and Canada. He has held other positions of importance in the Bahai movement. He is also the author or editor of several published works, the most noteworthy being *The Bible of Mankind*, which is a compilation from the sacred scriptures of many religions. (Reviewed in *The Moslem World*, Vol. xxx, pp. 200f.) Together with Mr. and Mrs. L. S. Chanler of New York City, Mirza Ahmad Sohrab is a leader in The New History Society. They had become out of harmony with the general Bahai leaders in the United States. The latter were supported by Shoghi Effendi, leader at present of the Bahai movement. Matters went from bad to worse and finally the Bahai leaders brought suit in the courts to prevent the author and his group from using the name "Bahai." The plaintiff claimed to have copyrighted the name as a trade-mark. The courts decided in favor of the author, holding that the name of a religion could be used by any who professed the faith. The author of the book hails these court decisions as a landmark in the establishment of religious freedom, though others not involved would hardly attribute to the decisions such general importance.

Broken Silence gives a short review of Bahai history and the part the author has taken in the movement. There are many illustrations which show, among other things, Bahai gatherings in honor of famous personages like Albert Einstein and Rabindranath Tagore, where crowds were attracted to see these notables. There are also pictures of more and less famous followers of the Bahai cause, pictures of the New History bookshop, the exhibit at the World's Fair and other subjects. The book is very well printed and edited, as are most of the publications from this source.

Letters and telegrams show that Shoghi Effendi, present leader of the Bahais, has quite read the author and his friends, as well as many others, out of the Bahai fold which he directs. "The Guardian," as Shoghi is known, refers to the group in language that is hardly elegant. The book reveals a very deep cleavage in the Bahai movement even within the family of the founders. This is unfortunate in a cause which had as its basic tenet a zeal to unite all men—and now they utterly fail to preserve unity among themselves!

There are some strange facts brought out in the volume, for instance, the claim of the "spiritual Assembly of Bahais" in bringing the suit mentioned above, that it was a commercial rather than a religious matter involved. Many may have had thoughts along this line but they would scarcely expect the regular leaders of the Bahais in this country and Canada to admit it in a sworn document before a court of law. The book abounds in clever irony at certain points and gives many details on the development and present conditions within the Bahai movement. It is a document of historical as well as factual value to the student of Bahai development in particular and comparative religion in general.

J. CHRISTY WILSON.

Aishah, the Beloved of Mohammed. By Professor Nabia Abbott. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1942. pp. 218. \$2.50.

This is 218 pages of delightful reading about the earliest days of Islam written in a manner to appeal to all readers. It is the romantic life story of Aishah, daughter of that Abu Bakr who was the right-hand man of Mohammed and the first caliph of Islam. At the age of six Aishah was betrothed to the prophet and from early childhood was thus aware of the intimate affairs of the new religion. Married at the age of ten, the child-wife reluctantly set aside the dolls and other toys with which her indulgent husband provided her, to become a dominant force in the rapidly growing and changing harem of Mohammed, "the prayerful and perfumed saint of Islam."

By constant reference to the voluminous traditions and to the Qur'an, Miss Abbott has in masterly fashion assembled material which gives fascinating glimpses into the family life of the prophet. Though many of his marriages were contracted for social and political advantage, Mohammed was nevertheless capable of being an affectionate husband who managed to find time to give spiritual instruction to his wives and to teach them special prayers. Because of them he received many a revelation and inspiration, and for their sakes he instituted the *Hijab* or seclusion, the mark of conscientious Moslem womanhood throughout the world today.

Aishah was but eighteen years old at the time of her husband's death. Though doomed, as were all the wives of the prophet, to life-long widowhood, Aishah was in reality on the threshold of an important political career and immediately began to play an influential role in the complicated situation that existed after Mohammed's death. Her influence was particularly effective during the reign of 'Uthman, first Umayyad caliph and successor to Abu Bakr, whom she openly opposed on occasion and then, following his assassination, strove to avenge, taking a leading part in the Battle of the Camel. One is reminded of the great Zenobia, third century queen of the Syrian desert, as Aishah is pictured leading her armed followers and directing them with shouts and gesticulations from a brilliant red chair fastened to the back of her camel. There was widespread criticism of her behaviour in this and other public matters as violations of *hijab*, but Aishah eventually won—and despite the censure of some later historians, held—the esteem of a large portion of *Believers*. This was due not only to her unquestioned position as Mohammed's best-beloved, but also to her remarkable knowledge of the Qur'an and her persuasive eloquence. At the time of her death at the age of approximately sixty-four, Aishah was acclaimed as sage as well as saint of Islam, and orthodox Sunnis have thus revered her for nearly thirteen centuries.

