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ISLAM IN "ARABIA DESERTA"

Charles M. Doughty stands out alone and supreme as interpreter of Arabia and its people. T. E. Lawrence said of his book *Arabia Deserta*, "It is the true Arabia, the land with its smells and dirt as well as its nobility and freedom. There is no sentiment, nothing merely picturesque. Doughty's completeness is devastating. There is nothing we would take away, little we could add. I have studied *Arabia Deserta* for ten years. The more you learn of Arabia the more you find in this book. It has no date and can never grow old. It is the first and indispensable work upon the Arabs of the desert".¹ In the judgment of a literary critic not one of Doughty's followers or forerunners attained to his supreme opulence, majesty and concrete realism.² Doughty preserved his faith and was not ashamed of his religion amid inhospitable hostility and a fanaticism which led Burton, Burckhardt, Philby and others to don the Islamic cloak in self-defense. He was a scholar, a hero, and a saint—so an Arab told me in our Mission hospital at Bahrein twenty years ago—an Arab who had been with Doughty and who was astonished when I read to him passages from that book that told of his own tribe.

Charles M. Doughty was born in 1843, a younger son of the manse at Theberton Hall, Suffolk. He studied at King's College, London and at Cambridge. His chosen fields were geology, archaeology, and philology. After extensive travels

¹ Introduction to Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 4th Edition, London, 1936. All references are to this thin-paper edition in one volume complete and unabridged. My own copy was bought in London in 1890 and studied for many years in Arabia, until at Cairo in 1916 T. E. Lawrence bought it for Allenby's staff in the World War. It was a great loss to me.

² *London Times Literary Supplement*, January 9, 1943.

in Europe, North Africa and Greece, he set out in 1876 from Damascus with a pilgrim caravan into Arabia.³ At Medain Salih he left the Hajj and went to the oasis of Khaibar where he joined the wandering Bedouins. In spite of his knowledge of their language and customs, in spite of his poverty and courageous honesty, his life was repeatedly endangered. He met with suspicion and treachery on the part of Arabs, which broke through his kindness and their hospitality. He reached Taima and was sent to Hail, Al Qasim, Buraida and Anaiza; then southward toward Mecca and finally reached safety at Jidda in August, 1878. No part of the Arabian peninsula is more truly the Cradle of Islam and the homeland of the Prophet. No racial group displays more clearly the imprint and the pristine character of Islam and its attitude toward life and thought than the nomads and the settlers of central and western Arabia, where Doughty travelled and took notes.

This masterpiece of English literature, therefore, is more than a book of travel; it is a revelation. Within its pages Doughty carved an enduring image of the Arab mind and religion with incomparable honesty and astonishingly keen penetration.

He saw Islam not in books but in daily life. He sat not in the balcony as a spectator but was in the arena. "The book," he says, "is not milk for babes: it might be likened to a mirror, wherein is set forth faithfully some parcel of the soil of Arabia . . . and as for the persons, if the words written all day from their mouths were rehearsed to them in Arabic everyone would hear his proper voice; and many a rude bystander smiting his thigh should bear witness and cry, Ay Wellah, the sooth indeed."⁴ And what did Doughty record in his "too long and weary years of human fellowship and friendship" among the Bedouin tents "of the bitterness and blight of a fanatical religion in every place"?⁵

The indirect references to Islam are far too many for careful classification. *Arabia Deserta* is a small encyclopedia

³ Encyclopedia Britannica.

⁴ Preface to First Edition.

⁵ Preface to Second Edition.

on Islam. We have chosen typical and striking passages under four captions.

I. *Islam as Religion*. "The Moslem religion ever makes numbness and death in some part of the human understanding".⁶ Yet "What had the world 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. Perilous every bond which can unite many of the human millions, for living and dying! Islam and the commonwealth of Jews are as great secret conspiracies, friends only of themselves, and to all without of crude iniquitous heart, unfaithful, implacable.—But the pre-Islamic idolatrous religion of the kaaba was cause that the soon ripe Mawmetry rotted not soon again.

"The heart of their dispersed religion is always Mecca, from whence the Moslems of so many lands every year return fanaticised. From how far countries do they assemble to the sacred festival; the pleasant contagion of the Arabs' religion has spread nearly as far as the pestilence:—a battle gained and it had overflowed into Europe. The nations of Islam, of a barbarous fox-like understanding, and persuaded in their religion, that 'knowledge is only of the koran,' cannot now come upon any way that is good." (I: p. 101)

"Sword is the key of their imagined paradise; and in the next decennium, those unwarlike but frenetic Arabians, inflamed with the new greediness of both worlds, ran down like wolves to devour the civil border-lands. There is moreover a peaceable conquest of the Arabian religion (that preaches a mild-hearted Godhead, and a way of rest—in the sober spiritual fruition of this weak fleshly life, to the bliss of Heaven) which advances now mostly in the African Continent; and that may in time become a danger to Christendom! And such being Mohammed's doctrine, it has obtained a third place among the religions of mankind."

"Wide is the diversity of the Semitic faiths. The Messianic religion—a chastisement of the soul sunning herself in the

⁶ *Arabia Deserta* Vol. II: 7. All other references that follow are to the same book.

divine love—were fain to cast her arms about the human world, sealing all men one brotherhood with a virginal kiss of meekness and charity. The Mohammedan chain-of-credulities is an elation of the soul, breathing of God's favour only to the Moslemîn; and shrewdness out of her cankered bowels to all the world besides. The Arabian religion of the sword must be tempered by the sword: and were the daughter of Mecca and Medina led captive, the Moslemîn should become as Jews! One may be a good Moslem, though he pass his life in the *khala*, without teachers. In the towns are religious elders—not ministers of mysteries: there is no order of priesthood. Mohammed is man, an householder, the father of a family; and his is a virile religion: also his people walk in a large way, which is full of the perfume of the flesh purified; the debate betwixt carnal nature and opinion of godliness is not grievous in their hearts. In the naturally crapulent and idolatrous Europe man himself is divine; every age brings forth god-like heroes." (II: 379)

II. *Attitude toward Christians.* From the beginning to the very end of his long journeys Doughty experienced (as what Christian traveller or missionary has not) the latent fanaticism of Islam, ready to blaze out with or without provocation at the sight of a *Nasrani*. After describing their lavish hospitality he continues: "I wondered with a secret horror at the fiend-like malice of these fanatical Beduins, with whom no keeping touch nor truth of honourable life, no performance of good offices, might win the least favour from the dreary, inhuman, and for our sins, inveterate dotage of their blood-guilty religion. But I had eaten of their cheer, and might sleep among wolves. The fortune of the morrow was dark as death, all ways were shut before me" (I: 502).

"How the Semites are Davids! They are too religious and too very scelerat at once! Their talk is continually, without hypocrisy, of religion" (II: 39). So he writes and immediately afterwards they threaten to kill him: "Then holding the large blade aloft, and turning himself upon me, he said, *Sully aly en-Neby*, 'Give glory to the apostle', so I answered, 'We all worship the Godhead. I cannot forsake my name of

Nasrany, neither wouldst thou thine if thou be'st a worthy man.' But as he yet held the knife above my breast, I said to him, 'What dagger is that? and tell these who are present whether thy meaning be to do me a mischief?' Then he put it down as if he were ashamed to be seen by the company savagely threatening his coffee guest." (II: 39)

Their hospitality was friendly in their camps but on the road the same Arabs often behave as enemies. "I alighted as they were ready to depart again, and would bathe my head in a little water which remained in a waterer's leather after the cattle drinking; but the savage wretch forbade me, saying, 'Nay!—he feared Ullah;' and taking up his gear, he cast out the water, crying with the dreary eyes of his ignorant fanaticism fastened upon me, 'Should he draw for a Nasrany, one that was accursed of Ullah? was the sun hot today, and I fainted? he would God that I died also.' We were not come far in the wilderness, when the peevish tongues of two light young Beduin women in the company, screeched to the men about me, 'Look there, lads, is not that the *kafir* riding? will ye not cut the wezand of him in the way?' I bestowed, in my haste, a Beduin curse upon them, but it needed not; the men marching nigh me answered gravely, 'He is the son of our brother,' because I had been a guest of some of their tribesmen." (I: 376).

Even the town-children in Doughty's day made life miserable for him. "One of these forenoons, when I returned to my house, I saw filth cast before the threshold; and some knavish children had flung stones as I passed by the lonely street. Whilst I sat within, the little knaves came to batter the door; there was a Babel of cries: the boldest climbed by the side walls to the house terrace; and hurled down stones and clay bricks by the stair head. In this uproar I heard a skritch of fanatical women, 'Ya Nasrany! thou shalt be dead!—they are in the way that will do it!' I sat on an hour whilst the hurly-burly lasted: my door held, and for all their hooting the knaves had no courage to come down where they must meet with the *kafir*. At this hour the respectable citizens were reposing at home, or drinking coffee in their

friends' houses; and it was a desolate quarter where I lodged." (II: 402).

And here is an experience similar to my daily life in Bahrain in the early years of our mission. "A fanatic sometimes threatened me as I returned by the narrow and lonely ways, near my house: 'O *kafir!* if it please the Lord, thou wilt be slain this afternoon or night, or else to-morrow's day. Ha! son of mischief, how long dost thou refuse the religion of Islam? We gave thee indeed a time to repent, with long sufferance and kindness!—now die in thy blind way, for the Moslemîn are weary of thee. Except thou say the testimony, thou wilt be slain to-day: thou gettest no more grace, for many have determined to kill thee.' Such deadly kind of arguments were become, as they say, familiar evils, in this long tribulation of Arabian travels." (II: 395-6).

And there are a score of other passages which portray the fanatic devotion to a creed which divides all humanity into believers and *Kafirs*. (Vol. I: 376, 377, 403, 486, 502, 549. II: 134, 321, 326, etc.)

III. *The Arabian Prophet*. In the second volume Doughty gives a character-sketch of the Great Arabian: "The most venerable image in their minds is the personage of Mohammed; which to us is less tolerable: for the household and sheykhly virtues that were in him—mildness and comity and simplicity and good faith, in things indifferent of the daily life—cannot amend our opinion of the Arabian man's barbaric ignorance, his sleight and murderous cruelty in the institution of his religious faction; or sweeten our contempt of an hysterical prophetism and polygamous living.—Mohammed who persuaded others, lived confident in himself; and died persuaded by the good success of his own doctrine. What was the child Mohammed?—a pensive orphan, a herding lad: the young man was sometime a caravan trader,—wherein he discovered his ambitious meaning, when he would not enter Damascus! His was a soaring and wounded (because infirm) spirit, a musing solitary conscience; and his youth was full of dim vaticination of himself, and of re-

ligious aspiration. A soul so cast will pursue the dream of those her inexpert and self-loving years: and how long soever, difficult, ay, and perilous be the circuit which lies before him it were lighter for such an one to endure all things than fail of his presumption and (finally) to fall short of his own soul.—Mohammed, the preacher, found no purer worshippers and witnesses of the God of Abraham than an idolatrous Christianity, and the Yahud, 'a seed of evil-doers.' He calls them in the Koran 'The people of the (former) Scriptures, which were sent down from on high': but as his faction increased he came to account them—since they were not with him—adverse factions; and afterward his enemies." (II: 378)

To the Bedouin Arabs of Doughty's day, Mohammed was the First before every creature (Vol. I: 474), the seal of the prophets, foretold in the gospels (II: 10). His name is so sacred that one uses it carelessly of anyone who bears it, at his own peril (II: 172). At Mohammed's grave in Medina miracles take place (II: 160). "There are sherifs and posterity of the blood of the *Neby* in all great towns of Islam and even in the desert tribes." "The sons of Fatimah and Ali are grown in less than fifty generations to a multitude." (II: 522).

IV. *Beliefs and Practices*. Doughty's book is perhaps best of all in its careful record of the popular-Islam that prevailed among the Arabs. One does not turn in vain to the index for such customs as blood-covenant, *aqiqa*, circumcision, sacrifice, Ramadhan-fasting, the *Hajj*, etc. To the latter alone there are over fifty references that illuminate the subject. Hospitality, "the virtue that imitates Heavenly Providence", finds a large place in the Arab heart and in Doughty. Incense is used as perfume, in sacrifices, and to ward off evil spirits. Tree-worship and stone-worship are common (*menahil*), (I: 449, II: 109, etc). Women and marriage are depicted in unforgettable passages. Women are "like flowers in our houses to enjoy and one day be cast out". "The female is of all animals the better save only in mankind"—such is their

proverb (I: 238). And all these beliefs and practices go back to what Mohammed taught and practised.

The Arabs, indeed, have their creed condensed into one word, *ALLAH*. Palgrave's famous description of Allah in his book of travel still stands as a compendium of Moslem Theology. Every chapter in Doughty confirms this delineation.⁷

T. E. Lawrence also knew Islam from experience with the Arabs. He writes: "This single God is to the Arab not anthropomorphic, not tangible or moral or ethical, not concerned particularly with the world or with him. He alone is great, and yet there is a homeliness, an every-day-ness of this Arab God who rules their eating, their fighting and their lusting; and is their commonest thought, and companion, in a way impossible to those whose God is tediously veiled from them by the decorum of formal worship. They feel no incongruity in bringing God into their weaknesses and appetites. He is the commonest of their words."⁸

"The desert", says Lawrence, "is made a spiritual ice-house, in which is preserved intact but unimproved for all ages an idea of the unity of God."⁹ And this idea is so dominant in Islam everywhere that Dr. Hendrik Kraemer characterized Islamic theism as super-heated. "Allah in Islam becomes white-hot Majesty, white-hot Omnipotence, white-hot Uniqueness. His personality evaporates and vanishes in the burning heat of his aspects."¹⁰ It is this ice-cold, white-hot Allah who stands out on the pages of Doughty. We shall never understand Islam, its strength and its weakness, until we penetrate to the heart of this religion in such close spiritual and social contacts as Doughty, the Christian, did in his long and lonely wanderings in Arabia Deserta. And he never denied Christ.

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⁷ W. G. Palgrave—Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia, 1862. Vol. I: pp. 365-367.

⁸ Introduction to *Arabia Deserta* p. XXII.

⁹ *Idem* p. XXIII.

¹⁰ *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, p. 221.

PRESENT-DAY MOVEMENTS IN ISLAM*

There is one serious initial weakness inherent in any discussion of the Dominant Ideas in Islamic Culture of today which makes such discussion to that extent unsatisfactory. That weakness is the very scrappy nature of the evidence at our disposal, which means that we are often forced to generalizations on the basis of very inadequate evidence. In our modern world, Islamic communities extend from Morocco all along North Africa and Egypt to Arabia, bringing in Albania, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Turkestan and Persia; from Arabia through India and Indonesia to the Philippines and China; and from Russia in the North as far south in Africa as the Cape. These communities include some highly cultivated, literary peoples, but also millions of adherents in Africa, southern Asia and Indonesia, who are little removed from the primitive. Literacy is on the whole at a very low percentage among Islamic peoples. It is highest in the smaller communities domiciled in Europe, but even in so advanced a country as Egypt, the statistical survey shows that only a very small percentage of the Muslim population over the age of five years is literate. Since our evidence for dominant ideas comes almost entirely from this very thin literary fringe, and for the most part comes from only a very few specially favoured areas, it is obvious that we are discussing, not Dominant Ideas in Islamic Culture, but dominant ideas among a few select groups of Muslims. To some extent it is true that these literate few give the lead to the illiterate masses, and to some extent it is true that strong movements of thought and feeling among the masses will be reflected in the writing, particularly in the Press, published by and for the literate few. But the extent to which these points are true is very limited, for anyone who has lived among Muslim peoples (and perhaps this is true for other Oriental groups also) learns sooner or later with an unpleasant shock of sur-

* A paper read as part of a Symposium on Dominant Ideas in Asiatic Cultures Today at the Centenary Meetings of the American Oriental Society at Boston, Easter, 1942.

prise, that newspaper editors, and the writers for magazines, are often as innocent as babes of what is really stirring the minds and hearts of the common people.

Furthermore there is great diversity among Muslim peoples. Some years ago there came to Cairo a group of Chinese Muslim students, who had been sent by their community to study at the Azhar, the great Muslim Theological School in Cairo. They were completely bewildered; for none of the things that they thought it important to study were considered worthy of attention by the authorities of the Azhar; while the curriculum they found themselves forced to follow seemed to them for the most part utterly irrelevant to the cultural situation of their community in China. Moreover, they could not understand the burning questions which at that moment were agitating the student body of the Azhar, and over which there were constant strikes, demonstrations and uproar, which brought clashes with the police, all over matters which in their country they knew would not have been considered worth a thought. So there are groups of Near Eastern Muslims who feel that Indian Islam has been so affected by Hinduism, and Turkish Islam so penetrated by Western scepticism, as to be hardly the same religion as their own, and who would violently resent movements that are powerful in either of these two regions being considered as legitimate for inclusion among the dominant ideas of present-day Islamic culture.

