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THE CHRISTIAN WORLD MISSION

Two recent books deal with the fundamental principles of the foreign missionary enterprise. They are good, helpful, constructive books. One is a selection of "The Religious Book Club," "The Philosophy of the Christian World Mission," by Professor Edwin D. Soper of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois.[1] The other is "Into All the World," by Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer.[2]

Dr. Soper's book deals with the questions: "Is there an adequate Biblical Basis for the Christian Mission? What is the function of Missions among primitive peoples? In an indigenous culture, In a developed culture? In the modern world? Where are the motives behind this movement? How does Christianity approach the non-Christian? In what ways is Christianity superior? How shall Missions meet nationalism?" This is the publisher's advertisement. The book is made up of four parts: 1. The Biblical Background; 2. The World Movement in History; 3. Christianity as the World Religion; 4. The Strategy of the World Mission.

Dr. Zwemer's book bears the sub-title, "The Great Commission. A Vindication and an Interpretation." It also deals with "The Missionary Background of the Old Testament and the Fullness of Time," with the finality and universality of Jesus, with the basis of missions in the New Testament and the missionary lessons of the apostolic age.

Each book is the fruitage of lectures and addresses by its author, and bears the impress of his own devotion and faith. Toward modern liberal and critical views Dr. Soper is more

[1] Published by the Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 314 pages, $2.50.
[2] Published by the Zondervan Publishing House, Grands Rapids, Michigan, 222 pages, $1.50

sympathetic than Dr. Zwemer. In the matter of the "Great Commission," for example, Dr. Soper accepts the view that the last twelve verses of the Gospel according to Mark "is one of two 'second century attempts to complete the Gospel,' " and that the words "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel" "cannot be used as a direct quotation from Jesus." And of the Great Commission as found in Matt. xxviii: 19, 20, Dr. Soper says, "it may be, it probably is, an interpretation made a generation after the time of Jesus." He is doubtful also as to who was the author of the fourth Gospel: "We cannot be sure who the writer was but we know that he was one of the most spiritually minded of the followers of Jesus." There are other critical questions also on which Dr. Soper is not sure that the critics may not be right. Dr. Zwemer, on the other hand, stands steadfast on the historic faith in all these matters. One chapter of his book deals with "The Authenticity and Genuineness of the Great Commission" of Matt. xxviii: 19, 20, in which he examines the arguments for and against the verses, and stoutly maintains their trustworthiness, citing Harnack against himself: "no possible proofs can be adduced for regarding xxviii: 19f. as an interpolation." Another chapter considers "The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel of Mark," convincingly maintaining their authority as a genuine part of the original Gospel.

Both authors are agreed, however, in finding the ultimate basis of the missionary obligation, not in any commission or command but in the essential nature of the Christian Gospel. As Dr. Soper puts it, "This book is written to help provide the kind of undergirding which is needed in a day like the present, to the end that men may have their convictions clarified and their loyalty deepened in carrying out the will of God who 'so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life.' " And while laying emphasis on the "Great Commission," Dr. Zwemer says, "We do not mean that this command is the sole basis and ground of the missionary enterprise," and he finds for it a "sixfold foundation" in the Will of God, the Love of God, the Command of God, the Promises of God, the Presence of God and the Power of God.

There are various differences of tone and attitude between the two authors, but in four fundamental matters they are in accord:

First, as to the uniqueness and sole sufficiency of Christ,

Second, as to the inadequacy of the non-Christian religions,

Third, as to the world's deep need,

Fourth, as to the right and duty of conversion, the winning of men and women to definite and avowed Christian discipleship.

Both books cite Dr. Hendrik Kraemer's volume, "The Christian Message in a non-Christian World," and Dr. Zwemer unqualifiedly ranges himself with Dr. Kraemer in the view that Christianity is not to be classified or synthesized with the non-Christian religions and that "evangelization, proselytism and conversion belong to the core of the missionary enterprise." Dr. Soper is a little less outspoken and while unqualifiedly affirming the uniqueness of Christianity also believes "in its continuity with other religions." In the end, however, and as a principle of action he is found pretty much in Dr. Kraemer's camp. The "continuity" of Christianity with the non-Christian religions is pretty definitely discontinuous. The men of the non-Christian religions are to become the men of the Christian faith. They are continuous men. But the gods of the non-Christian religions are not continuous with the Christian God. "When the divine beings of the various religions," says Dr. Soper, "are compared with one another, it becomes apparent that they are not alike but different; and these differences, instead of disappearing, grow more significant the further one penetrates into their meaning. After all, this is the crux of the whole matter."

The two books appeal to somewhat varying types of the Christian mind, but both see Jesus Christ as the one and indispensable figure, the "only Name." As over against the neo-Platonizing and syncretic conceptions of Christianity and the non-Christian religions they hold fast the Christian view: "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." Each book sees it to be the duty of the Christian Church to make Jesus Christ known to every man, with a view to making all men disciples of Christ and to establishing everywhere Christ's

Church and Christ's Kingdom, "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

ROBERT E. SPEER.

Lakeville, Conn.

THE DEATH OF DR. WILLIAM PATON

World Christianity suffered an inestimable loss on August 21, 1943, in the death of the Rev. William Paton, D.D., secretary of the International Missionary Council since 1927, and joint secretary since 1938 of the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches. Dr. Paton's rich experience, his scholarship, his abundant vitality and ability to inspire confidence, and his rare capacity for work, will make his loss keenly felt at every turn in the days ahead. To his many colleagues in the worldwide mission of Christianity his death will be a source of deep personal grief.

His special knowledge of the work among Moslems, his two books, *Jesus Christ and the World's Religions* (1916) and *The Faiths of Mankind* (1932), especially his editorial in our Quarterly, July, 1942, left no doubt of his evangelical faith and fervor for Moslem evangelization.

Dr. J. W. Decker, secretary of the International Missionary Council writes me of his recent visit to the United Kingdom and his farewell to Dr. Paton on July 29th, and concludes: "I would like to add that on many occasions during my weeks of contact with Paton, he spoke of his deep interest in the Moslem world, his feeling that the Christian Church as a whole was avoiding the challenge to evangelism among the Moslems, and his determination to take definite steps in the immediate future in the attempt to have that challenge more adequately met. . . . Certainly in his death the work for Moslems has lost one of its most able friends and advocates."

He "being dead yet speaketh"—who will hearken?

S. M. ZWEMER.

PALESTINE—MOHAMMEDAN HOLY LAND

Palestine, with Jerusalem the Holy City, is universally regarded in the Mohammedan world as a sacred land. To most of the more than 250,000,000 Moslems from the Philippines and China to Morocco, its sanctity is only below that of the homeland of the Prophet Mohammed in the Arabian Hejaz, with the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Still not duly taken into account in Western countries, this historic attachment of thirteen centuries has important bearing upon the future of the land of the Bible. It is vital to the success or failure of *political* Zionism in Palestine. It must be frankly and wisely considered by statesmen engaged with Near Eastern problems of international settlement—as was not sufficiently done during and after the World War of 1914-18. Christian and Jewish people of the Occidental countries, with all their idealistic veneration for the land of the Prophets and of Jesus, must know that adherents of a theistic faith like Christianity and Judaism, including over a million Moslems (in addition to the more than 100,000 Christians) in Palestine itself, hold an affection equal to theirs for the little country of sacred and tragic history. They must recognize that it is a holy land of *three* great faiths, not of only one, or of only two!

As a contribution to sources of information on Islam in Palestine and Palestine in Islam, the writer has made for publication in book form a translation of two interesting and very old Arabic manuscripts on the subject. Both are in the nature of pilgrims' guides to the holy places, recounting stories and legends of Biblical and later events and personages in connection with them, and setting forth the religious merits of visiting, praying, and giving alms there. The little treatises are: First—*The Book of Arousing Souls to Visit Jerusalem's Holy Walls,* or in Arabic, *Kitāb Bā'ith an Nufūs ilā Ziyārat al-Quds al-Maḥrūs;* second—*The Book of Inciting Desire to Visit Abraham the Friend of Allah,* etc., or, *Kitāb Muthīr al-Gharām li-Ziyārat al-Khalīl, 'alaihi 's-salām.*

Both the basic texts are manuscripts in the Landberg Collection of Arabic Manuscripts at Yale University. This was acquired by the university in 1900 by munificence of Morris K. Jessup, from the Orientalia of Count Landberg which have gone to enrich a number of libraries in Europe and America. Both texts are adaptations giving extracts or selections suited to the pious end in view.

The author of *The Book of Arousing Souls,* a quite typical book for the spiritual guidance of Moslem pilgrim-visitors in Palestine, was Burhān ad-Dīn Ibn al-Firkāḥ al-Fazāri. He was born in 660 A. H./1262 A. D., in Damascus, the former capital of the Islamic world during the Omayyad era (661-750 A.D.). He followed the scholarly way of his father, who had been author, teacher, leader of the Shāfi'ite sect, and mufti of Syria. For a short time he was preacher (khatīb) in the celebrated Omayyad mosque of Damascus. He died in 729/1329. The date of the composition of his work here given is not known. It was one of several by him.

Ibn al-Firkāḥ, like most Arab authors of former times, utilized the works of his predecessors to a very great extent. But this does not detract from his importance as a Moslem leader in letters and religion in his age, especially in view of his literary influence, through his judiciously selected extracts on a subject of great popular interest, on many writers after him. The number of extant manuscripts of *The Book of Arousing Souls,* surviving after six centuries, in both Oriental and Occidental collections, proves the popularity and widespread influence of the little book. It was republished by hand-copying many times. Popular interest led later copyists to add other material, including familiar Jewish-Moslem legends of King Solomon (Suleimān), and of Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht-un-nasar), and a selection on the "merits" of the once noted "border" city of Ascalon. The Yale copy appears to be the best and earliest extant, having been made in 882 A. H./1477 A. D. According to judgment of the noted Dutch Arabist De Goeje, the Leiden copy, used by me for basic collation, is of the next century. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has a (later) manuscript in a fine hand, with chapter titles in letters of gold. There are other exempla in the Preussische Staats-Bibliothek in Berlin, in the libraries of Istanbul and other Oriental cities,

and in that of the British Museum—those in London also being used for collation. (His other work on the merits of Syria, *al-I'lām fī Faḍā'il ash-Shām,* is to be found at Cambridge and in Berlin.)

The Yale manuscript is a separate volume bound in Oriental style with a flap edge-cover. It has thirty-six sheets or seventy-two pages, and is six and three fourths inches by five inches in size. The title, chapter headings, and practically all the chains of reference for traditions are written in red ink, although the copyist evidently once gave out of this embellishing material and used plain black ink for several pages. It is an unusually clear manuscript, written in a large and legible (although not elegant) *naskhi* hand. The Leiden text is more attractive calligraphically, but the Yale copy is more free from incorrect, popular usages which often, through fault of less educated copyists, mar the classical Arabic of the original authors. Our copyist made several slips, but in almost all cases corrected himself in the margin or, in a few instances, in the text itself. The little book has been remarkably preserved. The reader can see clearly where the reed pen was over-loaded with ink, or where, in the formation of ligatures peculiar to the language, the pen became too dry and had to be raised from the paper to be dipped again. Its general excellence makes it a pity that the copy has found no mention in many important works of reference to Islamic literature and religion, and that it had to wait to be edited and published in 1930-35.

The second treatise, *The Book of Inciting Desire,* considerably longer, was written in 1351 by Abu 'l-Fidā' of Hebron, who died in 1429, of a family originally from Tadmor or Palmyra, preacher of the Hebron mosque, an office held by several members of his family. The scope of this work is wider than that of the *Book of Arousing Souls,* which because of its specific purpose as a pilgrim's handbook excluded the legendary and historical material on the early ages of the world (*al-awā'il*) with which many books by Arab authors (and by earlier Christian writers also) were wont to begin.[1] The work of Abu 'l-Fidā' sets in with the familiar stories of "the beginnings" and of the pa-

[1] This manuscript, No. 316 in the Yale Landberg Collection, is one of 70 folios or 140 pages, in size 6¾" x 5¼". It is well preserved, and is written in a good, clear *naskhi* hand.

triarchs-prophets, especially of Abraham and his family because of their connection with Palestine and Hebron. (These accounts, which often are based upon Biblical and popular Jewish sources, are best known in the Mohammedan world in the work of ath-Tha'labi, entitled *Stories of the Prophets,* or *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā',* which is often quoted, and which I hope soon to translate and publish in English.)

The focus of interest in *The Book of Inciting Desire,* or the *Muthīr al-Gharām,* however, is on the tombs of the prophets in Hebron. Several accounts of visits to or visions of the tombs are given. These are of such importance, in their own interest and for the fact they were copied almost verbatim by later authors, that Sir Guy Le Strange translated them (p. 320 f.) in his *Palestine Under the Moslems* (London, 1890, out of print and rare!), and in an article in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (XIX, new series, 1887).[2]

It was most natural for a Moslem writer to include in a work on Hebron and the patriarch Abraham stories of the building of the Ka'ba in Mecca. For, according to Moslem popular lore, Abraham and Ishmael (the legendary progenitor of the north Arabs) built it! This is significant, also, in showing that Moslems regard Palestine as worthy to be considered alongside the most holy places of their history and faith. It was natural and necessary also to give wide place in such a work to the career of the beloved prophet Abraham, the first Moslem, whose faith Mohammed asserted he was only renewing. He and his prophetic family, it is said in effect, were the great and godly men of the history of the faith who came as pioneers to the land, and made it sacred by their associations and memorials.

It is strange that the author makes nothing of the many well known stories of the grant of Hebron and its territory by the Prophet to the Tamīmi clan, as recounted by *The Book of Arousing Souls* and other Moslem Works. But since that treatise just as strangely omits accounts of visits

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[2] Le Comte Riant gave in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin,* II, 1884, a bibliography of more than twenty accounts of visits to the sepulchres beneath the Mosque of Abraham, including that of the then Prince of Wales in 1862. See also Dean Arthur P. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church,* new edition, New York, Scribner's 1892, Vol. I, p. 431 f. (Appendix II); and Harry Emerson Fosdick, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine,* New York, Macmillan, 1933, p. 105 f.

to the actual tombs beneath the mosque, they well supplement each other.[3]

These, then, are the two manuscript works translated. The first was edited in 1930-31 as a dissertation for the Ph.D. degree at Yale, conferred in 1932. The second I was pleased to find also in the Yale Landberg Collection, and so transcribed it and began the editing of it in 1931-32. On the way for a year of study (1933-34) in the Near East, particularly in Jerusalem at the Newman School of Missions and the American School of Oriental Research, there was opportunity to collate both with copies in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, after, of course, the first work had been collated at Yale with the Leiden text by means of a photostatic copy. The Arabic texts (only) of both were later published in Jerusalem in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* that of *The Book of Arousing Souls* in 1934-35 (Vol. XIV, No. 4, and Vol. XV, No. 1), and that of *The Book of Inciting Desire* in 1936-37 (Vol. XVI, No. 4, and Vol. XVII, No. 1).

The translation attempts to give a certain ancient flavor by the use of older English style familiar in the Authorized Version of the Bible. This, though perhaps sometimes artificial, seems more suitable than some of the "modernized" translations of ancient books (including the Bible!).

The religion of Islam, both in its sacred book the Koran (properly, Qur'ān) and its authoritative tenets, and in folk belief and practice, is naturally much in debt to official and popular Judaism and Christianity. The result by no means reduces Islam to a merely Judeo-Christian sect or heresy, as has often been asserted. But the Koran itself retells many Biblical stories and accepts most of the Biblical worthies as prophets. And the historic and popular faith has borrowed much from the Scriptures and from the two "peoples of Scripture," *ahl al-kitāb*. The Prophet Mohammed learned much, directly and indirectly, from Jewish and Christian informers and teachers. He adapted this (along with the misconceptions and anachronisms of his popular sources!)

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[3] I have edited Maqrīzi's work, *Dau' as-Sāri li-Ma'rifah Khabar Tamīm ad-Dāri,* or *Light of the Night-Traveller for Information about Tamīm ad-Dāri,* which gives several accounts of the purported grant. Its publication was hindered, however, by reason of certain shortcomings of an officer of the Palestine Oriental Society, and I hope to publish it in another journal. See also F. Krenkow, "The Grant of Land by Muhammad to Tamīm ad-Dāri," *Islamica,* I, 1924-25, p. 529.

in his preaching and teaching. New study of the subject, especially by Professor Julian Obermann of Yale, is making even clearer the relationship between popular Judaism in Arabia (before the Jews and Christians were expelled) and the Biblical material in the Koran—especially that dealing with the Pentateuch or Torah. Dr. Obermann says ("Koran and Agada," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages,* Vol. LVIII, No. 1, January, 1941):

"Through more than half of his life-span. . . . he was a diligent disciple in the institution in which nearly all the intellectual and spiritual life in the Near East has been fashioned for many centuries, the institution of oral tradition received by oral instruction (that is, the Biblical interpretations and teachings of the rabbis) . . . . Here he, a son of pagan Arabia, acquired agadic learning that is truly imposing in its amount, its variety, and its soundness."

Islam, therefore, began and continued as the third of three "Biblical" religions, the first being Judaism, the second Christianity (which is, of course, built upon Judaism), and the third Islam which is based upon both its predecessors. It is true that the Prophet, later, when chided with errors and confusion in his Biblical accounts drawn from popular informers, asserted that the Jews and Christians had falsified their books of revelation, and changed words from their places. But the relationship between his religion and theirs is always directly or indirectly acknowledged, and the Prophet distinguished the Jews and the Christians from the unbelieving world by the honorable designation as "peoples of a book," or people possessing a divine revelation in holy scriptures. This was to set them apart *with* the Moslems.

The religious genius of Mohammed, his truly prophetic career, his personality which through difficulty and danger won a following of people ready to die for him and the faith he brought to them—this made of Islam a genuine religion in its own right. And it is one which has continued as a living force in the minds of millions in many lands. But the borrowings from Judaism and Christianity continued beyond the direct human sources of the Koran. Converts from Judaism like Wahb ibn Munabbih and Ka'b al-Aḥbār (who are cited often in the two manuscripts) gave and

sometimes manufactured Biblical information regarding references in the new holy book, or covering Palestine and the holy places after Islam and the Arabs had come there. Such sources from Judaism and Christianity are much used by Koran commentators, traditionists, historians, and geographers—of all of whom Islam has a grand company.

