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PRAYER POWER

Prayer brings God Most High, the Almighty One, into the affairs of men in their daily walk. When man takes his true place as a suppliant, he gives God His true place of beneficence and grace, and blessing flows manward from God's throne and heart. In every age man needs the outpoured grace of God, but never more so than today. The darker the hour and the harder the task, the greater the importance and need of prayer.

It is essential that Christians know the will of God and pray accordingly. It is the pleading, not of our desires, but of God's promises which brings the answer. Jesus said, "Whatsoever ye shall ask *in my name*, that will I do that the Father may be glorified in the Son."

God is working to gather out of the nations a people for Christ. When this purpose, so dear to the heart of God, becomes the supreme passion of our lives, then truly will we pray the prayer of faith for the salvation of men from every tribe of earth. To this end it is important that our desire in intercessory prayer be centered upon the following purposes:

A spiritual awakening and heaven-sent revival in the church so that the will of Christ Jesus may prevail in the lives of

His followers and they may be prompt to do His bidding; Laborers must be prayed out into the remotest parts of God's world;

Money must be prayed into the missionary treasuries for the sending forth of missionaries, the opening of new stations, and the support of the existing work;

Doors must be opened, difficulties overcome, obstacles re-

moved, and the forces of Satan driven back through prevailing prayer.

The heart of Abraham yearned over his son Ishmael, and he said unto God, Oh that Ishmael might live before Thee! We know the heart of God yearns over the Moslem world, that they might all come to know Jesus Christ the Son of God as their Saviour and Lord. So too, every true Christian longs and should pray with strong desire for the salvation of men and women in Moslem lands. Only by the power of God through Jesus Christ our Lord can these men and women, or any other peoples of earth, be delivered from the bondage of sin. Thus, we should pray that the forces of darkness shall be driven off and that men may receive the Gospel with open minds and hearts and be turned from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God.

These and other purposes of God in relation to the evangelization of the world will not be lightly attained. When the servants of Christ give themselves to definite prayer ministry for the accomplishing of God's purposes, the enemy will put every possible obstacle in the way so as to hinder prayer. It is not enough to pray until the present burden is removed from our hearts, but we must pray until we know the answer has been given by God. Let us persevere in prayer until the purpose is accomplished, not only the immediate but also the complete purpose of God, touching things which we are asking in His will. It is said of Elijah in James 5: 17-18: "He prayed earnestly . . . and he prayed again."

The passion of Paul's heart as expressed in the phrase, "to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you," is a beautiful illustration of the overflowing love of God reaching out into the utmost bounds of earth. So long as there are human lives into whose hearts has shone no ray of Gospel light, and tribes of men who have never heard the sound of Jesus' name, so long must the church of Christ devote her God-given energies to the one supreme task of carrying the Gospel to the whole world. This requires sturdy missionary pioneers to press on into the unoccupied regions, beyond the beaten paths of missionary effort, with the message of Christ.

But just as pioneer preaching is necessary in the mission fields, so it is essential that the church of God at home should possess the same spirit of pioneer zeal and be as truly faithful in the pioneer ministry of giving and praying as is the missionary in going and preaching. Oh, that Christians may learn the secret of pioneering through prayer, reaching out beyond the circle of the familiar and laying hold of God for the little-known regions of earth and the neglected tribes of men until they come to know the saving grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Then too, prayer must prevail that the new-born Christians in these pioneer lands shall be filled with the Spirit, built up in Christ and grow in grace and the knowledge of the truth.

In order to fulfil the ministry of intercessory prayer for the church of Christ and the preaching of the Gospel in mission lands, those praying must know the fulness of Christ for their own lives. It has been said of Evangelist Gossner, a mighty man of God in the early days of the Protestant church, "He prayed mission stations into being and missionaries into faith; he prayed open the hearts of the rich and gold from the most distant lands." For himself and his colaborers his motto was, "Christ for us, and Christ in us." He prayed vehemently, "Thou old Adam in me, die; live, Lord Jesus." He gave his missionaries this simple, stirring commission: "Believe, hope, love, pray, burn, waken the dead! Hold fast by prayer! Wrestle like Jacob! Up, up, my brethren! Oh, swiftly seek these souls, and enter not without them into the presence of the Lord."

True prayer is accompanied with thanksgiving. The heart that truly prays will overflow with loving praise to God for Himself and for His manifold blessings. May the compassionate love of Christ be manifest in us His followers in untiring intercession for the salvation of men and the preparation of God's people unto the coming of Christ.

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ISLAM AND MISSIONS IN A WORLD AT WAR

All religions are facing a world-crisis today. This crisis grows out of the new ideologies of various forms of Totalitarianism in government, supported by incredible armed might, which challenges the very existence of religion. Islam as well as Christianity is deeply conscious of this growing world-crisis, and has been profoundly affected by it. Part of the Moslem world has come within the scope of military operations, and has felt the full force of the ravages of war, and military occupation. The principal countries thus affected stretch from Morocco to the Philippines, and include most of North Africa and part of Egypt, Albania, Syria, Iraq, Iran, a small part of Eastern India, Malaya, Java and Sumatra, and Mindanao, the island home of the Moros in the Philippines. Turkey has studiously avoided international complications, and thus far has succeeded in remaining neutral. The position of Egypt has been anomalous in the extreme, and can perhaps best be described as giving limited assistance to the Allied Nations, while some sympathize with the Axis.

But it is not the military crisis alone which causes the deepest concern. It is the fact that back of this military crisis there is a profound moral and spiritual crisis which threatens the religious life of man. That part of the Moslem world which has looked to Europe and the Christian West in recent decades as a model of modern civilization, has been greatly shocked by developments in the last thirty years. Two great wars in that period, which have originated in Europe among Christian peoples, have set the Moslem people thinking. They have come to see that in this modern world what affects Europe affects Asia also; and what affects Christian society affects Moslem society as well. And they are disturbed at what they see as the underlying cause of this present crisis.

A writer in *Jumhuriyet*, Istanbul, discussing The Moral Crisis of Our Time reflects the inner judgment of thinking Moslems everywhere when he writes (*The Moslem World*,

Jan. 1943, p. 69-70): "Europe, which has set for the whole world during these last centuries the standard in the realm of thought, feeling and knowledge, to-day faces a spiritual rather than a material crisis. It is impossible to deny this fact. For the most authoritative voices both of the conquered and conquering nations proclaim loudly that civilization in its present condition is a rotten system . . . there exists a crisis in Europe, which is the brain of the world, and this cancer is first of all spiritual or moral. All the suffering which humanity is facing is the result of this disease. . . . Especially for the Turkish nation, which, in the hope of finding a brand new life, has destroyed every institution which has lost its vitality, this question of moral anarchy is a matter which should be dealt with before anything else. We are being westernized. But our old leader (the west) is seeking a new way. Obviously she has lost her way in the moral realm. . . . What shall it profit a man if he gain the world and all external things but lose his own soul?" This from a Turkish Moslem, speaking, as it were for the Moslem world! And so he might well say, where do we go from here?

Little wonder that Moslems look with suspicion on Christianity as being unable to live up to its high claims; but the saving factor of the situation is that there is an increasing number of Christians who are as anxious about the spiritual and moral welfare of society as the Moslem writer quoted above, for, after all, they know that it is not Christianity that will save the world but Christ. Not Christianity . . . but Christ! That emphasis makes all the difference.

The world indeed is in a period of crisis, but a crisis is not a hopeless situation. We are told that the Chinese ideograph for *crisis* means: "Danger and opportunity"—a situation in which there is danger but also opportunity. That is the inner meaning of the moral and spiritual situation which confronts Moslems and Christians alike today. This is the first and foremost factor confronting us at this hour. *Danger* for our very spiritual existence, *but* with Christ's help, *opportunity* to make a New World fashioned after the Kingdom of God, if we will pay the price of utter devotion

to the Master; opportunity to meet the challenge of the Moslem world with lives consecrated to the service of *love that counts not the cost*.

I. *Present conditions*: Let us turn now to a hasty survey of the present conditions in the countries of the Moslem world where live most of the 250 to 300 millions of the followers of Mohammed.

1. *North Africa* has practically all been involved in the war area, from Casablanca to inside the borders of Egypt. Great armies have raced back and forth across the thousands of miles of desert and into the mountains of Tunisia sweeping all before them. And yet in Algiers, at any rate, mission work has carried on. One missionary reporter writes: "Can you imagine our joy at the arrival of the Allied forces? It was a joy shared by a people who had been held down for two and a half years to a life—or rather an existence—of hardship and hopelessness." He goes on to say that in spiritual matters it is his opinion that a new day is dawning in North Africa. It is also asserted that suspicion created by Axis propaganda is already being overcome, and that there is now complete freedom of movement of all British missionaries, and some workers who had put their cars up for more than two years have started using them again (*The Moslem World*, July, 1943, p. 230).

2. *Egypt* has also been hard hit by the War, as the Allies have used it as a base for throwing the Axis out of North Africa. The northwestern part of the country, from Al-Alamein westward, has been the chief scene of actual operations, while Alexandria has been bombed again and again, and parts of the Suez Canal area as well. But in spite of all this, mission work has gone on, though for a time in 1940-'41 it looked as if there might have to be a full-scale evacuation of missionaries, particularly women and children, to India and elsewhere. On the other hand, old missionaries have been returning from furlough, and new missionaries are being sent out. Just recently in Durban, South Africa, we met missionaries old and new on their way from Australia to join the Egypt General Mission, in and below

Cairo. The work of the American University and its School of Oriental Studies for missionaries learning Arabic and Islamics has continued its work without a break. Also the Nile Mission Press has continued its admirable work.

3. *The Sudan* has been little affected by the war directly, especially in more recent stages, and we learn that more than a score of societies are carrying on in this area with a staff of over nine hundred missionaries, and occupying about 250 mission stations in the heart of Africa! Some progress is reported by the Sudan United Mission in the important task of forming an African Church on a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating basis. The significance of this area for mission work is that it is here that an attempt is being made to stem the tide of the Moslem advance to the south by bringing the Christian message to the many tribes that are on the frontiers of Islam. Recently while in Durban, South Africa, we had the pleasure of meeting some new recruits for the Sudan United Mission on their way from Australia.

4. *Turkey*, as has been pointed out already, has managed to keep herself out of active participation in the War, though she has been hemmed in on all sides. Mission work, though carried on under difficulties which are inevitable under the circumstances of a world at war, continues to suffer most from the limitations placed upon it by the Turkish Government.

The modernization of Turkey is still the main objective, though there remains a vast amount to be done in the rural areas. However, as one writer in the *Asiatic Review* says, "Turkey is seriously concerned to raise its standard of civilization; and it wants assistance of a concrete and practical kind. Of the numerous books purchased and ordered at the English Book Exhibition held in Ankara last winter the greater number were in character *scientific* or *instructional*" (*The Moslem World*, July, 1943, p. 230).

But this reflects only one side of Turkey's life. While the Government as such apparently takes little more than perfunctory interest in the religious life and needs of the

country, the *people* undoubtedly have a *real interest in religion*, and feel a need for it, as evidenced according to one writer, by the crowds which throng the mosques on religious festivals. He goes on to say that "it is necessary to give our citizens the spiritual nourishment they are in search of." Also, this same Turkish writer (in *Vatan*, Istanbul, Dec., 1941) goes on to say that the Government should repent of its policy of neglecting religious institutions. He declares that "the religious leadership profession has become very unpopular, and so the religious career is in decay." Those who have chosen to be religious leaders receive a salary of only seven liras a month (\$4.00), and he pertinently asks, "How can we expect those who are to keep us in touch with social values to work on seven liras a month? It is necessary not only to do everything possible in order to raise religious preaching to the level of a popular and esteemed career, but also our mosques and the radio must be open to competent preachers who can meet the social need of the hour."