It has also to be borne in mind that even within the literate groups in the various Islamic countries, there are two entirely different systems of education. There are those who are following the old traditional Islamic system of education, where the emphasis is on the Qur'ān, the Traditions, Muslim Jurisprudence and the mediaeval Islamic civilization. And there are those who have taken their studies in modern schools, where the curriculum is based on that of our Western schools, and the emphasis is on science and contemporary civilization. Students from the former class of schools often know little or nothing of the significance of modern knowledge; and students from the latter type sometimes amaze one

by their appalling ignorance as to their own religion, though they would resent any suggestion that they are not good Muslims. The cultural outlook of the two groups is thus very different, and what we might consider as dominant ideas for the one group, might not stir the other at all.

In view of this situation it may thus be safer for us to discuss a limited number of modern movements to be found within the areas of Islamic culture, and which will illustrate certain dominant ideas, which if not common to Islamic culture as a whole, are yet of great significance to definite groups within that culture, and not unworthy of our attention.

One group of these modern movements has for us the particular interest that it consists of movements started within Islam by the ferments produced by contact with our Western culture. While in general it is true that there never has been a time since the Crusades when contact between Europe and the Islamic world has been altogether cut off, it is also true that Napoleon's adventures in the Near East mark the beginning of a new era of contact between Islam and the West, marked by an awakening of important elements in the Islamic world to the fact that they had a lot to learn from the West, and a growing disposition to start learning it. From Napoleon's time on into our twentieth century that process of learning from the West has been going on by fits and starts, sometimes being more in evidence in one area, and sometimes in another; sometimes being more actively pursued and sometimes less; in some areas being affected more particularly by France and Italy, and in others by England and America, and in two special areas particularly by Russia and Holland respectively. German influence in this respect has for the most part been indirect. This contact inevitably introduced ferments within Islam which have produced a number of movements which roughly fall into two groups—those which look favourably on the new knowledge and wish to accept it into Islam; and those which react against it and seek to erect a defense within Islam against the encroachments of modern ideas.

The most powerful, as well as the most spectacular, of

these latter movements is that associated with the name of the Wahhābis, who have been forced on our attention by their spectacular rise to power in Central Arabia at the conclusion of the last War, under that remarkable leader Ibn Sa'ūd. He himself is not altogether characteristic of the movement, for he was quick to see the value to himself and his people of a number of the technical advances of Western civilization, and has endeavoured to make the best use in Arabia of the motor car, the radio, electricity and modern weapons of offense and defense. He has also been willing, for the sake of his country, to enter into alliances with Western powers, and to take advantage of some at least of the benefits of modern medicine and agricultural research. It is no secret, however, that in this he has had continual opposition from his theologians and some of his theologically minded followers. This was inevitable, for the Wahhābi revival, which fired Arabia and made no small impression on the rest of the Islamic world, had as its cry—Back to the Qur'ān, the Word of Allah, and to the primitive ways of the Prophet's time. Its mission was to get rid of *bid'a*—innovation, i.e., all things that had come to be considered usual in Islamic belief and practice, but which had been introduced since the time of the Prophet, and which therefore 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his followers considered as reprehensible excrescences which had overgrown the primitive teaching and primitive practice, and which must therefore be removed, so as to recover once again the pure, unsullied beauty of original Islam. In their enthusiasm, they destroyed domes and cupolas, high minarets and ornamented shrines, paintings and artistic decoration, instruments of music, garments and textures of silk and satin and brocade and embroidered work, tobacco pipes and the paraphernalia of games of all sorts. Most forms of indulgence and amusement were frowned upon, many absolutely forbidden, and those who continued to practise them often severely punished, for all must return to the simplicity, the unadorned simplicity, of things as they were in the Prophet's day. It thus goes without question that all introductions from the West were in their eyes anathema, and

that spirit is still very strong among the theologians of Wahhābi Arabia. On its positive side the movement was marked by an effort to secure, by force if necessary, the strict observance of the rules and regulations of primitive Islam, and the regular performance of the recognized cult obligations. This led to some interest in the canonical collections of Tradition, and in the writings of the more orthodox theologians and jurists of the past, and at Ibn Sa'ūd's own instigation editions have been published at Mecca and at Cairo, of the works of the theologians Ibn Taimiyya († 1327) and his less talented pupil Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyya († 1350).

It will be remembered that early Wahhabism was politically important not only in Arabia in the early nineteenth century, but also in India, where the troubles started by Sayyid Aḥmad of Oudh were Wahhābi inspired; in Indonesia, where it gave rise to the Padri Movement and the slaughter of the Battaks; and in North Africa, where it had an influence both on the movement in the Western Sudan under Osman Dan Fodio, and on the Sanusi movement. In each of these cases there was an attempt to revive the ancient Jihād—or Holy War—of primitive Islam. Such warlike attempts naturally could make but a momentary flare in the nineteenth century world, but the Wahhābi philosophy of life did succeed in implanting itself outside Arabia, and both in India and in Egypt small but not unimportant groups maintained the Wahhābi doctrine right up to the time of its revival in Arabia in our century. In India both the Faraizis of Bengal and the Ahl-i-Ḥadīs of the Panjab have maintained the opposition to *Bid'a* and insisted on the imitation of primitive Islam. In fact the name Ahl-i-Ḥadīs is taken as an expression of their opposition to *ra'i* or opinion, for conduct based on opinion is on the unstable ground of human judgment, whereas conduct based on *Ḥadīth* (sound tradition), is on the solid rock of actual imitation of the conduct of the divinely guided Prophet. In defense of their position they have produced no inconsiderable literature in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and their teachers in addressing student bodies in our day, have insisted that it is uncritical and un-

justified to assume that modern science and modern learning are necessarily good and admirable, or that modern civilization is necessarily superior to the way of life when Muḥammad and his Companions were alive. With considerable skill they expose the ills of modern ways of life, the perils of our mechanistic age, the evil results to social groups of industrialization on the scale demanded by our modern world, the unsettling effects of modern knowledge which has tended to break down rather than build up, to take away the foundations of faith a man had and give him nothing in return. And, they pertinently ask, have these great advances in mechanical knowledge, in technical skill, this increase in the speed with which we do everything, this use of machines instead of men, this turning night into day and the great silences into noise—all these so-called blessings of our modern world—have they increased human values, improved the worth and dignity of the individual, added to human happiness and contentment, made men more truly the children of heaven and less the children of earth? The superiority of this modern civilization they make bold to question, and contend that if we would but return to the conditions of the Prophet's day, and follow the Prophet's way of life, life would certainly move at a slower tempo, but regarded in terms of human values, life would be lived at a higher level.

In Egypt the movement was smaller than that in India, and remained partly an intellectual movement among the literalists and the ultra-orthodox in theological circles, partly a movement among certain poorer city-dwelling groups who seem to have felt the attraction of a religion of extreme simplicity and austerity in imitation of the Prophet and his early Companions. With the revival of the Wahn̄abī movement in Arabia under Ibn Sa'ūd, the movement took on a new lease of life in Egypt and attracted many followers. In particular, after the Turks had disestablished Islam, ended the Caliphate and driven out the Caliph, many Egyptian Muslims turned their eyes to Ibn Sa'ūd as the most powerful independent Muslim ruler, and saw in his Puritan revival the possibility of another Arabian Caliphate, with possibly

the restoration of the prestige and glory of early Islam. Ibn Sa'ūd bitterly disappointed them by his disinclination to take any interest in the revival of the Caliphate, or to follow out any of the suggestions of the Caliphate Conferences, so that some turned back. There still exists, however, a considerable group cherishing the Puritan ideal as the hope for a revived and restored Islam.

A quite independent manifestation of this spirit is to be seen in the growth in Cairo of a new sect known as the *Ahl as-Sunna*, who are Wahhābī in their spirit, and who have been openly accused by the religious leaders of the country as being Wahhābīs who desire to cut themselves off from the community, but who profess to have no affiliations, Wahhābī or other, and to be nothing but rigorously orthodox Muslims. Their founder Maḥmūd Khaṭṭāb as-Subkī (from whom the group is sometimes referred to as the *Subkiyya*), died in 1933, and his son and successor, Amīn, still lives as head of the community in his father's house at Bāb Zuweila in Cairo. This house has been made into a community centre. It was established as a *waqf*, with a mosque, guest rooms, barber's shop, book-shop, community administration office, and a trading centre where they deal in the Egyptian cloth, which is intended to be the staple of their economic independence. They are very vague as to their numbers, telling enquirers how they have thousands of members and adherents both in Cairo and in the country, but apart from their relatively small community in the city one seldom hears of them. They do, however, build mosques in various parts of the country as a work of piety, and they do from time to time send out preaching missions to the country. In the city they also do a good deal of preaching, especially on Fridays.

The founder, Shaikh Maḥmūd, was a rather narrow-minded old gentleman, with an inordinate love for disputation. His family had had no idea of making him a theological student and had established him in business, so that when he broke away and entered the Azhar to study, he was considerably older than the other students in the classes. In the Biography written by his son we learn of how he used to dispute

in class with his teachers, whom he accused of *bid'a*, of being rationalistic in their interpretations of the Qur'an, and of being either sectarian or latitudinarian in their interpretation of the *Sunna*. As a counterblast to their erroneous teaching he began to give his fellow students private lessons of his own in which he set forth his way of interpreting Qur'an and Sunna. This brought him into conflict with the authorities of the Azhar, who naturally objected that he had as yet no authority to teach. So though he disagreed with his teachers he went on with the courses of study prescribed, and took the higher certificate which gave him the right to teach. Not being welcome at the higher seats of learning, he started on preaching trips throughout the country, and finally settled down at his house in Bâb Zuweila, where he gathered around him a community of followers. Like the early Christians they were a closely knit community who sought to have all things in common. Even to the present day they trade as far as possible only with one another, try to avoid marriage connections outside their own group, contribute monthly to a community chest, avoid outside entanglements by consulting only with one another on their personal affairs, and since they have their own mosque at their centre, they worship together and provide hospitality for brethren from elsewhere who visit the city. They propagate their faith by preaching tours, and by the publication of cheap prints of the various writings of their founder and certain of his disciples. They have their own bookshop which serves also as a literary centre. Their community chest is also supported by the already mentioned trading venture in Egyptian cloth which was a project of the founder, and which incidentally provides an occupation for brethren out of work.

The writings of the sect which one can purchase seem to be perfectly orthodox, and they do not seem to have any reserved literature not available to the public at large. Their peculiarity is that they have gone in for a brand of ultra orthodoxy, which is so strict that their opponents declare that they regard all who follow normal Islamic orthodoxy as little better than unbelievers. Their main claim for themselves is

that they avoid all *bid'a*, and any new adherent to the sect is required to take an oath of avoidance of even the least appearance of *bid'a*, but apart from that and the general requirement that he follow the custom of the community, nothing seems to be demanded of him. Their main emphasis is thus quite in accord with Wahhābi ideas. The founder seemed to regard all cultural advances since the Prophet's day as *bid'a*. The mosque must be plain and unadorned, without decoration or *mihrāb*, which are *bid'a*. The *mimbar* (pulpit) must be a simple seat not more than two steps high, the high uplifted pulpit being *bid'a*. Fancy musical flourishes in the call to prayer, or in the recitation of the prayers themselves, are *bid'a*. The extra recitations of selected portions of the Qur'ān, the *dhikrs* of the Dervish Orders, the popular festivals of the people, are all *bid'a*. To shave is *bid'a*; to wear modern headgear or clothing is *bid'a*; smoking and taking snuff are *bid'a*; drinking coloured fizzy drinks and eating coloured sweetmeats are *bid'a*. In reply the orthodox Sheikhs of Cairo asserted that his interpretations of the Qur'ān and Sunna were *bid'a*, and certainly no one had ever heard the like of some of them before, so that the rules of conduct he derived from them did lay him open to the charge of claiming for himself the right of *ijtihād* or private interpretation.

Before we leave these ultra-orthodox perhaps mention should be made of two other movements in modern Egypt that have attracted some attention, namely, those of the Green Shirts, and the Young Men's Muslim Association.

The Green Shirts came into being as a party of youth to oppose the Blue Shirts, and in that sense it was a political movement, for the Blue Shirts were the "youth movement" of the Egyptian Nationalist or Wafd party, and were intended to organize the youth of that party so that they should be able to make some effective contribution to the struggle for Egypt's future, instead of spending their energies in futile demonstrations and student strikes. Many of the outstanding leaders of the Wafd party, however, were non-Muslim, and though there may have been other factors in the organization of the Green Shirts, that which appeared to

the public eye was their bitter opposition to the non-Muslim elements in the city population. This forced them into the position of champions of the principle that influences from the West must be resisted as prejudicial to Islam.

The Y.M.M.A., whose position and influence were grossly exaggerated by Dr. Kampfmeyer in the volume "Whither Islam?", started out well with a programme that called for the acceptance of modern knowledge and the adoption of all that was good in modern culture, and in its beginnings had very substantial backing. Its progress, however, has been more and more towards the position of a defense of the rigid orthodox conception of Islam, and of struggle against Western influences that seem to be bringing about changes in that conception. With them also there is the tendency to exalt the greatness of primitive Islam, and while their Magazine has pleaded most valiantly for reform, it has also reiterated that the one remedy for the condition in which modern Islam finds itself is a return to the Qur'ān and the primitive life of the Prophet's original Islam.

One interesting by-product of this emphasis on primitive Islam and the days of the Prophet has been a renewed interest in the study of the Traditions and of the life of the Prophet. This has gone far beyond the bounds of those circles particularly interested in puritan ideals such as those of the Wahhābīs, and has resulted in the production of quite a number of attempts in recent years to write afresh for this generation the Prophet's biography. It is not so many years ago that almost the only *Lives* of the Prophet which were commonly read in Islamic countries were those highly-coloured apocryphal *Lives*, liberally decked out with the miraculous and the marvellous. In recent years, however, both in India and the Near East, there has appeared a number of biographies of the Prophet which have sought to give a more modern presentation of the events of the Prophet's life and their significance. Many of them have been quite uncritical, and even, shall we say, ecstatic, such as Gād al-Mawlā Bay's *Muḥammad the Perfect Example*, or Qassim Ali Jairazbhoy's *Muhammad, a Mercy to all the Nations*.

Others, such as Muḥammad Riḍā's *Muḥammad, Apostle of Allah*, or Iqbal Ali Shah's *Mohammed*, while keeping well within the pale of orthodoxy, have attempted to set forth the story in the style of a modern biography; and yet others, as for example Ḥusain Haikal's *Muḥammad*, definitely face the results of critical scholarship, and try to write a Biography of the Prophet which will suit the demand of the day for a scientific approach even to the sacred things of religion. A quite peculiar position is held by Ṭaha Ḥusain's '*Alā Hāmish as-Sīra*, which is not strictly a biography at all, but a literary work attempting, with full awareness of modern critical results, to imaginatively reconstruct the environment of the Prophet's day, and interpret his life as it must have appeared to his contemporaries.

This reaction to Western influences was not everywhere so negative as in the reactionary movement of Wahhabism and similarly motivated attempts to reject Western culture and return to primitive Islam. We find, indeed, a number of significant movements where the coming of Western influences stirred to action the body of Islam, but where the reaction was to carry on from where one stood rather than to move back into the past of Muslim history in an endeavour to turn the wheels of progress backwards.

In Indonesia, for example, we find the movement of *Sarekat Islam*. In its origins this had really nothing to do with Islam, for it grew out of the deep feeling of resentment among the Indonesian population, more precisely the Javanese population, at the favoured position of foreigners among them—Dutch, Chinese, Japanese and Arabs. The Arabs, of course, were all Muslims, and some of the Chinese were Muslims, but as foreigners they had rights and privileges which economically, socially and legally, gave them a favoured position as against the native Javanese, and they were not hesitant about showing their contempt for the local population. With the changes of life brought about by the Dutch occupation of Java and the neighboring isles, there came the spread of education, the introduction of many of the technological improvements of modern life, and a con-

siderable stirring of ideas among even the least educated of the population. In particular the sons of many Javanese families took advantage of the opportunities for a modern Western education. Such youths naturally found the unfavourable position in which their people stood to be intolerable, and in various parts of the country there sprang up, almost spontaneously, little groups which sought to face this situation and remove the disabilities that it entailed for their people. There was at that time nothing distinctively Muslim about it, it was a purely nationalistic movement to fight for the national Javanese interests against those of foreigners, whether Muslim or non-Muslim.

Basically the movement was economic, for the favoured position of foreigners worked against the economic improvement of the Indonesians, and as they came to face the call to wider life as opened up by the Western connection, they bitterly resented their economic bondage. It was an economic boycott of Chinese goods at Surakarta in 1910 which first brought the movement into definite organization as *Sarekat Islam*. The movement was also social, for they resented quite as much the attitude of superiority taken towards them by the more favoured foreign groups. Once it was organized, however, and by the success of its boycott proved that it could accomplish something, it rapidly developed into a politico-religious movement. The Arabs saw possibilities in it, particularly as a force to stem the growing stream of Javanese conversions to Christianity, so they for the most part joined in with it, and pushed it in the direction of a union of Muslims under the aegis of Islam. On the other hand, the extraordinary popularity of the movement after the success of its Chinese boycott, suggested to certain Javanese leaders what a powerful weapon it could be politically in uniting the Indonesian masses against the foreign Government.