It was thus natural that Islam, as a Biblical religion, should take over the holy places in the Biblical land—just as Judaism had taken over many of the shrines of earlier Palestinian religion. In fact, as most of the Palestinian Moslems were of the continuing population of the land (see below, p. 252), this persisted with them as a part of their very life.

Moslem reverence for Palestine was afforded impetus by the Jeroboam-like policies of the Omayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705). At a time of serious division in the Islamic world, he feared the Meccan pilgrimage as a too ready means of propaganda on part of 'Abdullah ibn az-Zubeir, a rival caliph in the Arabian holy land of the Hejaz. 'Abd al-Malik therefore, wishing also to keep in his own undisputed realm the great amount of pilgrims' gold, built the beautiful structure known as the Dome of the Rock (incorrectly called the Mosque of 'Omar) and rebuilt the important Aqsa Mosque also in the Temple area. Thus Jeroboam had embellished the ancient shrines of Dan and Bethel to draw the people of his new northern kingdom away from the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. (I Kings 12.25; II Chron. 13.6 f.) And Ya'qūbi, a noted geographer-historian of the ninth century, says: "The people took the custom of circumambulating the Rock even as they had performed the circuit of the Ka'ba, and the custom continued all the days of the dynasty of the Omayyads."[4] The great pilgrimage to Mecca and the visit to Medina could not be displaced, but many of the faithful continued to be attracted to Palestine for a lesser pilgrimage.

Affection for Palestine was heightened also by its temporary loss to the Crusaders, and by the Moslem struggles against them, which constituted or included counter-crusade and propaganda. Indeed, the Moslem reaction to the

[4] See the quotation and the preceding words in Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems* (cited above, p. 242—the most important and useful volume for Islam in Palestine), p. 115 f.

Crusades was a potent factor in development of the literature on the "merits" of Jerusalem and Palestine. This is made clear by Atiyah in his book, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, Methuen, 1938, p. 468 f.). The author says: "The abundance of such literature is a notable feature of the fourteenth century"—which is the era of both our writers. He cites (p. 469) and quotes from another of the works of Ibn al-Firkāḥ, author of *The Book of Arousing Souls*. And in his excellent bibliography he includes (p. 545) also the work of Abu 'l-Fidā' of Hebron here discussed.[5] Atiyah's statement (p. 468) is certainly justified:

"The history of this interesting and important movement (the Moslem counter-crusade), rich in Arabic documentary evidence, is worthy of a special study covering the period from the great Saladin to Muhammad the Conqueror. Much has been written on the crusade, yet little is to be found on the 'counter-crusade' save isolated and disconnected references."

Thus, on basis of religious history, continuing popular life and custom, and political necessity, there arose in Islam universal veneration for Palestine, and pilgrimages or devotional visits to its holy places.

Islamic pilgrimages to such places as the Temple area and the mosque of the tombs of the patriarch-prophets in Hebron, and the Nebī Mūsā (Prophet Moses) festival with its annual pageantry and excited religious and patriotic emotions (especially in these days of new "counter-crusade" against Zionism!), are not, therefore, mere adaptations from the great Mecca-Medina *ḥajj*. For this itself came out of the *Pilgerfahrt* of Semitic and general religious history. And such visitations in Palestine have as their particular and direct basis the familiar practices of the Old and New Testament eras, and of continuing popular Judaism and Christianity. Reference need only be made, for the Bible, to the law of appearing before God at the great festivals (Deut. 16; Exodus 23:14, and 34:22-23; Leviticus 23; Numbers 28 and 29), to the familiar story of Hannah's pilgrimage and the devotion of young Samuel (I Samuel 1-3), pilgrimage

[5] His omission of reference to Ibn al-Firkāḥ al-Fazārī's *Book of Arousing Souls* shows again how fitting it is to give it more to public knowledge than was accomplished by publication of its Arabic text in a scholarly journal!

hymns in the Book of Psalms (*e.g.*, Pss. 65, 84, 122), the presentation of Jesus in the Temple (Luke 2:22f.), and the Passover at his twelfth year; Paul's pilgrimage to Jerusalem after his missionary journeys (Acts 21:6 and sequel). In addition, the custom of Jews of the diaspora to make pilgrimage to Jerusalem is well known. They were for a time, after the second war against Rome (132-35 A. D.), excluded from the Holy City, which had been rebuilt upon its ruins as the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina, but resumed after Constantine their visits and pilgrimages of worship and mourning, which have ever since been continued.[6]

The immediate precedents for Moslem visitation to holy places in Palestine, other than the example of the post-Biblical Jews (as mentioned above), are of course early Christian pilgrimages, especially of the era of the Byzantines, from whom the Moslems conquered the land in 634-36. The thronging of pilgrims led to the necessity as well as the desire on the part of Christian rulers of state and church to build up shrines, churches, and hostels throughout Palestine. The enormous building activity, many famous monuments of which have survived numerous destructive wars and earthquakes, was associated especially with Constantine and his mother St. Helena in the fourth century, the Empress Eudocia (wife of Theodosius II) in the fifth, and the Emperor Justinian I in the sixth. Thus many of the holy places of Jewish and Christian history, and a number of piously manufactured ones, were rediscovered and glorified, and the pilgrimage became an established feature of Christianity and a powerful factor, alongside the economic, for the Crusades.

It was no less the case with the Christians of the West (*e.g.*, the "Bordeaux Pilgrim" of 333 A. D.)—that is, Italy, Gaul, and other lands which eventually became the domain of the Roman Catholic Church, as distinguished from Eastern Roman or Byzantine Christendom. Paul and the two Melanias lived in Palestine, as did Helena and Eudocia, and

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[6] The late Dr. Cyrus Adler prepared for the Special Commission of the League of Nations, appointed to study Jewish-Arab clashes over the "Wailing Wall" or the "Wall of al-Burāq" after the uprisings of 1929, a useful document entitled, *Memorandum on the Western Wall.* The chapter or section, "The Ruins Always Holy to the Jews," p. 14 f., is especially *ā propos.* Unfortunately, the volume was privately printed and, so far as I know, not made available to the general public.

devoted their fortunes and efforts to building churches and shrines.

In fact, it may be said with justice that the pilgrimage custom helped considerably in the civilizing of the Christian world and in holding it more or less in unity for several centuries. Even when the unity was broken by the final and definite cleavage between Eastern and Western Christianity in 1054, the pilgrimages, with mutual influences on people of differing lands and faiths, and the inevitable broadening of mind on the part of the travellers, contributed hardly less to such beneficial results of the contemporary Crusades than did those military expeditions themselves. For both involved the residence of Western Christians in Moslem or Greek lands.

The literature of pilgrimages to Palestine, and of veneration for the holy places there, is vast, in both Western and Greek Orthodox Christianity and in Islam. For the Christian material, typical sources are readily available in the following:

Thomas Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* . . . London, 1848 (containing the narratives of eight travellers); E. Carmoly (tr.), *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte* (of the 13th to the 17th centuries), Brussels, 1847; the various volumes of the Palestine Pilgrim's Texts Society, London, 1896, etc. (which include also some of the Moslem pilgrim handbooks, *e.g.,* that of Násir-i-Khusraw the Persian, 11th century, translated by Le Strange in Vol. IV, 1886); Titus Tobler and Augustus Molinier (editors), *Itinera Hierosolymitana et Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*—Geneva, 1879 (published by La Société de l'Orient Latin); and Michaud's *History of the Crusades.*

For Moslem material, the sources are admirably brought together by Sir Guy Le Strange, in his *Palestine Under the Moslems,* cited above with translations of excerpts of numerous Moslem writers. There should be cited also, for those who read Arabic, the *Biblioteca Geographorum Arabicorum,* edited by De Goeje, Leiden, 1870, etc., and the standard commentators, historians, and traditionists of Islam.

It is my belief, however, that in none of the very numerous Moslem works on Palestine is there to be found more interest, and more insight into the Moslem veneration for

the land of the Bible and the prophets, than in the two I hope to publish for the first time in English. It is indeed a pity that these so typical Moslem works on Palestine have not been better known by students of the land and of Islam. Le Strange, as noted above, made some use of the *Muthīr* on Hebron *(The Book of Inciting Desire.)* But he overlooked or had no room for the *Bā'ith an-Nufūs (The Book of Arousing Souls.)* Together they give a complete and satisfactory picture.

Such books are now replaced by shorter tracts, like the following, which are available to visitors to Jerusalem: *Al-Murshid li'z-Zā'ir wa'd-Dalīl fī Manāsik wa-Ziyārat Amākin al-Quds wa'l-Khalīl (Guide for the Visitor and Director for the Rites and Visits to the Sacred Places of Jerusalem and Hebron),* by al-Hājji Muṣṭafā al-Anṣāri; and (a smaller one) *Manāsik al'Quds ash-Sharīf (The Rites in Holy Jerusalem),* by Yūsuf Ḍiā' ad-Dīn ad-Danaf al-Anṣāri. (Cited by Dr. Tewfik Canaan, in his *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine,* London, Luzac & Co., 1927; *Luzac's Oriental Series,* V; reprinted from *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society).*

The Arabic term for such works is *kutub faḍā'il,* books of "merits" or "excellencies." That is, they are works which inform the pilgrim of the religious merits possessed by the land and its shrines, and which may guide him in his visitation and worship by pointing out the specific merit he may gain with Allah by performing certain acts of prayer, alms, etc., in various spots.

Thus they follow very closely the Christian models of earlier times and of times contemporary with them. Wright *(Early Travels in Palestine,* p. viii) says: "Every mile on the road was believed to count in heaven for so much towards the redemption of the past crimes and offences, however great, of the traveller. Qualben, in his *History of the Christian Church* (New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1933, p. 130), says: "Pilgrimages to sacred places such as Palestine, Mount Sinai, the tombs of Peter and Paul, became general because of the excessive merits or work-righteousness attached to such acts of devotion." Just as the Christian pilgrim hoped for pardon, answer to his prayer for whatever need, merit with Allah, and eventual entrance into Paradise.

The similarity of religious point of view may be clearly seen by reference to such Christian pilgrim accounts as the anonymous *Guide-Book to Palestine,* written in 1350, just about the time of the two Moslem devotional works here discussed. This has a corresponding devotional tone, gives directions for visitation and worship, and points out the indulgences to be gained as reward.[7] The story of the pilgrimage of St. Paula in the last quarter of the fourth century is a pious account which, had it been that of a Moslem visitor, would undoubtedly have become popular in Islam. The story of the pilgrimage of St. Antoninus, in the early part of the seventh century, on the eve of the Moslem conquest, contains marvels on a par with those recited by the writers of Islam.

In answer to the natural question whether the pilgrims, Christians and Moslems, sincerely believed all they read and were told of the marvels and merits of the holy places, it must be conceded that, being people of their time and environment and authoritative religious training, they did! It is of course well known that among both Christians and Moslems the marvels did not fail to increase with time, and that changes in location of shrines were wont to occur, if for no other reason than the convenience of pilgrims or destruction of the original site. There was also a tendency to accumulate relics and even "sites" within the bounds or neighborhood of important holy places, as within the rambling structure of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (properly the Anastasis, or Church of the Resurrection), or within the sacred enclosure of the Temple. In his introduction to *The Bordeaux Pilgrim* in the *Palestine Pilgrim's Texts,* Stewart points out that the pilgrims of times later than that of that noted visitor in 333 A.D. were no longer satisfied with a quiet activity of prayer and devotion, and, of course, with realization that they were in the sacred atmosphere of the Bible where such and such events of sacred history had taken place. He says: "The necessary aids to faith were provided in gradually increasing numbers, until, in the sixth century, we find not only the true cross, but the crown

[7] One of the numerous anonymous Christian guide-books, this was published in Vol. VII of the *Palestine Pilgrim's Texts,* 1894, in a translation by J. H. Bernard, from a Latin manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, based partly on an account of the Holy Land by Philippus Brusserius Saronensis.

of thorns, the reed, the sponge, the lance, the cup used at the Last Supper, the stone that was rolled away from the sepulchre, and other relics of minor importance, such as the 'charger' in which John the Baptist's head was carried."

The Bordeaux Pilgrim made (unique) mention in his time of a crypt in Jerusalem in which Solomon used to torment devils—a note that is characteristic also of later Moslem writers on that glorious king of men, animals, and nature, Suleimān son of David! Parallel with such in Moslem accounts are the ring in the Western Wall of the Temple area by which Mohammed and Gabriel are supposed to have tied up their magical mount, al-Burāq (which transported them from Jerusalem and back in one night), some hairs of the Prophet's beard, and several tracks made by him—which at least formerly were shown in Jerusalem.

Genuine devotional pilgrimage, however, is not dependent upon such marvels and relics. Christian leaders in Palestine endeavored against the flood of pilgrims to lessen the marvelous and to exalt the spiritual. Muslim attendants at the Dome of the Rock today, significantly, allude to the pious legends only to disclaim belief in them. Alongside the place of marvels in the minds of the common folk, more intelligent veneration remains, and increases. This is indicated by the burial within the Temple or Ḥaram area in Jerusalem in 1931 of two noted Moslems, Muḥammad 'Ali of India and former King Ḥusein of the Hejāz.

Jewish veneration for Palestine (see above, p. 239) is attested by the long-continued burying of pious folk there, the use of a little soil from *Eretz Israel* for burial with the dead in other lands, the still maintained custom of mourning at the Wailing Wall, the intercessory petitions to Abraham outside the Mosque in Hebron and the whole aura of idealism surrounding the venture of modern Zionism. Christian affection for the land is shown by the continued popularity of Palestine for pilgrimages (and more secularized tours, which in ordinary times are an important source of income for the country!), and by the maintenance of innumerable pious and philanthropic foundations—monasteries, churches, shrines, orphanages, schools, hospitals, etc. These last are paralleled by many Moslem *awqāf,* or pious

foundations (singular, *waqf*) for various purposes in the land, as well as by laudable Jewish institutions.

Palestine will remain as it has been for these thirteen centuries—a holy land of three great world religions. But if its sanctity to Jews and Christians needs no advocate, its sacredness to Moslems, strangely, still does.

Because the view is often held and expressed by sincere people that the "Arabs are mere interlopers in Palestine," and ought to give way to the "return" of the rightful and historic Jewish "owners" of the land of the Bible, a word may be said regarding the ethnology of the land. The simple fact is that the majority of the "Arab" people of Palestine are not descendants of "new arrivals" with the Islamic-Arab conquest in the seventh century—that event itself being thirteen hundred years ago!—but are a mixed race whose connection with the land goes back into very early history. It is a natural tendency for history to be simplified by the concept that all the Moslems of the conquered lands came in, and assumed control, from the outside. And it is an understandable fancy for all of the Moslem population to believe that their ancestors were of the *conquering race*. But the conquerors, and the settlers who followed in the wake of military success and control, were no doubt only a small minority of the continuing population. On the part of the latter, however, the designation "Arab" was gradually adopted along with the new religion by the majority and along with the Arabic language by all. Further, the change in religion was in most cases voluntary, for the sake of preferment and advantage, and as a natural process of following the predominant environmental influence and practice.

Therefore, the "Arabs" of Palestine are the historic "people of the land," composed of elements of many races inhabiting the country through the past, but, naturally, along with Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia of the Bible world, forming a part of the medieval and contemporary Arabo-Islamic cultural area of the Near East. And they, thus, are the rightful owners of Palestine—for it has been their home always. Of the present population of over a million and a half including the more than 400,000 Jews (all but 30,000 of whom have entered since the World War), the majority, over a million, are Moslem. There are also over

100,000 Christian "Arabs"—whose interests and rights are strangely overlooked in discussions!—who have remained loyal to their ancient faith. To both Moslems and Christians, as well as to the non-political-Zionist Jews who with sacrifice have established themselves in Palestine and desire only to live and let live, we must accord that sympathy and understanding which we ourselves desire and demand in connection with love of homeland.

Both Moslems and Jews have inalienable rights and interests in the Holy Land. (And certainly the Christians, the forgotten people of Palestine, have *their* claims to peace, security, and participation in government of their country!) All, as all have done in the past, can make significant contributions to the New Palestine—if all can be content to compromise and work together. It is unfortunate for Jews to overlook the great civilization of the Arabs in past centuries and to point only to the more recent degradation of Palestine—which was due not to the Arabs, but to the calamitous regime of the Ottoman Turks (from whom the present Turks are widely different!). It is unfortunate for the Arabs to exaggerate their animosities resulting from the advantage to the Zionists of British imperialistic aid and of world-wide Jewish financial and political support. It is unfortunate for the Arabs to direct their main struggle negatively—*against* fear of being overwhelmed by Zionist immigration—instead of positively *for* racial and national progress. It is unfortunate as well, for Western Christians to cloud their understanding and sympathies by misinterpreting the Biblical prophets and reading into them predictions of the sure "return" of all the Jews of the world (about sixteen million, for a land that is already crowded and taxed in its resources!) to Palestine without regard for elemental logic, or for elemental justice, to the non-Jewish population. Each group in Palestine needs what the others have to contribute to the common welfare—and the welfare can be mutual if no group will seek undue aggrandizement. And all of them need the informed sympathy and understanding of the hundreds of millions of adherents of the three great religions which came from the land.

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DOCTRINES OF THE SOUL (*NAFS* AND *RŪḤ*) IN ISLAM[1]

Nafs (A) soul. *Nafs,* in the early Arabic poetry is used reflexively to refer to the self or person, while *rūḥ* means *breath* and *wind.* Beginning with the *Ḳur'ān, nafs* also means *soul,* and *rūḥ* means a special angel messenger and a special divine gift. Only in post-Ḳur'ānic literature are *nafs* and *rūḥ* used interchangeably and both applied to the human *spirit, angels* and *djinn.*

I. *The Ḳur'ānic uses. A. Nafs* and its plurals *anfus* and *nufūs* have two uses: 1. reflexive. a. In most cases they refer to the human self or person, e.g., iii. 54: "Let us call . . . ourselves and yourselves"; also xii. 54; li. 20, 21. b. In six verses *nafs* refers to Allāh: v. 116b: "Thou (Allāh) dost know what is in myself (says 'Īsā), but I do not know what is in Thyself *(nafsika)*"; also iii. 27, 28; vi. 12, 54 and xx. 43. c. One reference, xxv. 4 (cf. xiii. 17), is to gods: "They *(āliha)* do not possess for themselves *(anfusihim)* any harm or benefit at all!" d. In vi. 130 the plural is used twice to refer to the company of men and *djinn*: "We have witnessed against ourselves *(anfusinā).*"

2. It means *the human soul.* vi. 93: "While the angels stretch forth their hands (saying,) Send forth your souls *(anfus)*"; also l. 15; lxiv. 16; lxxix. 40, etc. This soul has three characteristics: a. It is *ammāra, commanding to evil* (xii. 53). Like the Hebrew *nefesh* the basal idea is "the physical appetite," in Pauline usage ψυχή, and in the English New Testament "flesh." It whispers (l. 15), and is associated with *al-hawā,* which, in the sense of "desire," is always evil. It must be restrained (lxxix. 40) and made patient (xviii. 27) and its greed must be feared (lix. 9b). b. The *nafs* is *lawwāma,* i.e., it *upbraids* (lxxv. 2); the souls (*anfus*) of deserters are straitened (ix. 119). c. The soul is addressed as *muṭma'inna, tranquil* (lxxxix. 27). These three terms form the basis of much of the later Muslim ethics and psychology.