This awareness of spiritual and religious need of the people in Turkey is indeed a heartening sign of the times.

5. *Arabia* so far has been little affected by the War as compared with the part it played in the first World War. Conservative Wahhabism, modified by certain concessions to modern inventions, is still the dominant note in the religious, social, and political life of the country. Ibn Saud is still master of Arabia's destiny. Mission work continues on the fringes of the peninsula notably in Aden, Muscat, Bahrain, and Kuwait.

6. *Syria, Palestine and Iraq* have been through different phases of the present conflict, and mission work has suffered serious restrictions in places. Here and there missionaries have been evacuated, but the work still goes on. The Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem has continued its useful work of training missionaries in Arabic and Islamics unabated, as well as the American University and Press in Beirut. Under western influences modernization is still the dominant trend, and it would appear that this along with the influence of Communism among other things, is leading

to a spread of what is popularly known as the "anti-God Movement" or atheism. Dreams of a Pan-Arab Federation after this War still linger in the minds of those who wish to create a close-knit bloc of Arab states in the Near East.

7. *Iran*: Here the most significant fact due to the War has been the dramatic change of Government which forced out Riza Shah Pahlavi, founder of modern Iran, because of his Pro-Axis tendencies, and the British-Russian occupation of the country with a new Iranian Government in power. This occupation has led to several definite results. Iran became a base of getting supplies through to Russia which has resulted in the rapid and extensive development of the trans-Iran railway and motor road facilities from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. It is stated that extensive irrigation schemes in Southern Iran are being considered to enable that part of the country to raise wheat and become self-supporting. Here as in other parts of the Moslem world these contacts with the west have given a pronounced impetus to modernization.

While the government has taken over the educational work formerly done by missions it is reported that the evangelistic opportunity for missions was never greater. According to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (U.S.A.) there is an "increasing freedom to do evangelistic work." Letters from all parts of the country tell "of a lack of interference with all forms of work, of the increased desire of the Iranians and the Iranian Government that the Mission extend its service to the country." This Mission also speaks of the development of an autonomous Iranian church, and states that women elders have been elected for the first time in Meshed, and that young men have been made elders in Tabriz. Financial independence of the churches in the larger centers is increasing, and in Teheran a former boys' school building has been purchased by the Christian group and turned into a flourishing Christian center.

8. *India*: The effect of the War on India's Moslem community of about ninety millions was chiefly to stimulate re-

cruiting for the armed forces of the British-controlled Indian army, and to intensify the demand for Pakistan—a movement for a separate political and cultural existence apart from the Hindus, when the time for settling the question of India's independence arrives. But *not all* Moslems of India are backing the Moslem League of Mohammed Ali Jinnah and its demand for Pakistan, for the Moslems of the Northwest Frontier Province are out and out for the National Congress, and in no single Province in the rest of India where Moslems are in the majority of the population, such as the Punjab, Sindh, and Bengal, have they ever won a clear majority in the elections, which is due, of course, to the fact that a large number of that community are not in sympathy with the demand for a partition of India into Moslem and Hindu blocs.

The dominant religious tendencies are those which have held the field for a long period now: (1) There is the conservative Sunni group which is vastly in majority, influenced here and there by some Wahhabi tendencies, notably in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and Bengal; and with these one would also group the conservative Shi'ah. (2) There is the strong and growing group which is the product of the Aligarh Movement of modern reform in thought and life, the chief exponent of which since the death of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, its founder, has been the poet-philosopher Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who has also recently passed away. (3) The Ahmadiyyah Movement, noted for its euphemistic and un-orthodox apologetic for Islam, which still continues its strong missionary fervor and efforts not only in India but in England, and, when that was possible, in the East Indies and Europe as well.

Mission work among Moslems in India has received marked, though still inadequate, attention ever since the founding of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics in 1930. Here it is fitting that we pay tribute to the late Dr. William Paton, for it was he, perhaps more than any other single person, who was responsible for starting this institution.

and who blessed and inspired it with his great vision of service for the cause of the evangelization of Moslems in India. This institution has been the nursery for the upbringing and training of workers among Moslems, both missionary and Indian; and for the development of special literature for Moslems in their twelve main languages used in that country. The School in addition to holding its main session each year in Aligarh, has a summer branch in Landour, Mussoorie, where it serves both the students of the Language School, and special students who go there for training. At the same time it does regular extension work through members of the staff, in the southern, western, and eastern parts of India, and gives special attention to holding evangelistic meetings for Moslems on such tours.

But in spite of this new emphasis on work among Moslems brought about through the efforts of the National Christian Council of India, and the Henry Martyn School of Islamics at Aligarh, there is still a woeful dearth of workers set aside exclusively for this purpose. Still, it is fair to say that there is a larger number than ever before, perhaps as many as one hundred, mostly Indians, and in addition it may be said that there are many more missionaries and Indian workers in general work who are more "Islam conscious", and who have had some training for this work, even though not giving their whole time to it.

9. *China*: In this war-torn country Islam claims to have ten million Moslems. For twelve centuries it has been making its way beside Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, and again comes face to face with its old rival, Christianity. The Moslems in China are an *integral* part of the nation, and politically do not form a separate community as is the case in India. The Moslems of China do, however, maintain their distinct Islamic culture, as far as possible, and "have their own press, and educational, and broadcasting program."

In spite of a century and a third of Christian work in China very few Chinese Moslems have been won to Christ,

but is that to be wondered at when it is stated on good authority that out of a normal five or six thousand Protestant missionaries in China not more than twenty-five are devoting their efforts to Moslems?

10. *Malaysia, East Indies, and the Philippines:* Here is an area that has been entirely over-run by war, and for the time being mission work has been stopped altogether. Most of the missionaries in Malaysia and some from the Netherlands Indies have been evacuated to India, South Africa, England and America, where they have taken up other work for the "duration" or are on furlough in their homelands. But in the Philippines all missionaries have been interned, and perhaps some in Java and Sumatra too. What the fate of the struggling churches and mission work may be in those countries none can tell. Java in particular was one of the most fruitful mission fields for work among Moslems that the history of missions has ever recorded, for there exists in that field a Christian community of no less than 50,000 which has been won directly from the Moslem population. Neither the work in Malaysia nor in the Philippines has been so fruitful as in Java, but it is hoped that the time will come when the work of Dr. Frank Laubach for the Moros in the Philippines, and the pioneering efforts of Dr. William G. Shellabear in Malaya will be followed up with means adequate to the task, and worthy of our great heritage.

II. *The Challenge of the Post-war Period.* 1. *The challenge of numbers:* And now we come to consider the challenge of this great area of humanity, estimated anywhere from 250 to 300 millions. Of these about one third or nearly 90,000,000 are in India, which is, in point of numbers, the largest Moslem country in the world. Most of the increase in the last decade in India has been due to natural causes, as the census figures for 1941 show an increase of more than fourteen per cent. Will the Christian Church realize that these numbers are increasing in every Moslem land and do nothing about it—more than it has been doing?

2. *The challenge of aggression:* (1) In Egypt we are

told that the Coptic Church has for years been losing numbers through the acceptance of Islam on the part of its membership, largely for political, social and economic reasons. Here the situation is entirely the reverse of what it should be.

(2) In Central Africa there is an aggressive Moslem movement which has been in existence for decades and is pushing steadily southward through the native African tribes. The only means of stemming this advance would be to get to the tribes with the Christian Gospel before the missionary of Islam reaches them. It may be in place to proclaim once more the warning of the Sudan United Mission with the hope that something may yet be done before it is too late: "In view of the urgent need for meeting the Mohammedan advance, the Mission advocates the establishment of at least one strong station in every large tribe right across the continent from east to west, a plan which has been endorsed (time and again) by missionary conferences, and leading missionaries in all parts of the world".

(3) In India: The challenge of aggression has been growing in recent times, and is due to two entirely different causes, which have been operating in widely different directions. (a) The Orthodox Sunni community was considerably roused some years back by the efforts of the Arya Samaj Hindus to receive again into the fold of Hinduism some marginal groups of imperfectly Islamized Hindu converts whose ancestors dated back to the time of the overzealous Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. The fact that these efforts were partially successful roused deep resentment in the Moslem community of northern India, especially as it meant a political strengthening of the Hindus at the expense of the Moslems. This incident led to the organization of *Tabligh* or Moslem propaganda efforts all over North India and the Punjab especially. Under the direction of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, a noted Moslem leader of Delhi, the most important of these organizations was set up, and not only was the conversion of marginal Moslems to Hinduism

stopped, but a counter movement was started to win as many of the depressed classes of Hinduism to Islam as possible. Needless to say many have accepted Islam, particularly in the Punjab, as a result of these efforts, and thereby the Moslem "evangelists" have come into direct "competition" with the Christian Church which has been having its most successful mass movement work among these very classes. Here is a challenge of a different character, but it is none the less real, and calls for adequate attention by those who plan Christian strategy on the Mission Field. (b) The second challenge of *aggression* comes from the well-known Ahmadiyyah Movement, which is seeking adherents from the intelligentsia of the Hindu community, and not without some success; but their chief efforts are directed against the spread of Christianity among Moslems, and to this end their literature and preaching are of an unusually provocative nature.

3. *The Challenge of Open Doors*: Opportunity in the Moslem world for proclamation of the Gospel varies from country to country, due to the temperament and heritage of the people, and to political considerations. In the countries of the Near East the religious influence of Arabia and the political influence of Turkey combine to create a protective and defensive attitude toward Christianity. Their attitudes and modern legislation are all directed toward the protection of their (1) religion and culture or their (2) political integrity, or (3) both. Saudi Arabia is an excellent example of the first, Turkey of the second, and Egypt of the third. In the same way Iran, Iraq and Syria are chiefly concerned with their political status. In India, Malaysia, the East Indies and China where Moslems are not in the majority and do not have either political or religious control of the country in their own hands, the opportunities for Christian service among them have proven to be the most numerous. We may therefore place the open doors of opportunity in two categories: A. The wide-open doors; and B. The partly open doors.

A. *The wide-open doors:* (1) Iran. A new day for presenting the Gospel seems to have dawned in the land of the Shah, for all reports indicate that there is "increasing freedom to do evangelistic work," and that the Iranians and the Iranian Government express an increasing "desire that Mission work be extended in the country." We hear of a marked increase in the number of those who have accepted Christ, the growth of the Iranian Church in self-support, and self-government; and there is clear evidence that the day has come when missionary effort in Iran should be increased at the earliest possible moment. Obviously the need is great for help in providing church buildings, in the training of an indigenous ministry, and by sending missionaries to open work or direct its extension or intensification in many places both old and new from Meshed to Teheran, and from the Caspian to Bushire on the Persian Gulf. The new roads and railways built under the pressure of military necessity will afford great assistance in any such extension of Christian effort.

(2) Farther to the East beyond the Hindu Kush mountain ranges lies India. India is full of wide-open doors. Restrictions have always been less numerous in India for work among Moslems than in most countries to the west. But it seems to the present writer that it is easier now than ever before to present the Gospel to Moslems in India. It is certainly true that the number of converts to Christianity coming through our schools and colleges has never been as large as it is today. And in addition the number of those who are on the borderline, and freely prefer to associate with Christians is on the increase.

The Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Dr. D. M. Donaldson, has found the Muslim University in Aligarh very approachable, and has been invited to lecture there more than once. John Subhan, also a member of the staff of the Henry Martyn School, regularly preaches to Moslems on his India-wide evangelistic tours, and reports the most cordial reception of his deeply evangelistic message in well-known Moslem centers from Dacca to Peshawar.

war, and from Hyderabad to Lahore. Dr. Stanley Jones has had the same experience in his tours, and at his Ashrams in Lucknow and Sat Tal sincere Moslem inquirers have always been among the residents.