The outstanding figure in this early organization of the movement was Sayyid Tjakra Aminata, a man of quite unusual ability, and a distinguished orator. It was he who saw the possibilities of the movement and set himself to organize it, founding a newspaper to serve its interests, lecturing in all

the main centres of the island to establish local branches, drawing up an elaborate constitution and statutes, and, to make it truly national, founding a National Congress, at whose meetings representatives of the various branches could share in formulating the plans of the movement. To deal with the economic problem he took much interest in promoting cooperatives, but owing to local inexperience in managing the finances these local cooperatives did not have the hoped-for results and soon went out of business. He was more successful with his social programme, and the movement made considerable progress in the direction of improving the position of women, providing for the education of children, ameliorating the labouring conditions for the poorer classes by checking abuses on the part of employers, improving the relations between Indonesians and the foreign residents, and compelling fuller recognition by Government of the rights of the mass of the population. It was now that religion came prominently into the picture, for Tjakra saw that his one hope of uniting all the different groups among the thousands of people now crowding into the movement was to emphasize its Islamic character, and insist that it was *Sarekat Islam*, so that every member must be pledged to faithful performance of all the public and private religious duties of Islam, and to an effort to build again the ancient prestige and glory of Islam against the dominance of the Western powers. There have been variant opinions as to the sincerity of Tjakra in this, but there is really no need to doubt the sincerity of his belief in Islam, even though he shrewdly made the most of the religious note to secure other than religious ends in which he was interested.

In the early nineteen-twenties the movement underwent a radical change of front in a Communistic direction. This was partly due to the fact that Tjakra's political activities had landed him in jail, so that he was no longer able to keep a tight hold over the activities of the movement. It was due even more, however, to the rapid rise of a new figure, Sema'un, who had been interested in Trade Unions, and was for a while the leader of the left wing of the movement.

Tjakra had belonged to the old aristocracy, but Sema'un was a man of the common people. Tjakra's financial dealings had always been subject to suspicion, but Sema'un was scrupulously honest. Tjakra had consistently played politics for his own power and position, Sema'un cared nothing and desired nothing for himself. When Russian communistic propaganda reached the East he embraced it wholeheartedly, and on his rise to leadership in the movement he frankly cast its religious connections to the winds and made it no longer a *Sarekat Islam*, but a *Sarekat Ra'yat* (Union of the People), so that now, though there are pious Muslims in the movement, it is no longer a movement of significance for Islam, but merely a local branch of the world Communist movement.

In India also there has been a politico-religious reaction which has in recent years thrown up a number of movements of some interest. One of these is the so-called Pakistan movement. This has arisen out of the fact that northwest India is solidly Muslim, and is neighbour to a group of states—Persia, Afghanistan, Kafirstan, Turkestan, which are also solidly Muslim. These make up an area—the so-called Pākīstan—which it would be possible to unite politically as a Muslim country, where non-Muslims would be an infinitesimal minority, and so the Islamic system could there be established and allowed to function in all its fulness as a political, as well as a social and religious system. The enthusiasm for this ideal state of Pakistan was due largely to a feeling that in India the Muslims are, in spite of their imposing numbers, swamped in a sea of Hinduism. If India gets Dominion status the overwhelming majority of seats in an elected Parliament would go to Hindus, who would thus, it is said, control all the branches of Government, and though Muslims, just as Christians, Parsis and others, would be given a share in such Government, it would be a minor share, and in the process of Indianization that would go on the Muslims would soon be robbed of everything distinctively Islamic save their religious separateness. To some, of course, this would appear to be all to the good, for they regard the political ambitions of

Islam as an anachronism in the modern world, indeed as one of the unnecessary handicaps under which Islam has suffered all through its history, and they look to the future of Islam as lying entirely within the sphere of religion, as for instance is the case with Jainism or Zoroastrianism in India. There are thus many very able Muslim leaders who are wholeheartedly with the Indian National Congress. The old idea of Muslim political dominance, however, dies hard, and in many quarters in India there has been a serious misgiving as to the future of Islam in an India for the Indians, so that the Pakistan movement has seemed a way of Muslim salvation.

As now preached by C. Raḥmat 'Alī it has a more complicated pattern. The Northwest Province is not the only strongly Muslim province, though the Muslim percentage is highest there. In Bengal and Assam there are very large and important Muslim communities; and in the Deccan another area of Muslim influence, and the centre of power of the most important Muslim chief in India, the Nizām of Hyderabad. The new pattern is therefore of an India with Dominion status, but within that Dominion three autonomous Muslim states—*Pakistan* in the Northwest, with or without Afghanistan and other areas; *Bang-i-Islam* in Bengal and Assam; *Usmanistan* in the Deccan—in which the Islamic system must be allowed to function without interference from either the British Government or the national Government which controls the rest of India.

On the surface this fantastic idea may seem merely political, but it is much more than that. Mr. Raḥmat 'Alī declares with great vehemence that he is not an Indian but a Muslim, and that no form of Government will be acceptable to him and those Muslims who follow him, which does not guarantee the "sovereign rights" of Muslims. There is the crux of the matter. The guarantee of religious rights is not enough. This group is fighting for the old ideal of Islam as having a right to political dominance over non-Muslim groups, and cannot tolerate these having dominance over Muslim areas where Muslims are in the majority. So the Pakistan movement must be placed among those whose ef-

fort is to face the new situation of the modern world by a return to the ideas and ideals of earlier Islam.

The reason for this persistent return to the old Islam is the quite simple one that Muḥammad claimed to be the final Prophet, the Seal of the Prophets, which meant that Islam was the final religion; and this was early taken to mean that Islam was "the natural religion of man." In the Traditions the Prophet was represented as saying that every babe is born a Muslim, but his parents make him a Jew or a Christian or an idolator. If this is so then the original Islam as preached by the Prophet and his Companions must be the ultimate religion. Men may have gone astray in the additions they made as the centuries went by, but the original Islam must be the true Way, the true knowledge, the true Faith, to reject which is ignorance or perversity. From this position there has been yet another interesting development.

If the original Islam had the true knowledge, some have argued, then it must have had the whole truth, not merely a partial truth, and that whole truth ought to be found in the Qur'ān. In other words, the modern learning of which the Western world is so proud is only a late discovery, by the West, being already there in the Qur'ān. Numerous works have appeared in our generation to maintain this position. Preeminent among them is a Qur'ān commentary by Shaikh Ṭaṭṭāwī Jawharī of Cairo, which was published in numerous thin folio volumes, and in which the Shaikh, who had been attracted to a study of nature by the works of the late Sir John Lubbock, finds in the Qur'ān all the essential elements of our modern sciences of micro-biology, astro-physics, electricity, radiology, and much of our modern social theory.

The same thought appears in a less extravagant form in the work of the Indian Muslim Sir Muhammad Iqbal, particularly in a series of lectures which he gave before student audiences in various parts of India, and which were published in book form in 1934 under the title *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. Here we find an attempt to discover the conceptions of Time, Space, Self, etc. as used in modern philosophic writing, the chief points of

discussion in our modern Psychology and Social Science, anticipated by the Qur'ān and the early Muslim writers. It is true that our philosophers will object that he has often not understood their theories aright, and it is even more true that the meanings he gives to Qur'ānic verses would have been strange beyond words to those to whom the verses were addressed, but that does not matter at the moment, for our interest is in the attempt to find all modern truth in the old Islam.

There were many others, however, particularly Muslims who had been educated in the West, who saw that such attempts to readjust and reinterpret ancient conceptions to make them fit modern life, were fundamentally unsound and doomed to failure. Such, therefore, frankly admitted that the Qur'ān must be interpreted in the light of its seventh century environment of Arabia, and that the limitations of the Sunna must be recognized. Those days are not our days, and the new wine cannot without disaster be poured into the old wineskins. The essentials of Islam as a religion—its belief in God, its practice of prayer and meditation, its awareness of the recompense of good and evil, its hope of immortality, its challenge of a spiritual rather than a materialistic attitude to life, its sense of the community of believers with duties of brotherhood and helpfulness to one another and a common striving for the common good;—these are still values, and always will be values. The old world-view of the Qur'ān, however, can no longer be held by thinking men, and the masses of minute regulation of life and conduct drawn from the Sunna, must be given up as no longer compatible with our way of life in a modern world. Fasting, and almsgiving, and pilgrimage may indeed have religious values in this day, but not necessarily the same values they had when originally instituted; and certainly the practice of them need not be burdened by insistence on the observance of the thousand and one rules and regulations that during the centuries have come to cluster around them. These things may be hallowed by association with the religious experience of many generations of pious men, but while we reverence this asso-

ciation of piety we cannot let it bind us to practices which are no longer meaningful to men with the outlook of our generation.

The latter end of the last century saw a notable beginning at this frank attempt at readjustment. Two outstanding figures were Syed Aḥmad Khān in India, and Sheikh Muḥammad 'Abdu in Egypt. In both cases it was only a beginning, for neither of these leaders ventured too far in divergence from orthodoxy, though they took a quite definite stand for liberalism. Yet it was a beginning, and had important consequences. Sir Syed Aḥmed was able to found the All India Muslim Educational Conference, which has done notable work in the interests of providing the means for modern education for the Muslim youth of India. To the same end he organized the Muslim College at Aligarh, which has since become the Aligarh University, where European scholars from both England and Germany have been invited to teach and given complete academic freedom. He founded modern Journals in Urdu, and wrote much in Urdu and English, setting forth the ideal of a liberalizing of Islam, trying to familiarize the people with the idea of an Islam that could fearlessly accept the teachings of the modern world, and adjust itself to the new life demanded by our age of swift and constant progress. Similarly in Egypt Muḥammad 'Abdu fought for liberalism—for liberalizing the system of education in the great Theological School of the Azhar, both by a new attitude to the old-style curriculum, and by introducing some modern subjects; for carrying liberal education down into the lower schools; for a new attitude in the public press; for a break with many of the traditional ways of Islam where these were acting as a hindrance to progress in Muslim lands. His lectures at the Azhar were like fresh breezes in a musty room, and were avidly taken by the student body. He even gave lectures on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, since published in Commentary form, which broke entirely with traditional methods, and struck out new lines of interpretation. As a result of his interest in modernizing jurisprudence it has been possible in recent years to make a number of very sig-

nificant changes in the handling of matters of personal status in Egypt, without too serious opposition from the upholders of orthodoxy.

In both India and Egypt, however, while some followers of these leaders have consistently carried the liberalism to its natural conclusion in what might be called Modernism in Islam, others have turned to apologetic. In India, for example, we find Amīr 'Alī Syed, instead of admitting the fact that the early Islamic teaching as to the position of woman is inadequate and impossible in our world, undertaking an elaborate defense of the position of women in Islam, to show that if this is interpreted thus, and that is taken so, the result will appear that woman's position under Islam compares very favourably with her position elsewhere. So Chirāgh 'Alī writes an equally elaborate defense of Holy War, in which, by a series of extraordinary interpretations and combinations of texts, he resolves Jihād into little more than a summons to vigorous missionary activity. The whole Aḥmadiyya Movement, which has made much propaganda in England, France and Germany, as well as in India and Indonesia, has devoted itself whole-heartedly to this apologetic. It has produced a Life of the Prophet in which everything in the *Sīra* which would be offensive to modern taste has been omitted, the Prophet's marriages and warlike expeditions explained away, and the whole picture painted in conformity with modern ideas, where to our amazement we find that actions are judged by the standards of the New Testament, not by those of the Qur'ān. They have an Aḥmadiyya Commentary on the Qur'ān, where again everything that might offend modern taste is either translated away or explained away; and they have been active in producing tracts with the same apologetic intent.

Similarly in Egypt the *Manār* Press, directed first by Mḥd Rashīd Riḍā and now by his successors, has both in its Magazine and in its numerous publications been eager to accept much of the liberal position, but intent on an apologetic for Islam, which will enable it to stand well in the regard of the educated of our day.

In sharp contrast with this position is that of the more advanced liberals, who accept the full implications of the liberal position. The late Khudā Bakhsh of Calcutta was well read in the work of modern Oriental scholarship, himself made translations of several important German works to introduce them to his fellow Muslims of India, and was instrumental in having other such translations sponsored by the University of Calcutta. He freely admitted to student groups that the apologetic attempted by the Aḥmādiyya and others was folly and liable to bring Islam into contempt in the eyes of thoughtful persons. If the liberal position is accepted, it must be fully accepted. Nothing can finally prevail against the truth, so that what in Islam is true will always remain, and what proves in the light of new knowledge to be less than the truth or contrary to the truth, had better be given up, for no amount of special pleading will ever make it true. Muḥammad's character will stand forth in its fullest value when we look at it frankly in the light of its environment. What he was and what he accomplished will stand forever in history as his achievement, and it is not to Muḥammad's credit to suppress facts regarding his life history for fear of how they will be judged, or to labour with specious arguments to distort plain statements in the original documents, because we think things should have been otherwise.

In the same spirit a number of the younger Indian writers have urged that in matters of Jurisprudence, ever a thorny subject in Islam, the door of *ijtihād* should again be opened, and modern jurists permitted to formulate rulings, on the basis of the sources, indeed, but in the light of their own judgment as to the modern situation, instead of being confined to drawing rulings from decisions given in the light of situations in a bygone age. In Egypt the memory of the case of 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāziq is still green. Though a judge in the Muslim Courts he published a treatise on Islam and Civil Government in which he demonstrated that the present system of Church-State is impossible, and urged a separation of Church and State as more in harmony with the original spirit of Islam, and calculated to make it possible for Islam to

really take its place as a religious force in the world of today unhampered by the shackles of an impossible system. The reaction of the orthodox was so violent that he was dismissed from his official position, and had his diploma taken from him; but his influence has been profound.

An even more profound influence among the Egyptian Modernists, however, is the blind scholar Ṭaha Ḥusain, so long associated with the Egyptian University, the secular University as contrasted with the Theological School of the Azhar. Ṭaha Ḥusain is outstanding as a man of letters, who writes and lectures in French as easily as he does in Arabic, and as Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University he has done much to preserve a succession of visiting European Professors to bring to the students the best that the West has to offer, as supplement to what they get from their Eastern teachers. Over and over again he has fought to preserve the academic freedom of these visiting teachers, wanting them to use the same presentation as they would use with students in their own home Universities, even though this may be strange and sometimes distressing to Muslim students. In his own writings Ṭaha Ḥusain has broken completely with the shackles of tradition, and claims freedom to investigate Islam and Muslim history by the methods used in our modern Universities. This has laid him open to bitter attacks from other more conservative groups, who assert that he is poisoning the minds of the students and striving to destroy the hold of Islam over the lives of the youth of Egypt. He replies that if Islam has to maintain its hold by shutting the students off from the results of modern investigation, and demanding their adherence to outworn conceptions long given up by all the rest of the world, then it is high time someone did something about it. Many attempts have been made, some of them temporarily successful, to deprive him of his academic position, but the regard and affection in which the student body hold him is high tribute to the appreciation of his position by the younger generation in Egypt.

Ṭaha Ḥusain is a man of considerable culture, so that his work, though critical and modernistic, is sane. There are

some amusing examples of enthusiastic labour in a modernistic spirit, however, which though right in spirit were hardly well enough grounded in scholarship to be acceptable. One such is the brief Qur'ān Commentary of Mḥd Abū Zaid of Damanhūr. Shaikh Abū Zaid was seized with the spirit of modernism, disgusted beyond measure by the slavish following of tradition which he found among the religious leaders, so that none of them in his writings dared to do anything but repeat in new words what the ancient authorities had already said plainly enough, and certain in his own mind that only rationalistic explanations of things would be acceptable to this modern generation. So he set about giving purely rationalistic explanations of all in the Qur'ān which is usually taken to be miraculous. The ants whom Solomon heard talking were an Arab tribe bearing the Ant name. The birds whom Solomon commanded to bring him news of the Queen of Sheba were really swift-moving scouts, and so on, the Qur'ān being made into a perfectly modern book by having all its wonder element rationalized and explained as referring to purely natural occurrences. His book was condemned and withdrawn from circulation, but it illustrates very well the spirit that is abroad today in many Muslim circles, which would frankly accept the full implications of the modernistic outlook, and while preserving their religion for its religious values, yet interpret it in a way that is in conformity with the demands of modern thought. How far the resulting religion will deserve to still bear the name of Islam, is, of course, another question. The strongest point made by the critics of Ṭaha Ḥusain is certainly their point that the religion which emerges from his discussion is but a vague theism from which everything that is distinctively Islamic has been removed, so that Muḥammad and the Companions would never recognize their religion in his. The exploration of this modernistic approach to Islam, however, is only in its beginnings, and the coming years may see new attempts to work out a statement of the significance of Islamic culture in terms of modern life and thought.

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CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR MOSLEMS IN INDIA

Twenty years of close association with the National Christian Council's Committee on Christian Literature for Moslems in India gives one a certain perspective that should be of assistance in outlining the present-day literature needs in this country. In that time literature has been developed in twelve of the leading languages used by Moslems in India—in some of which there was no literature for Moslems of any sort, though in others, notably Urdu and Bengali, a considerable body of literature had existed for a long time. A recently published analysis of the literature for Moslems in the various languages of the Moslem world exhibited at Tambaram indicates that literature in Urdu, the leading Moslem language in India, is as well or better supplied in most of the thirteen categories than the remaining languages, including Arabic and Persian.