[1] This revision of the article NAFS in the four-volume *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Vol. III, pp. 827-30) was prepared at the request of the late Professor Wensinck for the projected one-volume edition. E. E. C.

It is noteworthy that *nafs* is not used in connection with the angels.

B. *Rūḥ* has five meanings: 1. Allāh blew (*nafakha*) of His *rūḥ*, a. into Adam, giving life to Adam's body (xv. 29; xxxviii. 72; xxxii. 8), and b. into Maryam for the conception of 'Īsā (xxi. 91 and lxvi. 12). Here *rūḥ* equates with rīḥ and means the "breath of life" (cf. Gen. ii. 7), the creation of which belongs to Allāh. 2. Four verses connect *rūḥ* with the *'amr* of Allāh, and the meanings of both *rūḥ* and *'amr* are disputed. a. In xvii. 87, it is stated, "They ask thee (O Muḥammad) about *al-rūḥ*; say: *al-rūḥu min 'amri rabbī*, and ye are brought but little knowledge." b. In xvi. 2, Allāh sends down the angels with *al-rūḥ min 'amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to say: "Warn that the fact is, There is no God but I, so fear." c. In xl. 15, Allah "cast *al-rūḥ min 'amrihi* upon whomsoever He wills of His creatures to give warning." d. In xlii. 52: "We revealed (*awḥainā*) to thee (O Muḥammad) *rūḥan min 'amrinā*; thou knewest not what the book was, nor the faith, but We made it to be a light by which We guide whomsoever We will of Our creatures." Whatever meanings *'amr* and *min* may have, the contexts connect *al-rūḥ* in a. with knowledge; in b. with angels and creatures, to give warning; in c. with creatures, for warning, and, in d. with Muḥammad, for knowledge, faith, light and guidance. Therefore this *rūḥ* is special equipment from Allah for prophetic service. It reminds forcibly of Bezalel, who was "filled with the spirit of God in wisdom and in knowledge" (Exodus xxxv, 30, 31). 3. In iv. 169, 'Īsā is called a *rūḥ* from Allah. 4. In xcvii. 4, lxxviii. 38 and lxx. 4, *al-rūḥ* is an associate of the angels. 5. In xxvi. 193, *al-rūḥ al-amīn*, the faithful *rūḥ*, comes down upon Muḥammad's heart to reveal the Ḳur'ān. In xix. 17, Allāh sends to Maryam "Our *rūḥ*," who appears to her as a well-made man. In xvi. 104, *rūḥ al-ḳudus* sent the Ḳur'ān to establish believers. Three other passages state that Allāh helps 'Īsā with *rūḥ al-kudus* (ii. 81; ii. 254 and v. 109). This interrelation of service and title imply the identity of this angelic messenger, who may also be the *rūḥ* of 4. Thus in the Ḳur'ān *rūḥ* does not mean angels in general, nor man's soul or spirit, nor is it used reflexively to refer to his person or self. The plural does not occur.

C. *Nafas, breath* and *wind,* cognate to *nafs* in root and to *rūḥ* in some of its meanings, does not occur in the Kur'ān but is used in the early poetry (F. Krenkow, *The Poems of Ṭufail and at-Ṭirimmāḥ,* London 1927, p. 32). The verb *tanaffasa* (Sura lxxxi. 18) is derived from that meaning, while the only other Ḳur'ānic forms from the same radicals are *falyatanāfasi l-mutanāfisūna* (lxxxiii. 26) and are derived in al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-Baiyān,* Cairo, 1321, xxx. 57, probably correctly, from *nafisa,* "he desired."

II. The poetry of the Umaiyad period first uses *rūḥ* for *the human soul* (*Kitāb al-Aghānī,* ed. 1285, xvi. 126, last line; Cheikho *Le Christianisme,* Bairūt 1923, p. 338) where the Ḳur'ān had used *nafs* as in No. 2 above.

III. Of the early collections of traditions, Mālik's *al-Muwaṭṭa',* Cairo 1339, i. 126, uses *nasama,* which does not occur in the Ḳur'ān, and *nafs* (ii. 262) for the soul or spirit, while Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad* uses *nasam* (vi. 424), *nafs* (i. 297; ii. 364; vi. 140) and *nafs* and *rūḥ* (iv. 287, 296). Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Constantinople 1331), viii. 44, 162 sq. and al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ,* Cairo 1314, iv. 133, both use *rūḥ* and *arwāḥ* for the human spirit.

IV. The *Tādj al-'Arūs* (iv. 260) lists 15 meanings for *nafs* and adds two others from the *Lisān al-'Arab,* as follows: spirit, blood, body, evil eye, presence, specific reality, self, tan, haughtiness, self-magnification, purpose, disdain, the absent, desire, punishment, brother, man. It states that most of these meanings are metaphorical. The *Lisān* (viii. 119-126) finds examples of these meanings in the poetry and in the Ḳur'ān. Lane's *Lexicon* faithfully reproduces the material (p. 2827*b*). The lexical treatments of *nafs* disclose these facts: 1. Any attribution to Allāh of *nafs* as "soul" or "spirit" is avoided. 2. In man, a. *nafs* and *rūḥ* are synonymous, or b. *nafs* applies to the mind and *rūḥ* to life, or c. man has *nafsāni,* two souls, one vital and the other discriminative, or d. the discriminative soul is double, sometimes commanding and sometimes forbidding.

V. The influences that affected the post-Ḳuranic uses of both *nafs* and *rūḥ* were the Christian and Neo-Platonic ideas of *rūḥ* with human, angelic and divine applications, and the more specifically Aristotelian psychological analysis of *nafs.* Al-Kindī is the one who introduced the Neo-Platonic

doctrine of the soul into the earliest Arabic philosophy. He revised 'Abd al-Masīḥ al-Nā'ima's translation of the treatise called "The Theology of Aristotle," which quotes and paraphrases Books iv-vi of the *Enneads* of Plotinus. Here the Muslims were taught the theory of the emanation of the human soul from the One Absolute Cause, first through the Spirit of Intelligence, and then through the Universal Soul to which it belongs. Man's soul is thus an immortal spiritual or intelligible substance. Its salvation consists in freeing itself from the corporeal stains of the sensible world and returning to the eternal world of spiritual substances. This is the theory of the soul's origin, nature and destiny which underlies the later Muslim mysticism. The doctrines of the soul and spirit that influenced the Muslims are clearly shown in the records of their religious controversies:

A. Al-Ash'arī (q.v.) (H. Ritter, *Die dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam von Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī,* Istanbul 1929) reports the Rāfiḍīya doctrines of the incarnation of *rūḥ Allāh* in Adam and its transmigration through the prophets and others (pp. 6, 46), as well as the conflicting positions that man is body (*djism*) only, body and spirit, and spirit (*rūḥ*) only, p. 61, 329 sqq.). His creed of the orthodox (p. 290-297) omits any statement about the nature of man.

B. Al-Baghdādī (q.v.) (*al-Farḳ bain al-Firaḳ,* Cairo 1328) records the same heretical doctrines about man's nature (p. 28, 117 sqq., 241 sqq.), says the transmigration theories were held by Plato and the Jews (p. 254) and describes the incarnation beliefs of the Ḥulūlīya sects among whom he includes the Ḥallādjīya (p. 247). His position is: "The life of Allāh is without *rūḥ* and nourishment and all the *arwāḥ* are created, in opposition to the Christian doctrine of the eternity of the Father, Son, and Spirit" (p. 325).

C. Ibn Ḥazm (q.v.) uses *nafs* and *rūḥ* interchangeably of man's soul (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-Milal,* 5 parts, Cairo, 1317-1321; v. 66). He excludes from Islām all who hold metempsychosis views, among whom he includes the physician-philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakarīya al-Rāzī (i. 90 sqq.; iv. 187 sq.). He rejects absolutely the doctrine of some of the Ash'arīya of the continual re-creation of the *rūḥ* (iv. 69). He taught that Allāh created the spirits of all Adam's

progeny before the angels were commanded to prostrate to him (Sura vii. 171), and that these spirits exist in al-Barzakh in the nearest heaven until the angel blows them into embryos (iv. 70).

D. Al-Shahrastānī (q.v.) (*Kitāb al-Milal wa'l-Niḥal,* ed. Cureton, part i, London 1842) in his description of the belief of the pagan Arabs concerning survival after death does not use the terms *nafs* and *rūḥ,* but says the blood becomes a wraith bird that visits the grave every hundred years. One of his most important sections (p. 203-240) deals with the orthodox and heterodox doctrines of *al-rūḥ.* Al-Ḥunafā' or true believers, debate with al-Ṣābi'a, who are dualists, emanationists and gnostics. His account of the views of the Ṣābi'a faithfully reflects the doctrines of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*Rasā'il,* 4 vols., Bombay 1305), who taught that man is a whole compounded of a corporeal body and a spiritual *nafs* (I/ii., 14), and that the substance (*djawhar*) of the *nafs* descended from the spheres (*al-aflāk*). He applies the term *rūḥānī* to all spirits, good and evil (p. 213). His description of the nature of man (p. 116 sqq.) with three souls, vegetative, animal and human, each with its own source, need, seat and powers, resembles that of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (*Rasā'il,* I/ii., 48 sqq.). But al-Shahrastānī rejects the Neo-Platonic idea that human souls (*nufūs*) are dependent upon the souls of the superhuman spirit world (*al-nufūs al-rūḥānīyāt*) (p. 210, 224 sq.), and the Hermetic doctrines that the *nafs* is essentially evil (p. 236) and that salvation consists in the release of the *rūḥ* from material bodies (p. 226 sq.). Indeed, the Aristotelian analysis of the human soul as given in *De Anima,* and handed on by Alexander of Aphrodisias and Porphyry, had been adopted with little modification by the Muslim philosophers, such as al-Kindī, al-Fārābi each of whom wrote a *Kitāb al-Nafs,* Ibn Sīnā who wrote two, and Ibn Miskawaih, whose *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāk* has the same immaterial (p. 1) and functional (p. 7) psychology for its ethical basis. Al-Shahrastānī achieved the long needed interpretation of the conflicting usages of *nafs* and *rūḥ* in the Greek and Christian heritage, and in the Ḳur'ān and Muslim tradition. But the philosophers, even with his support, were not able to force the Greek psychology upon orthodox Islam. The *Mutakallims* and the

great majority of Muslims broadened the Ḳur'ānic terminology, but retained the traditional views of the nature of the soul as a direct creation of Allāh having various qualities.

VI. Aristotle's principle of the incorporeal character of spirit had nevertheless found a permanent place in Muslim doctrine through the influence of Islām's greatest theologian, al-Ghazālī. In al-Tahānawī's *Dictionary of the Technical* Terms (ed. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862) are extracts of the doctrines of al-Ghazālī on man's *rūḥ* and *nafs*. He defines man as a spiritual substance (*djawhar rūḥānī*), not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it, just as Allāh is neither without nor within the world, and likewise the angels. It possesses knowledge and perception, and is therefore not an accident (p. 547 at top; cf. *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa,* Cairo 1302, p. 72). He devotes the second section of *al-Risāla al- Ladunīya* (Cairo 1327, p. 7-14, translated by Dr. Margaret Smith in JRAS, April, July, 1938) to explain the words *nafs, rūḥ* and *ḳalb* (heart), which are names for this simple substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes. It differs from the animal *rūḥ*, a refined but mortal body in which reside the senses. He identifies the incorporeal *rūḥ* with *al-nafs al-muṭma'inna* and *al-rūḥ al-amrī* of the Kur'ān. He then uses the term *nafs* also for the "flesh" or lower nature, which must be disciplined in the interests of ethics.

VII. This position of al-Ghazālī's was that of the theistic philosophers in general, as well as some of the Mu'tazila and the Shī'a, but it has never dominated Islām. The great analytical philosopher and theologian, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, in his *Kitāb al-Mabāḥith al-Mashriqīyah* (Haidarabad 1343), Vol. II, lists twelve arguments of the philosophers for the incorporeality of the *nafs,* but he could not bring himself to accept it. In his *Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib,* v. 435, commenting on Sūra xvii. 85, he quotes as the opinion of al-Ghazālī the statement that is in the latter's *Tahāfut* (p. 72; cf. also al-Rāzī's *Muḥaṣṣal,* Cairo 1323, p. 164), but on p. 434 (ll. 9 and 8 from below) of the *Mafātīḥ* he acknowledges the strength of the corporeal doctrine, and in his *Ma'ālim Uṣūl al-Dīn,* on the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal,* p. 117 *sq.,* he definitely rejects as baseless *(bāṭil)* the view of the philosophers

that the *nafs* is a substance (*djawhar*) which is not a body (*djism*) and not corporeal.

VIII. Al-Baiḍāwī's system of cosmogony and psychology is given in his *Ṭawāli' al-Anwār* (lithograph ed. with commentary of Abū'l-Thanā' al-Iṣfahānī and gloss by al-Djurdjānī, Stambul 1305, p. 285 *sqq.;* Brockelmann, *G.A.L.,* i. 418, ii. 111, *Suppl.* i. 742). He discusses 1. the classes of incorporeal substances, 2. the heavenly intelligences, 3. the souls of the spheres, 4. the incorporeality of human souls, 5. their creation, 6. their connection with bodies and 7. their survival. His cosmogony follows: Allāh, because of his unity, created only one Intelligence (*aḳl*). This Second Intelligence, that emanated first (*al-ṣādir*) from Allāh, is the cause (*'illa*) of all other potentialities and is not body (*djism*), nor original matter (*hayūlī*) nor form (*ṣūra*). It is the secondary cause (*sabab*) of another intelligence with soul (*nafs*) and sphere (*falak*). There emanates from the second a third intelligence and so on to the tenth (p. 288) who is the *rūḥ* of Sūra lxxviii. 38 cf. al-Baiḍāwī's *Anwār al-Tanzīl,* ed. Fleischer, ii. 383, 1. 4) whose effective influence is in the world of the elements and who is the producer of the spirits (*arwāḥ*) of mankind. Below these intelligences are the high or heavenly angels, which the philosophers call *al-nufūs al-falakīya,* and the low *nufūs,* which are in two classes: earthly angels, in control of the simple elements and the earthly souls, such as the reasoning souls (*anfus nāṭika)* controlling particular persons. In addition (p. 285) there are the incorporeal substances, without effect or control, who are angels, some good (*al-kurūbīyūn*) and some evil (*al-shayāṭīn*) and the *djinn,* who are ready for both good and evil. This is the classification he refers to in his comment on Sūra ii. 28 (ed. Fleischer, i. 47, (25)). His psychology resembles that of al-Ghazālī, whom he mentions (p. 294). For the incorporeality of the soul (*tadjarrud al-nafs*) he presents five arguments from reason, four Ḳur'ān verses and one tradition. His commentator remarks (p. 300) that these prove only that the soul differs from the body. He then argues that all *nufūs* are created when their bodies are completed. The *nafs* (p. 303) is not embodied in and it not close to the body, but is attached as the lover to the beloved. For the Plotinian original of this descriptive-

definition see G. H. Brett, *A History of Philosophy* (London 1912), Vol. I, p. 303 *f*. It is connected with that *rūḥ* which comes from the heart and is generated of the finest nutritive particles. The reasoning *nafs* produces a force that flows with that *rūḥ* through the body, producing in every organ its proper functions. These functional powers are perceptive, which are the five external senses, and the five internal faculties of the *sensus communis,* imagination, apprehension, memory and reason, and the active *(al-muḥarrika)* which are voluntary *(ikhtiyārīya)* and natural *(ṭabī'īya,* p. 308).

IX. The dominant Muslim doctrine concerning the origin, nature and future of *al-rūḥ* and *al-nafs* is most fully given in the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* of Ibn al-Ḳaiyim (Haidarābad, 2nd ed., 1324). Of his twenty-one chapters Ibn al-Ḳaiyim devotes the nineteenth to the problem of the specific nature of the *nafs* (p. 279-342). He quotes the summaries given by al-Ash'arī (*op. cit.,* p. 331-335), and by al-Rāzī (*Mafātīḥ al-Ghaib,* v. 431-434). He denies al-Rāzī's statement that the *Mutakallims* consider man to be simply the sensible body, and says all intelligent people hold man to be both body and spirit. The *rūḥ* is identified with the *nafs,* and is itself a body, different in quiddity (*al-māhīya*) from the sensible body, of the nature of light, high, light in weight, living, moving, interpenetrating the bodily members as water in the rose. It is created, but everlasting; it departs temporarily from the body in sleep; when the body dies it departs for the first judgment, returns to the body for the questioning of Munkar and Nakīr, and, except in the cases of prophets and martyrs, remains in the grave foretasting bliss or punishment until the Resurrection. He rejects (p. 256) Ibn Ḥazm's doctrine that Adam's progeny are in al-Barzakh awaiting their time to be blown into embroyos. He presents one hundred sixteen evidences for the corporeality of the *rūḥ,* twenty-two refutations of opposing arguments and twenty-two rebuttals of objections. He represents traditional Islām.

X. The earlier Ṣūfīs had accepted the materiality of the *rūḥ*. Both al-Ḳushairī (*al-Risāla,* with commentary of Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and gloss of al-'Arūsī, Būlāk 1290, ii. 105 *sqq.*) and al-Hudjwīrī (*The Kashf al-Mahjūb,* ed. Nichol-

son, London 1911, p. 196, 262) call the *rūḥ* a fine, created substance (*'ain*) or body (*djism*), placed in the sensible body like sap in green wood. The *nafs* (*al-Risāla,* p. 103 sqq.; *Kashf al-Mahjūb,* p. 196) is the seat of the blameworthy characteristics. All together make the man.