Finally, concrete evidence of the appreciation of the work of missions in India is to be found in a letter sent me recently by Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, High Commissioner for India to the Union of South Africa. The vast opportunity in India to reach Moslems with the Gospel message has never yet been accepted fully by the sending Churches of the West. Doors have never been so wide open as they are now. *We need to get back of the Henry Martyn School at Aligarh in a more adequate manner*; for here missionaries and Indian workers are given a special and unique preparation to meet the Moslem challenge of India which is indispensable in our post-war Mission strategy. *Secondly*, we must use our best efforts to make more missionaries available for work among the Moslems of India; and *thirdly*, we must make an increasing amount of funds available for improving and extending the literature required in the twelve important Moslem languages of India.

(3) China, too, is another land where the doors of opportunity for work among Moslems are open wide; and, as has already been pointed out, this opportunity has never been followed up as it should have been. In China there is a lack of prejudice and less pronounced sense of communalism among Moslems than is to be found in any other country. This is an extremely favorable factor, and should not be lost sight of in post-war planning. More missionaries, and more literature for Moslems are the great needs in China.

(4) The doors in Malaysia, the East Indies and in the Philippine Islands have been temporarily closed by the Japanese War in the Southwest Pacific. Aside from this the way to the Moslem heart has been found to be wide open. Java in particular has proved to be one of the most fruitful fields that the Moslem world has known. Latest reports showed more than 50,000 converts from Islam to Christ, the

largest body of Christians to come from Islam to be found anywhere in the world. The work of Dr. William G. Shellbear and his son-in-law Rev. R. A. Blasdell in Malaya has proven that this area so near to Java is not wanting in open doors waiting to be entered. The same may be said of the island home of the Moros, Mindanao in the Philippines, where Dr. Frank C. Laubach in such a practical manner has shown us the way to the Moslem heart: applied Christianity in the form of *mysticism and literacy* have worked wonders in throwing open wide the doors over there.

B. *The partly open doors:* The freedom known to missionaries of the Cross in the countries mentioned above is not shared to the same extent in those lands which lie closest to Arabia, and also those in Central Asia. We are all familiar with the restrictions that hamper the work of the Gospel in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Iraq, North Africa and Egypt, and on the fringe of Arabia itself. Witness is born through medical and educational work, and to a limited extent in direct evangelism. The printed page in these lands is perhaps one of the most useful forms of evangelism. The Central Literature Bureau for the Moslem world is located in Jerusalem, and the dynamic of its inspiration coming from Miss Constance Padwick has wisely guided and inspired us on the literature front in all Moslem lands. A great deal for Christ is being done among Moslems in these lands of limited opportunity, and perhaps the day will come in no distant period when the doors will be thrown open wider than they have ever been.

Perhaps one of the closed lands, Afghanistan, is already beginning to open its tightly closed door, for just a few months ago an inquiry came to me in India from the American Consul General in Qabul, asking if I knew of any Americans who could accept posts on the University staff there, as the Afghanistan Government was looking for men to replace the Germans. Perhaps this may prove to be the beginning of a new era in that land for the representatives of Christ.

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MUHAMMAD: HIS LIFE AND PERSON

I. *His Life.*

“No other mortal,” says Döllinger,—and by that phrase he means, of course, to exclude Jesus Christ from his general statement—, “has ever, from the beginning of the world, exercised such an immeasurable influence upon the religious, moral and political relations of mankind, as has the Arab Muhammad.” “Nevertheless,” declares Döllinger, “he was not a genius, but narrow in outlook and poor in ideas.”¹

We know much more, however, about Muhammad than we do about the founders of the world’s other great faiths: and the very intimacy of our acquaintance with the Meccan prophet’s daily round of life and thought obscures perhaps our vision of his true religious quality. Familiarity often screens the real measure and worth of a man from his fellows and prejudices their judgment of his ability and originality. But our appraisal of Muhammad’s work and character is based at least upon facts rather than upon convictions and rests securely upon the evidence of men and women who were not only contemporaries, but intimate friends and relatives, and whose ideas of a prophet were still sober, if sometimes naive, and shot through with very human memories of a very human personage.

The following story, for example, of Muhammad’s marriage to his first wife, Khadija, the daughter of Khuwaylid, is told by his biographer, Ibn Sa’d.² “Khadija gave her father wine, until he was drunk. Then she slaughtered a cow, and rubbed it with spices, which contained saffron and were yellow (the colour expressing joy) and dressed her father in his best clothes (or marriage raiment). When he awoke out of his stupor in the morning, he said, “What is the meaning of this slaughtered cow, and this perfume, and these fine clothes?” She replied, “You have married me to Muhammad.” Said her father, “I have not. How would I do

that, when the most eligible of the Quraysh have asked thy hand in marriage?" Another story relates, however, that her father was dead and that her uncle, 'Amr b. Asad, gave her in marriage to Muhammad.

Biographies of the Prophet and historical works cite written records of his life and acts, which were composed as early as the second generation of his followers, the so-called Tābi'ūn. And some of the authors of those records had an unrivalled opportunity of prying into the private life and personal habits of their subject. Abān, who wrote a book, or tract, on Muhammad's warlike expeditions, was a son of the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, who himself was a son-in-law of the prophet and one of his oldest friends.³ Urwa ibn al-Zubayr, who wrote a similar work, was a nephew of Muhammad's first, well-beloved wife, Khadīja, and also of his favourite wife of later years, A'isha, the daughter of Abū Bakr, the bosom companion of the prophet and the first Caliph, whose daughter, Asma, was Urwa's mother.⁴ Some of Urwa's accounts of events in early Islamic history, which were written apparently at the behest of the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abdu'l-Malik (686-702), appear in the well-known historical work of Ṭabarī and tell of such incidents as the death of Khadīja, the emigration of some of Muhammad's followers to Abyssinia, the epoch-making Hejira, or flight of the prophet and his adherents from Mecca to Medina, the famous victory of Badr, God's crowning mercy to Islam, and the capture of Mecca.⁵ A version of the prophet's letter to the people of Hajar, which the Zoroastrians used to establish their claim to be the People of a Book, is also attributed to Urwa, whose brother, 'Abdullah, it may be recalled, contested the Caliphate with 'Abdu'l-Malik until his death in the year 73 of the Hejira (692 A.D.).⁶

The biography of the prophet seems, in fact, to have reached a definitive form by the year 100 of the Hejira, or some sixty years after Muhammad's death, as a fragment of Wahb ibn Munabbih's *Kitāb al-maghāzī* (Book of the Warlike Expeditions of the Prophet), preserved in the papyri

of the Schott-Reinhardt collection, shows.⁷ You can observe, it is true, and trace the growth and blending of legendary matter and the application of it to different crises in the prophet's career, from the early lives of Muhammad down to the canonical traditions and Koran commentaries of the tenth century. But the relation of the main events of his life, especially from the first public avowal of his mission in Mecca, and the portrayal of his character do not change materially. The Koran and the first familiar stories of his sayings and doings seem to have fixed the chief facts of his life and the characteristic features of his personality. The interpretation of these events and traits are, of course, quite another matter.

Muhammad was born about the year 570 A.D.,⁸ famous in the legends of his people as the year of the miraculous destruction of the Abyssinian army, which the viceroy of Yemen, Abraha ibn Ashram, had led against the prophet's native city. The viceroy is said to have advanced at the head of his troops riding on an elephant; and Surah (chapter) CV of the Koran commemorates this event in its first line, which reads: "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant?" Muhammad's father, 'Abdullah, the son of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, belonged to the Hāshimite branch of the Quraysh tribe, the dominant element in Mecca; but the Hāshimites were evidently, at this time at least, a relatively unimportant factor in the city's life. 'Abdullah died in Yathrib, later the prophet's city of al-Madina, or on the road to it, some days before his son was born; and Muhammad's mother lived only a few years after the death of her husband. Muhammad's grandfather, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, then took charge of the orphan, but died shortly thereafter, when Muhammad was about nine years old; and the prophet spent the rest of his childhood in the care of his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, the pagan-named 'Abd Manāf, whose means were apparently quite modest. For we are told that the young Muhammad used to herd the sheep and goats of the townsmen of Mecca, an occupation reserved usually for

slaves and women. A tradition from the prophet declares, however, that "God has never chosen a man to be a prophet, who has not herded sheep."⁹

Muhammad did not marry until he reached the age of twenty-five, a further indication probably of his narrow circumstances; and when he did marry, the lady, Khadija, seems to have made the first advances and did so evidently by right of her social and economic position. Muhammad had been her agent in several successful business ventures: and his person and character won her good will apparently. She was some fifteen years his senior and had already out-lived two husbands. Her family, by all accounts, objected to the alliance; but they were married, and the marriage proved to be a very happy one. They had six or seven children, two or three boys and four girls. The sons died in their infancy, which caused Muhammad deep, personal grief undoubtedly, but was also the source of some social ignominy in a land where men are mostly addressed as the father of their eldest or most illustrious son. His enemies, indeed, are said to have called him "al-Abtar", or the "Bobtailed", a satirical allusion to his lack of male offspring.

By his marriage Muhammad gained security and ease. He was now a business man in quite good circumstances.¹⁰ But little is recorded of the next fifteen years of his life that is of much historical worth, or moment. Stories, indeed, are told of him to illustrate his fidelity and strict sense of duty, the tenderness of his heart for the poor and needy, the gentleness of his disposition and the purity of his life. More significant perhaps and instructive, however, is the generally accepted tradition that he was wont to retire for a month each year to Mount Hīrā near Mecca, accompanied sometimes by his family, to devote himself to prayer and meditation. For there it was that finally he received the vision of "an Illustrious Messenger" (the Gabriel of Muslim commentators), which is recorded in the Koran,¹¹ and which convinced him at long last that the source of his voices and visions was divine and not demoniac. Muhammad's mind,

it is clear, had long been exercised and sorely troubled by reflections on man's destiny:¹² and for long he had imparted apparently his forebodings and anticipations to his family and to close associates such as Abū Bakr and discussed with them his doubts and fears, and also what he heard and saw in his novel experiences. Now the call had come clear and ineluctable, and Muhammad, like Luther, must preach.¹³ So much, at least, we may infer from statements in the Koran, and from stories related in the Traditions¹⁴ concerning the manner of his earliest revelations, and also from the fact that, even before he began to preach openly in his native city, he had gathered around himself a small group of relatives and friends, who acknowledged his mission and accepted his message.¹⁵ But we have little direct evidence of what he said or did at this time.

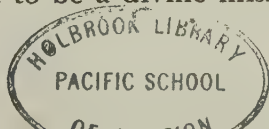
Muhammad first proclaimed his faith in public when he was about forty years old (*circa* 610-12); and the tenor of his early revelations seems to have provoked little, if any, public or official resentment or opposition, in the beginning at least.¹⁶ Some of his fellow citizens appear to have considered him to be possessed, like a soothsayer or poet, and to have been interested in the phenomenon, if not much impressed by his oracles.¹⁷ Others, again, jeered and scoffed at his preaching, lacking any understanding for the presentiments that burdened Muhammad's soul.¹⁸ Only a few listened and were persuaded.

But the prophet's patience and persistence and the steady, if slow, growth in the number of his followers were bound to create doubts and fears concerning his aims, in a society where the chief function of religion was to act as a social bond for the preservation and welfare of the community in its present form, and in which the idea, or need, of personal salvation was foreign and almost unknown. Muhammad's proclamation of the One True God may have disturbed some pious, pagan hearts. But the notion was neither so new nor revolutionary even in Arabia, where the ancient allegiance to tribal gods had lost much of its hold

upon the mind of Beduin nomad as well as city merchant, and the Jewish-Christian belief in the unity of God had reached the ears, if it had not stirred the hearts, of almost all who dwelt either in the Desert or in the Sown.