India appears to be quite well supplied as compared with other lands with the following classes of literature for Moslems: Literature of the First Approach; For Christians about Islam; Comparison of Islam and Christianity; The Life of Christ for Moslems; Apologetics—General, The Person of Christ, The Scriptures, The Cross; Parables; and Worship. But there is a great dearth of Bible Stories for Moslems; General Christian Stories for Moslems; Biographies; Evangelistic Dramas; and literature emphasizing the Mystic element and Prayer.

So much for the general statement. I now turn to some specific suggestions for enlarging, strengthening and sharpening the means of approach through the printed page. India undoubtedly needs more stories of the lives of Moslem converts to Christ, such as the recently published delightful and inspiring testimony of the Rev. John A. Subhan. Closely allied to this type of book, which is always extremely valuable,

are the stories of men and women from different parts of the world who have become martyrs for Christ's sake.

Then there is need for more specifically devotional literature. One type should be a small devotional booklet for enquirers which could be memorized and used in place of the customary, ordained *namaz*. More use, also, should be made of the Prayer Book of the Church of England, and similar devotional works of other churches. The Rev. J. W. Sweetman of the Henry Martyn School, Aligarh, pleads for more extended use of these existing manuals of devotion, as follows:

“Are we to understand that it is taboo for a Prayer Book to be used to inform a Moslem as to the beliefs and practices of Christians? . . . Are individuals to be given license and historic churches to be denied any say in the matter? . . . We know that there are these great books of Christian devotion sponsored by the different churches, and translated into different languages. What we wonder at is their exclusion (from the lists of literature for Moslems) and whether it represents in the general mind of missionaries . . . an idea that a line of demarcation can be drawn between manuals of theology and books of prayers on the one hand, and books suitable for Moslems on the other? If this is the case, then the sooner we get rid of this idea the better it will be, and the more hope we shall have of being able to give Moslems what they can recognize as statements carrying with them the authority of the great Christian communions.”

In addition, the Rev. L. Bevan Jones sounds an important note, when he suggests that in these days of expanding higher education there is special need for pamphlets printed in an attractive form which could be given to college men and women, explaining the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, particularly those not well understood by Moslems. He also suggests that we should have more books and pamphlets designed for the adolescent mind—the sort for which Miss Lilius I. Trotter of Algiers was famous. It would also be worth while to prepare some books specially designed to inspire Christians to influence their Moslem neighbors.

Dr. Dwight M. Donaldson, long in Iran, and now the

Principal of the Henry Martyn School, Aligarh, sees the need for brief introductions to books of the Bible, printed so as to be sold separately, and very cheaply, or even given away, at the time when Bible portions are sold. He also stresses the point that books should be prepared which consider Christian customs and sacraments in such a way as to present their bearing on the appreciation of events in the life of Christ, such as Canon Gairdner's study of the Eucharist.

In the more remote rural areas two types of literature, apart from Gospel portions, are in great demand: tracts for free distribution, and especially illustrated tracts like the old Milton Stewart Fund tracts are extremely useful; but good use can also be made of substantial booklets which sell at low prices, covering all the phases of the Christian message, and the relation of Christianity to Islam.

Far in the distance, but still one of the great needs of India and the whole Moslem world is the realization of the worthy suggestion put forth by Mr. Sweetman of Aligarh in the November-December, 1942 Bulletin of the Henry Martyn School, where he writes:

"It is specially worthy of note that while scholarship has been devoted to the editing and translating of books of the East in order that there may be a better understanding of the Eastern systems by the West (and this work dates from the Middle Ages), except for the outstanding exception of the superlative work which has been done in the translation of the Scriptures, there has been nothing on an equal scale to make the great classics of Christian literature (particularly theological) available in the languages of the East. When will the day come that we shall have in important languages of the East something corresponding to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or the *Gibb Memorial Series*, with the subject not Islam but Christianity, and the classics not Muslim but Christian?"

Great is the need for literature for Moslems in India. But this literature cannot be produced as it should be without the development and training of capable writers. Through the Henry Martyn School it is hoped to discover and develop those Indian writers who can do creative work in the Moslem languages of India and who will be able, also, to translate and

adapt effectively much of the valuable material that has already been written in English. Though much has been done on the last twenty years to provide literature for the twelve leading Moslem language areas of India, the next twenty years should see a great improvement both in the quality and the quantity of literature that is produced, especially for the more neglected areas, such as Assam, Orissa, Tamil, Telugu, Gujarat and Malayalam.

MURRAY T. TITUS

Lucknow, India

The Caucasus Today

"In the last two decades the energy of the Caucasians has been devoted primarily towards education and the economic development of their extremely rich and fertile land. Advances have been truly remarkable. More than seventy per cent. of the various nationalities in the Caucasus were completely without an alphabet. When that elementary need was solved, the problem of education was tackled thoroughly. Illiteracy has been reduced from eighty-three per cent. to about ten per cent. Hand in hand with education went the emancipation of women. The old tribal customs, which dealt so cruelly with womenfolk, were progressively abolished so that to-day complete equality exists. Books have been published in their millions. Music, poetry, the theatre and the cinema have become features of everyday life. The treasures of Shakespeare and other great British writers have been translated into many of the tongues of the Caucasus. Equally important has been the mixing of cultures. The old isolationism of the Caucasians has been considerably broken down. Co-operation, that essential of modern life, has been encouraged and extended in every sphere of economic and spiritual life.

"Without going into statistical details, it is interesting to know that the Caucasus is not only famous for its production of oil, it is also a great cultivator of tea, a very favourite beverage of all Russians and many other folk in the Soviet Union. A fine variety of tobacco is also grown. The silk industry has been considerably developed. The increased output of electricity and the presence of limestone have given the synthetic rubber works at Erivan, capital of Soviet Armenia, an important place in the economy of the whole Union. Second only in importance to oil is the presence of rich manganese ores at Chiaturi, whose output accounts for about two-thirds of the total production in the Soviet Union."

DAVID TUTUEFF in *World Dominion*

AL-BUKHĀRĪ AND THE AGGADA

The affinity which exists between the religion of Islam and its forerunners, Judaism and Christianity, is more or less obvious to all who are acquainted with its beliefs and practices. But there is want of agreement among close students of the subject as to which of these forerunners was the more powerful factor in moulding the thought and life of the Muslim faith. The balance of opinion seems to incline to the predominance of Jewish influence in the initial period of Islam, but there is still considerable division of mind with respect to its place in the more mature periods. The arguments for or against the claims for Judaism have been based not unnaturally on the evidences which the Qur'ān offers as to Muḥammad's acquaintance with Biblical and Apocryphal literature and with the institutions of the "People of the Book." The treatise of Geiger, Hirschfeld, Sidersky, Rudolph, Bell, Torrey, and Tor Andrae¹ illustrate, each in its own way, this pre-occupation with the Qur'ānic material. The lack of unanimity in their conclusions arises out of the character of the literature with which they deal. Muḥammad was singularly effective in concealing the sources of his information or instruction because of his cryptic or obscure or fragmentary manner of serving his hearers with material drawn from the older faiths.² This suggests, therefore, that the study of the Qur'ān should be supplemented by a more extensive survey of Islamic literature. The factors to which a religion owes its origins or creative impulses may be brought into relief not only by its earliest documents and institutions but also—and perhaps more fully—by that in its environment to which it instinctively is attracted and to

¹ E. Fritsch, *Islam u. Christenthum im Mittelalter*, Breslau, 1930; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen?* 1902 (1833); H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into Composition and Exegesis of the Quran*, London, 1902; W. Rudolph, *Die Abhängigkeit des Qorans von Judenthum u. Christenthum*, Stuttgart, 1922; R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment*, London, 1926; C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, New York, 1933; Tor Andrae, *Mohammed, sein Leben u. sein Glaube*, Göttingen, 1932; D. Sidersky, *Les Origines des Légendes Musulmanes*, Paris, 1933.

² C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish Foundation of Islam*, p. 6.

which it looks regularly for direction and inspiration, or against which to maintain its independence it must react. Just as the Tannaim and Amoraim and their successors, or the Apostolic and Church Fathers and theirs, do not cease by reason of the lapse of time or changing conditions to reflect the character of their origins, so, it may be held, the Ḥadīth—particularly such a quasi-canonical collection as that of al Bukhārī—can contribute evidence as to the influences which contributed most to bring Islam to birth and to mould its religious attitudes.

Apart from an analysis of its contents, the account of the rise and growth of the Ḥadīth lends confirmation to this opinion. For the time and the conditions in which Muḥammad was living, the Muslims received adequate direction in all matters pertaining to their religion and practice in all its range through his successive revelations. But in the period of conquest and of political expansion which followed the death of the prophet, they found themselves confronted with strange situations and new conflicts which could not be resolved by an appeal to the Qur'ān. Since Muḥammad, as the mouth-piece of Allah, could have no successor, there could be no fresh revelations to give instruction to the faithful in their perplexities. In these circumstances there were some leaders, such as the Umayyads, who had no scruples about turning directly and without compunction to infidels or infidel institutions for answers to their problems. But the more devout, under the spell of the theocratic ideal communicated to them by the Prophet, sought in all their course and in every dilemma sanctions that had reference to the Prophet. Hence, when the Qur'ān failed them, they had recourse to the alleged *memorabilia* of Muḥammad as transmitted by a succession of traditionists.

Beginning early among the immediate successors of the Prophet, the Ḥadīth in the course of generations grew in volume and variety. The interests that called it forth were numerous. There were doctrinal statements and ritual practices to be defined, and innovations in either respect to be rejected or authenticated; the administration of government

in civil, legal, and military matters, the policies of state, and the conduct of business in all its contractual relations, had severally to be provided with traditions which served as a sort of *corpus juris*. Party strife and sectarian controversy had their special concerns to advance and to substantiate. And along with a legitimate historical interest in the sayings and doings of the Prophet which was always lively and avid of fresh information, the mere desire for entertainment sought its satisfaction in what the professional story-tellers knew how to provide. With each new demand, a new supply of traditions seemed to arise. While sharing with the Oral Tradition of the Jews certain similarities in purpose, it is to be noted that the Ḥadīth had relatively a harder task imposed on it, and suffered a greater urgency. It had to meet not hypothetical but real situations at hand, and to serve a wider range of interests. It also was under the necessity of relating its material to Muḥammad or his companions, a limitation more severe than any imposed on Jewish tradition. Obviously because it was under hard pressure, it would be tempted to reach out for help to what its neighbors could provide.

The appropriation of extraneous material was not foreign to the genius of Islam. The Qur'ān discloses that Muḥammad had in his instruction to live from hand to mouth,³ and, through lack of the resources that accrue to a religion with a long historical development, had to draw on the older faiths for material to supply his defects in spiritual things, or to dress up the exposition of his notions in religion. Sidersky has shown to what extent the Qur'ān is indebted to Jewish and to Christian apocryphal sources for legendary material. Since the debt to the Jewish sources exceeds that to the Christian, it is fair to assume that the Prophet was better informed concerning the Jewish sources through the ascendancy of Jewish influences in his environment. But, apart from this special evidence, the general testimony of the Qur'ān seems indisputable. "The Israelite tribes with their

³ D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, p. 69.

rabbis, their books, sacred and secular, their community of faith and action, and their living contact with the past are there; they are no phantoms."⁴

What Muḥammad did in appropriating such material, prepared the way for his successors to do likewise when, under similar compulsion, they had to cast about for light and direction in the changing circumstances of their history. As soon as the political center of Islam shifted from Arabia to Syria, the Muslims came into contact with more learned and notable representatives of "the People of the Book" than those whom they had met hitherto. They had not only to resist the challenge of a superior culture, but to maintain the claims and authority of their religion over against those of the rival faiths. The Christians after a long period of theological controversy had by this date reached a strong doctrinal position, and could be formidable in dialectic both in defense and in attack. The Jews had but recently completed the compilation of the Talmud. Whatever initial advantage the Christians had for influencing the Muslims because of the dependence of the latter on the former for assistance in government and in the arts and crafts was in the course of time lost, partly because of the Hellenistic mould in which Christian dogma was expressed, but mostly because of the emergence through the Near East of a revolt against things connected with Byzantium and the West. Also the appeal of Oriental Christianity to its miracles as a proof of its possession of the Divine *Qadr* was more than met by the unanswerable argument of the victories of the Muslim armies.⁵ When all the circumstances are reviewed, it is not difficult to perceive to which of the two rival religions the Muslim, busy with the problems of his faith, would under pressure turn for assistance. We must also take into account the fact that the defections from Judaism to Islam were numerous even from the first, and the converts brought into the new faith some of the stores of instruction from the old one. And since up to the end of the Umayyad period few direct con-

⁴ C. C. Torrey, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-61, 105-125.

⁵ L. E. Browne, *The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia*, c. VI.

tacts with Greek or Hellenistic philosophy had been made, Muslim teachers in this creative period had to look to their immediate environment for what they needed in setting forth their beliefs and practices.

In the Abbāsīd period, however, a new situation arose. Non-Arabs who had professed Islam were making the weight of their influence felt in Muslim culture; and with the loss of a sense of the identity of Islam with the Arab race there arose the need of striving to preserve its uniformity within the heterogeneous mass of its adherents. "The proud and independent Arab, while his authority was undisputed, could afford to ignore for the most part the *dhimmis* who adhered to their religion; but the Abbāsīd, who has thrown open the high places in his kingdom to the foreigner, could not, or at any rate did not, accord the same toleration that Muḥammad and his countrymen had displayed to the protected cults."⁶ The concern for orthodoxy expresses itself in two ways; in an outburst of fanatical hostility to both Jews and Christians, and in an increased attention to Ḥadīth. Traditions concerning the Prophet multiplied in number and in variety; and the status and the trustworthiness of the professional traditionists received special scrutiny. In keeping with the new spirit of intolerance there must have been a marked reluctance to look to extraneous sources for material to supplement the stories of the Ḥadīth, and, in course of time when the need of reducing and testing the body of this material became imperative there must have been a tendency to sift out and to declare unsound traditions that had been too recently and too obviously taken over from "the People of the Book." Only those traditions which through wide acceptance or through their profitableness for doctrine had become fixed in the teaching of Islam or whose origins were masked could come through the purge. In a review of the traditions it becomes clear, therefore, that before the Abbāsīd period the doctrinal bases of Islam had become established, and that in this respect the debt owed by Islam to Judaism is direct

⁶ A. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, p. 64.

and indisputable and in excess of that owed elsewhere. But up to the Abbāsid period many of the forms and practices of Islam had not been rigidly defined. Hence in this area the Ḥadīth worked to give Islam the outward marks of independence and separateness by providing the authentication for regulations that were devised to set off Islam by contrast with the rival religions. And it is to be noted in this respect that Islam pays Judaism the indirect compliment of singling out some of its institutions for special attention.

The parallelisms between Jewish and Muslim traditions, of which obviously only relatively few of the instances can be cited, serve to illustrate and to confirm what we have been advancing, namely, that Islam laid Judaism under heavy tribute for a considerable part of its religious thought.

The Ḥadīth bears simple witness to the steady influence which the Jews brought to bear on the Muslims by the number of the traditions in which the relations of the two peoples form the subject of discussion. The traditionists seem haunted by two things, the deep conviction that Judaism is in possession of a Divine Revelation and the fear that the Muslims may become judaized. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr is reported to have said, "The Prophet said: 'Transmit (what you hear) from me, be it only a verse; relate also (what you hear) from the children of Israel; thereby is no sin incurred'" (Al-Bukhārī, 60: 50, 9).⁷ On the other hand there is the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, "O Muslims, why do you consult the People of the Book, when now you possess the Book revealed by God to his Prophet which contains His latest tidings? . . . Has He not forbidden you . . . to consult them? And, by Allāh, never have I seen any of them ask you concerning that which has been revealed to you (52: 29)." And in the same vein a tradition of Abū Sa'īd makes the Prophet say, "Span by span and cubit by cubit, you so follow in the ways of the people who preceded you, that were they to enter the hole of a lizard you would still follow them" (60: 54, 4). In the light of other traditions it is clear that the

⁷ The bracketed numbers refer to L. Krehl, *Le Recueil de traditions musulmanes par el-Bokhari*, Leyden, 1862-1906.

animus here expressed relates specially to the Jews. In the three traditions cited we see how they at one time attract and at another repel the Muslims, but at no time can they be dismissed from Muslim attention. The necessity of rationalizing their animosity to the Jews in the face of Muḥammad's evident debt to them in the Qur'ān gave rise to traditions in which the Jews are condemned for their natural depravity (65: 5), or for their flagrant sins against the Divine regulations in the Law (34: 103; 44: 1, 3; 97: 51), or for their vicious behaviour toward the Prophet (78: 35, 1; 76: 55; 51: 28, 2).

But along with these evidences of the frequent preoccupation of the Muslims with the problem of the correct attitude to be adopted with respect to the Jews, there are those others which show that, however the former might affect an air of superiority over the latter, they were perennially dependent on them for guidance in the things of the spirit. Certain of these traditions seem often to be expository or midrashic expansions of the Biblical or rabbinical sources, others reflect more precisely their origins. To illustrate the former type we may quote Anas' tradition, "The Prophet said, the following three qualities constitute the sweetness of religion: to love God and His Apostle above all things, to love others only for the sake of God, to fear lapsing into unbelief more than being cast into Hell-fire (2: 9)", which is substantially a midrash on *Deut. 10: 12*, just as Abū Huraira's tradition, "The Apostle of God said, By Him in whose hands lies my soul! no believer is he who does not love me more than his father, his children, and all the rest of mankind (2: 8)," or as *Berakhoth 54a, Pesahim 25a*.⁸ To illustrate the second type there is the tradition of Ibn 'Umar, "The Prophet said, Five keys are there of things hidden, and no one knows them save God. Save God, no one knows the confinement of women; save God, no one knows the event of the morrow; save God, no one knows when the rain will

⁸ For Talmudic references *vide* L. Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud mit Einschluss der vollstandigen Mišnah*, 1901-1935.