MABEL H. ERDMAN.

(It should be added that this is a popular and somewhat idealistic portrayal of "the stormy petrel" in Mohammed's career. Her influence after his death was as strange as it was sinister. For this other side of the picture see Margoliouth's *Mohammed*, pp. 176, 342, 418, 450; Wensinck's *Handbook of Tradition* and the scholarly article by Seligsohn in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.—Ed.)

CURRENT TOPICS

The First Book Printed in Arabic

In the *Princeton University-Library Chronicle* (Nov. 1942) Professor Philip K. Hitti tells of a recent acquisition and describes its unique value:

A book of Hours, printed in Arabic in Fano, Italy, in 1514 by a press subsidized by Pope Julius II has come into the possession of the Library. While not previously unknown, it is exceedingly rare and its production has long presented difficult questions to scholars. For example, what missionary or warlike project of Pope Julius in the Near East promoted the translation and production of a Catholic book of Hours in Arabic? What local usage does the book follow? Or perhaps it follows the Eastern Orthodox usage rather than the Western. These are questions that some scholar may solve in the future.

That the book was intended to attract adherents of Islam is clear by the opening lines of the various sections which imitate the beginnings of the sections of the Koran, "In the name of God, the Ever-living, the Eternal," etc. If it were translated into Turkish, it might well be connected with the overtures made by Pope Julius to the Turks shortly before his death, but the Arabic text would seem to preclude that supposition.

Its title is *Kitāb Salāt al-Sawā'i* (literally, the book of the prayer of the hours). Its date of printing is September 12, 1514, and the place Fano, Italy.

The interest of the book does not end there. It is a rarity of which only three others are known to exist. All three are in Italy: one in the Estense Library at Modena, another in the Medici Library at Florence and a third in the Ambrosiana at Milan. This copy, unique in the Americas, stands on a shelf in the Treasure Room next to a copy of the first Arabic work ever printed on a linotype in an American university press.

The book consists of 120 leaves in octavo, all extremely well preserved. The text is in black ink but the rubrics and punctuation marks in red; 12 lines per page. Nine pages have decorative wood-cut borders, five of which are white on black, consisting of lines and geometrical figures imitating flowers and leaves and following the pattern of illuminated borders in Korans and other Oriental manuscripts. These borders constitute one of the earliest appearances in print of such motifs and ornamental designs.

The typographer Gregorius de Gregoriis, who evidently made the type following the model of some unknown manuscript, was originally of Forlì, but was summoned from Venice, the then leading center of printing and engraving, to undertake this original project, for whom we are not sure. Father Cheikho asserts in *al-Machriq*, vol. III (1900), p. 80, that this Arabic press in Fano was established by Pope Julius II (1503-13), a patron of literature and art; but Jacob Manzoni, a former owner of our copy and author of

Annali typographici dei Soncino (Bologna, 1883-6), surmises that the press was attached to the printing establishment of G. Soncino, which produced many works, among them some in Hebrew in 1505. Soncino was himself a Jew. The Italian books of reference do not know much about Gregorius beyond this notable achievement of his, nor about the type he created. If other Arabic works were published in Fano, none are now known. In the article "Fanum Fortunae," in *Dictionnaire de Géographie Ancienne et Moderne à l'Usage du Libraire* (Paris, 1870), by Pierre Deschamps it is stated that this Arabic book of hours was published at the request and the expense of Pope Julius II, who died before its completion. The colophon mentions the name of his successor, Leo X (1513-21).