In addition to the philosophical position of the immateriality of *al-rūḥ* that al-Ghazālī had made orthodox, another interpretation of spirit developed which is essentially theosophical. Ibn 'Arabī (H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-'Arabī,* Leyden 1919, p. 15, 11, (7) *sqq.*) divides "things" into three classes: Allāh, Who is Absolute Existence and Creator, the world, and an undefinable *tertium quid* of contingent existence that is joined to the Eternal Reality and is the source of the substance and the specific nature of the world. It is the universal and common reality of all realities. Man likewise is an intermediate creation, a *barzakh* (p. 22, 42) between Allāh and the world, bringing together the Divine Reality and the created world (p. 21, 42) and a vicegerent connecting the eternal names and the originated forms (p. 96). His animal spirit (*rūḥ*) is from the blowing of the divine breath (p. 95) and his reasoning soul (*nafs nāṭika*) is from the universal soul (*al-nafs al-kullīya),* while his body is from the earthly elements (p. 95 *sq.*). Man's position as vicegerent (p. 45 *sq.*) and his resemblance to the divine presence (p. 21) come from this universal soul, who has various other names, holy spirit (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*), the first intelligence (p. 51), vicegerent (*khalīfa*), the perfect man (p. 45) and the *rūḥ* of the world of command (*'ālam al-amr*), which al-Ghazālī held to be Allah's direct creation (p. 122, 1). In his *Fuṣūṣ* (lithography ed. with commentary by al-Ḳāshānī, Cairo 1309, p. 12 *sqq.*) he says that Allāh appears to Himself in a form which thus becomes the place of manifestation of the Divine essence. This place receives a *rūḥ,* who is Adam, the *khalīfa* and the perfect man. He discusses (Nyberg, *op. cit.,* p. 129 *sqq.*) the essence and properties of the *rūḥ,* quoting among others the view he says is "attributed" to al-Ghazālī which is in *al-Tahāfut* (as above). He finds the differences of doctrine harmless since all agree that the *rūḥ* is originated. In his tractate on the *nafs* and *rūḥ* (M. Asin Palacios, *Tratado Acerca del Conogimiento del Alma y del Espiritu,* in *Actes*

du XIVème Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris 1906, iii. 167-191) he describes how men may reach the distinction of "the perfect man" through the cultivation of the qualities of the *rūḥ* and the suppression of the *nafs*.

Ibn 'Arabī's contemporary, the poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism,* Cambridge 1921, chap. iii), at times identifies his own *rūḥ* with that from which all good emanates (*al-Tā'īya al-kubrā,* on margin of *Dīwān* Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Cairo 1319, ii. 4 *sq.*) and with the "pole" (*ḳuṭb*) upon which the heavens revolve (p. 113, 115). Al-Ḳāshānī, the commentator of *al-Tā'īya,* explains that this identity is with the greatest spirit (*rūḥ al-arwāḥ*) and the greatest "pole." The compiler of the commentaries on the *Dīwān* states (ii. 196) that incarnation (*ḥulūl*) and union (*ittiḥād*) with Allāh are impossible, but there is real "passing away" (*fanā'*) and attainment (*waṣl*) of the *rūḥ* and *nafs* in the *nafs* of Allāh, for His *nafs* is their *nafs*.

'Abd al-Karīm al-Djīlānī carries this position of existential monism on to straight animistic pantheism. In *al-Insān al-kāmil* (Cairo 1334) the terms *rūḥ al-ḳudus, rūḥ al-arwāḥ* and *rūḥ Allāh* stand for a special one of the aspects of the Divine Reality (*al-Ḥaḳḳ*), not to be embraced under the command "be" nor created. This spirit is the divine aspect in which stand the created spirits of all existences, sensible and intelligible (p. 94). Existence itself subsists in the *nafs* of Allāh, and His *nafs* is His Essence (*dhāt*). Moreover, every sensible thing has a created spirit (*rūḥ*) (p. 94). One of the aspects of the angel of Sūra xlii. 52, who is named the command (*amr*) of Allāh, and who is an aspect of Allāh as above, is given to the *rūḥ* of Muḥammad, which is identified as the *rūḥ* mentioned in the verse. That angelic and divine *rūḥ* thereby becomes the "perfect man" (p. 96, 131 *sqq.*). The *rūḥ* which is the specific nature of the human *nafs* has five names: animal, commanding to evil, instinctive (*al-mulhama*), reproving and tranquil. When the divine qualities actually describe the *nafs,* then the names, qualities and essences of the gnostic (*'ārif*) are those of the One Known (*Ma'rūf*) (p. 130 *sq.*).

XI. In geomancy (*'ilm al-raml*) the first "house" (*bait*) of the *ummahāt* (cf. *MADAGASCAR,* in the *Ency. of Islam,* iii. 73b) is called *nafs* because it guides to problems

concerning the soul and spirit of the inquirer, and to the beginning of affairs (Muḥammad al-Zanātī, *Kitāb al-Faṣl fī 'Ilm al-Raml,* Cairo n.d., p. 7; cf. Henr. Corn. Agrippae, *Opera,* Lyons n.d., but early xviith cent., p. 412: *Nam primus domus personam tenet* quaerentis).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article see especially D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam,* in *Acta Orientalia,* Oslo 1931, ix. 307-351 (reprinted in *M. W.,* xxii. 1932, 25-42, 153-168) upon which much of the present article is based; this revision has benefited by suggestions from Professor William Thomson; Muslim philosophical psychology goes back to Aristotle's *De Anima* (best ed. by R. D. Hicks, Cambridge 1907); for the early metempsychosis beliefs see I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites* etc., in *J. AM. O. S.,* xxviii. 1-80; xxix. 1-183; for the relation between Aristotle and Ibn Sīnā' see S. Landauer, *Die Psychologie des Ibn Sīnā,* in *Z.D.M.G.,* xxix. 1875, 335-418; English translation by A. E. van Dyck, *Avicenna's Offering to the Prince,* Verona 1906; Ibn Sīnā, *Qasidah on the Soul, Ency. of Islam,* ii. 420b; M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme im Islam,* Bonn 1912; *Die Philosophie des Islam,* Breslau 1923; T. J. De Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam,* London 1903.

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THE KINGDOM OF NUPE IN NIGERIA[1]

The Emirates of Nigeria present a fascinating and fruitful field of study for an exponent of the new anthropology because of the imposition of Islamic culture upon a preexisting African culture and the subsequent superimposition of British rule which supports the Islamic system while promoting numerous changes. The International Institute of African Cultures and Languages assigned to Dr. S. F. Nadel, one of its most able Fellows, the task of investigating this situation as exemplified in the Nupe kingdom. His invaluable report is the result of intensive study carried on for two years, first through the medium of Hausa and then (after six months) in the Nupe language. He does not claim it to be a comprehensive monograph, but a "rump" dealing mainly with political and economic organization; religion and law receive a less complete analysis.

Nupe is a State in the sense of being a territorial sovereignty maintained over groups of different cultural and ethnic extraction. Its social and economic complexity is comparable only with the civilization of Imperial Rome, of Byzantium, of medieval Europe.

The country (*kin Nupe*) lies in the heart of Nigeria—in the low basin, no more than from two hundred to eight hundred feet above sea-level, lying between the Niger and Kaduna rivers. It is an ill-favored land, hot, humid, unhealthy; the forests are infested with tsetse, the watercourses polluted with bilharzia; seventy per cent. of the people are infected with sleeping-sickness. Venereal disease, yaws and malaria complete an unhappy picture. The Nupe (*Nupecizi*) number about 350,000 and there are indications that the population is stationary or actually decreasing because, in part, of emigration to the more wealthy southern districts of Nigeria. Birth and fertility rates are the lowest in Nigeria; sterility of the women is a social fact of much importance.

[1] A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria. By S. F. Nadel. With a foreword by Lord Lugard. Oxford University Press, 1942. pp. xii, 420. Maps and photographs.

The founding of the kingdom is traditionally attributed to Tsoede in the fifteenth century. His mother was a Nupe, his father a son of the king of the Gara at Eda to whom the Nupe were tributary. The tribute was paid partly in slaves, and Tsoede was sent in this guise to Eda; but his father, who had now become king, recognized him by a ring which he was wearing, made so much of him as to arouse the jealousy of his other sons, and finally sent him back to Nupeland to be its independent king. Tsoede died after a reign of sixty years. The fifteenth king after him, who lived about 1770, was the first to embrace Islam. By this time the kingdom had spread extensively to the north, tapping rich reservoirs of slaves among primitive pagan groups. The Fulani made their first appearance about 1810 in the person of Mallam Dendo who came from Kebbi as an itinerant preacher, diviner and seller of charms. He collected around him a thousand or two of Fulani mercenary soldiers, merchants and missionaries. Military conquests followed this peaceful penetration. When troubles arose over the succession, Mallam Dendo espoused the cause of one claimant to the throne, called in an army and finally installed himself as king. A Fulani dynasty was set up. The story of the next years is one of constant intrigues, wars and rebellions, for descendants of the old Nupe kings tried to recover the throne and the Fulani conquerors fought among themselves. Meanwhile the kingdom went on expanding southward where densely populated areas offered opportunities for enslaving pagans. The motive for political expansion was not religious—the spread of Islam—but economic: it opened a way down the Niger along which slaves could be sent to the coast and exported to America. Bida became a capital worthy of the most powerful kingdom in central Nigeria. In the reign of Abubakari (1895-7) the British appeared. The Niger Company intervened in one of the revolts, captured Bida and placed its ally, Mohamadu, on the throne. In subsequent years the kingdom was split up, until only the Bida division was left, bordered on all sides by countries populated by Nupe but ruled independently. On the demise of the Niger Company the imperial government took over the country and Colonel (now Lord) Lugard established the system of Indirect Rule.

The Fulani conquerors, being an insignificant minority, were absorbed by the Nupe; they lost their language; racially, after generations of intermarriage, they are indistinguishable from their subjects; culturally they are as much Nupe as the Nupe themselves. Yet they remain a separate social group and have a distinguishing name; they are *goizi*; a small elite of conquerors and rulers. Racial antagonism has not died out.

Social and other changes of considerable magnitude have taken place under British suzerainty. There are no more local wars, raids and conquests; slavery and feudal fiefs have been abolished. Signs of progress appear, such as an Agricultural Department which plans to transform the whole of northern Nigeria into arable country cultivated on western lines, on the basis of individual land-holdings. An Education Department opens modern schools; a Medical Department fights sleeping-sickness. There is economic disturbance; local industries disappear under the competition of foreign manufactured goods; trade-guilds fade away. But the tenacious social structure survives all these changes; the political organization remains almost unchanged. The Nupe kingdom still exists. Ranks and titles, state offices linked with ranks and titles, persist in this typical class society which is saved from rigid caste by a not inconsiderable degree of social mobility. Dr. Nadel describes for us the splendor of the court, the royal nobility, the differentiation of status and prerogative, the system of etiquette and precedence. He tells us too of the different life in the villages, where also there are ranks and titles; and of the system of patronage and clientage, with its resulting protection of peasants and its factions and rivalries.

What holds together this heterogeneous and complex society? What are the binding forces at work? And how strong are they? Will they prove adequate to the new conditions? This was one of the subjects Dr. Nadel was asked particularly to investigate. We may sum up his argument by saying that he finds the forces of cohesion to lie principally in the kingship and in religion.

We know little about the basis on which the authority of the old pagan kings rested; it appears to have been largely of a magical character; they were sacred persons. Foreign

rulers could not inherit this sanctity: they ruled, at first certainly, by virtue of military power. It is true that they adopted some of the old rituals and taboos. The king may still dress only in white, may eat only the food that his wives prepare; no stranger may watch him eat; no one can be killed in his presence or in the town where he is residing. The Fulani kings recognized too a powerful secret society that had long existed for the purpose of combatting witchcraft; it became a King's Cult; villages which sought the aid of the society against witches had first to apply to the king. His income was appreciably increased, for he took his share of the fees; and his power was enhanced by getting jurisdiction over the supernatural enemies of society. (The Cult became such a means of ruthless exploitation that the British authorities stepped in and suppressed it.) However much the Fulani kings might adopt old formulas and old insignia, they were still foreigners in the eyes of the mass of the people. But the Islam which they represented came in as a new and potent binding force; deliberate efforts were made to propagate and maintain it throughout the kingdom. The mosques and *mallams* placed in the villages became instruments of propaganda. On this point we may quote Dr. Nadel's own words:

". . . . in every religious service, in every babbling little Mallam school this propaganda is enacted. Teaching Islam means teaching the holy cause which sent the conquerors down to the country. Praying to Allah means praying to the God of the powerful and sharing with them, if not their power, their beliefs. But Mohammedanism even becomes a real means of social approach between rulers and ruled. In a country still to a large extent pagan the adoption of Mohammedanism creates something like an intermediary social stratum, placed nearer to the rulers than the rest of the population. Formerly it involved—at least in theory—certain concrete benefits; an increased measure of security, above all, immunity from slave-raids (as the Koran forbids the enslaving of Mohammedans). This rule, however, was never strictly obeyed—unless the religious qualification was supported by the more solid bond of political protection embodied in clientship. Attachment to the ruling group thus fused with conversion to its religion. In the early days of Fulani rule hundreds of pagans are said to have flocked into the capital to seek out an important person as their

patron and to declare to him—and not to the religious officers of Islam—their readiness to embrace Mohammedanism. They received their turban and sword, insignia of clientship and new creed in one. Of such men the Nupe say not 'they become Mohammedans' but *'a ze goizi'*—'they become Fulani.' Whatever the true essence of Mohammedan faith may be in Nupe, and however sparsely Mohammedanism has so far spread, Fulani rulership did create, and is creating, another 'mythical charter of the kingdom.' It tries again, with its new means, to mould the religious elements into the intensive unit almost of a State Church. The effect of Islam as a 'binding force' of the precarious system that the Fulani had erected cannot be doubted" (pp. 142, 143).

The identification of State and Church is demonstrated in the annual Muhammadan festival, the *Sallah,* which is as much a pageant of the might and splendor of the kingdom as a religious feast. The elements of worship and of secular display, inextricably fused, and supported by the stimulus of mass experience, mobilize periodically sentiments of loyalty and the consciousness of unity.

In the last resort, the binding forces of the state can be reduced to the fact of cultural assimilation. A deliberately designed process is being carried on, as seen in the encouragement given to Mallams who proselytize among the pagans and in the reward of increased security held out to converts, to unify the nation. This implies—as, indeed, Dr. Nadel states—that the unification is far from complete. The Nupe kingdom has yet many an acute problem to solve; and in the meantime is subjected to strains and stresses. Dr. Nadel sees it in the ambiguous attitude of many individuals of the lower classes, vacillating between bitter resentment against the ruling class and readiness to identify themselves with its glory. While Islam is on one hand a binding force, on the other hand it drives the wedge of another class distinction into the structure of village society. Village chiefs who embrace Islam can no longer organize, and rarely show interest in, the traditional religious ceremonies of the pagan villagers which weld the community into a single congregation. Muslims and pagans differ in mode of life, in food-habits, in (often imaginary) educational qualification and in the degree of the affinity they can claim to the highest social stratum. The peculiar system of succession by which three

dynasties, representing three sons of Mallam Dendo, come to the throne in strict rotation provides a precarious balance of power; but at the same time divides the people of Bida into rival factions. Some lack of integration is also seen in the courts. The legal administration is entrusted to Alkalai, judges trained in Muhammadan law, with a provision that there is an appeal to British courts and that certain cases are reserved for the British High Court. There was a time, it seems, when recognition was given by Fulani rulers to Nupe traditional codes and customs especially in matters relating to inheritance and marriage. But the jurisdiction of the state has been gradually overriding the customary law. In the operation of the principle that a stronger law drives out the weaker, Muhammadan law becomes predominant and in the process maladjustment, stress and strain are inevitable. Too often Alkalai are ignorant of, or ignore, the traditional unwritten code. They make pagans swear on the Koran instead of on their own religious emblems, and in consequence the pagans feel themselves free from an obligation to tell the truth. Dr. Nadel gives an example of what no doubt often happens. A Nupe father forbade his daughter to marry a Hausa and the Hausa took the case to court. The Alkali instructed the father to give his blessing to the marriage on the grounds that the Koran decrees that no father shall stand between two young people who love each other. The father swore on the Koran to obey—but did not. Three times the case was brought into court, always with the same result. On the last occasion Dr. Nadel was present and by a question elicited from the father that he was following customary rule by disallowing a marriage with a man outside the tribe. The girl now said she would give up the Hausa; what the Alkali decided is not stated. Here we see the kind of conflict that is provoked by an effort to standardize the law throughout the kingdom. It is part of the central problem offered by the fact of cultural and social diversity versus political unification.

Modern Nupe, with its roads and railways, its trading centres with their large colonies of strangers, the deepening gulf between the "civilization" of the capital and the backwardness of the rural areas, has not eliminated the old conflict but only re-defined it. Dr. Nadel sees that the final

solution cannot be found in the realm of political organization but in the attainment of what he calls "cultural commonness;" and one of the main instruments of achieving that end is a planned education—general modern education spreading among all classes, town people and villagers, and a reformulation of the higher education now given at the capital. We should have welcomed an analysis by Dr. Nadel of the instruction now given in the Bida Middle School, the highest now available in the Emirate, as well as an examination of the elementary school system. He acknowledges the help of Messrs T. E. Alvarez at Bida and of Mr. Ira W. Shirk in Mokwa and so presumably knows the work of the missionaries; but the only reference he makes to it is the remark that in the Nupe village "Christian influence is inconsiderable." The only schools he describes in detail are those conducted by the Mallams, in which two grades of learning are imparted, the lower consisting mostly in the memorizing of prayers and chapters of the Koran, and the higher consisting in the study of Arabic, the careful reading of the Koran and commentaries with, for advanced students, the study of historical records of the Nigerian Emirates. This "education" is spreading in the villages; how far it tends toward a solution of Nupe's social problems is not indicated by Dr. Nadel.

In one respect at least Islam fails to meet the need in Nupe. Bida women are great traders and with improved communications and the *pax britannica* are able to carry on their operations over a wider field than formerly. Sterility is an economic asset since it allows women to be absent from home for long periods, and these traders are known to live licentious lives. The barren woman is exempted from the standards of common morality—there is indeed a "double morality" in Nupe society. Sexual licence has grown far beyond its traditionally sanctioned limits. " . . . . in a country with spreading sterility and even birth restriction, a religion which withholds its sanctions of matrimonial morality in the case of childless women can prove but a weak bulwark against the tide of sexual licence. Mohammedanism in Nupe, committed as it is to that 'double morality,' undermines rather than supplies forces of moral restraint" (p. 154).