I am indebted to Dr. L. Jacobson of Toronto who in an unpublished thesis has dealt at great length with parallels between the Ḥadīth and Jewish traditions.

fall; save God, no one knows when the Hour will arrive," which parallels closely *Tasnith 2A*, "Three keys are given into the hands of the Holy one which have never been committed into the hands of an angel. They are Key of the rains, the Key of the confinement of women, and the Key of the resurrection of the dead."

The parallelism between the Ḥadīth and the Aggadic traditions is impressively illustrated in the treatment of the various aspects of the fact of sin. Its origin is traced to the wiles of Satan. According to Abū Huraira, "The Apostle of God said, To each one of you comes Satan and enquires, 'Who created this?' and 'Who created that?' Then he asks, 'And thy Lord, who created (Him)?' When to this question he arrives, with God must the faithful seek refuge, and hearken to Satan no further." With this is to be compared Hagigah 11: 1, "Who ponders four matters—what lies above, what lies below, what lies before, what after—for him it were a mercy never to have been." Without enumerating all the ways by which man is led to sin, we may note the parallelism between the Muslims and the Jews in their notions concerning the remission of sins. Abū Huraira reports, "The Prophet said, For the fatigue that befalls a man, for illness, anxiety, grief, suffering, perplexity, injury, for whatever afflicts man, God remits a portion of his sins (75: 1)." 'Abd Allāh transmits something similar, "The Prophet said, When an affliction befalls a Muslim, verily God lets fall from him a portion of his sins, even as from a tree the leaves fall (75: 2)." In *Berakoth 5a* we read, "Tribulations purge the iniquities of man," and in *Nedarim 41a*, "When one recovers from an illness, his sins are forgiven." The death of one's children can work release from sin, for, according to Abū Huraira, "The Prophet said, He whose children of the age of innocence have died gains a screen against Hell, or else God causes him to enter Paradise (23: 92)," beside which may be set *Berakoth 5a-5b*, "He who occupies himself with Torah and with works of charity or who buries his children will gain remission of his sins." A correct observance of the ritual of prayer brings about the cancellation of sin. "When the Imām says, 'Not of

those with whom thou art angered nor of those who go astray,' say 'Amen,' for whosoever says 'Amen' at the same time as the angels shall have his past sins remitted him (65)." And in *Shabbath 119b* it is stated, "He who responds 'Amen!' with all his might has the sentence against him annulled . . . ; the gates of Paradise are thrown open before him." Good works also contribute to the deliverance of men on the day of judgment. According to Anas b. Malik, the Apostle of God said, "There are three things which follow the dead (at burial) of which two return and one abides with him. His family, his wealth, and his works follow him. His family and his wealth return, but his works abide with him (81: 42)." In *Aboth VI 9* it is likewise said, "When a man departs this world, neither silver nor gold nor pearls nor precious stones attend him but Torah only and good works." A closer parallel is provided in the Midrash *Pirke R. Elieser 24*. "Three friends has a man during his life. They are his children, his wealth, and his deeds of merit. When he leaves this world, he summons his children and pleads with them, 'Save me from the judgment of death!' They answer, 'Hast thou not heard that no one hath power on the day of death. For is it not written, No man can at all ransom himself?' . . . He summons his wealth and pleads. 'Day and night I toiled for thee; ransom me from death!' But his wealth answers, 'Wealth is of no avail on the day of wrath.' Then he summons his deeds of merit, and says, 'Preserve me from death and let me not depart this world!' 'Go in peace!' they reply, 'we shall come to meet thee there even before thou hast arrived, for it is said, Your vindication shall go before you.' " Of the three passages the first and the last correspond in their constituent features so clearly as to warrant the opinion that they are related in origin. Such an opinion is enforced by a comparison of certain Muslim and Jewish traditions in respect to the exemplary practices of David in prayer and fasting. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr said, "The Prophet said, The fast God loves best is the fast of David. One day he fasted, and one day he fed. The prayer God loves best is the prayer of David. One half the night he slept; a third of it he watched; and the re-

maining sixth he slept." (60: 36). The same thought is expressed in *Berakoth* 36 "R. Aha said, Thus said David, 'Midnight never in passing by found me asleep.' R. Zera said, David was wont to slumber until midnight like a horse; thereafter like a lion he girded himself (to keep watch). R. Simeon Hasida said, As soon as midnight arrived David arose at once, and with Torah occupied himself till dawn." As all of these traditions arise from midrashic reflections on *Psalms* 119:62, the balance of probability is that the Muslim tradition was derived from Jewish sources.

In respect to the practice of devotions, the Muslim traditions transmit certain precepts which are of a piece with some of those preserved in the Talmud. It is said by Abū Huraira, for example, "The prayer in the midst of the congregation stands twenty-five degrees higher than the prayer one performs in his house or in the market place" (8: 87; 34: 49). The grounds for such a dogmatic statement are not provided by the traditionists but they are found in *Berakoth* 6a, "Whence learn we that the Holy One, blessed be He, frequents the synagogue? In that it is said: God takes his stand in the divine assembly (Ps. 82: 1)." Hence in answer to the question, "When is the time of favor?" it is said "When the congregation is at prayer" (*Berakoth* 8a). Both religions forbid men to be loud in prayer. *Sura* 17: 110 advises "a middle way" which according to Ibn 'Abbās (65) is directed for fear lest, on the one hand, the polytheists may be tempted to scoff and, on the other, the faithful may fail to hear the comfortable words of prayer. Abū Mūsā, however, goes to the root of the matter when he reports, "The Apostle of God said, Restrain yourselves, for you invoke not One who is deaf or absent, but you invoke One who is keen of hearing, who is near you, for He is among you." Alongside of this is to be set *Berakoth* 24 b, "Who makes his voice heard during prayer is of those who are of little faith (*i.e.*, doubting God's ability to hear); who raises his voice during prayer is of the prophets of false gods" (*I Kings* 18: 28). The conduct proper to prayer is defined in Ḥadīth and in Talmud by injunctions strikingly similar in reference and in form. For example,

there is the tradition of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, "Let not him who is standing in prayer spit before himself, for God faces the man who is praying" (8: 33 (2)). If one must spit it is conceded that he may spit to the left or beneath his left foot (8: 34, 35) because an angel stands at one's right (8: 38). In the Talmud it is said, "He who spits during prayer is as one who spits in the presence of a king; . . . if one must spit, he may conceal the spittle in his Tallith. . . ." Also it is a breach of religious propriety to commit sin wantonly in public, and the punishment for such conduct is severe. Abū Huraira relates that the Apostle of God said, "All the members of my people will have absolution from their sins save those who publicly transgress." *Sanhedrin 74a* reads, "Should a Jew be compelled to violate a religious law in public, even a minor one, then his life must be forfeit." The Ḥadīth, as not uncommonly, fails to ground its pronouncement on any stated principle. For this we have to look to Jewish sources which explain by reference to *Is. 66: 1* that public sin is an affront to the Divine Presence (*cp. Kiddushim 40a, Hagigah 16a*). It is in accordance with the principles of religious decency that in a Tarjama (11: 7) it is stated that everyone must on Friday clothe himself in his best clothes. In *Shabbath 113a* the rule for Sabbath dress is authenticated by reference to *Is. 58: 13*, "If thou shalt honor it, not following thy wonted ways." Again in 'Abd Allāh's tradition, "The Prophet said, Than God is none more jealous. On account of it has He forbidden adultery," the relevance of the second statement to the first is only clear by reference to the Hebrew *qin'āh* with its primary meaning of *zeal or ardour* and its secondary one of *marital jealousy*. The tradition obviously derives from a Jewish source.

Through both Christian and Jewish influences the followers of Islam were obsessed by the subject of the Last Things. In outline the apocalyptic doctrines of the three faiths manifested considerable agreement, and the Qur'ān evidences the powerful effect that they exercised over Islam from its beginning. In their several aspects they provided great scope to the imagination; and Muḥammad did not fail

to employ his unbridled fancy in their elaboration before his audiences. But he was unable to exhaust all the possible implications of these conceptions, and in the Ḥadīth we see that his successors are busy supplying what seem to be lacking. And here, as in other matters, there is apparent dependence on the Jews for inspiration and guidance. For the sake of illustration we may cite the notion common to the Ḥadīth and the Aggada that the anti-Messiah will be marked by certain physical deformities particularly in respect to the eyes. According to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, the Prophet said, "On a certain night I had a vision . . . and I saw another who had hair short and brittle, and who was blind on the right eye—it looked like a grape floating. 'Who is this man?', I asked; and I was told that he was the Anti-Christ." In the Midrash *Wayyōsha'* on *Exodus 15: 18* Armilos is described as "bald-headed, one of his eyes is small, the other large."

Space does not permit us to cover all the material that may be cited in support of the view that has been advanced. But enough has been given, I trust, to show that the parallelisms between the Ḥadīth and the Aggada indicate some close contacts between the former and the latter. In certain cases the traditions are so similar in substance to Jewish material that one can assume that they have strayed from Jewish sources into their present context. And in other instances it is apparent that the traditionists are defining regulations for religious practice, the grounds for which are intelligible only by reference to Jewish parallels. It must be evident that the religious leaders in Islam, despite their pretence of self-sufficiency, kept their attention on Judaism. They seemed to be drawn to it because of an instinctive recognition of the community of bonds between Islam and Judaism, and so unwittingly multiplied evidences of the basal kinship between the two faiths.

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IN DEFENSE OF THE VEIL

This article is a translation of extracts from a book entitled, *The Means of the Chastity of Women; A Volume on Chastity*, by Hajji Shaykh Yusuf of Najaf and Gilan. Published in Resht, Iran, 1345 A.H. (1926 A.D.). pp. 294, ff. It is astonishing that the reactionary forces still argued for the veil in 1926.—C. R. Pittman.

“The Purpose of the Treatise. The purpose in writing this treatise is not to constrain women to the use of the veil, nor to urge men of today to the secluding of their women, nor is it to contend with those who believe in discarding the veil and to turn them from their belief. . . . My only purpose in writing and publishing this treatise is to show that the world furnishes brilliant proofs and clear arguments for those who believe in the veil, and to show that a sane mind, a correct taste, the religions of nations, the habits of bees and the laws of peoples all testify to the religion of Islam. My purpose is not to give currency to the sayings of those persons who in past centuries of darkness believed in the slavery of women, nor yet, like the truth killers and ignorant youths of this new age, to invite women to the discarding of the veil and to unchasteness” (p. 10).

“The Creation of Woman. The expositors have said that the creation of woman from a rib taken from the left side of man, as stated in the traditions, suggests that the physical and animal side in woman is stronger than in man, and that the spiritual and angelic is greater in man than in woman, since the right side is the symbol of the spiritual and the left the symbol of the physical nature” (p. 19).

“Their Mental Weakness and Deficiency in All Things. All the codes of law intended for the guidance of mankind toward the truth, and designed for making smooth and orderly the state of human society, agree in this, that transacting business with a woman is like transacting business with

one who is deficient and in need of a helper, sponsor and guardian, since woman in origin, creation, body, propriety of conduct, opinion, intelligence and action is inferior to man, and as the writers on ethics have declared and explained, is overcome by fleshly desires. These say that the characteristics of love for amusement, addiction to imaginations, approval of intrigue and revolutions and fickleness are more pronounced in woman than in man. The souls of women are the place of reverberation of idle tales. They are greater babblers, more inclined to imitation and to the following of injurious beliefs than men. Both ancient and modern sages agree that women, by origin and creation, have deficiencies which men do not have" (p. 23).

"Woman and Weeping. 'Ali (Peace be upon him!) said, 'I hear that your women obtain the mastery over you by weeping. Do you not forbid their loud weeping?' " (p. 41).

"Woman and Faithfulness. The wise men of the earth and the sages of the world have not directed their attention to the world and have not held it to be worthy of consideration because it is transitory, and whatever is transitory is interpreted to be fickle. Since woman is fickle, they have compared the world to a woman. *Hazrat* the Commander of the Faithful addresses the world thus, 'I have divorced thee with a threefold divorce.' Since this holy one makes this important statement, it is the greatest proof of the fickleness of the world which has been compared to a woman" (p. 45).

"The Faith, Lot and Intelligence of Woman. His Majesty the Apostle addresses women, saying that he considered them to be weak in religion, deficient in intelligence, and plunderers of men's judgments. *Hazrat Sadiq* said in regard to woman, 'Disobey your women in lawful things, with the exception of obligatory things, lest they command you to do unlawful things' " (p. 48).

"Women in Islam. Woman is deprived of the following virtues, in other words, the Holy Lawgiver of Islam has made many of the obligatory commands special to man, and has exempted woman from these obligations on account of her deficiency: 1. Perfect intelligence. 2. Vigilance. 3. Holy war.

4. Deliberation in regard to municipal affairs. 5. Friday (observances). 6. Meetings for men. 7. Call to prayer, in case it would be heard by strangers. 8. Preaching. 9. Ritual impurity for religion at least three days in each month. 10. Plurality of husbands, being limited to one. 11. Prophecy. 12. Imamate. 13. Government. 14. Performance of religious observances beyond her strength. 15. She is deprived of the right of divorce. This is a great blessing. 16. She receives one half the portion of inheritance of a man. 17. The testimony of a woman has one half the value of the testimony of a man. 18. Woman must be veiled and concealed from strangers. 19. Deprivation of ostentatious ornamentation. 20. Deprivation of treatises related to love and passion. To this extent, man surpasses and is more excellent than woman. The word of the Most High is, 'Men are superior to women on account of the qualities with which God hath gifted the one above the other.' [Note.—Quotations from the Qur'an are from Rodwell's translation.] That is to say, man has the power of domination over the lawful commands and prohibitions of woman, similar to the dominion of governors over their subjects, because of the above-mentioned superiority and because of the outlay he makes for their sustenance" (p. 57).

"Man's Rights. Man's rights over woman are: 1. She should obey him. 2. She should not act contrary to his commands. 3. She should not give alms from his property without his permission. 4. She should not observe a supererogatory fast without his permission. 5. (*unprintable*). 6. She should not leave the house without his permission."

"Woman's Rights. The rights of woman over man are: 1. He should not neglect to provide food, drink, clothing and shelter as are fitting to both. 2. If she be a distinguished person, he should provide a maid servant and a personal maid suitable for her. 3. He should forgive the woman's sins. 4. He should not make his face sour toward her. The religion of Islam has protected the rights of women as well as of men in Islamic society. It has given them the right for the delight and enjoyment of a perfect life, and has vouchsafed to them the fulfilment of all their desires in the way of livelihood and

happiness. It has made clear and definite the distinction between man and woman, and has made woman to be respected, honored and revered in every way, as long as she remains veiled, sedate and chaste" (p. 60).

"Stimulation to the Love of Woman in Islam. The Prophet (etc.) said, 'My merit for the future life consists of prayer, and my worldly pleasure consists of women.' His Majesty the Apostle said, 'Of your world, I love only women and perfume' " (p. 62).

"The Tradition of the Camel. The Companions, seeing a camel prostrate itself before the Prophet whenever it saw him, said to him, 'O Apostle of God, an animal prostrates itself before you. We also shall prostrate ourselves before you.' He replied, 'There must be no prostration except before God. If it were permissible for a creature to prostrate itself before another creature, I would have commanded women to prostrate themselves before their husbands' " (p. 64).

"The Inheritance of a Woman is One Half That of a Man. It is one of the most obvious of truths that men differ in ability, capacity and wit and, for this reason, do not have equal responsibilities. For the preservation of the order of the world in the social structure, to each one is given a place in life in accordance with his ability and capacity; otherwise there would be a decline in business and a deficiency in trades, in which some would gain and others would suffer loss. Therefore the manifest religion of Islam, having in view the condition of man and woman, has defined limits and rights for each one suitable to his or her capacity and worth. For example, holy war, expenditure for woman, affection and other amenities to woman have been considered obligatory upon man. Consequently man's need of property will be greater than that of woman. For this reason, it gives two portions of inheritance to a man and one to a woman. If we carefully consider regarding this just proportion, we shall see that woman receives better treatment than man, because man is under obligation to supply all her needs, except certain ones designated in jurisprudence. Along with all this, a half portion of property is hers" (p. 65).

“The Philosophy of Designating One Half Portion of Inheritance for Women. There is no doubt that increase of property and wealth is desirable; otherwise all these wars and contentions for commerce have no meaning. Also it is well known and self-evident that men, because of superior intelligence, knowledge, sagacity and wit, know better the way of trade, commerce and the increase of wealth and grandeur than women. It is also certain that the greater the capital invested, the greater will be the profit. Therefore two portions have been given to man and one to woman, that there might be mutual justice. Now consider this, that although they give women in Islam a half portion and in Europe an equal portion with men, is one half of the regulation of the world dependent upon their property? And is one half of the productive wealth of the world from women? Of course you will admit that in no place does the mill-wheel of the world turn by means of their property. For their portion does not suffice for the cost of red water (paint), white water (powder) and carmin (rouge) and for their own personal expenses, so that they are still dependent upon men” (p. 68).