Islam and the Glory of Christ

The glory of Christ is a primary object of the missionary enterprise. How necessary it is that we give all we have to proclaim the Gospel when a great majority of mankind do not know Christ as Lord and Saviour and therefore cannot possibly live to His glory. "To enjoy God and glorify Him forever" is the "chief end of man." Yet the major portion of the human race does not have the slightest opportunity to live to God's glory, for they do not even know God as revealed in Jesus Christ. With the overwhelming majority of men there is no opportunity for the Holy Spirit to work in their hearts; they know nothing of the glory of Christ and cannot possibly become children of God because they have no way of access to Him.

In the glory of the Incarnate Word as set forth in these opening verses of John's Gospel we have one of the very deep portions of Scripture. It takes a regenerate mind and a heart filled with the love and glory of Christ to understand how the Word could be eternal and with God and at the same time very God, and that the Word should become flesh to work out man's salvation and to reveal perfectly God in all His glory. The reaction of most Moslems is to call such a doctrine "Making another equal with God" which in Islam is the unforgivable sin. At the same time many Mohammedan theologians hold the tenet that the Koran is eternal and with the "tablet" and the "pen" have always existed by the throne of Allah. This is something like a dim reflection of the marvelous Christian doctrine of the "Logos" or Word of God. Indeed, the Koran itself speaks of Christ in terms very similar to those used here by John. Aside from the New Testament itself, there is no other great source book of the living religion which speaks of Christ in higher terms, with the possible exception of Old Testament prophecies. For the Koran calls Christ "The Word of God and His Spirit." And yet, coming so close, the Moslem world still falls entirely short of the glory of Christ. Mohammedans do not know Christ as Saviour and Lord, for they deny His atoning death on the cross and His glorious conquering of death in the resurrection. So it is that in the world of Islam, like all the great non-Christian religions, there is no possibility of men living to the glory of God as revealed in Jesus Christ.

J. CHRISTY WILSON in *The Presbyterian*.

Current Turkish Literature

In the field of Turkish periodical literature there are certain publications worth calling to the attention of readers. For those interested in history there are three publications of great importance.

Beleten, a quarterly publication of the Türk Tarih Kurumu; begun in December 1937 and originally selling for 1 Ltq., it now sells for 25 piasters a copy. Each number contains about 200 pages and corresponds to the former Tarihi Osmani Encümeni Mecmuası. Many facsimiles of original documents are included.

Tarih Vesikalari, of which four numbers have so far appeared, is, as its name suggests, devoted to the reproduction of historical documents. It sells for 1 Ltq. a copy.

Islam Ansiklopedisi is a translation of the great Leyden Encyclopedia of Islam, but with articles bearing on Turkish life and history, rewritten and often greatly expanded. So far eight numbers have appeared. For anyone interested either in Turkish history or literature this publication would seem to be an essential.

For those interested in Turkish life in general an unpretentious monthly magazine called *Yurt ve Dünya* is worth mentioning. Beginning with short editorials on matters of current interest, it is devoted mainly to articles about the world at large—some original and some translations—and to articles on Turkish literature, folklore and social movements. Not the least valuable part of the magazine is the book review section at the end. This treats each month at least one book and gives also a criticism of significant recent articles in other Turkish magazines. This excellent little magazine, published in Ankara, is of pocket size, 64 pages, and sells for 15 piasters.

A very small but, from the social and religious point of view, significant book of the late Ahmet Agaoglu is cordially recommended. A severe arraignment of conditions in villages and of bureaucratic mentality, it asserts the need of a change of heart if the "inkilap" is to be effective. It is called *Gönülsüz Olmaz*, 48 pp., 30 piasters, and is published in Ankara as No. 4 in the Agaoglu Külliyyati.

J. KINGSLEY BIRGE.

Christian Literature in the Near East

The Rev. H. E. J. Biggs has worked in the Middle East with the Church Missionary Society since 1922. He writes in *World Dominion* on the advance of literature production and distribution during the war:

"The aim of Christian literature in all lands, and not least in the Near East, must be just this—to cultivate the mental and intellectual, the spiritual and emotional faculties of men. The East has always reckoned as great the man who possessed little but his loin-cloth and beggar's bowl, but whose spiritual possessions were the envy of his less fortunate brethren.