But Muhammad's repeated intimations of a future life and of a final and universal judgment preceding that life and his emphatic assertion of each man's individual responsibility for his own acts cut the ground from under and threatened with destruction a society wherein kinship was the essential tie and motivating force behind both morality and religion. Tribal or social responsibility and individual responsibility, the bond of blood and the covenant of faith confronted each other, incorporated in two associations of men, for the first time in pagan Arabia; and no compromise was as yet possible between them as developed later in Islam. The Meccans and their leaders saw in Muhammad and his followers a dissentient group, foreign to the body politic, gathered around an upstart leader, who claimed authority on a basis which had no sanction in their system of religious or political thought. They might have been willing to accept his conception of God, or even some of his ethical demands. But to acknowledge him as the one and only means of the transmission of God's will regarding their duty and destiny was to surrender the rights and powers, which were theirs by custom and inheritance, to a man who was but yesterday a hireling.¹⁹

Probably even Muhammad did not grasp all the implications of his preaching at first. But the chiefs of the Quraysh in Mecca recognized finally, if all too late, the danger that lay in his person and vocation, to the political and social system, upon which rested their position and authority; and they demanded of Muhammad's uncle, Abū Ṭālib, that he should, as head of the Hāshimite clan, restrain his nephew from attacking their ancestral beliefs and practices. Abū Ṭālib besought the prophet not to bring disaster upon himself and his family. But Muhammad sternly refused to give up what he felt to be a divine mission; and although



Abū Ṭālib died a pagan, he remained true nevertheless to the family loyalty of his race and continued to protect his nephew, as long as he lived.²⁰

The Meccan leaders resorted, then, to persecution; and the poor among the prophet's disciples, who had no protector, and the slaves were imprisoned and tortured to persuade them to recant. Bilāl, an African slave, whom Muhammad called "the first fruits of Abyssinia", and who later became the first "Mu'adhdhin", or caller to prayer, was exposed day after day to the scorching rays of the sun, stretched out on his back, with a great stone on his stomach. Two died under torture; a few gave way; and eleven men and four women, who were followed by others later, fled and took refuge in Abyssinia, where they were kindly received by its Christian king, in the fifth year of Muhammad's mission (*circa* 615 A.D.). The prophet himself, however, remained in Mecca and continued to hold forth in the house of al-Arqam, one of the earliest believers.²¹

And about this time he gained an adherent, whose conversion was about as significant for Islam, as was Paul's for Christianity, and as dramatic. The future Caliph, 'Umar, was in the beginning one of the prophet's most bitter and fanatical enemies; and one day, so the story goes, he set out, sword in hand, in a fit of rage against the prophet, to slay him. But on the road he encountered a relative, who informed him that some members of his own family had become renegades to the faith of their fathers, whereupon, dismayed and distracted, he rushed off to the house of the culprits, who were his own sister and his brother-in-law, Sa'īd. He found them reciting the twentieth Surah of the Koran; and its beauty and sublimity so overwhelmed him that he advanced and cried: "Take me to Muhammad that I may tell him of my conversion."²²

The accession of 'Umar, a bold blade and a determined man of action, put fresh heart into the young and still unorganized community, the members of which now began to perform their devotions together in public around the

Ka'ba. Some other influential citizens, moreover, followed 'Umar's example: and Muhammad's faction grew daily in strength and became an ever-present threat to the stability of the existing order, and all the more so because of its link of friendship with the ancient enemy Abyssinia. The Meccan aristocrats felt that the time had come to check the growth of the new movement once for all; and they put the Banū Hāshim, accordingly, who protected the prophet because of ties of kinship, under a ban and swore that they would not marry their women, nor give their own to them in marriage, that they would not sell to them, nor buy from them, but that all dealings with them would close (616 A.D.). For three years, we are informed, the Banū Hāshim were confined to one quarter of the city except during the three sacred months of the pilgrimage season, when peace reigned over the land, and men journeyed to the shrines of the gods and flocked to the fairs in their vicinity.

Muhammad took advantage of these months to approach the tribesmen, who visited the fairs in the neighborhood of Mecca, but with no immediate success. His uncle, Abū Lahab, who, bar his wife, has the not invidious honour of being the only contemporary of the prophet named in the Koran,²³ is said to have trodden on his heels shouting in a loud voice: "He is an imposter, who would turn you from the faith of your fathers to the false doctrines which he brings." The ban, however, was finally lifted, on what terms we do not know. But it is possible to assume that Muhammad had promised to preach no more in Mecca. For thereafter he looked for converts in new pastures.

And first he travelled to Ṭā'if, a city some seventy miles south of Mecca on the caravan road; but its citizens, closely allied with the ruling families of Muhammad's birth-place, received his words of warning with scorn and ridicule, stoned him pitilessly and drove him from their town.²⁴ His faithful wife, Khadīja, and his loyal protector, Abū Ṭālib, had just died. Steeped in sorrow and exposed afresh to insult and injury the prophet faced an apparently hopeless

future. But just when his situation seemed most desperate, his cause lost, he met at the annual pilgrimage of 620 A.D. some men of Yathrib, or, as it was later named, Al-Medina, the prophet's city, and found in them an audience more favorably disposed to his message.²⁵

Yathrib, or Medina, was a group of small villages and farms lying in a richly watered plain in the Northern Ḥijāz, some three hundred miles from Mecca. It was held at this time by two Arab tribes, Aus and Khazraj, who are said to have been of South Arabian origin. Its former owners, some Jewish tribes, still dwelt there. One of them, the Qainuqā', had kept hold of its old enclosed quarter, but lost its lands. Two other tribes, the Naḍir and Quraiza, were still in possession of their fields and palm-groves, but lived together with the Arabs of Aus.²⁶

The Arab tribesmen had become peasants, but had sloughed off little of their nomadic way of life. The primeval laws and customs of the desert still governed their relations with one another; and years before the coming of the prophet a deadly feud had sprung up between the Aus and Khazraj, in which the Jewish tribes were also involved. The chance of war favored the Khazraj at first; but around 610 A.D. the Aus in alliance with the Jews of Naḍir and Quraiza inflicted a severe defeat upon the Khazraj and their Jewish confederates at Bu'āth. Tribal victories, however, never eliminated the cause of dispute and seldom destroyed the power of the losers to seek revenge. They only fanned, in fact, the flames of hate still higher and heightened the blood-lust. The indiscriminate murder of inter-tribal warfare continued in unhappy Yathrib; and no man could go about his business free of fear for his life. A strong central authority, such as the chiefs of the Quraysh had established in Mecca, and which could protect the rights and lives of its citizens, was an end devoutly to be desired, and some of the men of Yathrib must have been cogitating it.²⁷

What learning the Jews of Medina possessed is a matter of great debate. The Koran is about the only trustworthy

source of information regarding them and the literature with which they were acquainted. But, as Professor Charles Cutler Torrey has observed in his *Jewish Foundation of Islam*, "The amount of material, historical, folklorish, legislative, and religious, which he (Muhammad) transmits with substantial correctness from purely Jewish sources is truly astonishing";²⁸ and Professor Torrey argues very persuasively, indeed, on the basis of the two Koranic verses, Surahs XVI, 105 and XXV, 5, that the prophet must have already "frequented the Jewish quarter in his native city" of Mecca, and witnessed divine services there, and also received instruction from some learned Jew.²⁹

Muhammad's knowledge of Jewish legend and even of Jewish customs, is in fact surprising in its scope, but is, on the whole, neither profound nor even accurate. There is little evidence, moreover, of a Jewish community in Mecca in contrast to Medina. The prophet's revelations disclose, it is true, a progressively richer acquaintance with Jewish lore and usage, as the growth of the Koranic "Abraham legend" will amply prove; but how, when and where Muhammad acquired his fuller information, is still a moot question which can only be answered, if ever, by a more critical analysis of the text and composition of the Koran and the consensus of students as to which elements in it are clearly Meccan, which clearly Medinan and which dubious. The stuff of the Koran shows such a sameness in its diversity that the disentangling of these elements will be a difficult, if not an altogether impossible, problem.

However, it may be confidently assumed on the basis of passages in the Koran which, because of the historical references in them, are demonstrably Medinan, that there were Jews, or Judaized Arabs, in Medina, who were versed at least in the legendary tales of the Haggada, and who knew the essential rules of practice. The two Jewish tribes of Naḍir and Quraiza were called the "Kāhināni", the two priestly tribes, which may indicate, as Professor Torrey supposes, that "their membership included priestly families",

or men, at any rate, with a tradition of learning.³⁰ The Koran itself mentions "the learned ('ulemā') of the children of Israel" and "their scholars."³¹ And Muslim Tradition knows of Jewish schools in Medina, for it records that the prophet visited one of them once, and Abū Bakr also.³²

How much of this lore the Arabs of Aus and Khazraj had imbibed from their Jewish neighbors, it is practically impossible to determine. Their poetry, or what is extant of it at least, discovers little evidence, if any, of Jewish influence. It is just true desert verse colored occasionally with an agricultural phrase or simile.³³ Some of them, however, are reported to have embraced the Jewish faith; and the most of them were undoubtedly familiar with the notion of a Messiah, with whose coming, indeed, the Jews are said to have threatened them,³⁴ and which may have suggested to the more thoughtful among them a possible means of putting an end to the intolerable anarchy that prevailed among them, and of establishing law and order on the solid basis of a single authority, which would be respected because of its source. The inspired man of Mecca must have seemed to these men of Yathrib to be a divine answer to their necessity, as they truly were to his.

A small band of Medinans, ten men of Khazraj and two of Aus, met Muhammad secretly in the following year during the pilgrimage season at the hill called 'Aqabah (621 A.D.) and pledged themselves to follow his teaching. After this first pledge of 'Aqabah, as it is named,³⁵ they returned to Medina accompanied by one of the oldest adherents of the prophet, Muṣ'ab ibn' Umayr, whose task it was to instruct the new converts in the beliefs and practices of the true faith. And so zealously and successfully was Islam preached in Medina and so prepared was the soil for its reception, that within the year scarcely a family remained that had not given one of its members to swell the numbers of the true believers. One clan of the Aus tribe alone showed obduracy under the leadership of its poet, Abū Qays ibn al-Aslat.³⁶

So strong and rapid was the movement that but a year later, when the time of the annual pilgrimage came round again, a notable band of converts, seventy-three strong, journeyed to Mecca along with Muṣ'ab, commissioned to invite the prophet to take refuge in Medina. They met him again secretly at 'Aqabah and swore allegiance to him and his faith, pledging themselves to protect him as they would protect themselves and their children.³⁷ This was the second pledge of 'Aqabah.

But word of these secret negotiations had reached the ears of the Meccan aristocrats, and their persecution of the believers was renewed. Muhammad advised his followers to flee; and secretly, by twos and threes, they made their way to Medina, where they were welcomed by their new brothers in the faith.³⁸ Muhammad himself stayed on in Mecca, until every Muslim had escaped, who had not been seized and thrown into prison. Then a determined attempt upon his life showed the danger of further delay.³⁹ For several days the prophet and Abū Bakr lay hid in a cavern on Mount Thaur to the south of Mecca. Armed horsemen scoured the country in all directions searching for them, but finally they reached Medina in safety.⁴⁰ Such was the famous Hejira, or Flight, of the prophet, the year of which begins the official Muslim era.