It appears from what Dr. Nadel says that the channels through which public opinion used to find its way to the rulers have been blocked under the modern system. He suggests one remedy: let the people themselves elect periodically, at least in Bida town, their representatives to the Town Council. He sees in this step another move towards that training in political responsibility to the achievement of which British colonial policy is irrevocably pledged.

We have but touched the fringe of Dr. Nadel's survey. His excellent chapters on economics, land tenure, systems of agriculture, industries, standard of living—all this and much more we are compelled to pass over. All through he shows that mastery of technique, that originality of mind, that sympathy with and understanding of the African for which Lord Lugard commends him.

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The Government of India Honors Missionary Doctors in Arabia

The Kaisar-i-Hind decoration is conferred by the Indian Government for outstanding service. Rarely does the Viceroy go outside of India in his selections but last year Dr. Storm was chosen and in the last New Years honors list Dr. Mylrea was included. The presentation is made at a *durbar* when the highest representative of Government officiates, in this case the Political Resident at Bushire.

Dr. Storm's investiture took place at Bahrain on December fifteenth in the presence of a brilliant company. At the time appointed the Political Agent of Bahrain announced: "Ladies and gentlemen, the honorable, the Political Resident will now present Dr. Storm with the Kaisar-i-Hind. Dr. Storm stepped forward, the Political Agent handed the pillow with the medal lying upon it to Col. Pryor, the Political Resident who said: "By order of the Viceroy I take pleasure in investing Dr. William Harold Storm with the silver Kaisar-i-Hind." He pinned the medal on the lapel of Dr. Storm's coat while the assembly expressed their pleasure by a great clapping of hands.

Dr. C. S. G. Mylrea was invested with the gold Kaisar-i-Hind at a formal durbar held by the Political Resident for the purpose at Kuwait on February eighteenth of this year. Dr. Mylrea had been making an extended tour of all the Mission stations and was at Kuwait for this occasion. Here the durbar assembly included all the British and American residents, political, military and civilian and also the Shaikh of Kuwait with twenty members of his family. In his address in Arabic the Political Resident referred sympathetically to the life and work of Mrs. Mylrea.

AL-'ALAM'S VERSION OF ZECHARIAH

The Paris and London Polyglot Bibles (published in 1645 and 1654-57 respectively) contain an Arabic version of the Major and Minor Prophets which is a good translation, probably dating from the tenth century, of a Greek uncial manuscript of the type of codices Alexandrinus and Marchalianus. This version is found in a number of manuscripts, of which one in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, Arabe No. 1) is the most important. The London Polyglot text is a good copy of the Paris edition, but the editor of the former did not have access to the manuscript.

An interesting colophon not contained in the Polyglot editions is found in the manuscript at the end of Malachi. It states that the scribe was named 'Abd-Rabbih, and from his genealogy which is given it is apparent that he was a Moslem descended from the *Anṣār* (Supporters) of Muḥammad. He says concerning the translation, "This is what has been translated by the father, the master, the learned, the most learned, the priest al-'Alam the Alexandrian, from an old parchment copy in the script of the Greek *līṭun*. The translator is otherwise unknown except that he is mentioned in the British Museum manuscript Oriental 1326.

The word *līṭun* (from Greek *litós* in the accusative) is a term of Greek paleography, as was proved by Alb. Vaccari[1] who added to the arguments of W. Nissen.[2] *Litós* in Greek means plain, simple, unadorned and was a suitable word to describe uncial writing which was without accents, breathings and word divisions. That the Greek manuscript from which the Arabic was translated was an uncial can be shown by the fact that all the known Greek manuscripts have in Zech. 11:7 the word *emautō* in the expression, "I will take unto myself two staves." The Arabic has *'alayhim,* reading, "I will take against them two staves." The Arabic evidently comes from reading *emautō* as *ep'autō* (understanding *autō* as a collective singular). This is a mistake easy to make in reading an uncial manuscript, but not in a minuscule.

[1] "Le versioni Arabe dei Profeti," *Biblica* II (1921) 412.
[2] *Die Diataxis des Mich. Attaleiates vom Jahre 1077,* Jena, 1893.

The translator used the Greek text with great care and in only a few places do traces of influence of the Syriac language and the Peshitta translation appear, but these are sufficient to prove that besides Arabic and Greek he knew Syriac and was familiar with the Peshitta. For example he regularly uses for *north* the word *jirbiyā'*, a word derived from the Syriac *garbyā*. Although *jirbiyā'*, while rare, is known to the Arabic lexicographers as *north-wind*, it is apparently practically unique to the translator al-'Alam in the sense of *north* as a point of the compass.

The influence of the Peshitta is inescapable in a few passages of which 7:2 is the most striking. In this verse the personal name *Rabmāgh* occurs. This is not from the Septuagint, which has in its various manuscripts *Arbeseser* or some variation thereof, nor from the Hebrew of the Masoretic text which has *Regem-melekh*, but is from the Peshitta *Rabmāg*. That corruption of this name had occurred in Hebrew manuscripts before the present Masoretic text was produced is apparent. Perhaps the Greek is a corruption of Hebrew *Rab-sārîs* (chief eunuch), while the Peshitta reproduces the Hebrew *Rab-māg* (chief soothsayer).

The value of the Arabic text is enhanced by the fact that it supports the tradition of the Septuagint, which among the Greek uncials is preserved by codices Alexandrinus and Marchalianus. Recent research has shown that this type of text goes back long before the time of Origen and is of the utmost importance in attempting to determine what was the original Septuagint.[3] Furthermore, the type of text contained in these manuscripts in the Major and Minor Prophets is a tradition frequently supported by the New Testament in quoting from the Old. It can therefore be regarded with confidence as a type of Septuagint commonly in use in Palestine at the beginning of the Christian era.

While this group is important, the fact that Alexandrinus (=A) is not a good representative of the group in Daniel was noted by Dr. James A. Montgomery.[4] The Arabic version, however, while it has certain errors, some

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[3] Gehman, Henry S., "The Relations between the Text of the John H. Scheide Papyri and that of the other Greek MSS. of Ezekiel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVII (1938) 92-102.
Orlinsky, Harry M. "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXI (1941) 81-91.

[4] "The Hexaplaric Strata in the Greek Text of Daniel," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLIV (1925) 289.

demonstrably due to Arabic scribes rather than to the translator, is a better representative of the group and seems to represent a very ancient form of the Septuagint. For example, in 14:10 Arabic *Ghābāl* agreeing with Marchalianus *Gabel* can only be explained as an error of the original Greek translator or as a case of dittography in the Hebrew manuscript from which he worked. The Masoretic text reads *migGeba' l^eRimmôn*. The Greek translator appears to have taken the *lamedh* as the last letter of *Geba'* and to have repeated it in its proper place as the preposition *to*. We should not expect a reviser of the Greek to add errors and obscure the sense, and for that reason it appears that the reading of the Arabic version and of Marchalianus is that of the original Septuagint, but was removed in a subsequent revision and thus does not appear in the majority of the Greek manuscripts. As the authority of Vaticanus as the best source for the original Septuagint has had to yield to such new evidence as that of the John H. Scheide Papyri, so the authority of the readings of A in the Prophets must be subjected to the most stringent criticism in the light of the superiority of the Arabic version.

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New Mosque for Cardiff

The Saudi Arabian Minister, H. E. Sheik Hafiz Wahba, opened a new mosque for the Muslim community of Cardiff in July. The mosque has been built out of subscriptions from the Muslim community, and with the help of the Colonial Office and the British Council, to replace the structure destroyed in the air raids of 1940. Attached to the mosque will be a cultural centre which can be used as a school for Muslim children and for visiting seamen. This was opened by Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, Adviser to the Secretary of State for India.

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD IN ISLAM

A TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTS

The gist of the traditional Muhammadan attitude towards truth and falsehood is given in plain words by a popular encyclopaedist, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Qazwīnī (A.H. 551/1185 A.D.), in his *Kitāb mufīd al-'ulūm wa mubīd al-humūm* (Book to dispense knowledge and dispel care). Some manuscripts and printed editions, such as that of Cairo 1331/1913, attribute the work to Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī (v. Sarton, "Introduction to the History of Science," II, 182; and Brockelmann, "Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur," Supplement I, 914). The fifth chapter of the section entitled *Kitāb fawā'id al-dīn* (Book of the benefits of religion) is called *al-tarkhīs bi'l-kidhb* (Permissible Falsehood). This chapter is presented in the following translation:

"Know that falsehood is forbidden (*ḥarām*), but if need (*al-ḥājat*) for it occurs, and the purpose (*qaṣd*) of it is proper (*maṣlaḥat*), then it is not forbidden. For when a person purposes by it that which is good (*al-khair*) and suitable (*al-ṣalāḥ*), then it will not blacken his heart, not even with one spot. It is the concensus of opinion of the community (*ijmā'*) of the people of Muḥammad that if a Mussalman is in flight from a man of violence who seeks to shed his blood, and a question is asked as to the whereabouts (*makānihi*) of the fugitive, in that case it is not permissible to speak the truth but it is a matter of obligation to speak falsely. For the Giver of the Law has made provision for the use of falsehood in three situations: in the case of anyone who would make peace between two persons; in case of war, for war itself is deceit (*khud'at*)[1]; and in the case of any man who has two wives.

"Also, if anyone has committed an act that is base (*qabīḥ*), it is not permitted for him to be truthful and say, 'I did such and such a thing.' If inquiry is made he is to cover and conceal it, for God covers it with a curtain, for

[1] Cf. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 459.

assuredly the Law is the cover of deeds that are base. When a woman rebels against her husband, it is permissible that he should entice her with false promises, (*mawā'īd kādhibah*), although he is not able to fulfil them.

"The secret of this matter is that falsehood is base and forbidden, but when, from truth-telling, harm and evil would be produced, then it should be abandoned. This is (determined) by means of the balance of reason and the scales of the Divine Law; whichever side preponderates should be taken,—if truth-telling, then the truth, if lying, then the lie. Examples of this are: contention between two (friends); estrangement between a married couple; the loss of wealth; giving publicity to evil, and disgrace on account of transgression. In such cases there is no difference of opinion that lying is permissible. Likewise, whenever ministers and princes are envoys between kings and their subjects, and are informed about the shedding of blood, the pillaging of properties, and the carrying off of women-folk among peoples, or are acquainted with something pertaining to religion or belief, in any such circumstances lying for them is permissible and that which is best takes place."

An earlier, more typical, and perhaps more authoritative statement is given in the "Chapter on Falsehood" (*báb al-kidhb*) by the eminent Shi'ite theologian and traditionist al-Kulainī (d. 939 A.D.) in his "Sufficiency in the Science of Religion" (*al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn*). He begins his treatment of the subject of falsehood with two examples from the Qur'ān, one referring to Abraham and the other to Joseph:

"When Abraham denied having destroyed the idols, according to the account in the Qur'ān (21:51-70), saying, 'their chief hath done it,' the correct interpretation is that this denial is not to be considered a lie, but rather that *this is a desire for what is best* (*hādhā irādat al-iṣlāḥ*). The same interpretation is given with reference to the deception Joseph practiced (12:70-75), when he had his silver goblet placed in the load on his brother Benjamin's camel and then pretended that it had been stolen:

"The teaching is that every lie must be accounted for on the Day of Judgment except a lie in one or other of three given circumstances:

1. When a man practices deception in warfare, which is one occasion for it;
2. When a man seeks to bring about reconciliation (*iṣláḥ*) between two conflicting parties, recounting to the one something quite contrary to what he actually heard from the other, because of his desire to bring about a reconciliation between them;
3. When a man promises his wife or family something which he will not be able to fulfil for them. The peace-maker is not to be considered a liar."

Kulainī then cites two traditions from the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: (1) It is related that the Imām said, "Speech (*al-kalām*) is of three kinds,—truth, falsehood, and what brings about reconciliation between people." Someone said to him, "Let me be your sacrifice, but what is meant by 'what brings about reconciliation between people'?" Then the Imām went on to explain, "If, for example, you hear one man say something disrespectful about another, but when you meet this other man you say, 'I heard such and such a person speak very highly of so and so,' quite the opposite in fact from what you actually heard." (2) It is related that the Imām said, "Surely Allah loves two things and hates two things: He loves the danger there is between troops drawn up in battle array, and he loves the lie that brings about reconciliation; while on the other hand, He hates the danger that occurs on the march (from ambush), and He hates the lie which is not for reconciliation."

But notwithstanding these sanctions, al-Kulainī added the observation that the Imām Muḥammad Baghīr had declared, "Lying ruins faith"; and that the Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq is reported to have said, "Lying breaks the fast," and to have considered that a lie against Allah or His Apostle should be reckoned a major sin.

On the religious side one observes that when a man is forced to deny his faith the Qur'ān exonerates him in a special declaration: "Whoso, after he hath believed in Allah, denieth him, if he were forced to it, and if his heart remain steadfast in the truth, shall be guiltless" (16:108). It is easy to see how commentators could have different opinions as to what would constitute *being forced* to deny faith in Allah. Ṭabarī considered that it was an expedient which could be employed when absolutely necessary in order to escape from enemies (*Tafsīr,* Bulaq, ed., 24:122). The occa-

sion given for the revelation was the time when the Prophet desired to set at rest the conscience of 'Ammār ibn Yāsir, who had been compelled to worship idols and to deny his adherence to Muḥammad (Cf. Wensinck, "Handbook of Early Muhammadan Traditions," p. 21).

The orthodox or Sunnī authorities also record traditions from Muḥammad to show that he believed that there were circumstances in which falsehood is justified. On the one hand he included false witness (*shahādatu'z-zūr*) among the four greatest sins (Bukhārī, 52:10 and Tirmīdhī, 33:3) but a false statement was to be allowed in three circumstances: "(1) when a man relates something to his wife in order to please her, (2) falsehood in warfare, and (3) falsehood to effect reconciliation among people" (Tirmīdhī, 25:26 and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, 6:403, 404). Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal adds the variant, "that which is related by a man to his wife or by a wife to her husband" (6:454).

Dissatisfaction with the flexibility of this regulation is indicated in other traditions, which show that though truth-telling may not be an absolute obligation, yet there is high authority for commending it and for generally condemning falsehood. The first Caliph, Abū Bakr, is said to have declared, "Let there be truth among you for it leads to freedom" (Tayālisi 3:5), and on the authority of Abū Sa'īd, the Prophet is said to have urged at one time, "Let not the fear or awe of people prevent any of you from speaking or doing the truth" (Tayālisi, p. 286, No. 2151).

Baiḍāwī, in his comment on 2:9, defines falsehood (*al-kidhb*) as "the report about anything that is contrary to the fact" and this he declares "is forbidden" (*ḥarām*). The *Kashshāf istilāḥāt al-funūn,* or "The Dictionary of Technical Terms," Calcutta 1862, p. 1243, defines falsehood (*al-kidhb*) as "the opposite of the truth (*al-ṣidq*)" and goes on to say, that "according to a large school of theologians (*mutakallimūn*) falsehood is essentially base and truth is essentially good (*ḥasan*); but many of the philosophers, and the Ṣūfīs, maintain that the lie is base if its consequence is some particular harm, and that the truth is good if its consequence is some particular advantage,—for there cannot be anything in words or deeds that can be utterly bad or essentially good. This is the position of al-Khafājī in his comment on the

word of Allah, 'and for them is grievous woe because they were wont to lie' (2:9)."

Similarly truth (*al-ṣidq*) is defined in the *Kashshāf* (p. 487) as "the opposite of falsehood," and "it is applied both to the truthfulness of the speaker and to the truth of the declaration (he makes). It is not used of non-declarative sentences, such as modifying clauses or modal sentences, (Cf. D.T.T., pp. 410 ff., 534 ff., 1269 ff., and 1360), (i.e., imperative, interrogative, vocative, and optative sentences). So the truthfulness of the speaker is the correspondence of his declaration with what is actual, while untruthfulness is the absence of this correspondence. The truth of a declaration is the correspondence with what actually exists, while falseness is the absence of this correspondence.

"The popular view is that the description of the declaration as corresponding to what is actual is a description of it by the quality of its connecting agent, for that which corresponds to the actual, i.e., the external relation, which is that which exists between the two terms, without regard to the connection of the two terms to the mental judgment, is that which does the connecting with the declaration, and so the correspondence of that mental judgment with what is actual, in that both are affirmative or both negative, is truth, while the absence of that correspondence is falsehood."

In the "Sayings of Muḥammad," *Sukhanān-i-Muḥammad,* a book of popular aphorisms ascribed to the Prophet, one of the concessions to falsehood that has already been mentioned appears: "A man is not to be considered a liar who effects reconciliation between two people, when he relates something good, or suggests something good" (No. 301). On the other hand, in this same book for the instruction of children in Iran, we find other aphorisms that declare: "Falsehood is treachery"; "The liar is without manliness"; and "Avoid association with a liar, for he is like a mirage (*sarāb*), in that he makes what is distant seem near to you and what is near he represents as far away."

Particularly in the period from 800 A.D.-1200 A.D. the Greek philosophers were studied with interest by Muslim students of ethics, and their opinions in regard to truth and falsehood were carefully noted. In his *Republic* (331 B), Plato had stated, "The great blessing of riches to a good man

is that he has had no occasion to deceive others and can depart from this world with peace of mind." Sophocles had said, "Honourable it nowise is to speak lies; though when the truth brings a man dire destruction, it is pardonable to say even that which is not honourable" (frag. 323). While Plato permitted his "guardians" in his ideal state "to use deception now and again medicinally and officially for the benefit of the State," he bids them punish it rigorously in private individuals, for with them lying is "a practice pernicious and subversive to the commonwealth" (Cf. *Republic,* ii, 382 A and 389 B-D). But in his latest work, (*Laws,* 730 B-F), he extols truth as "foremost of all good things" for the truthful man is "trustworthy," whereas he who loves wilful falsehood is untrustworthy, and he who loves involuntary falsehood is foolish. It was observed that Aristotle also considered lying to be essentially mean and blameworthy (*Nic. Ethics,* iv., 7, 6), and that the truth-lover stands in notable contrast with him who rejoices in falsehood, a type of character distinct from him who lies for the sake of gain or glory (*ib.* art. 12).