"As we look back into the history of missions, we find that all the great missionary giants and pioneers of the early and middle years of the past century used literature as the spear-head of their attack; they were themselves both writers and distributors, and most of their work still remains today as the pride and envy of those who

humbly follow in their train. Then there seems to have followed a period when institutional work, hospitals and schools, came to the fore and literature work suffered somewhat of an eclipse. The present stage in the development of missionary work, that of Church-building and the training of pastors and evangelists, together with the deepening of the spiritual life of the converts, calls for a new and vigorous forward movement in literature work to meet this new need."

Speaking of the war-period in Cairo he continues,

"We were continually being consulted on matters of printing, production and 'make-up' of all sorts of books, pamphlets, prayer-cards and services. We published several things for the Coloured troops from the Union of South Africa, including a 15,000 edition of a Sesuto hymn and prayer booklet. Later on, the mission in the Sudan asked us to produce various books in Sudanese dialects.

"Meanwhile, our Arabic literature was still going to Palestine, Syria, Iraq, the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf, and throughout Egypt, to towns and villages, to the cultured and the *fellaheen*, through the post, by the hands of missionaries, and, most of all, by the work of our indefatigable colporteurs. An indication of the vitality of the Arabic work is to be found in the minutes of the last two meetings of the Diocesan Literature Committee held last April, where we find that it was decided to print at once three books already translated into Arabic and ready for the press, and to proceed with the preparation of six more at once; thirteen others in various stages of preparation were also discussed.

"All these books set out to expound the great Christian ideas and ideals—theological works, commentaries, biographies, stories for children, health and welfare books. Under the influence of a great idea, men have climbed mountains, reached the poles, discovered life-giving drugs, built empires, founded Churches. We are only going to build a better world after the war if we spread the truth *now*, and the best way to do it is through good literature; these books must be in a man's own native tongue, whether he be Egyptian or English or Sudanese. In the western desert in periods of waiting our men need reading matter. Once I asked a friend who had been out there a very long time, and had done great work for the Master, what the boys read, 'Anything,' he replied. 'They will read the back of a tram-ticket if they have one.' What a grand opportunity lies before the literature missionary if the world is his parish!"

U. S. Troops Learn Moslem Manners

We learn from the *New York Times* that one reason for the welcome our troops found in Algeria was that they knew Moslem etiquette. These principles and customs were compressed into a forty-two-page booklet issued to our soldiers in Morocco and Algiers, which was summarized today in a description issued by the War Department.

The book emphatically warns soldiers about the necessity of showing complete respect for the religion of Islam and cautioned them against arguments about religion.

As for standard etiquette, the book contains the following advice:

"Serious injury, if not death at the hands of Moslem men, may result if these few rules in regard to their womenfolk are not obeyed: Never stare at one. Never jostle her in a crowd. Never speak to her in public. Never try to remove the veil.

"When dining with a Moslem host, adopt his table manners and—always with your right hand—dip into the tasty, fluffy grain dish called kuskus, leaving something in the bowl for the women and children who will be served later. Accept three cups of mint-flavored tea but never a fourth. Be generous with your cigarettes, much appreciated.

"When you shop, bargain for all you're worth, but politely. Try to learn to talk to the North Africans in Arabic; they will like you for it no matter how poorly you pronounce it. When you are about to enter a house or yard, call out to the women, 'Taghattu,' which means, 'Cover up!'

"Never give Moslems alcoholic drinks or pork. Don't bring a dog into the house. Remember that a people whose customs and conduct differ from your own are not to be regarded as queer."

Soviet Central Asia

In an article on Central Asia in *Pacific Affairs* (December '42) William M. Mandel points out the stupendous political and social changes that have taken place since 1925 after the land reform was completed. When the ancient feudalism came to an end there was a revolution of all social life:

"It was accompanied by the emergence into articulate political life of masses of *dekkans* who had permitted all the previous changes to pass over their heads. Now, however, that they were finally convinced of their right to the land they worked—mullahs who saw the writing on the wall even quoted the Koran to prove this right—they turned out in force to make sure that, as no central records of ownership had ever been kept, no bey concealed his holdings. At the same time, the about-face on the part of the mullahs broke their charmed hold over the minds of the peasants, and opened the way to the first entry of new ideas into the home—in particular, the unveiling of the women.