In Medina Muhammad was not simply a prophet, like Amos, preaching against idolatry, summoning men to do the will of God and warning of a judgment. Nor was he just the acknowledged chief of a confederacy of tribes and clans, their spokesman, judge and leader in war. He bore, indeed, both these rôles with all their powers and privileges. But his authority was deeper seated and far more personal than that of either chief or prophet. For it was not based merely upon tribal custom and the recognition of his fitness and ability to defend and preserve existing rights and practices, nor even upon the persuasion that God spoke his will through the mouth of His prophet. It rested solidly and immediately upon the presumption that Muhammad himself

was the law: that not only was God's mind revealed through him, but that he was also God's instrument for the accomplishment of His purpose in regard to mankind. The prophet was not only God's mouthpiece. He was God's active agent clothed with His power and authority.

Not that Muhammad's rule was accepted unanimously in the beginning. A strong body of Medinans, mostly men of Aus, whom Muhammad names "Munāfiqūn"; hypocrites or "faint-hearts", remained disaffected and lukewarm for a long time and made much trouble for the prophet under the leadership of the Khazrajite chief, 'Abdullah ibn Ubay.⁴¹ And the Jews also disappointed whatever hopes he may have cherished of their acknowledging him as a true successor of their own prophets. For they not only rejected his pretensions to that high calling, but seem to have found an impish delight in pointing out the discrepancies between his tales and their own histories of his presumed predecessors;⁴² and one of their poets, Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf, went so far even as to write an elegy on the prophet's Meccan enemies, who fell at the battle of Badr.⁴³ Muhammad treated the disgruntled Arabs with great circumspection, but rid himself of the Jews, as soon as his power was consolidated and the opportunity arose. The Qainuqā' tribe was banished after his victory over the Meccans at Badr (624 A.D.). The Naḍīr were driven out after the Muslim defeat at Ohod (625 A.D.). And the men of Quaraiza were disarmed and then slaughtered, and their women and children sold into slavery, at the vindictive whim of a mortally stricken Arab, after the siege of Medina by the Meccans in 627 A.D. which is named the "War of the Ditch."⁴⁴

Muhammad's policy in Medina was dominated by two interests, the unity of his fledgling commonwealth and the defeat of Mecca. The first led, as has just been recorded, to the banishment, or execution, of the Jews of Medina, and, in the beginning at least, to the appeasement of the Arab opposition. But it was also the quickening impulse to many revelations concerning the moral, social, commercial and

political affairs of the faithful. Sūrah VIII of the Koran, for example, entitled "The Spoils", was revealed after the Battle of Badr, when dissension arose in regard to the division of the booty. It laid down the rules which were to regulate this matter henceforward.⁴⁵ Sūrah IV, named "Women", deals with marriage and marital relations, as its title might suggest, but also treats of suicide and gaming, of inheritance, alms and obligations towards kindred and orphans, the poor and the wayfarer, of prayer and the proprieties of prayer in peace and war, of respect for authority, of war and military tactics, of murder, crime and its punishment, and of evidence and testimony. And Sūrah II, with the heading, "The Cow", includes laws concerning murder and wills, the Fast of Ramadan and war, the Pilgrimage, the Visitation of the Ka'ba and the right to do business during the Pilgrimage, the treatment of orphans, oaths, divorce, divorced mothers, prayer, alms, usury and debt, testimony and the conduct of business; all of which is preceded by stories about Adam, Moses and Abraham, and interlarded with intimations of the Resurrection and Judgment and two tales concerning Saul and David.

The internal relations of Muhammad's community were thus adjusted by revelation. His foreign policy with the defeat of Mecca as its aim, was likewise divinely inspired and guided. "[Ye were led into action notwithstanding]", says Koran VIII, 43, with reference to the epoch-making battle of Badr, "*in order that God might accomplish the thing that was to be done.*" The Muslims had gone out to intercept a Meccan caravan and had met instead a Meccan army three times at least their own number; and the victory, which they gained, was felt and proclaimed by Muhammad to be a miracle and finally convinced him indeed, of his own prophetic standing.⁴⁶ "What!" demands God in Koran IX, 13, "will you not fight against those Meccans, who have broken their oaths and sought to drive out your Apostle and attacked you first." "Make war on them", the next verse commands; "by your hands will God chastise them, and put

them to shame, and give you victory over them and *heal the bosom of a people who believe*". . . . "Because they have debarred [the faithful] from the Holy Temple, although they are not its guardians, nothing is there on their part why God should not chastise them (VIII, 34). "A sanction is given to those who take up arms, when they have suffered outrages" (XXII, 40). "Wage war, believers, against the infidels, who are your neighbours. Let them find you stern" (IX, 124). When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until you have made a great slaughter of them" (XLVII, 4). "No prophet hath been enabled to take captives, until he hath made great slaughter in the earth" (VIII, 68). "Invite not the infidels to peace, when you have the upperhand" (XLVII, 37).⁴⁷

Muhammad's platform was simple and practical, if somewhat arbitrary and personal. God and His Apostle must be obeyed. And warfare to that end is divinely sanctioned, is a heavenly ordinance, in fact, and to be avoided only when the strength of the enemy dictates recourse to peace. Al-Wāqidī enumerates some seventy-three forays and battles of the prophet's career, in nineteen of which Muhammad personally took part: raids against Meccan caravans and caravan routes and stations, raids against the flocks and wells, mines and villages of the neighboring tribes, raids against the Jewish settlements of Khaibar, Fadak and Wādī 'l-Qorā and against the Christians of Dhūmat al-Jaudal, and raids against the towns of Maifa'a and Manta in the Syrian Balqā.⁴⁸ But Mecca remained throughout Muhammad's real objective; and he saw God's guiding hand most clearly in his encounters with his Meccan foes: in the crowning mercy of the victory at Badr (624 A.D.), in the lessons taught by the defeat at Ohod (625 A.D.), in the successful defense of Medina against the Meccans and their confederates (627 A.D.), in the meeting at Hodaibiyya,⁴⁹ where the prophet snatched triumph from the jaws of disaster by his cool and far-seeing statesmanship, when his devoted followers, pilgrimage-minded and only lightly armed, were

confronted by a vastly superior force of well-equipped Mecans (628 A.D.), and finally in the capture of Mecca and the recovery of the Holy Temple (630 A.D.).

With the reduction of Mecca the success of Muhammad's mission was assured, and soon thereafter his writ ran throughout the greater part of the Arabian Peninsula.⁵⁰ A nation was born that would establish a world empire, but which would lose its own soil and live and move and have its being far from the hearth and shrines of its forefathers. Two years later the prophet died (632 A.D.): and the first task of his pious and single-minded successor, the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, was the crushing of the rebellions which broke out all over the land against the overlordship of Medina.⁵¹ The personification of the law was dead. His voice was silenced. Law, as a body of rules, even of divine injunctions, must once again confirm its validity by force and establish its authority in blood.

II. MUHAMMAD'S PERSON AND CHARACTER

The Arab, Muhammad, belongs to that small company of men who have created history by an invincible faith in their destiny. Many may be called to that faith and few chosen, but these few have changed the face of the earth. And Muhammad was of the elect. He was named "Al-Muṣṭafā", the "Chosen One", chosen not only to be God's mouthpiece, but His partner also in will and act in the production of history. The prophet may not have been a genius, if by genius you mean one who contributes some significant, new idea about things, or some deep, fresh insight into life. Döllinger denies Muhammad this qualification. But perhaps the word genius bears another interpretation, when the sphere of human action concerned is religion, or politics, or even ethics.

Muhammad's contemporaries did not really grasp the religious, or the historical significance of his appearance. A prophet hath no honor in his own country, nor comprehen-

sion either most often. His opponents scorned his pretensions, or as much at least, as they understood of them, and judged him according to the preconceptions of their pagan forebears and the patterns of a semi-nomadic, semi-mercantile society. His eccentricities might betoken, they admitted, some poetical genius;⁵² but they do not seem to have given much credence to this interpretation of the prophet's peculiar conduct themselves. His revelations, after all, judged by their poetical standards, were not even mediocre verse, but the measured cant of ranting soothsayers; and Ibn Sa'd, the prophet's biographer, himself, reports that Muhammad could not even read poetry according to metre.⁵³ That he was, indeed, a soothsayer, inspired or possessed by a Jinnī,⁵⁴ appears to have been the considered opinion of a majority of his fellow-citizens. And even Muhammad himself was at first afraid that such might be the true explanation of his ecstatic experiences.⁵⁵

But the singularity of the prophet's personality seems also to have escaped the eyes of his friends and admirers and even of the poets who sought his patronage. For they clothe him mostly with the characteristic qualities of a noble Arab chief and seldom use terms in regard to him that disclose a real consciousness of his break with the past of his people; and such terms, when they actually occur, are generally borrowed from the vocabulary of the Koran.

Ka'b b. Mālik describes Muhammad as strong, sincere, patient, temperate, just, understanding, wise, mild, prudent and deliberate,⁵⁶ a fairly complete catalogue of pagan Arab virtues. And the contemporary Hudhailite poet, Usaid b. 'Iyas, writes:

"I know, O Prophet of God, that thou hast dominion over every living thing that seeks the Tihāmah and Nejd."

.....

"[But] I have *injured no honour and spilt no blood*. Let that reach the knower of the mysteries and quickly."

"[For] no camel has borne on his back *a more sincere and loyal protector* than Muhammad, or a freer donor of robes and noble horses."⁵⁷

Even the prophet's own court poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit, finds little new to say of his patron.

"By God," he declares, "never did a woman bear the like of the Prophet of mercy, the guide [to the straight path]."

"No-one has ever trod the top of this earth, *who has fulfilled his duties towards neighbours and kept his promise more generously than he*";

"Who is a light, at which men seek enlightenment, whose affair is blessed, and *who is endued with resolution and true guidance*";

"Who has confirmed the earlier prophets and is *the most liberal of men to those who ask in seemly fashion, the best of the creatures.*"⁵⁸

"[He is a] prophet," writes Al-Ash'a, one of the most famous Arab poets of all time, "who sees what you do not see, and whose fame, by my life, is spread o'er hill and dale in the land."

"His *alms and his gifts never fail: today's present does not forbid with him tomorrow's.*"

"Have you not then heard indeed of the warning of Muhammad, the prophet of God, when he gave his directions and made his confession."

"If you do not journey with a store of godly fear, and you meet after death with those who have provided themselves [with such stores],"

"You will regret that you have not done as they have. So prepare yourself for the affair, since they prepare themselves."

"*Avoid fallen (or dead) beasts, do not eat them; and use not iron arrows for the slaughter.*"

"Pay no devotions to the Lord of the uplifted [heathen] stone. Worship not idols, worship Allāh."

"*Never turn away a blood-relation, because he is poor, nor a fettered prisoner.*"

"Glorify God evening and morning. Praise not Satan, praise Allāh."

"*Mock not a needy one, afflicted with a palsy; believe not that a man will hold his riches for ever.*"

"*Come not nigh unto a free [woman], intercourse with whom is forbidden you. Marry, or live chastely.*"⁵⁹

Al-Ash'a was a monotheist and believed in the Resurrection and the Last Judgment. He was a Christian by repute and had been influenced, at least, by Christian ideas. One of his friends was the Bishop of Najrān; and he had frequented Ḥīra with its Christian population of 'Ibāds who sold him the wine that he sang of so eloquently. Of all Arab poets he probably was the one whose imagination could have best seized the size and significance of Muhammad's person. And yet in his eulogy of the prophet he has de-

voted but two lines to the man, Muhammad, before turning to his prophetic message; and the burden of that message for Al-Ash'a seems to have been the Christian ascetic's fear of God, a piece of contemporary evidence regarding the motive of Muhammad's preaching which should not be disregarded in any discussion of the source of his prophetic inspiration. But the pagan elements taken up into Islam are also well represented in Al-Ash'a's picture of Islam; and his prophet bears a great likeness to the Old Testament seers of the age of Samuel, but a very generous seer.