Accordingly, the Muslim writers on Ethics are inclined to treat falsehood as unnatural and inexcusable. "In the cure of falsehood," they say, "let a man reflect that by speech we are meant to apprise others of what passes in our own minds; falsehood contraverts this end: so that to make this use of speech is to place a thing out of its natural position." In the counsels for the management of a child we find the admonitions, "Let him be restrained from speaking untruth," and "from all back-biting, carping, slander, and *falsehood,* whether heard or spoken, let him hold it essential to keep clear."

As the "ideal good" is defined by Seneca as "a mind set on truth," so to gaze with the eyes of intellect upon the beauty of truth is the soul's ultimate achievement, as it "merges its own mothlike existence in the absorbing lustre of divine perfection, and gains the stage of unity, which is the highest of all stages," (Cf. *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī,* Thompson's trans., "Practical Philosophy of the Muhammadan People," London 1839, pp. 243, 281, 291 and 336 ff.).

In his "Pearls of Faith," Boston 1883, pp. 22 ff., Edwin Arnold has related the story of the verity of Sayid-bin-Tayf,

who, condemned to die, sought permission to go for a few days to see his first-born child, promising to return for his execution. To the King he said, "Lend me my life, to hold as something borrowed from thy hand, which I will bring back again." "Let me stand his bond," spake one upon whom the lot of mercy fell—Isháq of Tayf, a gallant youth and fair.

The days passed, Sayid came not, and they led
The hostage forth, for Isháq must now die;
But still he smiled, saying, "Till sunset's hour
Slay me not, for at sunset he will come."

So fell it, for the sun had touched the palms,
And the black swordsman stood again in act
To strike, when Sayid's white mare, galloping in,
Drew steaming breath before the royal tent:
And Sayid, leaping from the saddle, kissed
His kinsman's eyes, and gently spake to all,
"*Labbayki!* I am here."

Then said the King,
"Never before was known a deed like this,
That one should stake his life upon a word;
The other ride to death as to a bride.
Live, and be friends of Ibn Sawá, but speak!
Whence learned ye these high lessons?"

"We are believers in the book which saith,
'Fulfil your covenants, if ye covenant;
For God is witness! break no word with men
Which God hath heard; and surely He hears all.'" (xvi: 93)

Especially in this matter of breaking a covenant we are able to agree with Dr. Reuben Levy (*Sociology of Islam,* ii, p. 80) that "the general weight of Islamic thought is against lying," and to note that his quotation from the Pseudo-Jáḥiẓ shows an attitude towards speaking the truth that is most praiseworthy: "Keep to the truth; for a sharp sword in the hands of a brave man is not more powerful than the truth. And the truth is an honour even if it contain that which you dislike; a lie is a humiliation even if it involves something dear to you. Moreover, he that is known to lie is suspect when telling the truth" (*Le Livre des Beautés et des Antitheses,* ed. G. Van Vloten, Leyden, 1898, p. 43).

Modern Iranians like to recall that Herodotus wrote of their pre-Islamic ancestors, "Three things the Persians teach their children—riding, archery and truth," (*Clio,* cxxxvi),

and "the basest of offences they hold to be falsehood," (*Clio*, cxxxviii). Furthermore, in new books on Ethics that are being published in modern Iran there is insistent emphasis on truth and honesty. A splendid example is found in the refutation of "the lie with advantage" that is found in the *Akhlāq-i-Rūhī*, pp. 59-61:

"It is better to speak the truth and remain in bondage than that your lie should set you free" (Sa'di, *Gulistan*, ch. viii).

"A lie, whether for advantage or not, is inconclusive, fraught with detriment to society, ruinous and disgraceful. Accordingly there is the saying, 'Falsehood is inescapable *ār* (shame) and continuous *dhulb* (humiliation).' As there is no kind of advantage and no sort of profit that makes lying necessary, and the welfare (*iṣlāḥ*) and safety (*rastagārī*) of the world of mankind and of human society is dependent on honest work (*rāstkārī*) and speaking the truth (*rāst-guftār*), there is the saying (attributed to 'Ali): 'It is a mark of faith (īmān) to follow the truth whether you receive injury or advantage from falsehood.'[2]

"If one resorts to a lie, though there be temporary advantage, the end of that beginning will prove to be complete confusion and failure. The final result will be not only sinfulness, but there will be a tragic outcome from the supposedly advantageous lie. Soon the liar himself will be completely void of any kind of honour or any sort of credit.

"For God's sake, I beseech you, depend not on a lie, though there be a yoke on your neck. The false morning (subh-i-kāzib) gives light but for a moment." (Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq, quoted in the *Majma' al-Fuṣaḥā'*).

And another poet says (Ḥāfiẓ, p. 72): "Seek for the truth (*ṣidq*) that the Sun may be born from your soul, for by falsehood the first morning is made black in the face."

Many are those who have lied for a momentary advantage, who are overthrown in the end by the gall and bitterness of desire. All their resources they squander in a moment and they wear the liar's mark of shame on their foreheads to the end of their lives. "For everything there is a

[2] Saiyid Rāzi, in the *Nahj al-Balāgha, bāb al-mukhtār*, edit. Teheran, 1355, p. 405.

defect, and the defect (*āfat*) of speech is falsehood (*al-kidhb*)."

"Whether a lie is uttered for welfare or for injury, its fruit is corrupting and destructive. It is only possible for advantage to come from truth. The lie spoils character absolutely, for if one does have an admirable quality (*khiṣlat-i-sutūdah*), the lie will amend the likeable quality and lead the liar into a despicable and most difficult situation.

"Seek the truth in all circumstances,
Both in what you do and in what you say."

"Man must speak the truth even in the direst peril, so that the truth itself may set him free from that very danger. For once a man has lied, though it be for an apparent advantage, after that there is no confidence to be placed in either his speech or his action.

"Always speak the truth, refrain from falsehood,
The lie is base, whatever advantage it may bring.
Granted that rebellion may arise from a true statement,
Do not therefore pay truculent tribute to falsehood;
What is the profit of thousands of purses of gold,
To the wise it is no more than half a bottle of water." (Afsar)

"Abū Dharr Ghafārī was an intimate friend of the Prophet. He had the habit of speaking the truth. According to what they have related, one time he enveloped the Prophet in his cloak and fled with him from those who sought to kill him. The opponents called out to him, 'O Abū Dharr, what have you on your shoulder?' With absolute truth he said in reply, 'It is Muḥammad.' Since they did not consider that Abū Dharr would be truthful even to the point of death, they did not believe what he said. Thus on account of Abū Dharr's utter truthfulness the Prophet was delivered and saved. If he had resorted to the lie for advantage he would not have had this triumph, and this story would not have been related as a tribute to him."

We must come to the conclusion that a lie, even though it be with the purpose of gaining advantage, is in reality liable to cause trouble and that it is the truth that has advantage in every sort of danger. This the following story serves to confirm:

Shah Yaḥyā ibn Shah Muzaffar, the nephew of Shah Shajā', always resorting to deceit, imposed on his uncle by most unworthy conduct. The uncle, who sought to resist his demands and who wanted to punish him somewhat, had been sending an army every year to take up quarter before the gates of Yezd. At length Shah Yaḥyā sent a spy to Shirāz. The spy had a matter of personal business with a man there. First he went to that man's shop to collect from him the claim he had. About this they got into a quarrel and the man of Shirāz said to him: "You have done this as a subterfuge, your claim is a mere pretext, for you have really come as a spy, and now I shall report the matter to the court." When the spy saw that there was no hope of collecting his money, he hastened to have an interview with Shah Shajā' and bowed down among the petitioners. The Shah asked what it was that he desired. He replied, "Shah Yaḥyā sent me to you as a spy, to find out whether it is your intention and pleasure to come with an army into his district this winter. For since we can not depend on what others say, I wanted to hear the answer in the precious words of the monarch himself." The Shah laughed heartily and said, "As a matter of fact I had thought of coming this year, but for your sake I have given up the idea." The spy knelt again and said, "I have a personal claim against a man here in Shirāz and he neglects to pay it." Immediately the royal collector was sent to collect what was owed, and finally, when the spy was withdrawing from the place of interview, suddenly he returned and said, "O King, let it not be that you will do otherwise than what you say, for that would bring reproach upon me in the eyes of the Shah of Yezd." The Shah and his courtiers all began to laugh. They commended him and gave him a robe of honour.[3]

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[3] Cf. *Tarikh-i-Nīgāristān*, Bombay, 1275 A.H., p. 340.

JEWS AND MOSLEMS IN ALGERIA[1]

Back of the tumult which arose when General Giraud repealed the Crémieux Law of 1870 regarding Jewish rights in Algeria, there lies a political tangle which is most complicated and serious. It is difficult for those who have not followed the political implications down through the years to understand all that is involved in that area today.

The indigenous population of Algeria is almost entirely Muslim. Islam is not only a religion, it is also a social and political system. Hence all political problems in Algeria which involve the Muslims are made more difficult to solve because of the intrusion of religious issues.

Of the country's seven million people, about 110,000 are Jews, 950,000 are Europeans, and six million are Arabs and Berbers. Of the European population about 850,000 are French citizens. The others are mostly Spaniards and Italians. Although the Arabs and Berbers are followers of Islam, these two groups differ in many ways from each other. The Arab is a Semite, the Berber a Hamite. The Berbers became Muslims after the Arab invasions of North Africa in the seventh and eleventh centuries. But many of the Berber groups have never accepted Koranic law above their own customary laws.

The Jews came into North Africa in large numbers at various times. Some came centuries ago. Many came from Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both Jewish and Arab historians tell of many Berbers being converted to Judaism. Some of these tribes today are known as Berber Jews and follow the practices of the Jewish faith. They live largely in the cities. The Ghetto of Constantine contains thousands of Jews living in miserable quarters, wearing their native dress, many holding firmly to old Jewish customs. On the other hand some of the Algerian Jews have attended the University of Algiers where they have very often taken the lead in scholastic attainment. Some of

[1] This article is released by the Worldover Press, Wilton, Conn.

them become doctors, lawyers, dentists. Others have leading places in commerce.

Today's burning political issue in Algeria concerning citizenship rights of Algerian Jews and the Muslims (Arabs and Berbers) is not a new question. In fact, it has been the subject of attention by various groups in France and Algeria for more than seventy years. In attempting to understand this problem it must be remembered that the French Colonial policy has been one of assimilation—a policy very different from that followed by Great Britain. Ever since France took Algeria in 1830 she has tried to assimilate the indigenous population. But this on the whole has been an unsuccessful attempt. Pursuing this policy the French passed a decree on October 26, 1870 known as the Crémieux decree because it was promulgated by Adolphe Crémieux, Minister of Justice in the Government of National Defense. This decree gave to all Algerian Jews, "en bloc," full rights of French citizenship. It must be remembered that this law was passed in France, by the French of the metropole during the Franco-Prussian War. The French people of France proper and of Algeria have often been far apart in their thinking on Colonial questions. Although the French Colonial citizens did not approve of the Crémieux law they did not immediately register a protest. This was probably due to the fact that they were not a united group at the time.

The Crémieux decree giving French citizenship to the Jews of Algeria, said that "their real status and personal status will be governed by French law." The majority group, the Muslims, were not included in this decree. An Act had already been passed in 1865 which decreed that the Muslims would continue to be ruled by Muslim law. This Act did not close the door for Muslims to become French citizens. It said that Muslims could request the privilege of citizenship but upon becoming citizens must be governed by the civil and political laws of France. Very few Muslims ever availed themselves of this opportunity. They did not and do not to this day want to give up their "personal status." By this is

meant the rights and privileges which are theirs under Koranic law or the customary law (the *Qanouns*) of the Berbers. When a Muslim becomes a French citizen he can no longer use his Muslim rights of marriage, divorce, inheritance or paternal authority, but must be subject to those of the French law which are far different. The Muslim laws are tied in with the whole religious system of Islam and to break with them seems to the orthodox Muslim like heresy.

Some Muslims did accept French citizenship but in doing so often broke with their families and with the Muslim community. In some instances educated Muslims became citizens. Again, a few Muslims became citizens in order to secure better positions within the civil government. Although not citizens, the Muslims have been required to do their two years of military service and hundreds of them served in the first World War and hundreds more in this present war. They are subject to call as reservists whenever mobilization of the armed forces occurs.

Anti-Jewish agitations have occurred at various times in the history of Algeria. These have often been blamed upon the Muslim. In the last few years the Muslim has been more involved in these outbreaks but some of them can be traced very definitely to the economic situation in Algeria and also to the anti-Jewish sentiment among the French Colonials. The first serious anti-Jewish outbreak occurred January 27, 1898. At this time more than 20,000 people gathered in the streets of Algiers, especially in the public square. They sacked and pillaged the stores of the Jewish merchants. The occasion was one of joy and triumph for the anti-Jewish forces. This demonstration was led by Max Regis. He had been arrested, accused of assaulting a Jew who he claimed had insulted him. Newspapers, especially the publication known as "l'Anti-juif," (Anti-Jew), were quick to take up the cause of Regis.

This incident fanned into flame a situation that had been developing for several years. Many of the colonists had been reduced to poverty because of crop failure. The majority of them were vine-growers and disease had ravaged their vines,

leaving many of them in grave financial difficulties. A large number were forced to borrow funds and they found that Jews controlled much of the credit business. This incensed the colonists against the Jews. Anti-Jewish feeling had been further stirred by the Dreyfus affair in France, so that finally, sentiment was strong enough in Algeria to break forth in the disastrous demonstration of 1898. It must be remembered that this incident was not led by the Muslims but by the French. However, Muslims did take part in the demonstration.

Numerous bills have been introduced by various sympathizers of the Muslim group to gain for them citizenship rights. So far these have all been without success. The question of "personal status" has always been a stumbling block in these efforts. Some of the bills have made an effort to obtain citizenship rights for them and at the same time allow them to retain their "personal status" under Muslim law. A proposal of this kind was made by Georges Clemenceau in 1915 but was defeated. Another proposal of this kind was made in 1936 during the Blum regime by Maurice Violette who had been Governor General of Algeria from 1925 to 1927. This bill had the support of the Blum government and was favorably recommended in committee. The Violette bill was proposed when Nationalistic feeling was running high in Algeria. It came at a time when the country was still feeling the effects of anti-Jewish riots. One of the most serious of these had occurred in Constantine in August 1935. The storm which had been gathering momentum for several years came to the breaking point when a drunken Jew walked into a mosque in Constantine. The Muslims sacked and pillaged the stores of the Jews in Constantine. Merchandise was dragged into the streets and burned. Jews were hunted in their homes and murdered. The police were helpless to cope with the situation and troops had to be called out. Lesser demonstrations have taken place in other places in Algeria. On the streets of Algiers Muslim newsboys sold newspapers with the daily headline "En bas les Juifs" (down with the Jews).

As the Nationalistic feeling developed, the desire for citizenship—but with the retention of "personal status" rights—continued to grow among the Muslims. When the Violette bill was introduced in 1936 it was strongly backed by the Muslims. But the French colonists did not favor it. They saw their own influence in colonial politics coming to an end if this measure passed. For the Muslim group, being the majority group, would soon have the power in their own hands. When the bill found favor in France a storm of protest arose in Algeria against it. In order to bring more pressure many of the mayors and other civil officers in Algeria resigned their posts. Just when the situation became most critical, with pressure for the bill coming from the Muslims and pressure against it being exerted by the colonists, the Blum government fell and the bill was lost.

But the situation continued tense. The Jews were blamed, since the Crémieux decree had granted them citizenship "en bloc." The Muslims were discontented because they were deprived of citizenship if they retained their "personal status."

The next change in events came with the fall of France and the inauguration of anti-Jewish laws by the Vichy Government. Citizenship rights of Algerian Jews were repealed by an Act of October 8, 1940. This reduced the Jews in Algeria to the status of outcastes. They did not even have the right to become citizens, as the Muslims still had provided they would give up their "personal status." Many of the Jews in Algeria were imprisoned. The University of Algiers was closed to them and many other hardships were inflicted upon them.

With the invasion of the American and British troops hope was seen for another change in the situation of the Jews. March 14, 1943, General Giraud, French High Commissioner, declared null and void the decrees of Vichy which affected Algeria. This meant that the Jews were again restored to French citizenship. Once more their status vis-à-vis France was better than that of the Muslims. But this was only for a very brief period. The following day, March 15,

1943, General Giraud repealed the Crémieux law of 1870, so that the Jews were again without citizenship rights. He explained his action as a desire to eliminate all racial discrimination. The move would be favorably accepted by the Muslims and also by the strong anti-Jewish element among the French colonial population. However, it is only emphasizing a problem that has existed in Algeria since the time the Crémieux law was first enacted in 1870. Many have questioned the right of General Giraud to repeal this law of so long standing.

The problem will not be easily solved. It involves the large Muslim population who want citizenship rights but at the same time want to keep their "personal status." It involves the Jews who have enjoyed the rights and privileges of French citizenship since the Crémieux decree granted this to them "en bloc." It involves the French colonists who want to keep the government in their hands, who are strongly anti-Jewish and who fear the results of citizenship being granted to the Muslims "en bloc." Again the political, religious and social complications would be many should the Muslims be granted citizenship and allowed to retain their "personal status." Yet to deprive them of this "personal status" is to strike at the very roots of their religion. Understanding of all three groups, racially, politically, economically, and socially, will be needed finally to solve this problem. The permanent place and future development of Algeria depends upon a just solution.

GLORA M. WYSNER.

New York City.

THE PRINTING OF BOOKS IN TURKEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

From T. H. Carter's The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward, THE MOSLEM WORLD for July, 1943, printed Chapter XV, entitled "Islam as a Barrier to Printing." Reference is made in that chapter to a man named Ibrahim who in 1727 was granted a firman from Sultan Ahmed III allowing him to print books other than the Kuran. It is said that in 1729 a history of Egypt was printed, and a footnote refers to the possibility that an edition of "Rashid" may have appeared in 1714. The statement is made that so far as known except for this "abortive project" "the Islamic World never printed a book till 1825, when the first press was set up in Cairo." It may interest readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD to learn a little more about Ibrahim's "project."