"The emancipation of Central Asian women was the last great blow against the old system in this area. The subjection of womanhood was not only social and moral, but economic. Silk culture was woman's work but the product was sold and the money retained by the men in the family. By encouraging silk culture, buying directly from the women, and setting up silk filature mills, the Soviets struck at the root of the question, creating a degree of economic independence that enabled women to defy husbands attempting to maintain the literal slavery that had previously existed.

"Progress after the division of the land was so rapid that when, in 1930 and 1931, the Soviets undertook the collectivization of farming, Central Asia for the first time underwent a major social change *simultaneously* with the rest of the country.

"Unable, by their own admission, to come out as open opponents of the Soviet system because the people had been won to

the support of that system, the bourgeois nationalists could not prevent, but only retard, the development of Central Asia.

"Seventeen years of Soviet rule in Uzbekistan saw the creation, from the ground up, of large-scale industry, the value output of which in 1937 was 5.6 times as large as in 1913. The number of tractors employed on its 6,500,000 acres of sown land was 21,500, more than in all of Germany and the acreage under crop had increased 22.5 per cent since 1913. One thousand four hundred harvester combines were in use. Despite the growth of other cultures, the area planted to cotton trebled since 1913, and the crop doubled in the four years from 1934 to 1938.

Cultural development was indicated by the fact that the 1,100,000 students in its schools in 1938-39, out of a population of 6,282,000, was 64 times as large as before the revolution. Twenty-nine institutions of higher learning were in existence, where there had been none before, 105 technical high schools, 23 scientific research institutes and 44 repertory theatres."

Dr. Hendrik Kraemer in a Nazi Prison

It is reported on good authority that our associate editor Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, world-famous missionary and author of *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, is now confined behind barbed wire in a Nazi concentration camp. Since 1927 Dr. Kraemer, who had served for 20 years as a missionary in the Dutch East Indies, has been Professor of the History of Religions in Leyden University, Holland. He is interned with 70 other Dutch pastors.

From prison these brave Christian preachers, who have chosen to endure hardship as good soldiers of Jesus Christ rather than support the Nazi conquest of their land, have sent as a message to other churches *Philippians 1:12-14* and *II Thessalonians 3:1-2*.

A few months ago Dr. Kraemer wrote: "In many cases our churches have become underground churches. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the spiritual and physical suffering that statement implies. Nor is it possible to describe the mystery of divine and victorious joy by which this suffering is transformed. I cannot think of anything more disastrous than that a church should emerge from this present period without having being changed."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

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I. GENERAL

GENERAL PAI: CHINESE PATRIOT. T. S. Chen. (In *Asia*, New York. December, 1942. pp. 715-718).

Account of an outstanding figure in the government of Free China, a Mohammedan, member of the Supreme Defense Council and Director-in-Chief of military training.

IBN-AL-AWAM: A SOIL SCIENTIST OF MOORISH SPAIN. Lois Olson and Helen L. Eddy. (In the *Geographic Review*, New York. January, 1943. pp. 100-109).

Describes the "Kitab al-Felahah", or "Book of Agriculture", written in the 12th century and amazingly modern in its knowledge of soils, erosion control and rotation of crops.

A SCOTTISH ADMIRER OF OTTOMAN POETRY: E. J. Gibb. Sidney Balister. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1942. pp. 314-317).

His "History of Ottoman Poetry", written for people knowing no Turkish, is to be translated into Turkish for Turks knowing no English.

II. ARABIA

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON MUSLIM THEOLOGY. A. S. Tritton. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. Part 4, 1942. pp. 837-842).

Islam shows some influence of the older religions among which it grew up.

ISLAM IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES. Raden Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo. (In *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, New York. November, 1942. pp. 48-57).

Sketches the rise and diffusion of Islam, its numerical strength, its economic appeal and the tolerance of the Dutch government in dealing with it.