Al-Ash'a's pagan contemporary, Ka'b b. Zuhair, famous poet son of a still more famous poet father, also wrote an eulogy of the prophet. It has fifty-eight verses; and Ka'b devotes a mere seven of these to Muhammad. Twelve describe the charms and coquetry of his lady love, Su'ad. Sixteen enumerate the good points of his camel from its nose to its rump, eyes, ears, cheek, neck, flanks, legs, hoofs, skin and hair all included. Twelve are given up to depicting his own perilous situation. For he has lampooned the prophet once too often, and Muhammad has decreed his death; but Ka'b puts his trust in the prophet's generosity. Then come the seven verses which portray Muhammad, followed by other seven in praise of the Quraysh, the prophet's tribe, as welcome, probably, to Muhammad's Arab ear as his own panegyric. A curious encomium surely for a prophet!

"For he is more feared by me," says Ka'b, "when I speak to him, and it is said: Thou art asked concerning thy origin and questioned,

"Than a lion, whose ambush is in a thicket of a valley of the earth in the centre of 'Aththar, brake upon brake."

"It goes forth of a morning and feeds its two cubs with flesh. Their meat is the flesh of men covered with dust, cut in large chunks."

"When it attacks an adversary, it is not lawful for it to quit the foe until the foe is conquered."

"For fear of it the asses aye flee the valley; and men walk not in its wadi."

"The Prophet is a light by means of which enlightenment is acquired, an *Indian sword of God's swords*, that has been unsheathed."⁶⁰

To his own age and people, then, friend or foe, Mu-

hammad was a poet, a soothsayer, a seer, a light, a lion and an Indian sword of the Lord. Early Islam, on the other hand, has preserved for us a picture of the prophet, which is a quite faithful likeness of Muhammad's own characterization of himself in the Koran, and which holds him up as a man subject to the normal weaknesses of his kind, whose only distinction from his fellows is that he is the mouthpiece of revelation.⁶¹ We are assured, indeed, that he was protected against such moral errors as would raise doubts concerning the truth of his message: but it is not denied that he had in fact sinned.⁶² The impeccability of Muhammad has a different basis than the sinlessness of Jesus. Muhammad's impeccability is asserted for the purpose of establishing the validity of his revelation. Jesus' sinlessness is the corollary of the affirmation of his divinity and also of the Christian conception of the true nature of man. Prophetic protection, or, "impeccability" (*iṣmah*), is a postulate of the reason in respect of revelation rather than a definition of the quality of Muhammad's person. The Muslim test of the validity of revelation is the trustworthiness of him who proclaims it. A prophet, therefore, cannot lie in regard to his message.⁶³

Some of the earlier Ash'arite theologians sought to restrict the "impeccability" of the prophet to his being protected from voluntary lies respecting his mission, and from shameful deeds and coarse, degrading sins. He may have committed venial sins, they argued, even voluntarily.⁶⁴ Some mystics also held that Muhammad may have erred by omission, or through inadvertence, or from a misconception of duty. For, like the Antiochian Jesus, he experienced, according to these mystics, the step-by-step purification that is the mark of the saintly life, advancing "in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men."⁶⁵ The Ash'arites abandoned their stand later; and Orthodox Islam agrees that the prophet was defended against the voluntary commission of both great and little sins and against ignorance of God and of the divine attributes and doubt. The prophet

never did worship idols, it is asserted:⁶⁶ nor did Satan ever have power over him either to inflict bodily ills, or to suggest evil thoughts.⁶⁷

The Koran itself presents Muhammad at first as merely the mediator of revelation. "Warn thou then; for thou art only a warner. Thou hast no authority over them."⁶⁸ But such a rôle could not long contain the prophetic consciousness of Muhammad, as the scope and clarity of his mission progressed. Already in Sûrah XXVI the constant refrain of his message has become: "Fear God, then, *and obey me.*"⁶⁹ A subtle sense of personal power as God's agent in world events awoke in him, which increased, as his sphere of authority expanded. He is no longer just the touchstone of men's faith.⁷⁰ He is the arbiter of their destinies. And this change in the prophet's conception of his mission seems to have occurred before the crowning mercy of the battle of Badr in 624 A.D., which may have served to convince Muhammad once for all of his rôle in history, but which manifestly did not plant the thought of that part in his mind in the first place. Some of the implications of his prophetic claims must have become clear to Muhammad while still in Mecca; and it is quite evident also that his Meccan opponents were not altogether unaware of the general trend of his thought and action, and proceeded accordingly.

Nevertheless the Koran, and not Muhammad, is for Islam the revealer of the divine will. The message overshadows the prophet. For the Koran, as the uncreated word of God, has been given a rank and a function in Muslim thought, such as the prophet achieves only in some esoteric circles. "One verse of the Koran," runs a Tradition, "is better than Muhammad and his [whole] family." And that staunch Hanbalite, Ibn Taimiyya (1263—1328 A.D.), adds this decisive comment: "The Word of God is uncreated and cannot be compared with created beings."⁷¹

The voice that speaks in the Koran is God's voice; but by its mere form and phraseology the vast traditional literature of Islam lends weight and authority to the very words

and acts of the prophet. For although the Traditions are also accounted as revelation, the divine will is expressed in them through the sayings and doings of God's Apostle. The prophet's own speech and action are the agents of revelation and thus charged with divine power and sanctity: and through this relation of his speech and action to the divine will his person acquires a qualification that fits it to assume the high rank of the Koran itself as the Word of Revelation, or an even higher rank, if only, that is to say,—and this is exactly what did happen—, the sober reflections of an Abū Bakr, or even of Muhammad himself, on the common fate of prophets and men, should once lose their grip on the religious sentiments of the faithful.⁷²

Muhammad's conception of man is much the same as that of the author of the second chapter of Genesis. "Out of it (the earth)," says Sūrah XX, 57, "We have created you, and into it shall We return you, and out of it shall We bring you forth again."⁷³ The resurrection is a new creation entirely.⁷⁴ The soul is the "breath of life" of Genesis II, which God breathes into man's nostrils, and by which man becomes "a living soul."⁷⁵ At death God takes back the soul to Himself, or He stores it up somewhere in a state of unconsciousness to await the general resurrection.⁷⁶ Death means not only the dissolution of the body, but also the cessation, at least, of the soul's activity and possibly the loss of its individuality, although martyrs in battle are said in the Koran to be still alive,⁷⁷ a comforting assurance, probably, to their mourning relatives.

But Islam, like Christianity, adopted later the Greek philosophical notion of the substantiality and immortality of the soul and combined that idea in their creed, with the doctrine of the Resurrection. Some Ash'arite theologians, it is true, rejected the idea of the soul's substantiality and sought to maintain in another form the primitive conception of complete annihilation and a new creation.⁷⁸ But the immortality of the soul answered the imaginations and hopes of the faithful more immediately and vividly and

finally became the accepted doctrine by general agreement.

That grimly loyal Zāhirite, the brilliant philosophical historian of religion, Ibn Ḥazm (994-1064), reports regarding this controversy that "a heretical party teaches that Muhammad *is not today* the Apostle of God, but that he *was* the Apostle of God." "That is the opinion of the Ash-'arites," and "is," he continues further on, "an evil notion which contradicts God and His Apostle and the *ijmā'* (or general agreement) of all believers from the beginning to the day of resurrection." "They have been led astray to this idea," he goes on, "by their debased notion that the spirit is an accident and that accidents pass away and are created anew. According to their opinion the spirit of the prophet has disappeared and perished so that he no longer has any spirit, and his body lies dead in his grave." "And so," concludes Ibn Ḥazm, "are brought to nought both his apostleship and his prophetship."⁷⁹

The prophet lives on, then, in the presence of God; and by his rôle in the Traditions and the power of intercession attributed to him he has become, not only the exemplar of all true believers, but also their ever-present leader, guide and friend on the road to salvation and peace with God and their living stay and support against the toils and tribulations of their life here below. Every section of Muslim society seeks and finds in him both the qualities which constitute its ideal, and the hopes and desires which it cherishes. For not only is he the model of ascetic piety with its childlike trust in God and flight from the world. He is also the paragon of all the old Arab virtues that have their roots deep down in human relationships. He has become the archetype, not only of humility, modesty and chastity, disinterestedness, poverty of spirit and disregard for the opinion of the world, but also of kindness to relatives, gentleness to friends, indulgence to the weak, benevolence to the poor, mildness and patience, and even of eloquence and good manners. And he is the first-fruits of the successful pursuit of both of these ideals, the perfect saint and the perfect gentle-

man, the noble pattern of both ways of life, and the fountain-head of inspiration and source of power to those who would travel either of those paths.⁸⁰

In mystical circles which retain an orthodox odor, the prophet becomes the chief of all the *shaykhs*, who guide those that tread the straight and narrow way, which leads to union with God. He is their guardian, mentor and friend.⁸¹ But he is not just the first of those who have achieved the goal of the ascetic, mystical life, and for that reason their head and master. He is so by his very nature, by the fore-ordination of God, and the depository, therefore, of all religious knowledge, a position which corresponds to the heretical, Shi'ite conception of the office of the Imām, or leader of the faithful.⁸² And thereby Muhammad has been raised to the dignity of the one and only mediator of the mysteries, "the watering-trough," as Al-Suhrawardī says, "of knowledge and guidance," the Word of Revelation.⁸³

But a prophet is a living being, a person, and not like the Koran just words or speech. His relation to God cannot be that of an attribute merely, but of one thing to another. Muslim mystics found various ideas in their immediate environment to express this relationship, which had already been put forth and developed in Gnostic Jewish and Christian speculations concerning revelation, salvation and creation. And he who had once been the humble mouthpiece of God in Mecca, now plays the part of the True Prophet, who has appeared and spoken in all the prophets, the Spirit of Revelation:⁸⁴—"I was a prophet," Muhammad is reported to have said, "when Adam was between water and clay";⁸⁵ or he becomes the manifestation of the most beautiful of all God's names, Al-Raḥmān, the Merciful, a hyposatization of that divine quality, which is the only assurance of salvation⁸⁶; or finally he appears as the Perfect Man, the first of God's creations and the archetype of all other created things, the hub of the universe and the reason for it, the world-upholding and interpenetrating Logos: "As

Mecca is the mother of cities, so is the "seed" (*dhurrah*) of Muhammad the mother of creation."⁸⁷

Muhammad does not seem to have formed any firm conviction regarding the efficacy of his own, or of any other being's, intercession with God on the Day of Judgment. Some verses of the Koran deny the possibility of such intercession entirely. "Say: Intercession is wholly with God" (XXXIX, 45): "And fear ye the day when soul shall not satisfy for soul at all, nor shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any ransom be taken, neither shall they be helped" (II, 45).⁸⁸ Other verses, again, indicate a belief, or hope, on Muhammad's part, that God would permit certain of His creatures to intercede with Him on behalf of their fellows. *Sūrah XLIII*, 86 declares that "only they who bore witness to the truth and knew it" will have the right of intercession; and those "who bore witness to the truth" are generally reputed to be some of the prophets and the angels. In other verses the angels are singled out as probable intercessors with their Lord.⁸⁹ But nowhere does Muhammad claim this privilege exclusively for himself. A consciousness of responsibility for the faithful of his followers may be inferred from *Sūrah XXVI*, 214-216 which reads: "Warn thy relatives of nearer kin and kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee; but if they disobey thee, then say: 'I shall not be answerable for your doings.'"⁹⁰ On the other hand, *Sūrah LXII*, 21 runs: "Say: No control have I over what may hurt or benefit you."