One of the main sources for the early printing of books in Turkey is Toderini's book on the Literature of the Turks, published originally in Italian and translated into French and published in the year 1789 under the title De la Littérature des Turcs. A German translation of this important book appeared about the same year. The entire third part of Toderini's book (268 pages in the French translation) is given up to a consideration of Turkish Typography. The first book printed in Constantinople, he writes, appeared in 1488 under the title "Leçons des Enfans." He mentions an edition of the Pentateuch in the year 1646 in Chaldean, Persian, Arabic and Hebrew, the product of a Jewish press in Constantinople. There are other references to non-Turkish publications, but the main section, 251 pages, is devoted to a treatment of books printed on the government-approved Turkish presses. He tells the story of a Turkish ambassador name "Said Effendi" who, accompanied by his son "Mehmet Effendi," was impressed while in Paris with the facility with which books were printed. On returning to Turkey they interested a certain "Ibraïm Effendi, grand amateur de lit-

térature," and through their efforts an eventual royal edict authorized the establishment of a printing press. In the year 1728 two books are said to have appeared, one a large two-volume Arabic dictionary known as Vankulu, a translation of the Arabic *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Jawharī, and the other Tuhfetül Kibar by Kâtib Chelebi, a maritime history of the Ottomans. By 1742, sixteen books in all had been printed by the famous Ibrahim Muteferreka. In that year Muteferreka is said to have died and his successor Kadi Ibrahim reprinted several books, then lost his interest, as his workmen were drafted for the war under Sultan Mustafa, and the press for a time ceased to operate. In 1784 the press was revived and the Histories of Sami, Subhi, Shakir, and of Izzi were printed.

To this story of Toderini Selim Nüzhet in his Turk Matbaajïlïğï printed in Istanbul in 1928 adds many a correction and further detail. He gives (p. 70) the following list of books with the number printed:

1.	Lugatï Van Kulu	1000
2.	Tuhfetül Kibar	1000
3.	Tercumei Tarihi Seyyah	1200
4.	Tarihi Hind (a story of America)	500
5.	Tarihi Timur	500
6.	Tarihi Mïsïr (apparently the book to which Carter refers)	500
7.	Gulsheni Hulefa	500
8.	Usulü Hikem	500
9.	Fuyuzatï Miknatisiye	500
10.	Cihannüma by Katib Chelebi (today the rarest of all)	500
11.	Takvimül Tevarih (by Katib Chelebi)	500
12.	Tarihi Naima in 2 vols.	500

By the year 1735 all the above had appeared, the first two books being actually published in 1729 instead of 1728 as Toderini said. From 1735 to 1740 the press was idle, but in that latter year appeared the important history of Rashid Effendi, like Naima one of the official historiographers of the Ottoman Empire. Although covering only the history of the Ottomans from 1071 to 1134 (A.H.) it was in three folio volumes of 554, 388 and 128 pages respectively. (13)

In 1741 The History of Chelebi Zade Asim Effendi was printed, a book which contained some information about the founding of the Turkish press. In the same year also

appeared a little volume called "Ahvalĭ Gazavat der Diyari Bosna. (14, 15)

In 1742 the dictionary of Ferhenk Shuuri appeared under the title Lisanül Ajem (16).

In 1743 the great printer who had given to the Turkish people sixteen different books in nineteen volumes, some of them of folio size and all of them of scientific, historic and geographic value, passed to his reward.

Following his death the press felt the effect of the loss of his driving energy, but by 1794 the following additional books had been printed (Selim Nuzhet pp. 86, 87)

17. Second edition of Van Kulu (vol. 1)	1755	(1169 A.H.)
Second edition of Van Kulu (vol. 2)	1756	(1170 A.H.)
18. Sami, Subhi, Shakir Tarihi	1775	(1189)
19. Tarihi Izzi	1776	(1189)
20. Irabül Kafiye	1776	(1190)
21. Fenni Harb (Science of War.)	1782	(1197)
22. Fenni Lagim (Science of destructive mines)	1783	(1198)
23. Fenni Muhasara (Science of Siege)	1784	(1199)

In the year 1210 AH (1795 A.D.) a new press was established for the special benefit of students in the Engineering School and from that time on a steady stream of printed books poured forth. How many had been printed by 1825, the present writer cannot say, a considerable number at any rate; one of them in the writer's personal library in Istanbul being a large atlas with folding colored maps of different parts of the world, printed about 1815.

Islam did not prevent the printing of these books. It may have always been a barrier to the printing of the Kuran, although a number of Turkish translations of the Kuran have been printed (not lithographed) during the past twenty years or more.[1]

Ibrahim's "abortive project" deserves great respect, as do the learned men of Islam whose outlook back in the first half of the eighteenth century was progressive and even scientific. The Turks of that day produced many books of permanent value.

Bristol, Conn. J. KINGSLEY BIRGE.

[1] *Cf.* article on Turkish Translations of the Kuran in THE MOSLEM WORLD, vol. xxviii (Oct., 1938) pp. 394-99.

BOOK REVIEWS

Travels in Afghanistan. By Ernest F. Fox. The Macmillan Co., New York. pp. 285. $4.

This journal of travel and exploration, with its forty-two beautiful illustrations, is the latest account of the land between the Khyber pass and the Oxus.

The author is an experienced traveller and mining engineer, who won his spurs along the Mexican border, in Peru, in Northern Rhodesia and as far as Greenland. He is now on active duty in the army of the U. S. A. The book is a travel-diary, without cumbersome dates and personal detail. He crossed and recrossed Afghanistan by plane and car, as well as seventeen hundred miles on horseback. Courageous to the point of rashness, sinewy in frame, gentle in spirit, and with a flair to get on with people, the author captivates his readers and takes them into the village-life as well as across the impossible barriers of nature and man's frowning hostility.

Entering from Peshawar, he went from Kabul northward to Duang on the Oxus; then by motor car to Kandahar and Herat; afterwards by pack-train across the mountains and valleys back to Kabul. "This is the land where raids are constantly in progress, and where a man still settles his arguments, and his neighbor's fate, with a rifle; where women and girls wear bright red pantaloons to distinguish them at a distance from the men and boys, so as not to be shot by mistake (since the men have agreed not to kill one another's women); and where the people are still taught by the mullahs that Heaven will be theirs if they kill an infidel, or if in fighting an infidel should succeed in killing them."

But he found most of the people friendly, and even remarks (p. 184) "the wisdom of carrying a rifle in Afghanistan is debatable. Brigandage is uncommon." He found that there was high esteem for Americans, even where they had never been seen, "because they did not annex territory."

The author draws a sharp distinction between the Afghans of the south and of the north. The latter are less religious, less fanatical. He rides his horse "trying to read only the chapter-headings of the detailed story written in the rocks." This is the skill of the geologist in search for gold and oil. But in the villages his camera searches for types of manhood, and the reader is fascinated by this photographic gallery—a study of the Moslem mind. His knowledge of Islam is not profound (pp. 10, 26, 90, 121, 138) and yet he gets along famously; except where a rumor arose that he was Lawrence of Arabia in disguise on a secret mission. It was no matter of jest, for "no one believes that he is really dead." So the legend lives on. There are excellent descriptions of the cities of Kabul and Kandahar. The latter is the greatest business center of the whole country, with clean bazaars, electric light, and an assortment of fruit that rivals any in the world for quality and variety. There is poverty and distress and cruelty of

punishment, but "on all my travels in Afghanistan I never met a beggar." "Water-closets are as rare as Bibles in Afghanistan." The bastinado is still administered by law, and the lot of the women miserable. "To an outsider it appears that the women are virtual prisoners in the home. They are not permitted any social intercourse except with the immediate members of their own and their husband's families. They are not permitted to be seen in public except in purdah, and even then they are frowned upon for straying beyond the shelter of their own walls." There is, however, a drift of modern opinion against polygamy and divorce.

German and Italian intrigue were rife in 1938-39, and the fear of the Northern Bear and the Southern Lion still continue in political circles. But in the spring of 1937, in pursuance of their present forward policy, "the Afghans broke all precedents by granting to an American company a concession controlling the petroleum resources of the entire country." Hence this volume of travel, for which every reader will be most grateful and every pioneer missionary more wistful.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

The Arabs. A Short History. By Philip K. Hitti. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. pp. 224. $2.00.

This professes to be a popular abbreviation of Dr. Hitti's monumental History of the Arabs which was reviewed in our Quarterly and which has recently appeared in a revised edition (Macmillan). Mr. Byron Dexter did the work of condensation in collaboration with the author. All footnotes and references have been omitted but there are four excellent outline maps and a good index.

The Preface indicates the author's purpose and illustrates the style chosen to win and hold the attention of the ever-increasing number of the American public interested in the Near East today. "American boys from Nebraska, New Jersey, Georgia, wheeling their tanks in combat against Prussians and Bavarians on the North African coast have seen in the distance the great mosque of Kairouan, toward which they were struggling. That mosque was built from the marble pillars of Carthage strewn in the sands by victorious Roman warriors; pillars discovered and used again by a medieval wave of conquerors which had swelled up from Arabia and swept over North Africa—the men of Islam, warriors of Allah, builders of an empire vaster than the Roman."

In a score of brief chapters we have artistic thumbnail sketches of the Arab before Islam, of Mohammed, his book and faith, of Islam on the march across the world; of the Caliphate, the conquest of Spain and the glory that was Baghdad.

Other chapters deal with the life and literature of the Arabs, and their contribution to the West. The final chapters tell how "The Cross Supplants the Crescent" in the swift decadence of Arab domination, in the fourth century after Mohammed's death, and how in 1216 Genghiz Khan spread havoc and destruction. There follows a brief account of the Crusades and a Forward Look. "The first World War brought about the freeing from Turkish rule of the Arab Crescent, extending from Sinai to the head of the Persian Gulf, and the

main portions of the Arabian quadrilateral to its south. The second World War may result in the federation of at least some of these countries into a loose union in which each member would maintain its autonomous status."

Dr. Hitti is justly proud of the Arab race and its achievements. No one doubts the Legacy of Islam to all medieval Europe. Yet at times the author inclines to be uncritical in his admiration of Islam. Perhaps that is why the vignette on the title page consists of a calligraphic reproduction of the Moslem creedal formula!

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

British Enterprise in Nigeria. By Arthur Norton Cook. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943. pp. 330.

The publication of this book is a welcome sign of increased interest among American scholars in the history of Africa. The author, who is professor of history in Temple University, Philadelphia, has no personal acquaintance with Nigeria, but he has evidently been an assiduous student of original documents (including records in London) and has interviewed many of the men "who made Nigeria," including Lord Lugard. The result is an admirable account of Britain's enterprise in her greatest African dependency. His verdict on this example of "imperialism" is favorable, with some reservations. He appreciates that the motive for annexing the territory was not greed, but had a strong idealistic ingredient. He concludes that, while the Africans have not always received a fair return for their labor, the administration has "on the whole" been successful in its purpose of shielding the inhabitants from the impact of the capitalist system: "there can be no denial of the fact that the coming of the Pax Britannica has resulted in a definite improvement of conditions of life in Nigeria." He commends the policy which has prevented the Africans from being depressed into landless proletarians and Indirect Rule finds in him a warm supporter, in that it implies a conservation of African culture and the utilization of African systems of government. He appears to be doubtful of the future in this respect, on the ground that under the impact of new social and economic forces African institutions will undergo radical alteration leading toward a more direct form of administration. Here, it seems to us, the author does not allow sufficiently for the African's capacity for adjusting himself to new conditions. He sums up in these words: "The Nigerian experiment, whatever the final outcome may be, has proved of inestimable value in pointing the way toward a better order of things in Africa." A few matters call for comment. We fail to understand why the author should say that the African Policy developed in Northern Nigeria afterwards spread to Basutoland. If he were as familiar with the history of Basutoland as he is with that of Nigeria he would recognize that the policy which came to be known as Indirect Rule was first adumbrated in 1862 by the great Chief of the Basuto, Moshesh, and that so far as land is concerned the so-called African Policy was being carried out there before Nigeria came into existence. Readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD will not learn anything fresh about Islam from this book. Dr. Cook necessarily re-

views the history of the Islamic Emirates, but adds nothing to what was already known. "Conditions in the Mohammedan Emirates," he says, "were utterly bad from every point of view" when the British intervened. A surprising feature of the book is the very scant notice taken of the educational and medical work that has been carried on in Nigeria; he barely mentions the Christian missions. He notes in a sentence or two the valuable work of anthropologists but fails to mention (except in the bibliography) the significant research of C. K. Meek in the Ibo country, which led to important changes in administration. There are some indications of faulty proof-reading in the spelling of names; Fowell Buxton, e.g., appears as Folwell Buxton and Sierra Leone as Sierre Leone.

EDWIN W. SMITH.

Adventures with God. By Jenny E. de Mayer (Shaheeda). Toronto and New York. Evangelical Publishers, 1942. pp. 190.

The author of *Adventures with God* is not a stranger to long-time readers of THE MOSLEM WORLD. She has contributed valuable articles to this periodical in the past: Islam and National Responsibility. I. Russia (1914); Christian Literature for Russian Moslems (1919); Turkestan—A Neglected Mission Field (1922). Miss de Mayer discussed these subjects, about which little had been previously written, with the authority born of first-hand knowledge; and although, to a large extent, the subjects were treated objectively, yet even these articles gave some inkling of the enthusiastic spirit behind them.

In *Adventures with God,* the author is writing subjectively. She is relating her own vivid experiences; her ardent beliefs and strong emotions color the whole book. Miss de Mayer states in her preface that "these records do not represent any special or unknown features of geography, ethnology, or religion of the far-away countries or places amidst which these experiences took place." Her book is written to appeal from "only one angle." It is "a record of a partnership with God" and her sole purpose in writing it is to inspire others who are willing to be taken into this partnership with God.

Miss de Mayer is a cultured, educated Russian, with medical training and with linguistic gifts, who, as Dr. S. M. Zwemer says in his introduction to the book, made her decision at the Baslow Student Conference in England to go into the neglected areas of Islam. In doing this, she renounced comfort and the companionship of her own kind and became, as she says, "a pedlar for Christ's sake" and "a fool for Christ's sake." As "a pedlar," she gave herself to distribution of Christian literature for Moslems; and as "a fool," she sought only for the approval of her Lord, regardless of the opinion of others. She became "a fool" even in her own eyes in that she did things which were against her better judgment and her common sense, because she believed that God was leading her to undertake them.

Miss de Mayer's adventures with God carried her to the very borders of Afghanistan, to the pilgrim port of Jiddah at the door of Mecca, and to the Isle of Sakhaline off Siberia. They also brought her to long months of imprisonment. Her service, though principally literary and medical, was varied, but nothing was too lowly or

too dangerous for her. Her nursing of the victims of cholera on board the pilgrim ship is perhaps the most striking example of her endurance of physical hardship and of her sacrifice of self.

In reading this story of Miss de Mayer's adventures, one may at times differ with her interpretation of God's manner of leading His followers; but never can one doubt her sincerity, cease to admire her courage, or fail to be inspired by her example.

At a time when we are stirred by tales of heroism in battle and stories of men who gamble their all for a cause, in little-known and far-flung corners of the world, this story of a lone woman, who espoused a cause, and gave herself in an utter self-abandonment which carried her into unknown and desolate places, has a timely appeal. It is a moving story of adventure on the path of God, told by one who, having given her all for Christ's sake, believes that "the very horror and sublimity of the events of to-day must constrain everyone to offer himself in like self-abandonment to fight the holy war for Christ."

Lois C. Wilson.

Hartford, Conn.

The Legacy of Egypt. Edited by S. R. K. Glanville. London, Oxford (Clarendon) Press, 1942; New York, Oxford University Press. pp. 393 plus index. $4.

In this latest addition to the excellent "Legacy" series, Islam is represented in a short study (19 pages) by A. J. Arberry, entitled the "Contribution of Islam." Its purpose is to set forth elements in world Moslem culture that can be traced to Egypt, rather than to stress the peculiar character of Islam in the Valley of the Nile.

Egypt is presented as the scene of three enduring elements in Islamic life; it was an important center of mysticism, producing great Sufis like Dhu'l-Nun al-Misri; it was the scene of brilliant literary activity typified in men like Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti and Taqi al-Din Ahmad al-Maqrisi; it produced craftsmanship of a high order, although few of the Islamic minor arts owed their origin to Egypt. With craftsmanship goes architecture, for medieval Egypt built some of the finest Moslem buildings, of which the Mosque of Sultan Hassan in Cairo is an outstanding example. Unfortunately little space is given to the distinctive modern contribution of Egypt to Islam—the liberalizing, reform movements that began with Jamal ud-Din el-Afghani and were carried on by Muhammed Abdu and his present-day disciples.

In the concluding study of the book ("Legacy to Modern Egypt" by A. M. Hocart) an attempt is made to summarize the relation between modern and ancient Egypt. Many suggestive similarities and contrasts are drawn, but to the reviewer any suggestion that modern nationalism is turning back to ancient Egypt for its inspiration is questionable. While it is true, as Hocart points out, that a few modern buildings (including Zaghloul Pasha's tomb) are copied after ancient Egyptian architecture, and that the Eye of Horus was placed on a special postage stamp, these are only artificial and surface interests. Islam is still—and will long be—the guiding pattern of life.

John S. Badeau.

East and West of Suez: The Story of the Modern Near East. By John S. Badeau. Foreign Policy Association, New York. pp. 95. 25 cents.

To condense the story of the Modern Near East into less than eighty pages, even with the help of a score of graphs and illustrations, is no mean accomplishment. It is well done and will serve its purpose admirably. Geography and Ethnology give the background of this complex of races and languages under one designation. But there is a hiatus between these chapters and those that follow on the making of the modern Near East. *That* did not begin with the Turkish revolution, but with the early missionary effort of the Protestant and Roman Catholic pioneers in education, hospitals and the press. The emancipation of womanhood in Turkey and Iran goes back to mission schools. The economic and political transformations of the Near East since 1914 are ably sketched, and the role of destiny in the complex of contrary forces leaves the future in uncertainty. "There is unfinished business in the Near East, basic questions that must be faced if the vital area east and west of Suez is to become a cooperative part of the new international world we envision after the war." The author does not indicate what part, if any, Christian missions has played and is to play in this future. Yet the Near East was the cradle of Christianity before the advent of Mohammed.

Z.

Abdul Baha's Grandson. By Mirza Ahmad Sohrab. Universal Publishing Co., New York, 1943. pp. 178. $1.50.

The book gives a sad picture of affairs within the Baha'i movement. Ruhi Effendi Afnan, a grandson of Abdul Baha, is taken as typical of many members of the founder's family and others who have been excommunicated by Shoghi Effendi Rabbani, the present head of the cult. It seems strange that the movement which has made so much of unity among all mankind should from the outset have suffered so much from family feuds and internecine struggles for power. The present rift seems to have created a hopeless division among the descendants of those who founded the Baha'i cause.