“An Unjust Accusation. They have made the accusation that the Prophet, the Seal (etc.), took nine wives. (Answer). This is not a just cause of accusation. Rather it should be asked, Why did he not permit his followers to have more than four wives? The reason is that they are not able to take care of and to deal justly with more than four. Since he saw that he was able to deal justly with more than four, he took them. Therefore there is no limit to the number of wives a man may take. Yet he did not permit his followers to take more than four. Consequently, in taking many wives, there is no fundamental wrong that it should be the cause of an accusation. Secondly, if taking many wives were considered a fault in a prophet, then *Hazrat* David could not have been a prophet, as he had ninety-nine wives. *Hazrat* Abraham could not have been a prophet as he had two wives, and *Hazrat* Solomon had several wives, and *Hazrat* Jesus had no wife. Therefore, neither having many wives nor having no wife is a fault. Therefore it is proper for a man to take as many wives as he

can, except that His Excellency, the Seal, did not give permission to his own people to take more than four, merely on account of justice. For the reason that he considered a limiting of marriage to be permissible; since there is no infringement upon rights in that. And four wives even are not permissible unless there be justice, as he said, 'And if ye still fear that ye shall not act equitably, then one only.' The Prophet was not lustful nor given to sensuality, otherwise he would have married virgins. Besides 'A'isha, none were virgins. Therefore his purpose was not sensual pleasure, but bodily discipline.

"Plurality of wives among kings and men of wealth and influence has been customary in every age. In the line of prophets, Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, Jacob, Joseph, David, Solomon and other prophets of Israel had a plurality of wives, both free and slave. Buddha, the Brahman, the Persian, the Pharaohs, and the Phoenician and their followers, and the kings of Hambaria, and the kings (Tubba') of Yemen, as Shmaryu'ash and others like them have all participated in this practice. The Lawgiver of Islam has done nothing contrary to the custom or opposed to the nature of the new men of this age that he should be the object of the attack of obstinate ones and of the assault of enemies. Plural marriage is the cause of the increase of posterity which among the sages is considered praiseworthy and desirable. God has commanded, 'And marry those among you who are single' " (p. 75).

"The Philosophy of the Veil. (The Veil Prevents Corruption). Although the human mind is not able to understand the philosophy of all the details of the divine laws, yet a sound mind comprehends this much of the philosophy of this command that obedience to it has everything to do with the increase of the race, protection from the corruption of character, and the chastity of women, since mankind is drawn by carnal desires and by nature is inclined to the beautiful—especially beautiful women who, by creation and nature, are the mates and companions of men, and a beautiful face is a strong natural attraction. But all individuals are not blessed

with equal beauty and comeliness. Possessors of beauty are comparatively few in number, and the natural course of life changes the appearance of those and renders them homely. When women without the veil mingle with men, the favorable attention of the latter will be drawn only to beautiful women and charming young girls. Naturally unattractive women would be considered undesirable, and this would result in their being cut off from society and companionship. This would mean, on the one hand, a decrease in population and, on the other hand, since men are not always able to procure beautiful wives, that their attention would be drawn to handsome children. Therefore if one looks at this question from the standpoint of reason and justice, he will see that the veil prevents corruption" (p. 84).

"The Bible and the Veil. (Bible references to the veil). Gen. 24: 63-65 and 20: 16; Matt. 15: 18-20; Mk. 7: 20-23; I Cor. 11: 3-16; and 14: 34-35; Lev. 19: 29; Matt. 5: 27-29; I Tim. 2: 9-15" (p. 122).

"(The veil worn by women on the street today is nothing more than a sunshade, and perhaps the evils of this kind of a veil are greater than those of the absence of the veil)" (p. 134).

"The Veil in Islam. (Verses in the Qur'an referring to the veil.) 'And speak to the believing woman that they refrain their eyes, and observe continence; and that they display not their ornaments, except those which are external; and that they throw their veils over their bosoms, and display not their ornaments, except to their husbands or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or male domestics who have no natural force, or to children who note not women's nakedness. And let them not strike their feet together, so as to discover their hidden ornaments. And be ye all turned to God, O ye Believers! that it may be well with you.' Sura 24, Light, vs. 30, 31.

'As to women who are past childbearing, and have no hope of marriage, no blame shall attach to them if they lay aside their

outer garments, but so as not to show their ornaments. Yet if they abstain from this, it will be better for them; and God heareth, knoweth.' Sura 24, Light, v. 59.

'O Prophet! speak to thy wives and to thy daughters, and to the wives of the faithful, that they let their veils fall low. Thus will they be more easily known, and they will not be affronted. God is Indulgent, Merciful!' Sura 33, The Confederates, v. 50.

'And when ye would ask any gift of his (Muhammad's) wives, ask it from behind a veil. Purer will this be for your hearts and for their hearts.' Sura 33; 53 (part).

'And abide still in your houses, and go not in public decked as in the days of your former ignorance.' Sura 33: 33' " (p. 142).

"Woman and the Pledge of Allegiance. The Most Honorable Prophet (etc.) who received the pledge of allegiance from women, did not give them his hand. He poured water into a bowl and commanded the women to put their hands into the bowl and take the pledge" (p. 176).

"Woman and Ill Luck. 'Ali (etc.) said, 'If there is ill luck, it is in women.' "

"Woman and Evil. 'Ali (etc.) said, 'Woman is evil. She is altogether evil and whatever is in her is evil. But she is a necessary evil' " (p. 173).

"The Voice of a Strange Woman. His Majesty the Apostle (etc.) and His Majesty the Commander (etc.) both greeted women and heard their reply. Yet notwithstanding the virtues which they possessed, they said, 'I fear lest I find enjoyment in the voice of a young woman who replies to my greeting. In which case, the reward of the greeting is lost' " (p. 180).

"A Woman Conceals Her Face From a Woman Also. It is advisable for a Moslem woman to conceal her face from a non-Moslem woman, as His Majesty Imam Muhammad Baqir and Imam Ja'far Sadiq (etc.) said, 'It is not proper that a Moslem woman uncover her face in the presence of a Jewess or a Christian woman, since these describe the beauty or ugliness of Moslem women to their husbands' " (p. 181).

"Shaking Hands with a Woman. Whoever shakes hands with a strange woman will arrive at the resurrection bound with a yoke and chain" (p. 194).

"One Thousand Years Imprisonment for One Jest. Whoever jests with a strange woman, God will imprison him a thousand years for each word" (p. 195).

"Only Five Words. The Most Noble Prophet (etc.) forbade a woman's speaking to a strange man. If it should become absolutely necessary for her to speak, she should not speak more than five words" (p. 196).

"Woman and Writing. His Majesty the Prophet said, 'Do not teach a woman to write'" (p. 201).

"Admonition and Chastisement. Man has the right to admonish and chastise a woman. In case he fears a woman may be refractory, at first, let him exhort and admonish her. If she does not respond to this, let him ignore her. Then if this does not avail, let him beat her, but not so as to break a bone. 'But chide those for whose refractoriness ye have cause to fear; remove them into beds apart and scourge them; but if they are obedient to you, then seek not occasion against them.' Sura 4, Woman, v. 38. In view of the fact that woman in Islam is committed to chastity and the veil and does not have unrestrained freedom, man is responsible for her maintenance. And since woman is the helper and partner of man in gaining a livelihood and in preserving the order of the house, she must be considered obedient to man" (p. 233).

"Benefits of Divorce. Although divorce is lawful and is the greatest of all necessities, and although the Qur'an has revealed it and it does not need a philosophical explanation, yet for persons who wish to accept the laws of Islam by philosophical proofs, there is a measure of explanation. 1. Some characteristics do not become evident until after marriage, as barrenness. Since the demand for children and for their increase in number is commendable according to the law and desirable according to reason, in case of barrenness or sterility, how is this desire to be gratified, and how is it to be known where the fault lies? It may be known and remedied in two ways: First, by taking an additional wife, and second, by di-

vorcing the first wife and taking a second. But if there were no plural marriages and no rules for divorce, one would have to be patient and be deprived of the ornament of the life of the world. And, supposing there were no divorces but only plural marriages, this may be financially impossible for the husband. Therefore there is no remedy except divorce. 2. If a wife be found unfaithful and the husband knows it but does not reveal the fact, the sin is upon him. Therefore the best way for the freedom of the husband from the wife is by divorce, whereby he will preserve his family honor and cover a great fault. 3. If there had been no provision for divorce, in case of contention between a man and his wife and the impossibility of reconciliation, there would be perpetual enmity and discord, deliverance from which would not be possible except by the death of one of them. . . . Gentlemen with conscience! Why is divorce increasing? and why is there an absence of real affection among Europeans who consider the mingling of the sexes lawful and do not consider the veil to be obligatory?" (p. 252).

(TRANSLATOR)—CHARLES R. PITTMAN.

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Islam and Christian Theology

The work that the Rev. J. W. Sweetman has done during the year has been mostly concerned with the writing of the first part of a trilogy on "Islam and Christian Theology." "It is a study of origins, and of the inter-relations of theological thought up to the close of the period of Christian cultural ascendancy in the Near East, roughly the tenth century. The manuscript completed for the first volume is 640 foolscap pages and includes 59 pages of index. Arrangements for publication are being undertaken in England. The first copy that was sent was lost at sea. Now two copies are on their way home by different routes. The matter for the remaining parts of the trilogy has been gathered and the second part is in some sort of order for the final typescript to be made."

—*Report of the Henry Martyn School (Aligarh, India).*

ISLAM AS A BARRIER TO PRINTING

By permission of the publishers, the Columbia University Press, we reprint here Chapter XV of *The Invention of Printing in China*, by Thomas Francis Carter. A review appears in this issue.

For several hundred years before block printing came into Europe, all East Asia was printing, from Nara to Turfan—Japanese, Chinese, and Uigur Turks—and through most of this territory printing was carried on in a large scale. But between the Far East that printed, and Europe where printing was unknown, lay the Moslem world that refused to put its literature in printed form. This barrier between the Far East, where all Buddhist and Confucian literature was being spread abroad in printed form, and Europe where ancient manuscripts were being so laboriously copied by hand in the Christian monasteries, proved in the end to be not impenetrable, but for a time the isolation of Europe from the lands of the Far East was complete.

It is strange that such a literary people as the Arabs—and such a religious people—refused to use this vehicle for the spreading abroad of religious thought. Paper they found in Central Asia—and with almost incredible quickness it displaced all other writing materials from Samarkand to Spain. But not so with printing. The reason for this prejudice is uncertain. It has been suggested that the Moslem suspected hog's bristles in the brush used for cleaning the block, and that to touch the name of Allah with this brush seemed to him the height of blasphemy. It is more probable that mere conservatism was back of the prejudice. The Koran was given in written form, therefore the Koran must always be written. Whatever the reason may be, up to to-day the Koran has never been printed in any Mohammedan country except by lithography. In 1727, when permission was asked by an Hungarian by the name of Ibrahim for the erection of a printing press at Constantinople, the Ulema under Sultan

Ahmed III delivered a verdict that it was against the religion and honor of Islam to allow the printing of the Koran, because the Koran rested upon written tradition, and must in no other way be handed down. Permission to set up a press was finally given him on condition that the Koran should not be printed, and in 1729¹ a history of Egypt appeared, but it awakened such opposition that until the nineteenth century no more printing was attempted in Moslem lands, and even through the nineteenth century printing has had to fight against great odds. There was printing done in Syria in the sixteenth century by Syrian Christians. Printing had been done in Arabic in Italy before the end of the fifteenth century,² and later the Koran was there printed. Catherine II had the Koran lithographed in Russia in 1787. But, so far as known, with the exception of the abortive project of 1729 at Constantinople, the Islamic world never printed a book till 1825, when the first press was set up in Cairo.

During all the early period of Chinese printing the Arabic world was in close touch both with China and with Chinese Turkestan, and before the period was over, intelligent Moslems could not have been wholly ignorant of the rôle that was being played by literary and religious printing in the lands of the east. The growth of intercourse across Asia during the T'ang Dynasty has already been sketched. There were trade relations by sea, and relations of many sorts—largely hostile—in Turkestan. With Western Turkestan converted to Islam and under Arab rule, and Eastern Turkestan a part of the Chinese domain, there was naturally a constant interchange, in the course of which paper making entered the Islamic world. This intercourse was somewhat retarded by political conditions in Central Asia during the Sung period, only to be renewed and greatly increased under the Ming empire.

¹ It is probable that an edition of *Rāshid* had already appeared at Constantinople in 1714 under similar auspices. These were the only two books published.

² I am indebted to Dr. Grohmann for the statement that, according to Theseus Ambrosius (d.1540) in the book *Introductio in Chaldaicam Linguam* (Pavia, 1539), folio II, Father Alessandro de Paginini of Brescia, who printed in Venice between 1485 and 1499, brought out an edition of the Koran in Arabic type. This was without doubt the oldest Arabic printing in Europe.

At Fano Arabic printing was done in 1514, and in 1518 it seems probable that another edition of the Koran was printed in Italy.

The extent of Arab penetration of China at this time is borne witness to by the fact that the province of Kansu, the main avenue of Arab trade, is still largely Mohammedan, and that the Mohammedans there, as all over China, have a large admixture of Arab blood. In fact all large cities of China and many small ones have a considerable Mohammedan population, who trace their descent back to the intermarriage of Arab traders with Chinese women during this period of Moslem penetration that reached its culmination during the Mongol Dynasty. Commerce came by sea as well as by land, the coast cities of South China have been great Arab centers, having today also a large Moslem population.

This peaceful penetration of China by Arab trade is described both by Chinese and by Arabic writers, especially by those of Mongol times. Chou Ju-kua, who was a Chinese inspector of foreign commerce in the province of Fukien some time during the half century before Marco Polo's visit, has left a detailed description, too hazy for that of an eyewitness and evidently derived from Moslem traders, of the various lands of the West from Bagdad to Spain.³ From the other angle, Ibn Batuta, writing toward the end of the Mongol occupation, gives a wonderful picture of how all China was in his day permeated with Arabs. It is no longer a tale of marvellous things he tells. His description sounds as if such a trip as his were an everyday occurrence. In one city after another he is met by the Arab merchants and he notes that they are always organized under a judge and a Sheikh-ul-Islam. But most astonishing of all is the narrative where he tells of casually meeting a man at a feast in Hangchow and discovering that he and his newfound acquaintance came from neighboring cities in Morocco, and that they had met a long time before in Delhi. The narrative ends, "I met his brother later in the Soudan; how far these brothers are separated, the one from the other."⁴ By the time of Ibn Batuta the world was

³ For English translation of Chou Ju-kua's work, with valuable introduction and notes, see F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chou Jukua*, St. Petersburg, 1911.

⁴ *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, translated by Samuel Lee, London, 1829. pp. 215-216. There has recently been some doubt expressed as to whether Ibn Batuta was ever in China. (Gabriel Ferrand, *Relation de voyages, etc.* Paris, 1913.) Whether Ibn Batuta was ever in China himself, the book expresses the view of Arabs of his day, and furthermore it contains a true picture of China that could only have been derived from the narrative of a traveller in that country.

already growing smaller, and considerable information about China was part of the common knowledge of those who gathered about the bazaars of Tabriz and Cairo and Algiers.

Yet in spite of all this intercourse with the Far East, Arabic books were never printed. Whether, unrecorded and unheralded, there was an obscure block printing activity—the making of charms or playing cards, is another question and will be discussed later. But as far as literature is concerned, the Arabs did not print. Rashid-eddin, who was grand vizier of Persia during the Mongol period at just the time when Tabriz was the great bridge between the East and the West, and who wrote a clear account of Chinese printing in his world history, seems never to have contemplated having his history printed. Instead, he provided in his will, and left funds for the purpose, that each year two full copies of all his works should be made by hand, one in Arabic and one in Persian, until gradually there should be a complete copy in the mosque of every large city of the Moslem world.

Though Arab culture, that so profoundly influenced re-awakened Europe, knew of Chinese printing, the refusal of its literary men to profit by the art made Islam on the whole a barrier rather than a bridge for the transmission of block printing to Europe. The story of the penetration of this barrier—by the Mongols from the East, by the Crusaders from the West—and of the obscure forms of printing that succeeded in spite of prejudice in finding lodgement in Moslem soil, will be told in the next chapters.

THOMAS F. CARTER.

THE CASE AGAINST THE COLLOQUIAL

An Arabic maxim says, “*man ‘allamani ḥarfān wāḥidan ṣirtu la-hu ‘abdan.*” I feel, nevertheless, compelled to disagree with my friend and teacher, the Rev. Eric F. F. Bishop. In his article, “The Case for the Colloquial”,¹ Mr. Bishop writes, quoting a certain Professor Muhammad Fathi, “Language, before everything else, is a means of expression—nothing more or less.”²

Language is more than a series of standardized sounds produced to express human wants; more than a vehicle to convey, and sometimes conceal, meaning; more than a treasury wherein the cultural achievement of a people is stored; more than an anthology which preserves their literature; more than a mirror which reflects their highest hopes and aspirations; more than a permanent record of their civilization and a key to their pre-historic ideas and attainments. Language is all of these and something more; something relating to man’s spiritual being. Above all, language is both the symbol and the bulwark of a people’s spiritual unity.