But the faithful do not appear to have had any doubts at all upon this subject. A well established tradition relates that "Gabriel is the first who may make intercession on the Day of Judgment, then the Holy Spirit, Moses and Jesus in turn," and that "then the prophet will arise," and that "no-one on whose behalf he intervenes, will require any further intercession."⁹¹ And *Al-Ash'arī*, the founder of one of the orthodox schools of Muslim theology, writes: "We affirm that God will bring forth a people from Hell, after they have been scorched, through the intercession of the

Apostle of God, in accordance with what the Traditions report on the authority of the Apostle of God."⁹²

The only proof of prophethood, which Muhammad advances, is the Koran;⁹³ and yet it is good Koranic doctrine that a prophet must have a sign, or a miracle, that identifies him as a messenger of God. Muhammad recounts many such wonders in connection with the missions of Moses, Jesus, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ and Shu'aib,⁹⁴ but does not lay claim to even one, that has been performed by himself, or on his behalf except perhaps the victory of Badr.⁹⁵ A Koranic wonder is a sign from God, which conveys a warning to the people whom a prophet addresses. The prophet himself does not usually work the wonder. It is God's act.⁹⁶ And except in the case of the story of Jesus, where he turns a clay pigeon into a live bird by breathing into it and promises to heal the blind and the leper, and by God's leave to quicken the dead, where Jesus seems to do these works himself, if with the permission of God, the prophet is not an active agent,⁹⁷ but merely an instrument through whom God's power is exerted, and in some instances, indeed, merely an announcer of the sign.

The essence of a miracle for Muhammad is not, therefore, its extraordinary nature, but its admonitory quality. It is a warning to the people who observe it, to hear and obey; and so also are the miraculous judgments that overtook the peoples, such as Pharoah and his hosts, who refused to respect the signs of God. In comparison with these earlier signs the Koran, Muhammad reminds his audience, is a light warning.⁹⁸ But it is nevertheless a warning; and it is also, like the other signs of God, a direct, divine act, and, therefore, a miracle.⁹⁹ And he challenges his opponents to produce ten sūrahs, or chapters, or even one, like his, of their own advising, if they would refute his claim to be what he assumed himself to be.¹⁰⁰

The Muslim community, however, has not rested content with their prophet's one miracle. In popular legends and in lives of the prophet beasts, stones and trees know

of his coming before man and are the first to greet him as a prophet.¹⁰¹ A wolf announces his advent to a shepherd, who seeks to rescue a sheep from his fangs.¹⁰² A camel that is about to be slaughtered, runs to the prophet and lays its head in his bosom, begging for protection, and saves itself.¹⁰³ Uprooted trees stand upright again; others bow to him and give him shelter; or they leave their places to salute him and, having done so, return whence they came.¹⁰⁴ A meal prepared for the prophet satisfies a multitude of his followers.¹⁰⁵ A drop of water serves them for drink and ablutions.¹⁰⁶ A goat quenches the thirst of four hundred.¹⁰⁷ The prophet gives sight to the blind eye of Qatāda b. Nu'mān.¹⁰⁸ His prayers for rain are answered with a flood.¹⁰⁹ He turns a ship's mast into a sword.¹¹⁰

Some of these stories have found their way into the authoritative collections of Muslim Traditions and have also been used by Koran commentators for exegetical purposes; and especially is this true of those stories which have been linked with some event, or comment, in the Koran and have thus acquired a sort of divine sanction. Sūrah XCIV, 1-2, for example, says: "Have we not opened thine heart for thee, and taken off from thee the burden which galled thy back?" And whatever Muhammad meant by it, this Koranic statement has become the basis and inspiration for the story of the cleansing of the prophet's heart by two angels, or by Gabriel himself, while Muhammad was still a little lad staying with his foster parents in the desert, or later just before his call as a prophet. The angels seized the prophet, and, cutting open his body, they took out a clot of blood, which they threw away saying: "This is the Devil's part." Then they washed the prophet's heart with Zemzem water, or with snow, from a golden dish and put his body together again.¹¹¹

The moral of the story is evident and need not be discussed. But many other portents of Muhammad's future greatness are recorded: and the stories that tell of them have gathered around this one to form a cycle of birth leg-

ends. A woman, it is reported, saw the light of prophecy in Muhammad's father and desired a child by him.¹¹² The prophet's mother, Āmina, we are told, had an announcement like the Virgin Mary and suffered none of the hardships or pains of child-bearing.¹¹³ A light went forth from the child, as soon as it was separated from her, that lit up the whole world.¹¹⁴ The prophet was born circumcised;¹¹⁵ and at birth he fell upon the ground and placing his hands upon the earth he raised his head to heaven and then took a handful of dirt.¹¹⁶ These and many other signs, we are informed, foretold of an exalted office for the child, Muhammad, in days to come.

The most significant development of this form of religious literature in Islam is probably the cycle of stories concerning the prophet's famous journey by night and his ascent to heaven, inspired apparently by one or two mysterious statements in the Koran. In Sūrah XVII, 1 we read: "Glory be to Him, *who carried His servant by night from the sacred temple [of Mecca] to the temple, that is most remote, whose precinct we have blessed, that we might shew him of our signs.*" The temple that is most remote is generally supposed to have been Jerusalem; and from Jerusalem the prophet's ascent is said to have begun, when Gabriel led him up through the seven heavens as far as to the Sidrah or Lotus tree, that marks the boundary beyond which no mortal may advance, and where the prophet "saw the greatest of the signs of God." The scriptural authority for the ascent is Sūrah LIII, especially verses 8 and 10. Verses 4 to 18 run: "[The Koran] is no other than a revelation revealed to him. One terrible in power taught it him, endued with wisdom. With even balance he stood in the highest part of the horizon. *Then he approached descending and was at a distance of two bow-shots or even closer; and he revealed to his servant what he revealed.* His heart falsified not what he saw. What! Will you then dispute with him as to what he saw. He had seen him also another time near the Sidrah tree which marks the boundary, near which is the garden

of repose. *When the Sidrah tree was covered with what covered it, his eye turned not aside nor did it wander. For he saw the greatest of the signs of his Lord.*"

Both the journey and the revelation have been interpreted as true visions of the night, or dreams, and as stark realities;¹¹⁷ and both have passed through the alembic of the religious imagination and become respectively a Descent into Hell and an Ascent into Heaven. Mounted on the magic steed, Al-Burāq, and accompanied by the angel Gabriel, the prophet speeds through the night from Mecca to Jerusalem and passes on the way various groups of people. And first he beholds a people, who sow and reap on the same day. "These," Gabriel tells him, "are they who fought in the path of God and to whom the good which they did is doubled seven hundred fold." Then he sees a people who continually knock their heads against stones. "These," says Gabriel, "are they whose heads are heavy, [because they did not perform] the prescribed prayers." Next he meets a people clad in rags and pasturing like camels, or sheep, and eating bitter thorns. "They did not give alms," Gabriel explains. Then he finds a people who have good, cooked flesh in kettles, but also raw, filthy, bad meat; and they eat the bad meat and do not touch the good. "Adulterers," says Gabriel. And one after another the prophet passes the future abodes of highway robbers, usurers, preachers of sedition and babblers, and beholds their fate. But at last he comes to a wādy, through which blows a cool wind smelling of musk; and he hears in it a sound, the voice of Paradise asking God for what He has promised it: "every Muslim, man and woman, every believing man and woman, whoever believes on me and My Prophet and works righteousness." And beyond this wādy lies another, which has a stinking smell; and here he also hears a sound, the voice of Hell asking its Lord for what He has promised it, "every polytheist, man and woman, every unbeliever, man and woman, every evil-doer, man and woman, every tyrant, who does not believe in the Day of Reckoning."¹¹⁸

The prophet comes finally to Jerusalem and prays there along with the angels and meets his brother prophets, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon and Jesus, and is proclaimed by Abraham to be the best of them. "Then Gabriel ascended with him to the heaven of this world." And there Muhammad sees "a man of perfect proportions without a blemish, with a door to his right from which comes a pleasant odour, and to his left a door from which issues an evil smell." "This," says Gabriel, "is thy father, Adam. The door on his right is the door to Paradise; and when he looks at those of his seed, who enter therein, he laughs and rejoices. The door on his left is the door to Hell; and when he looks at those of his descendants, who enter therein, he weeps and is sorrowful."¹¹⁹

In the second heaven Muhammad meets two youth, Jesus and John the Baptist. In the third he sees a man, "who surpasses all men in beauty, as the moon surpasses all the stars." He is Joseph. In the fourth heaven is Idris, in the fifth Aaron with the Children of Israel. In the sixth sits Moses weeping, because another, to wit, Muhammad, has now replaced him as the noblest of the children of Adam. And in the seventh and last heaven a grey-haired Shaykh is seated by the door of Paradise on a throne; and some of those who sit with him, have faces white as paper, while the faces of the others have some color to them. And the latter enter a river, and wash themselves in it and come out with some of the color gone; and so they continue to do until their faces become white like those of their companions. "The Shaykh," says Gabriel, "is thy father, Abraham, the first of those who became grey on earth; and the people with the white faces are those who have not mixed their faith with injustice; and those, who have some color to their faces, are they who have followed a good deed with an evil and then repented." Thereafter the prophet advanced as far as the Sidrah, or Lote tree, whose foliage covers all mankind, and which the light of the Creator conceals and the angels cover like crows when they alight upon it. And

there God talked with him and said: "I have taken you as my beloved and friend . . . ; and I have sent you to all people to announce the good news and to warn. I have opened thy breast and taken from it thy burden (or sin) and have exalted thy memory, so that I shall not be named without thy being named along with Me; and I have made thy people a central people (or the best of peoples) and have established them as the first and the last."¹²⁰

Such is the high destiny of the Arab Prophet and his people, as Muslim legend and annals picture it. Christian eyes viewed it differently. Western Christianity, as we have already mentioned, saw in Muhammad a heretic of the Arian persuasion: and Dante placed him in Hell with the heresiarchs.¹²¹ But that is not the unkindest name given to the prophet of Islam by the followers of him whom he called "my brother, Jesus." For Chaucer and Dunbar he is the "Devil Mahound"; and for David Lyndsay he is "that prophet poisonable" in hell along with Simon Magus and Bishop Cayphas, Bishop Annas and the traitor Judas."¹²² William Bedwell calls him "that blasphemous seducer, Mahound";¹²³ and Heinrich Cnustin published in 1542 a book with the title: "The low origin, the scandalous life and the disgraceful end of the Turkish idol, Mahomet, with his damnable and blasphemous doctrine." "Haec porcus Machometus mulierum amator" is perhaps the lowest ebb of Christian invective.¹²⁴

Medieval Christianity, as the title of Cnustin's book shows, believed that Muhammad was an idol worshipped by the Saracens. Even Pharoah is a Muslim in the Miracle Plays and calls upon his army at the Red Sea to pray to "Mahoun"; and Augustus is also a Saracen and orders the "Christian dogs" "who deny the law of Mahoun" to be brought before him.¹²⁵ But the prevailing legend about Muhammad seems to have been that he was a Christian, a "good clerk," a "great clerk," even a cardinal at the court of Rome, who had the ambition to be "praesul" of Jerusalem, or even to become the Pope, and who, when his plans were foiled,

fled to Syria and set himself up there as a false prophet, or the Jewish Messiah, by the simple, if ingenious, trick of training a dove to come to his ear by placing corn in it.¹²⁶ Another form of this legend relates that an apostate "clerk", or monk, Sergius, or Solius, by name, a Nestorian, or Monophysite, by profession, took up Muhammad and raised him to power by the aforesaid dove trick;¹²⁷ and this form of the legend has this historical basis at least, that Muslims claim that their prophet was proclaimed as such by a Christian monk, or hermit, Bahīrā, or Nestor, who met him on one of his caravan trips to Syria.¹²⁸

A few historical facts, somewhat distorted, indeed, but still recognizable as such, appear amidst this "gallimaufry of errors," as Alexander Ross of Aberdeen described the Koran.¹²⁹ Matthew Paris knew of two Muhammads; but one at least, the wrong one, to be sure, was "the son of Abdallah, the son of Abdelmudalib." The *Roman de Mahomet* calls the prophet's father, Avdemenef, the pagan name of Muhammad's uncle, Abū Ṭālib, and mentions Muhammad's meeting with the hermit, who foretold his future greatness; which is good Muslim history at any rate. It also reports that the prophet was subject to epileptic fits, as does also Roger Wendover in his "Flowers of History".¹³⁰ And Roger tells us that Muhammad's queen was "Cadison" (Khadija), and that the land to which the prophet fled, was the province of the Corozon (Quraysh).