The present book is written from the standpoint of one who has fallen under the ban and condemnation of the present leadership, and so may be considered special pleading. It leaves little doubt, however, that no good can result to a cause in this day and age from wholesale excommunication of rival leaders. "A calamity of vast proportions has befallen the Baha'i world," the author begins. The book goes on to elaborate the deep schism which has arisen within the movement. One is impressed from the recital of these events that human efforts toward unity are bound to fail. They seem to break down in the religious sphere as in the political. We may only hope that the turbulence of such a storm may lead some to find the knowledge and love of Christ who still stands as the Way, the Truth and the Life.

J. Christy Wilson.

Princeton, N. J.

Letters from Syria. By Freya Stark. John Murray, London. pp. 194. Illustrated. 9s., net.

These letters, written over fourteen years ago, introduce the reader to Freya Stark at the outset of her remarkable career as traveller and author. They describe the opening of the East to eyes that had never before left Europe. She made a beginning in Arabic with a Franciscan missionary and in London at the School of Oriental Studies. Her adventures, friendships and encounters with Druse, Christian and Moslem are described with vitality and in brilliant prose. These letters reveal that she enjoyed the hospitality of Quaker missionaries and Christian Arab teachers. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find no word of appreciation but only sharp criticism of Missions. "I don't like missions. I don't believe they are in any real touch with the people here." "The missionary mountain is very expensive for the production of its mole. They are all such good, painstaking people: just unimaginative." "The Sheikh told me he likes me for not being a missionary, but they do no harm because so far as he knew they have never succeeded in converting a Moslem." There is a specially bitter reference to the Jerusalem Conference, but not a single word or allusion to the two great Christian Universities at Beirut, nor to the work of the press in Syria which owes its origin to Missions, not to speak of the numerous schools for girls, and mission hospitals.

But this was fourteen years ago, and probably by this time she has broader and kinder views of an enterprise to which Syria, of all lands, owes so very much.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

Truth and Falsehood in Religion

Reviewing a recent book on "Classification of Religions" in the *International Review of Missions* (April, 1943) our associate editor Dr. L. E. Browne remarks:

"Among the earlier classifications that the author condemns is the uncritical division into 'true' and 'false.' He says that Martin Luther included Judaism, Islam and Roman Catholicism among the false religions and classified his own religion as true. Very uncritical, and very unscientific. But it is curious that St Paul ('they sacrifice to demons and not to Gods') and St John ('all who came before me were thieves and robbers') both adopted the same classification. This conviction did not prevent St Paul from recognizing some elements of truth among the Gentiles ('God left not Himself without witness,' 'as certain even of your own poets have said,' 'If there be any virtue and if there be any praise'). So far from being wrong, it is in truth or falsehood that we must look for the final criterion of religion. We may, and must, look for and recognize every truth in other religions, their doctrines and their practices. We must credit Zoroaster with the great discovery that the opponent of all true religion is *Druj,* the Lie. The measure of each religion is its combination of truths and lies, like the iron and clay in the image of Nebuchadnezzar's vision. The final criterion of religion is its nearness to the religion which is centred round Christ, the Way, the Truth and the Life. The present reviewer's belief is that one day there will only be two religions left in the world, Christianity and Materialism, the Truth and the Lie."

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam in Soviet Asia Today

Violet Conolly writing in *The Asiatic Review* (Jan. 1943) gives an interesting picture of Islam in the U. S. S. R.

In most respects, save the sparseness of population in wide empty spaces, the Soviet Central Asian republics form a sharp contrast to the Siberian and Far Eastern regions of the U. S. S. R. The tundra, forest and steppe of the north give place in the south to deserts and thickly populated fertile oases. The total population of these republics was about thirteen millions in 1939, mainly non-Russian people of Muslim tradition. The percentage of literacy, the number of schools and social institutions, and the range of cultural interests of the people have greatly risen since the Soviet revolution. Women have also been officially stimulated to unveil and take an active part in social and economic life. To a large extent these measures ran counter to the traditional Muslim customs of the country, and aroused the opposition of the Mullahs and the older generation of the people. But willy-nilly the new Soviet pattern of life is being gradually established under the leadership of the local Communist parties, which originally contained a considerable, and now diminishing, number of Russian officials and workers. Owing to the rigorous censorship maintained by the Soviet authorities in regard to travel and political news in the Central Asian republics, far too little is known about the interplay of national and Union interests, or in general the working of political machinery in this area. One is on safer ground in asserting that the republics are of unique economic importance to the Soviet Union in peace and especially in war-time as large-scale producers of silk, cotton, copper and of a constantly expanding list of rare metals and other useful commodities like natural rubber (*kok-sagiz*). The most progressive and thickly populated of the republics is Uzbekistan, which covers an area roughly the same size as Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Tashkent, the capital, is also the economic and cultural centre of Central Asia. Its Polytechnic Institute and other training schools attract thousands of students from the Central Asian region, which formerly had no higher educational bodies of its own. On the industrial side, Tashkent has made great progress in recent years and now boasts of a large agricultural machine-building plant, the giant "Stalin" cotton mill, silk, food and other light industries. Uzbekistan grows more than fifty per cent. of the Soviet cotton supplies and, in addition to copper, produces wolfram and molybdenum. To the north of Uzbekistan is Kazakhstan, a much larger and less-developed country, but the main producer at the present time of Soviet copper, lead, nickel, chromium and zinc. In the eastern corner of Kazakhstan is the interesting Altai region, where many rare metals are worked and the most important Soviet lead refineries are located. Merging into the great agricultural belt of Western Siberia with its dairy farms and grain-fields are the fertile black-soil steppes of Northern Kazakhstan, one of the most

valuable new food-producing areas of the U. S. S. R., and of particular importance during the present war. Moreover, through the accelerated development of the Kazakh and Kirghiz sugar industries under war pressure, Central Asia has made a substantial contribution to Soviet food resources since the loss of the Ukraine. Though a good start has been made under Soviet auspices to establish a large-scale cotton industry in Central Asia, with mills in Tashkent, Alma Ata, Stalinabad and other towns, the production of cotton fabrics is still mainly concentrated in the old Central Russian mills.

The Tribal Markets of Spanish Morocco

A commentary on the social geography of Spanish Morocco is to be found in the marketing habits of its people. The country, with an area of 13,125 square miles, has a population of about 900,000, and it is predominantly rural—83 per cent (E. Coïdan and Jean Desparmet: La zone espagnole du Maroc en 1937, *L'Afrique Française: Renseignements Coloniaux,* Vol. 48, 1938, pp. 232-240, 268-271, and 288-289). Tetuan (50,000), the capital, and Alcazar (31,000) are not on the seaboard, but the other considerable towns are ports: Laraiche (30,000), on the Atlantic coast, and Ceuta (45,000) and Melilla (60,000), on the Mediterranean (these two, however, are administered as part of Spain itself). In passing it may be of interest at this time to recall the chapter on the ports of Spanish Morocco by J. Rouch, "Le Maroc maritime" (*Rev. de Géogr. Marocaine,* Vol. 16, 1932, pp. 273-432). The towns are mainly Spanish in character and have large Spanish populations. Rural or tribal Morocco is quite otherwise. The population is unevenly distributed, but in some parts the density is high—as much as 225 to the square mile south of Melilla—and the land and its resources are varied. Yet practically all business is transacted at weekly markets in a fashion reminiscent of the Middle Ages.

Spanish Morocco has more than a hundred of these tribal markets. They are held on sites where good water is available and usually near a tribal shrine. "A large variety of goods ranging from live animals to grain, and from Oriental spices to North African medicines and charms, changes hands there, and, in addition, services such as those of the foot-wear-repairers, barber-bleeders, shoeing-smiths, and blacksmiths are in active demand."

But the market far transcends the simple economic function. "Local administration is carried on . . . and legal work . . . There are opportunities for social intercourse . . . News items concerning the larger world are gathered through gossip or from the market-criers. Commands of the authorities are heard there and discussed at length. Religious zeal is rekindled through contact with the living saints present, and by visiting the shrine."

After remaining virtually unchanged for "at least 2,000 years," the tribal markets are now beginning to show effects of Spanish occupation. Market sites are tending to be permanently occupied. "Many have become important military centres . . . , and in nearly every case the market, or a place in its immediate vicinity, has been made the local headquarters of the administrative functions of the Spanish *Interventor* (District Commissioner) and of the Spanish district medical service. In some cases, too, a Hispano-Arab school has

been established at the market. . . . Further, the markets have been enclosed by fences or walls, as a means of ensuring the collection of the important new series of taxes which yield about 15-20 per cent. of the total revenue of the Spanish Zone."

—*The Geographical Review* (New York).

Travel in Yemen Seventy Years Ago
A Letter to the Editors

Dear Sirs:—

The short note in THE MOSLEM WORLD, January 1943, page 68 states "Now the Hebrew University Press at Jerusalem has just published in Hebrew a remarkable, extensive diary kept by Habshush, the companion of Halévy. It deserves translation into English as it fills in the untold story of the intrepid French scholar and throws new light on his discoveries." The reader will conclude from this remark that there is only a Hebrew edition of this diary or travelogue, which is not correct. In 1939, Dr. S. D. Goitein published in Hebrew Hayyim Habshush's account of his travels in Yemen with Joseph Halévy, under the title "Mas'ot Habshush," and with the following English title: "Joseph Halévy's Journey in Yemen as related by his Yemenite companion Hayyim Habshush. Translated from the Arabic into Hebrew with Introduction and Notes. A. J. Stybel (publisher) Tel Aviv." Only the beginning of Habshush's diary had been written in Hebrew. When Habshush met Edward Glaser, he decided to continue his diary in Arabic. So Goitein published the Hebrew original and the Arabic part, translated into Hebrew. Shortly before this book appeared, Goitein wrote an article on the subject of this travelogue in the "Magnes Anniversary Book" under the title "An Arabic-Hebrew Book on a Tour in Yemen in 1870, Jerusalem, Hebrew University Press 1938," pp. 89-96, of the Hebrew part and p. XX-XXI of the English Summaries.

In 1941 Goitein published the Arabic original which was written in Hebrew characters under the title "Hizyōn Teman-Ru'ya al-Yemen" and the English title "Travels in Yemen: an account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najrān in the year 1870, written in San'ani Arabic by his Guide Hayyim Habshush. Edited with a detailed summary in English and a glossary of vernacular words. Jerusalem, Hebrew University Press, 1941," VI + 102 pages in English, V + 138 pages of Arabic text in Hebrew characters. It is this last named edition which is very thoroughly and competently reviewed by Hugh Scott in the Geographical Journal of The Royal Geographical Society, London, vol. XCIX, Nos. 5, 6, May, June 1942, pp. 272-275. Two paragraphs are quoted from this review in your review.

Goitein's "detailed summary" in English (56 pages) is so comprehensive and so richly annotated that even one not able to read Hebrew characters or to understand Arabic, can familiarize himself with the contents of this interesting book so that an English translation seems to me superfluous at the present time.

I find it regrettable that your reviewer, probably owing to some oversight, failed to mention the name of the editor, Dr. S. D. Goitein, who is known to Arabists by his studies in the life and the language of Yemen (cf. his "Jemenica, Sprichwoerter und Redensarten aus

Zentral-Jemen, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1934" and his "Von den Juden Jemens; eine Anthologie, gesammelt, übersetzt und herausgegeben. Berlin, Schocken Verlag 1934"). Dr. Goitein is singularly equipped by his long specialization to publish this remarkable book and his name deserves to be mentioned in connection with his work.

Respectfully yours,

MAX SCHLOESSINGER

New York City

The Encyclopedia of Islam in Turkish

A commission from the Istanbul University is issuing the "Encyclopedia of Islam" in a Turkish translation, with considerable additions by Turkish scholars. At the same time a "Turkish Encyclopedia of Islam" is being written and published by a group of Turks whose outlook is much more conservative and traditional. We quote from a Moslem writer.

The *"Encyclopedia of Islam"* and the *"Turkish Encyclopedia of Islam."* . . . It would be useful to compare a few subjects in the two encyclopedias. One of the points which such a comparison will establish is that though the editors of the Turkish Encyclopedia claim that there is propaganda in the Encyclopedia of Islam, they themselves are constantly making counter-propaganda, that is, propaganda for Muslim beliefs. Doubtless this propagandistic outlook arouses doubts as to the scholarly value of the work. One of the chief concerns of their propaganda is to display Islam in its first freshness, cleansed of the things which are attributed to it by missionaries and Jews. They show it in its ideal form, not as it is actually understood and practiced by various people. For example, in the Encyclopedia of Islam the article on Adam is comparatively brief, while the Turkish Encyclopedia devotes pages to this subject, bitterly attacking the former article and accusing its author of deliberately corrupting the Islamic doctrines with those of Judaism. As far as we know, the story of Adam commonly held by Muslims is that given in the former Encyclopedia. That is the form in which we heard it from our parents. Yet according to the Turkish Encyclopedia this story is quite without foundation. In Islam there is nothing of the sort, they say. According to this article the Koran does not state that Adam was the first man created by God. On the contrary, the Koran tells (even before Leyell and Darwin) of the earth's strata and of the evolution of man. The writer declares that there is actually a command in the Koran saying "Descend to the earth's strata and explore."

This may be so. Let those who know Arabic well enough to translate and comment on the words and expressions of the Koran solve this question. We should like to point to one fact: If the writer's claim is correct, then for centuries we Muslims have misunderstood and misapplied our religion. One wonders whether Islam was the religion believed and practiced by millions for so many centuries, or does it really accord with the findings of the Twentieth Century Islamic scholar who discovered the truth of the matter and brought it to light?

"YURT VE DÜNYA."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

The Holy City of Kairouan. W. M. Cousins. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. May, 1943. pp. 207-212.)

Describes this most sacred shrine of Moslem Africa in Tunisia.

Introduction to the Study of Music in Islam. M. L. Roy Choudhury. (In *The Calcutta Review,* Calcutta. March, 1943. pp. 191-194).

Cites various authorities who have supported or condemned this controversial art.

Parvīn-i I'tiṣāmī. S. Moḥammad Isḥaq. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. January, 1943. pp. 49-56).

Account of the life and work of a poetess of modern Iran. With quotations.

II. ARABIA

The King of Arabia. N. F. Busch. (In *Life,* Chicago. May 31, 1943. pp. 69 ff).

Tells of a visit to Riyad and reports an important interview with Ibn Sa'ud on the Palestine question.

The Social Organisation of the Tribes of the Aden Protectorate. Major the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. May, 1943. pp. 142-157).

Discusses the main features and distinctions of the races and classes settled in this area.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

The Apostle of Algeria. H. D. A. Major. (In *The Modern Churchman,* Oxford. March, 1943. pp. 329-336).

The story of Raymund Lull, 1236-1315.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

The Doctrine of Reincarnation in Persian Thought. Dr. Margaret Smith. (In the *Aryan Path,* Bombay. January, 1943. pp. 10-15).

Orthodox Sunni and most Sufi Moslems rejected the tenet, but Persian Shi'ites and heretical Moslem sects accepted it.

The Nature of Islamic Political Theory. Dr. M. Aziz

Ahmad. (In *Islamic Culture,* Hyderabad. January, 1943. pp. 39-48).

Describes the make-up of the Moslem state.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

EASTWARD FROM GIBRALTAR. Cyrus French Wicker. (In *The National Geographic Magazine,* Washington, D. C. January, 1943. pp. 115-142).

Social and pictorial account of a trip along the overland route across North Africa to Tunisia and Libia.

MAHMUD, CITIZEN OF TURKEY. Evelina Scott. (In *Asia and the Americas,* New York. May, 1943. pp. 277-278).

Sketch of the outward and inward metamorphosis of a middle-aged Turk under Mustafa Kemal's magic touch.

A SUMMER HOLIDAY IN TURKEY IN 1942. F. L. Billows. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1943. pp. 211-221).

First part of a leisurely journey to Trebizond by way of Samsun.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ALGERIA. Sybil Eyre-Crowe. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1943. pp. 177-181).

Describes the general state of affairs and finds that the Muslim élite have shown conspicuous loyalty to the Vichy government.

BRITONS AND TURKS SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE. John M. Bee. (In *Great Britain and the East,* London. June 26, 1943. pp. 25-26).

Turkey's strict neutrality and her adherence to the terms of her treaty with Great Britain have brought her well along a difficult road.

A DYNAMIC PALESTINE POLICY. Albert Viton. (In *Asia and the Americas,* New York. April, 1943. pp. 235-239).

The limitations of a war economy have thrown the Zionists on their own resources and have forced the administration to undertake positive constructive measures for self-support.

ETHIOPIA AND HER FUTURE OUTLOOK. Emmanuel Abraham. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day,* London. March-April, 1943. pp. 65-68).

Surveys the history of the country and looks forward to an era of progress and coöperation with the United States and England.

THE FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. B. Toukan. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. May, 1943. pp. 198-205).

A personal view toward a post-war Arab union, which is being fostered by education, better communications and the microphone.

THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE WAR. The Hon. W. W. Astor. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. May, 1943. pp. 133-141).

Stresses the fine morale and real comradeship found throughout the varied elements composing the Imperial Forces and warns against the dangers of inflation.

THE RETURN OF THE LION. W. E. D. Allen. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1943. pp. 181-183).

"The fate of Ethiopia was regarded as an acid test of the faith of the United Nations by many millions in Asia and Africa."

TUNIS IN TRANSITION. W. M. Cousins. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. June, 1943. pp. 336-342).

Tells briefly the history of this land of the Double Towns, French and Moslem, and finds it a powerful part of a chain of Mohammedan states running from India to the Atlantic.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

CHANGING ALGERIA. Millicent Roche. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day,* London. May-June, 1943. pp. 143-146).

Many missionary opportunities are offered in Algeria, at once so primitive and so sophisticated.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION. Bishop V. S. Azariah. (In *The East and West Review,* London. April, 1943. pp. 49-51).

Would Indian independence give religious freedom to the Christian or would he be persecuted by Hindu and Moslem alike?

A MODERN APOLOGETIC TO ISLAM. The Rev. J. W. Sweetman. (In *The National Christian Council Review,* Mysore City. March, 1943. pp. 91-98).

Discusses the need for the use of standard works on Christian Doctrine and for the serious study of Islamics by all undertaking missionary work among Moslems.

TRIPOLI: MODERNITY AND MYSTERY. Edith L. Liley. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day,* London. May-June, 1943. pp. 147-148; 191).

After suffering constant, unfair treatment from the Fascists, all Libya has welcomed the British and missions will become active once more.