But my disagreement with my teacher goes beyond the mere definition of language. I disagree with him on the whole question of colloquial Arabic, rather *colloquials*. This disagreement is based not only on “sentimental grounds” but also on “moral, spiritual and intellectual bases”.

The majority of the advocates of the colloquial base their argument on a series of misconceptions. They tell us that classical Arabic (ignoring the existence of literary Arabic, the correct simple Arabic of the modern newspapers) is stereotyped and dead; that it resists growth and development; and that it no longer fulfils the needs of the times. In a generous moment they admit its usefulness in historical and philosophical discussions as well as in “other more abstruse subjects”. On the other hand they tell us that the

¹ *The Moslem World*, vol. XXXII, No. 4 (Oct. 1942) pp. 329-33.

² *Ibid.* p. 332.

colloquial is the language of the common people, and that it will ultimately assert itself.

In the first place, there is no such thing as colloquial Arabic. There are *colloquials*; Iraqi, Syrian, Lebanese, Palestinian, Egyptian, etc. And within each of these there are individual colloquials. The dialect of northern Palestine, for example, is as distinct from that of southern Palestine as that of Palestine, as a whole, is distinct from that of Syria. Would the advocates of the colloquial insist upon writing in each of these colloquials? Is there any real need to replace one common language with several colloquials?

The advocates of the colloquial would reply in the affirmative, and say that the relation of classical Arabic to its various dialects is similar to the relation between Latin and the different Romance dialects. This is so with one qualification. The analogy holds only when we limit it to the early Middle Ages, when the spiritual unity of the Latin world was still intact. So long as the spiritual unity of the Latin world remained intact, none of the Romance dialects had any chance of becoming a literary language. Only when that spiritual unity broke down did these dialects develop into separate languages and acquire independent literatures.

For better or worse, the spiritual unity of the Arabic-speaking world remains intact. The Arabic language of the Koran remains the greatest cultural bond and common heritage of all Arabic-speaking peoples, be they in Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa, or Arabia proper. This condition is not likely to change. In fact the resurgence of Arab nationalism has gone hand in hand with Arabic renaissance. The bases of the Arab awakening are primarily cultural and literary. To me they are inexorably linked together, thereby precluding any possibility that any of the dialects could become sufficiently differentiated to warrant its literary development. Furthermore, the increase in the number of schools and the proportional decrease in illiteracy among the Arabs, as well as the ever-growing use of the radio, tend more and more to unify the different

Arabic dialects, and in turn weld more firmly the spiritual unity of the Arab world.

In the second place, the common man understands and prefers always good Arabic. What type of language does the imam use when he addresses the faithful in the Friday sermon? The faithful, it should be remembered, are mostly peasants from the country side. Or what type of language do the political leaders use when they address their followers, again for the most part from the country side? The imam in his pulpit, the political leader from his balcony, and the radio man behind his magic wand, use one common unified language—the literary Arabic.

What then are the reasons which inspire the advocates of the colloquial?

These may be classified as practical and theoretical or psychological. Among the practical is the failure of the missionary to make any headway in converting the educated Arab. This failure is not wholly the fault of the missionary. Reasons inherent in Islam itself are as responsible for this failure as is the general inability of the average missionary to master Arabic and its idiom.

The missionary has approached the educated Arab through the medium of the literary Arabic. The failure of the missionary to convert the educated Arab has resulted in regarding the educated Arab as hopeless, and by a strange logic, in regarding literary Arabic as responsible, in part, for that failure. Hence the attempt to reach the unlettered and illiterate Arab through the colloquial. What guarantee is there that the unlettered Arab would not prove as “tough” as the educated one, and the colloquial Arabic, from the standpoint of the missionary, as ineffectual as the literary? If the gospel is to be preached at all, it should be preached to all, educated and uneducated alike; and language should not be used as an alibi for failure.

Among the theoretical or psychological reasons, I suggest that the following is the most important factor behind all this zeal for the colloquial. To most Christians there is no difference between Arab and Moslem. The two are iden-

tical. The result of this identification is that the sub-conscious hostility of Christians to Islam and to Moslems, based on centuries of conflict and rivalry, has been transferred to Arabic and the Arabs. (Incidentally this is one of the reasons why Zionism finds considerable support among many Christians.) After transferring their sub-conscious hostility to the Arabs and Arabic, they reason, again sub-consciously, that by breaking down the spiritual unity of the Arab world by an attack on Arabic, Islam as a religion, might at long last be overcome.

This does not imply that I am unaware of missionary contribution both to Arab nationalism and to Arabic studies. On the contrary I am more than conscious that many of the leaders of Arab nationalism are the product of missionary institutions, particularly American. Likewise many of the leading Arab scholars and writers are indebted to missionary schools, to say nothing of the historical and cultural and literary contributions of the missionaries themselves in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies.

To go back to the question of the colloquial, I wish to assert that the common denominator for all the various Arabic vernaculars is still the so-called literary Arabic. This is not to be confused with the classical. It is the correct Arabic of the newspapers. It is a living and a virile language, capable of growth and development. It makes full use of the genius of the Arabic to coin new words and to absorb foreign words for which no Arabic equivalent can be found.

It is the lingua franca of the entire Arab world. As printed in newspapers and spoken over the radio, it is already giving the Arabic-speaking world what might be described as *unified* Arabic. This rather than the colloquials is the language which will prevail. This rather than the colloquials should be the concern of missionaries. This rather than the colloquials will open to the missionary the world of books as well as the world of the living. The colloquials will lead the missionary to Babel, unified Arabic to Pentecost.

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BOOK REVIEWS

How a Sufi Found His Lord. By John A. Subhan. The Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, India. pp. 88. Price, 8 Annas.

One of the most valuable and revealing documents witnessing to the Gospel of Jesus Christ as the "power of God unto salvation" that has been produced in modern times is the autobiography of the Rev. John A. Subhan, which has recently been published under the title, *How a Sufi Found His Lord*. With a depth of sincerity and conviction, tested by many years of ripening Christian experience, John Subhan tells the story of his soul's quest on the pathway of discipleship with Him who is the Way, the Truth and the Life.

The quest starts with the Qur'an, God's revelation to Muhammad, and ends with Christ, God's revelation to Man. It starts with legalism, and ends with the Truth that sets men free. As a mystic, he early joined the Qadiri Order and devoted his time and effort to seeking perfection on the path (*tariqa*) of a Sufi or Muslim mystic. The sincerity of his quest led him to a study of the Gospel, and this gradually brought him to the feet of Christ, for, as he says, "Its reading was comforting to my soul, every sentence touched it to its very depth." . . . "It was sufficient! I decided to become a Christian."

What a testimony to the operation of Divine Grace, and to the work of the Holy Spirit! What a glorious revelation of the eternal power of the Bible to change men's hearts! Later on, he sought and obtained adequate assistance from true and devoted Christians, who helped him to fulfil his desire to enter the community of Christ. The vicissitudes through which he passed as a Christian, starting with his baptism in the Church of England, his becoming a Roman Catholic, and finally entering the ministry and service of the Methodist Church, make fascinating reading, and reveal the travail of a disciple devoted to his Lord above all else.

For years, he has been on the staff of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, now located at Aligarh, and is one of its most valuable members. What excellent fruitage of the work for which the sainted Henry Martyn laid the foundation in India, and for which he also laid down his life. The spirit of Henry Martyn is not dead. It lives on in the life and work of John Subhan—once a Muslim, now a servant of the Lord Jesus Christ—who at every stage of life's journey can exclaim "O, the unsearchable riches of Christ!"

This is a book that should be read by every missionary and Christian worker in India. It will bring hope, encouragement and inspiration to all who are interested in the spread of the Gospel message. In a most conclusive manner, also, it reveals the secret of the best way of reaching the Muslim heart: the judicious use of the Bible and Christian literature, together with wholesome Christian fellowship.

MURRAY T. TITUS

A Winter in Arabia. By Freya Stark. New York. E. P. Dutton & Co., 1940. pp. 328. \$5.00.

We regret delay in publishing a review of this sumptuous and fascinating account of the winter of 1937-38 spent by Miss Stark in Hadhramaut. Her *Southern Gateways of Arabia, Seen in the Hadhramaut, The Valleys of the Assassins* and *Baghdad Sketches* were all in the highest class of travel literature. She writes with deep understanding, great artistic skill, sympathy for the Arabs and an extraordinary insight into the Semitic mind. Her camera in this case, as in all her other books, is a strong ally and also betrays the real artist. The ninety-six illustrations delineate not only the architecture of Southern Arabia but the physiognomy and daily life of the Arabs—men, women and children. As Sir Kinahan Cornwallis remarks in his Foreword, "Miss Stark is an experienced traveller who has a genuine interest in the Arabs. . . . The Arab, like most of us, is essentially human; treat him as he should be treated, as a friend and an equal, and you get the best out of him; if you are aloof or superior or patronizing you will get what you deserve. It is to be hoped that all who read these pages will learn the difference between the right way and the wrong, and profit thereby."

By air-plane from Aden, by dhow along the coast, by camel, donkey and motor-car, along the desert and the sown, she once more carries her readers into wadies and highlands, cities and villages—that become more than Arab names because she makes them alive through her experiences.

There are three maps, one of which (a reproduction of Blau in 1630) is too blurred even for a microscope; the second, a sketch-map which does not clearly indicate the author's route; and the third, showing her journey alone from Hureidha to the sea, is on such a reduced scale that the place-names are illegible.

After four brief introductory chapters we have (pp. 28-206) "the Diary" from November 25 at Shibam to March 4 at Hureidha where Miss Stark left her two women companions, an archaeologist and a geologist, and ventured alone on the final stage along the old Incense-Route to the coast at Cana between Bir Ali and Belhaf (pp. 207-315). Only those who have travelled with Bedouin by camel along untrodden pathways, where all foreigners are suspect and Christians are "unbelievers and dogs" can fully appreciate the heroism and endurance and patience of Freya Stark during this final journey to the coast. In addition she suffered severe illness which fortunately occurred when she and her companions were the honored guests of one of the wealthy city-lords. The narrative, as all descriptions of Hadhramaut, tells of the sharp contrast between the crude, stark poverty of nomad tribes and the imported Javanese-Indian veneer of civilization—baths, perfumes, electric-lights, furniture, motor-cars, radios and imported fruit and biscuits.

Page after page reveals extraordinary insight, descriptive genius and love for the Arabs. A book to enjoy and commend to others. Miss Stark even introduces us to the camel, but not like Doughty! She "admires the perfection of its desert ways. Its ugliness is the ugliness of the east, that has some strange attraction; its color is the color of desert-dust with the same imperceptible variations; its tail, which looks like a dead palm frond, is merely ridiculous. But its feet are

so strong yet so delicately made, with concertina-like springs at the heel that they give themselves without shock to every inequality of ground. I can see why the bedouin love their camels: it is the only beast of burden whose constant wish is truly to oblige."

In short our author *loves* the desert, the camels, the Arabs, the fauna and flora, the sun and the stars, the sea and the ships of Southern Arabia and makes us love them too. She is poet-painter while the whole Hadramaut sits still before the canvas and palette at her bidding.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

North Africa. By Alan H. Brodrick. Oxford University Press, New York, 1943. pp. 98. Illustrated. Maps.

This timely account of a part of the world upon which our attention is focussed these days is concise, well written and accurate. The description of the country is not that of a casual tourist but a traveller who has made a careful study of the places through which he has passed. The author writes with understanding of some of the political problems so pertinent in North Africa today. Although this is a small volume the writer paints a picture of North Africa from the eastern side of Libya to the western shores of Morocco. His descriptions of the country are vivid and are enhanced by a few well chosen illustrations. The author's knowledge of the history of North Africa helps him to evaluate the present situation there in a way that commands the respect of the reader. He writes, too, with sympathy and understanding of the peoples of North Africa, giving special attention to the Berbers. The weakest chapter in the book is the one entitled "The Religion of the Sands," which treats Islam. This is the shortest chapter in the book, scarcely two pages being devoted to the religion which has had and which still is having such a profound effect upon the life of the people of North Africa. The author has, however, given short descriptions of certain phases of Islam in various other places in the book when he could not adequately treat certain phases of the life of the people without taking account of Islam. For readers who want in a short volume as complete a picture and as adequate a one as it is possible to have of North Africa, this volume may be highly recommended.

GLORA M. WYSNER.

The Basic Word List of the Arabic Daily Newspaper. Compiled by Moshe Brill, in collaboration with D. Neustadt and P. Schusser. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University Press Association, 1940.

About two decades ago a tentative "Microcosm of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine" was prepared for two Near East institutions. It listed over 600 words and phrases in "an attempt to determine the vocabulary which is most needed for a foreigner beginning to study the colloquial language."

The present book is a careful effort to determine statistically the most frequently used vocabulary of the Arabic daily newspaper. It does not cover the colloquial and classical varieties of the language nor literary Arabic as a whole.

From the Rev. Willis A. McGill I have learned that *An Arabic*

Word List, prepared from Arabic daily newspapers, by Ewing M. Bailey, Ph.D., was printed by the Nile Mission Press at Cairo in 1940.

A count was made of 136,089 current or used words from the local, foreign, editorial and miscellaneous material of six Arabic language newspapers published in Egypt, Palestine, the Lebanon and Iraq. This total vocabulary yielded 5,981 specific or different words. It was found that 2,295 words, each of which had occurred at least ten times, comprised 90.8% of the total. A knowledge of the first 2,000 words in the list would enable the reader to understand approximately 88.5% of newspaper Arabic. The judicious method of sampling the newspapers and the large total of the words counted increase the value of the list for its special field.

The Introduction, which is given in English and Hebrew and less full in Arabic, explains clearly the principles underlying the recording of the words and some of the pedagogical uses to which the study may be put. The words themselves are listed first in their alphabetic order and then in their order of frequency, and are, of course, presented in the Arabic script.

This study has been admirably planned and executed and is invaluable for the teachers and text-book writers that it is designed to assist. A dictionary on which the editors are working will give translations of the words into English and Hebrew, and will be similarly invaluable to students.

The editors and all connected with the enterprise are to be thanked for their service to oriental studies in preparing and publishing this important study.

Hartford, Conn.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

Easy Malay Words and Phrases. By Marius A. Mundlesen. The John Day Company, New York. Price \$1.00.

The author, a business resident of several years in the East Indies, has undertaken in this little book to present a "basic" vocabulary of Malay. "Everyday Malay is simple to learn when it is simply presented, as in this book. . . . It is easy to master the basic structure of the language and the 800-odd words which are commonly used in transacting business throughout the vast area of British Malay and the East Indies." This pocket-sized book is attractively printed, with a map of the East Indies on the cover. It is "particularly aimed at providing the members of the American fighting forces with necessary language tools."

With two exceptions the description of the sounds of the Malay language is adequate. The author uses a long "e" and a short "e" without distinguishing them by the customary breve over the short "e", and consequently has difficulty in treating pronunciation and accent. The final "k" is not adequately described. It is a glottal stop. It will have to be the author's problem to describe it in a book.

The book contains a valuable list of words relating to war, arms and weapons, navy and nautical terms, etc. The collection of words alone is a good dollar's worth. With some improvements that will not entail much labor, the second edition can be made a big dollar's worth.

Norwich, Conn.

WILLIAM E. LOWTHER.

The Arabic Writing in Five Lessons. By F. E. Sommer. 4111 West 48th Street, Cleveland, Ohio. pp. 19. 52 cents.

To provide a key to all the Eastern languages using the Arabic alphabet, the author has separated the study of the writing from that of any of the Eastern tongues, presenting us with a mimeographed pamphlet dealing with the alphabet alone. The material is grouped according to the basic forms of the letters, and short exercises using words with and without meaning are given.

It may be doubted whether the ability to "make out names on signs, labels or maps and read separate words or even short sentences" will be sufficient incentive to many students to take up the Arabic alphabet, unless they desire to go further into the study of the language. But, as the case is understated: "A knowledge of the Arabic letters also provides the necessary basis for the study of many of the languages using them."

WALTER JESSEL.

Hartford, Conn.

Submission in Suffering—a Comparative Study of Eastern Thought. By H. H. Rowley. Cardiff. The University of Wales Press Board, 1942, pp. 55. 2sh. 6d.

The author has succeeded in packing a great deal of thought and many facts into this small book. Rowley's primary concern is with innocent suffering or suffering that appears to be innocent. Beginning with the Old Testament, he goes into Chinese literature, the Upanishads, Buddhism, and Islam and concludes with Christianity. Speaking of Islamic submission, he says that it is not based on philosophical or practical considerations, but on fundamentally religious grounds. In a quotation he notes that the will of Allah "is worthy to triumph, but is worthy to triumph, even when its triumph brings sorrow and pain." Rowley observes the same attitude not infrequently in the Bible and quotes Psalm 31 as an example. He also refers to a Babylonian text which stresses the inscrutability of divine justice and the need of the most complete humility and abnegation of self in one's relation to the gods. The God of the Old Testament is seen in human affairs as a God of justice. Suffering is a part of human experience, but the author well says: "It (the doctrine of suffering) only becomes mischievous when it is elevated into a hard and invariable law, so that suffering is believed to be the proof of sin." The writer observes that both in Israel and in China one of the results of suffering was the encouragement of virtue.