NOTES ON ANTI-CHRISTIAN PROPAGANDA IN THE MAMLUK EMPIRE. M. Perlman. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London. Part 4, 1942. pp. 843-861).

The tide of theological polemical literature against Christians and Christianity rose to its height after 1250.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

IQBAL'S CONCEPTION OF GOD. M. M. Sharif. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1942. pp. 291-300).

Restricted to a description of the development of the idea of God in Iqbal's philosophy.

ISLAMIC MYSTICISM: TASAW-WUF IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. Nawab Sir Amin Jung. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. July, 1942. pp. 264-278).

An account of the quintessence of the principles, and practices of modern Sufi-ism.

MUSLIM CONDUCT OF STATE. M. Hamidullah. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, January, 1942. pp. 51-71; April, 1942. pp. 161-181; July, 1942. pp. 316-338).

An investigation of the theory and practice of Muslim Public International Law, with appendices of instructions to commanders and a bibliography.

THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF ISLAM. Arthur Jeffery. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. October, 1942. pp. 383-395).

An important description of Muslim principles, groups and aims, stressing the intensity of the Church-State conception of Islam.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE ARAB MIND. John Van Ess. (In *Asia*, New York. November, 1942. pp. 633-636).

To deal satisfactorily with Arabs, one must have adequate knowledge of their native language, their religion and their etiquette.

THE ARAB WORLD OF WOMEN. Dorothy Firman Van Ess. (In *Asia*, New York. December, 1942. pp. 719-722).

Discusses the daily life of women hemmed in by the beliefs and practices of Islam.

FORTY YEARS AMONG THE ARABS. John Van Ess. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. September, 1942. pp. 385-420).

An intimate picture of Iraq and its people.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ARAB POLITICS IN PALESTINE. J. C. Hurewitz. (In the *Contemporary Jewish Record*, New York. December, 1942. pp. 597-617).

An objective historical account of conditions since World War I.

BRITAIN AND MUSLIM PROBLEMS. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah. (In the *Contemporary Review*, London. December, 1942. pp. 346-350).

Discusses "questions appertaining to Arabia, India and Albania".

JAPHETH IN THE TENTS OF SHEM. W. F. Albright. (In *Asia*, New York. December, 1942. pp. 692-694).

Jewish and Christian minorities in Palestine must be protected after the war for the sake of future Near Eastern progress among the Moslem majorities.

THE MIDDLE EAST: ITS POWER POLITICS. Robert Strausz-Hupé and Reuben S. Nathan. (In *Fortune*, New York. November, 1942. pp. 91-95; 220-226).

Finds the United Nations and the Axis the real protagonists in the Middle East, such a crucial battle-ground that the war may be won or lost there—and so may the peace.

THE MOSLEM MINORITY IN INDIA. Thomas O'Shaughnessy, S.J. (In *The Catholic World*, New York. November, 1942. pp. 189-193).

"The achievement of Moslem-Hindu unity, or, as an alternative, the creation of a separate Moslem state, must enter as a necessary element into any form of political independence for India".

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

THE CALL TO MOSLEM WORK. W. G. Muir. (In *The Lightbearer*, London. October, 1942. pp. 75-77).

Another plea for Christian workers with special missionary training and true apostolic inclinations for this ever challenging task.

MADAGASCAR DESCRIBED. A. M. Chirgwin. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. November-December, 1942. pp. 333-336).

Christian work in Madagascar is not likely to be interfered with because of the British occupation of the island.

A MOSLEM NUMBER. (In *China's Millions*, Philadelphia. October, 1942. pp. 147-159).

Contains valuable articles by R. H. Glover, F. H. Rhodes and R. H. Joyce.

MUSCAT EVANGELISTIC WORK. Rev. and Mrs. D. Dykstra. (In *Neglected Arabia*, New York. July-August, 1942. pp. 3-5).

Tells of the opening of the enlarged Peter Zwemer Memorial Chapel and of encouraging work done among children and young people.

THE NEAR EAST. THE WAR AND LITERATURE. H. E. J. Biggs. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. November-December, 1942. pp. 337-340).

The present stage in the development of missionary work calls for a vigorous forward movement in literature effort.

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