Rowley also brings out that not infrequently suffering is teleologically explained in terms of an educative or purifying purpose. In connexion with Heb. 5: 8, he points out that here we have no penalty for misdeeds, but the educative value of the discipline of suffering. The author furthermore recognizes the concept of vicarious sufferings as the organ of service of God and man and maintains that the book of Job is not primarily concerned with offering an intellectual solution of the mystery of innocent suffering. Here suffering has become an avenue in the service of God. Hosea also through his spiritual agony was led into a deeper understanding of the love of God.

In the case of the Suffering Servant of the book of Isaiah, Rowley

sees suffering vicariously endured for the blessing of man. In this connexion the author writes: "It (suffering) is deserved, but not by him upon whom it falls, who enters into the depths of its anguish with patience, indeed, but with purpose." Christian thought passes from the Suffering Servant to the Cross of Christ; and the sufferings of Christ are held up not merely as an example, but as something into which His followers may enter (Rom. 8: 17; Col. 1: 24; I Peter 4: 13). In conclusion, the suffering Christian will say: "Thy will be done," and with this attitude all life can be turned into an adventure in the service of God.

The monograph is interesting and carefully worked out, and the text is well supplied with footnotes. The Bibliography of five pages is very valuable for the student of religions.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Arabic Commentary of Yefet Ben 'Ali the Karaite on the Book of Hosea. By Philip Birnbaum. The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Philadelphia, 1942, pp. lxii + 247.

This Judaeo-Arabic study is the author's doctoral dissertation at Dropsie College, where he worked under Professors Solomon Leon Skoss and Joseph Reider. The commentator's full name is Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Lāwī al-Baṣrī, and he flourished in the second half of the tenth century. Probably his place of origin was Baṣra in Iraq, but in all probability he spent many years in Jerusalem. Birnbaum observes that Yefet's commentary is a veritable repository embodying many enlightening interpretations and views of authors whose works are no longer extant. He is a forerunner of Abraham ibn Ezra, who likewise contended for a free unhampered exegesis. Yefet used the Targums, the Talmud, and the Midrash as sources. There is no doubt that he was influenced by Sa'adyah, whom he survived by perhaps half a century. Birnbaum notices twelve passages in Kimchi's commentary on Hosea which are clearly based on Yefet. In other words, Yefet is not some obscure commentator, but apparently he exercised a great influence upon Biblical studies.

The Arabic text is printed in Hebrew characters, and is followed by fifteen pages of *variae lectiones*. The book should be of special interest to students of the Judaeo-Arabic field and of the history of Biblical interpretation.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward. By Thomas Francis Carter. Columbia University Press, New York. pp. xxvi + 282, including full notes, bibliography and index. \$5.00.

Few books have so stimulated us with avenues down which to wander into unexplored fields. A most interesting account of the trends of significant events that played back and forth over the land mass of Asia for two thousand years. To the readers of this Quarterly, chapter XV, "Islam as a Barrier to Printing," printed elsewhere in this issue, is the most important. Nevertheless strung through the whole book are references to Islam and Moslems who

played such an important part in the intercourse between the East and West during the past thirteen centuries. Although Islam seemed to be a deterrent in the spread of the art of printing, the author points out their deserving the credit for teaching the West the art of paper making, the use of gunpowder and the compass. "The indications would seem to be that the Chinese first knew the use of the compass but had not applied it to navigation; that Arab traders in Chinese waters were the first to use this Chinese device for sailing ships; and that from them the secret was carried to Europe during the Crusades." It is a book that raises more questions than it answers, yet stimulates the reader to attempt the answers for himself.

C. L. PICKENS.

Pelham, N. Y.

A Doctor Carries On. By Thomas A. Lambie. New York, Fleming H. Revell. pp. 173. \$2.

"A Doctor Carries On" is an interesting story of Dr. Lambie's recent visit to the Sudan and Ethiopia. It honors the missionary tradition of carrying on in the midst of distress and danger and has an added interest to us now because of the recent conquest in that area by the British Eighth Army and in its portrayal of missionary work in war time. Dr. Lambie gives fulsome praise to the work done by the Y.M.C.A. and kindred agencies.

Having spent many years in this area, he seems to have a complete understanding of the political and economic problems that confront the British Empire at the present time and also in the post war period.

This book will be read by many who are interested in the way the mission enterprise is being carried on in this war-stricken area.

F. ZIMMERMAN.

New York City.

New Railway Development in Syria

As a result of war developments communications are being expanded in certain areas in a way which normally would have been a matter of decades. The latest addition to Middle Eastern facilities is the Haifa-Beyrout-Tripolis railway, which has just been formally opened by General Alexander, who drove the first train from Beyrout to Nahr-el-Kelb. At the latter place he hammered a silver spike on the permanent way and unveiled a commemoration stone.

The completion of this line opens out interesting developments for post-war travellers. It will now be possible to go from Egypt across Europe without leaving the train, but that does not exhaust the possibilities. The extension of the Western Desert Line, and its incorporation later in a permanent system, may mean that from places as far afield as Benghazi it will be possible to reach Europe without a change.

This is just one illustration of the development of communications in the Middle East through the war. So it seems that this most terrible of all conflicts is destined to leave a legacy of good behind it.

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam in China

In a recent issue of *China's Millions*, entirely devoted to the Mohammedans of China, Robert H. Glover, the Secretary of the China Inland Mission writes:

It is customary to speak of "the three religions of China," meaning, of course, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. But when we consider the fact that Mohammedanism has existed in China for nearly twelve centuries, that its adherents have maintained themselves as a distinct community and have propagated their faith so that today they number ten millions, and that they have their own press and educational and broadcasting program, Islam can justifiably claim to be regarded as "the fourth religion of China".

Moslems in China are an integral part of the nation. In the north-western province of Kansu, they constitute a substantial portion of the population and wield a dominating influence. Large numbers are also to be found in Yunnan, while each of eleven provinces has at least a quarter million Moslems, and there is not a single province without at least some. And yet, after a century and a third of Christian witness in China the solemn facts have to be faced that converts from Islam number only a very few, and that out of five or six thousand Protestant missionaries only approximately twenty-five are devoting their efforts to Moslems.

While it is a recognized fact that Moslems the world over are among the hardest of all classes to influence with the Gospel, and conversions among them have been few, these are not valid reasons for passing them by. Realizing that their only hope of Salvation is in Jesus Christ, that we have been commanded to "preach the gospel to every creature," and that that Gospel is "the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth," we should as a Mission be doing our utmost to reach and win to the Saviour the Moslems of China. It will take patient, tactful, and persistent effort by our workers on the field, backed by the unceasing, believing prayers of our intercessors at home. Let neither of these be found wanting, that new victories for Christ may be achieved in China, the more glorious because of the difficulties to be faced and overcome. "Is anything too hard for the Lord?" No, not even the breaking down of age-long Moslem resistance and the softening of Moslem hearts before the Message of the Cross.

Two Heroines of the Gobi Desert

In a lengthy and appreciative review of a recent book on *The Gobi Desert* by Mildred Cable and Francesca French, *The Times Literary Supplement* (London) pays high tribute to the two brave women who, after spending twenty years in Shansi as missionaries, went beyond the Great Wall and spent years in the desert byways of Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia. The article quotes a notable passage on the lure and rhythm of the great desert. And then goes on:

"This not only accounts for the brilliant precision of many of Miss Cable's photographs, but supplies a spectrum analysis of the peculiar light which plays upon her own writing. To get at its source we must turn to one of the few passages in which she brings herself deliberately into the foreground:—

"The matter which took more thought than food or clothing was our supply of Scriptures, for without them evangelical work would be hampered, and we needed books in the Chinese, Turki, Arabic, Mongolian, Tibetan, Qazaq, Russian and English languages. Wayside encounters were so diverse and so incalculable that we might have to produce Gospels in any of those languages at any moment.'" The passion for evangelism was their motive, even as it was that of David Livingstone in Africa. *The Times* goes on to say: "This book is built on their unflinching labours in spreading Christ between Buddha and Mohammed at the tail of a mule cart. Because she carried the waters of the Word over the threshold of Chinese, Tungan, Turki and Mongolian homes, she has something hard and true to say about the sweet and bitter waters of the Gobi oases, and the stages that lie between. She unwraps one bundle of memories—and the oases advance from remote distance in their refreshment and squalor, in their mud and opium and hopeless ignorance, as they really are, strung out on a rope of enchanting place-names. She unwraps another—a whole gallery of portraits of desert worthies and unworthies come to life. She stops in a bazaar of Barkul or Turfan and unloads its produce stall by stall and vendor by vendor. She sets down on the one hand what these men of the desert do to their wives and women, and, on the other, how valiant they are at their carrier trades and with what cheerful servitude their lives are bound to the unchanging imperatives of Gobi commerce."

Turkish Friendship for Britain

The British Council lecturer in English at Ankara and the author of *Turkey: The Modern Miracle*, tells in a letter to *The Asiatic Review* of the good-will between his nation and the Turks. We give the closing paragraph as a study in cultural methods for international understanding:

"To return to the question of friendship for Britain, the reader may be inclined to suppose that, in order to dispel misconceptions, I have somewhat exaggerated the degree of goodwill which is enjoyed by English people in Turkey today. I will therefore proceed to give him some facts. Nothing has been more successful than the work of the British Council in Turkey, and no work has met with so large a measure of encouragement, both from the general public and from the Government. The Council, organized from Ankara, has established additional centres in Istanbul, Izmir, and Samsun; provided a number of professors and lecturers for the University at Istanbul, as well as teachers for non-Government Turkish schools and *halkevis* (people's houses); and organized most successful exhibitions of books and photographs throughout the country; and all this, it should be borne in mind, in the space of a little over a year. The demand for teachers of English and books is greater at the moment than the Council, working at full pressure and receiving frequent reinforce-

ments of staff, can satisfy. Lectures on every aspect of British life and institutions are always well attended. This demand for cultural instruction, better appreciated, perhaps, in the provinces than at Ankara and Istanbul, is no freak of fashion. Turkey today is seriously concerned to raise its standard of civilization. And it wants assistance of a concrete and practical kind. Of the numerous books purchased and ordered at the English Book Exhibition held at Ankara last winter the greater number were in character scientific or instructional."

Algiers After the Occupation

The North Africa Mission reports: "Can you imagine our joy at the arrival of the Allied Forces? It was a joy shared by a people who had been held down, for two and a half years, to a life—or rather existence—of hardship and hopelessness. And what shall we say of the spiritual issues involved? It is the opinion of the writer that a new day is dawning in North Africa.

"There is, firstly, a disarming of suspicion created by enemy propaganda—although the *entente cordiale* as we knew it in 1939 may take some little time to re-establish itself. Secondly, and what is perhaps of much greater interest, there is complete freedom of movement of all British missionaries.

"From information to hand at the time of leaving the field—towards the end of November—all the missionaries had received, or were entitled to receive, papers authorising them to travel throughout of the whole of Algeria. I myself received papers to this effect as early as November 16th. Some workers had even put their cars into commission, after two years or so 'in dock.'"

Persia Plans to Cultivate Desert

Barren deserts of South Persia will be turned into fertile plains if an ambitious project of the Persian Government succeeds.

The scheme provides for the irrigation of stretches of desert in Khuzistan Province. Work has already begun under the direction of British engineering, agricultural and irrigation experts. The Persian Government is contributing the labour, administration staff, and the capital.

Nearly two thousand years ago Roman engineers had much the same idea. In the same area they built many barrages, dams and canals, traces of which still exist. Their work succeeded for a time, but gradually the desert smothered it.

Five years ago the Persian Government decided to try again, writes a *Reuter* Special Correspondent, and began importing machinery. Last autumn, British experts from the Middle East Supply Centre visited the spot, saw the possibilities, and helped the Persian Government to draw up fresh plans which are now being carried out. Seed wheat has been imported from India and seed barley from Iraq. Vegetable seed has been supplied by the British Army in Persia.

This now bare and almost empty land may eventually supply much of South Persia's cereal needs. An important result would be that the Allies would not have to divert ships from war purposes—as they did last year to bring wheat to Persia's people.

—*Great Britain and The Near East.*

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE U.S.S.R. V. Minorsky. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1943. pp. 81-101).

A record of outstanding accomplishments by Soviet Orientalists from 1917 to 1942.

WANDERINGS IN SINAI. Joan M. C. Jullien. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1942. pp. 222-234).

Describes the events of a camel journey from El Khubri to El Aqaba.

II. ARABIA

DESERT DIARY. Anna Monteith Harrison. (In *Neglected Arabia*, New York. October-November-December, 1942. pp. 5-23).

An intimate account of an extensive mission tour to Hassa and Riadh.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

EUROPE AND THE TURKS IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. The Hon. J. S. Runciman. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1943. pp. 94-99).

Tells of the Byzantine alliances with various Turkish tribes to secure protection against hostile races in western Europe.

THE MUSLIMS IN POLAND: THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY AND CULTURAL LIFE. L. Bohdanowicz. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Parts 3-4, 1942. pp. 163-180).

Follows the fortunes of the Lithuanian Tartars from the 14th century to the present time.

THE ORIGIN OF THE VIZIERATE AND ITS TRUE CHARACTER. S. D. Goitein. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. October, 1942. pp. 380-392).

Finds the practice was instituted by al-Manşūr and that the office of vizier was most powerful under the Turkish and Mongol conquerors.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY.

THE PROPHET'S MARRIAGES. Maulvi Aftab-ud-din Ahmad. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking, October, 1942. pp. 342-355).

A discussion of the advisability of plural marriages.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

ACTIVITIES AT THE TURKISH "HALKEVI" (PEOPLE'S HOUSE) IN LONDON. Major H. M. Burton. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1942. pp. 234-238).

Describes the work of a cultural centre opened in 1942, where Britons and Turks may learn more of old and new Turkey.

AFGHANISTAN: A BRIEF DESCRIPTION. Lieut.-Col. Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1942. pp. 165-175).

A current account of the country, the people and the Government.

A NEW ERA IN THE GOBI. Mildred Cable. (In *The Geographical Journal*, London. November-December, 1942. pp. 193-205).

The writer deplures the arrival of western mechanization and artificiality in the desert.

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE TRIBES OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE. R. A. B. Hamilton. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1942. pp. 239-248).

A detailed statement of the amazing number of classes and races found in this small area.

THE WAR AND THE ARAB YOUTH. Albert Viton. (In *Asia and The Americas*, New York. February, 1943. pp. 83-86).

Since the last war Nationalism has obsessed the young people of the Near East, prejudicing them against the West and against democracy, while today Axis propaganda is accentuating the emotion.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

CHINESE MUSLIMS VIEW PAKISTAN. John Kin. (In *Asia and The Americas*, New York. March, 1943. pp. 155-157).

The Chinese Islamic National Salvation Federation urges unity in India.

THE INDIAN CRISIS: MUSLIM VIEWPOINTS. Prof. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. January, 1943. pp. 53-70).

Suggests a possible solution in a Rajistan of the Indian princes, a Pakistan for the Moslems and a Hindustan for the Hindus, united under a pan-Indian conception of confederate nationalism.

THE JEWS AND THEIR FUTURE. The Marchioness of Reading. (In *The Fortnightly*, London. March, 1943. pp. 145-150).

Palestine offers the one sure asylum for the persecuted Jews of Europe and should be made available to them by increased immigration facilities.

PALESTINE—A DECENT WAY OUT. Charles E. Shulman. (In *The Christian Century*, New York. February 17, 1943. pp. 196-197).

Presents four essentials for Arab-Jewish coöperation in building a Palestinian commonwealth.

THE SUDAN AND THE ABYSSINIAN CAMPAIGN. K. D. D. Henderson. (In the *Journal of the Royal African Society*, London. January, 1943. pp. 12-20).

Considers the wartime administration and the home defense activities of a loyal British ally.

TOWARD PEACE IN PALESTINE. Judah L. Magnes. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1943. pp. 239-249).

Outlines a plan for a Jewish-Arab compromise brought about by American aid since America is greatly trusted in the Holy Land.

TURKEY IS PRO-TURKISH. Eleanor Bisbee. (In *Asia and The Americas*, New York. March, 1943. pp. 139-144).

Turkey needs both the United Nations and the Axis Nations as friends and has consistently maintained her neutrality to secure this condition.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

THE AFGHANS. Jens Christensen. (In *World Dominion and the World To-Day*, London. January-February, 1943. pp. 37-40).

Christian literature in Pushtu has been well received and 1939 statistics show over a thousand conversions with Moslems.

ARAB WOMEN OF IRAQ TO-DAY. Dorothy Firman Van Ess. (In *Asia*, New York. January, 1943. pp. 19-22).

Describes the charm and modernity achieved by the once secluded Moslem women since the rise of nationalism.

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1942: THE NEAR EAST. The Editors. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. January, 1943. pp. 26-37).

Although unrest caused by the war and by Axis propaganda has been apparent, Christian forces have worked on the problems of religious freedom and the status of minorities as well as on educational, evangelistic and medical enterprises, with gratifying results.

British Broadcasting to the Near East

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