Some modern Christian scholars almost outdo their medieval brethren. Sprenger admits that Muhammad's seizures were not epileptic fits, but insists that the prophet suffered from hysteria muscularis and hysteria cephalica, both of them, he points out, womanish diseases, but not entirely unknown among men. He also suggests that Muhammad was a victim of sodomitical tendencies. That might explain, he seems to think, the fact that the prophet was content with only one wife up to his forty-ninth year, but "sported" over a dozen later. His conduct, says Sprenger, scandalized the faithful; and God had to send him a revelation granting

him greater freedom in this respect than other mortals. Sprenger should have remembered Solomon at least.¹³¹

In an excursus Sprenger compares Muhammad to Emanuel Swedenborg, who was also called to his holy office when already well advanced in years, and experienced hysterical seizures, and who, like all men of this nature, says Sprenger, was incapable of distinguishing between truth and falsehood. Both men, Sprenger points out, were subject to auditory and visual hallucinations, but he acknowledges that Muhammad's revelations, in comparison with Swedenborg's, give evidence of some genius and also of a conscious and calculated purpose.¹³²

With Sprenger's judgment of Muhammad as a conscious and calculating schemer, the Belgian scholar, Henri Lammens, would wholly agree. For Lammens, the prophet was essentially a politician with the mentality of a Meccan broker, who conceived of God as a super-banker offering profits of fifty to one hundred per cent. for the good that man does on earth. Lammens also considers the later marital adventures of the prophet as symptomatic of a perverted and sensual nature and is utterly sceptical of Muhammad's sincerity at any point in his career. Both Sprenger and Lammens, in fact, accept the medieval Christian estimate of the prophet as "*Haec porcus Machometus mulierum amator.*"¹³³

Other Christian scholars have scrutinized Muhammad's life and acts with a kindlier eye. "He was not," says D. B. Macdonald, "as so many have thought, a schemer, a politician, a man who set out to unite Arabia and to become its head, and who at every move knew exactly what he was doing and why he did it." "Emphatically, Muhammad was not in his beginnings a self-seeking, insincere imposter. . . . He was a pathological case." "But do not think," he says a page or two later, "that I, in this, would slur over in any respect the last terrible ten years of Muhammad's life, when he ruled absolutely in Medina . . . [and] fell before temptation. . . . There can be no shadow of question

that in those last years he forged the awful machinery of divine inspiration to serve his own ignoble and selfish purposes . . . the moral declension, the slope into the abyss of evil, down which Muhammad so calmly walked in those ten years, can never be explained away."¹³⁴

But Tor Andrae, the Swedish scholar, does so. "That Mohammad acted in good faith can hardly be disputed by anyone," he declares, "who knows the psychology of inspiration. That the message, which he proclaimed, did not come from himself . . . is not only a tenet of his faith, but also an experience, whose reality he never questioned." "It is a natural enough process," he explains, "that an originally spontaneous inspiration should be transformed more and more into an inspiration of ideas becoming increasingly subject to the control of the conscious will. We see how the prophet gradually grew accustomed to think of ideas that emerged in his consciousness, and decisions that matured in his soul, as direct expressions of the divine will. As far as I can see, such a development must be regarded as psychologically normal."¹³⁵

And against the charges of hysteria, hypocrisy and political chicanery, that have been levelled at Muhammad, Tor Andrae points not only to his self-control at the critical moment of Hodaibiyya and to the self-restraint and forbearance, with which he exploited his final victory, but also to the significant fact that "there is every indication that even in Medina Mohammed lived on the whole in rather modest circumstances and adhered to the moderately ascetic ideal, which he defends in the Koran." He faithfully observed his own restrictions, asserts this Swedish scholar; and his piety was genuine and sincere. But even Tor Andrae confesses that Muhammad's "moral personality does not stand upon the same level with his other endowments, and indeed, not even upon the same level with his religious endowments."¹³⁶

"All this," says G. Snouck Hurgronje, referring to the changes that have been marked in Muhammad towards the end of his life, "is to be explained without the supposition

of conscious trickery or dishonesty on the part of Mohammed."¹³⁷ "The decisive fact remains," points out Schwally in Noeldeke's *History of the Koran*, "that to his very last breath he laboured zealously for his God and for the salvation of his people, of all mankind, indeed, and that he never lost his firm faith in his divine mission."¹³⁸ And as Tor Andrae has emphasized, the foundations of Islam were laid in those "last terrible ten years of Muhammad's life"; and it is difficult to imagine that the faith and devotion of an Abū Bakr, or an 'Umar, or even an 'Uthmān, were given to a moral pervert. Muhammad may have been psychopathic,—that is more credible today than ever, when genius is again explained as a sort of possession,—but not a degenerate. His conduct of affairs, in fact, during these years discredits that suggestion. He had a gift of judging character, says Professor Macdonald, and a still greater gift of attaching men to himself.¹³⁹ Such gifts are seldom, or never, found with moral pervers; and the quality of the men whom Muhammad attached to himself, is the most trustworthy evidence of the prophet's own character.

The times and circumstances of Muhammad's life are often forgotten, when judgment is passed upon his work and person. The Arabs of the Hijāz and the Najd had been cut off to a large extent by their deserts from the Graeco-Roman world. They were then, as they are even today, if not a primitive people, at least a people living in primitive conditions. Jews, with some sort of a Judaism, inhabited several of the oases in the Northwest of the peninsula; and a Jewish, or a Judaized, king, Dhū Nuwās, reigned for some years in Najrān at the beginning of the fifth century.¹⁴⁰ Christianity was the nominal religion of the tribes whose pastures bordered on Byzantine and Persian territory, such as Bakr, Qudā'a, and Tanūkh. The small Arab principedoms in Syria and Iraq, Ghassān and Hira, were organized Christian centers with bishoprics and a flourishing monastic life. Bahrain formed with Persia Proper, or Persistan, a metropolitanate of the Nestorian Church, to which 'Oman also

belonged. And Nestorians and Jacobites struggled for supremacy in Yemen and Najrān.¹⁴¹

But the tribes of Najd and the Hijāz were pagans still, pilgrimaging for the most part to Mecca and sacrificing in the Valley of Mīna; and the pagan poetry of Arabia reveals a society with a character and customs akin to those of the early Hebrews of the times of Saul and David and the Judges, even of Moses and Abraham.¹⁴² The Hebrews devoted the Midianites and the peoples of Jericho, Ai and Makkedah, just as Muhammad slaughtered the helpless men of Jewish Qainuqā' in Medina. And the uxoriousness of the prophet may be compared with that of Solomon, and the story of Muhammad and Zainab with that of David and Bathsheba; only the prophet does not seem, like David, to have suffered the pangs of remorse. Life in Muhammad's Arabia was governed by much the same factors, social and economic, that swayed the acts and thoughts of the early Hebrew adventurers. The security of a man's life and chattels depended upon his good right arm and the number and nerve of his sons and kinsmen. Virtue meant courage, and endurance, loyalty to family and tribe through thick and thin, and at times a magnificent, spendthrift generosity. "The great gap of twelve or thirteen centuries", as Sir C. J. Lyall says, "seems to vanish entirely." And in Muhammad we have again the judge and seer of early Israel.

Professor D. B. Macdonald has declared that Muhammad "was truly in the succession of the Old Testament prophets."¹⁴³ Many traits of the early prophets of Israel reappear in him; and we also find in him the thought, habits and practice of the days of the Judges and Kings, cheek by jowl with religious ideas of more recent times, such as the notion of a Last Judgment, or of man's individual responsibility to his Creator and Lord, or of a succession of prophets, or of God's care for man. Some of the early chapters of the Koran are either introduced by, or contain, the fulsome oaths of the professional soothsayer and are written in the short, staccato, rhymed lines of the Kāhins,

or seers,¹⁴⁴ and revelation comes to the prophet with the tinkling of a bell, or he sees an angel in the form of a man, who declares it to him in intelligible speech; and while he receives it, they wrap him up in his mantle till fear departs from him, lest he see God.¹⁴⁵ And much more significant, perhaps, his patterns and exemplars were not the Christian Apostles, but the patriarchs and worthies of Old Testament history, Noah and Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, Moses and Aaron, Saul, David and Solomon, into whose ranks the figures of Jesus and John fell naturally in Muhammad's thought. The faith of a St. Paul never swam into his ken; and if it had, he would undoubtedly have rejected it. For a god who died that man might live would have been, not only a stumbling-block to his mind, but sheer foolishness. In his own Arab fashion he understood the old Hebrew worthies and their ways, and saw in them his forerunners. Their life was his life, and their times were in a sense also his.¹⁴⁶ The spirit that flared in him had once blazed in Deborah and Gideon, even in Elijah and Amos; and his mind, for all its new ideas, was very much akin to that of his seminomad, semi-settled kinsmen of Israel some thirteen hundred years earlier.

Lammens has giped at the Prophet's Abrahamic myth, as he calls it.¹⁴⁷ For Muhammad names Abraham the first Muslim and the builder of the Ka'ba at Mecca. But it is a real myth. Lammens has forgotten that Abraham is the pattern of all true believers in the New Testament, and that for Philo he is the type of the man who abandons home and people for the sake of God.¹⁴⁸ And did not Muhammad sever the close-knit ties of Arab tribalism that the One True God might be worshipped? And did he not go forth from his own country to live in a strange land and become the founder of a mighty people?

When Muhammad was distressed in his mind by doubts concerning the source of his inspiration, his wife, Khadīja, is said to have addressed him in these simple words: "God will never discomfort thee. For thou bindest the ties of re-

lationship close by kindly deeds; thou upholdest the feeble; thou givest to the poor; thou welcomest the guest, and art a succour when the right is wronged."¹⁴⁹ The prophet's friends wept, we are told, when they parted from him;¹⁵⁰ and of himself the prophet is reported to have said: "I am that one among you who fears God most and knows him best."¹⁵¹ A wife's faith and the devotion of friends may not be conclusive evidence of a man's stature and worth, but they are at least a tribute to his character and conduct. A gentle spirit, this Muhammad, apparently, so long as the will of his God was not in dispute, with a strong, if not too fine a sense of social justice, a God-fearing mind in the midst of a reckless, worldly folk, who was willing to give his life for his God, if not for his people. He was not always inspired perhaps, when he thought he was. But who shall reckon the balance of good and evil which his words and life have wrought in the countless millions who have believed in his inspiration and followed his light sincerely? And who shall forget that they trod his path seeking salvation and hoping through him to find it?

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NOTES

- ¹ Muhammed's Religion (1838), p. 3.
- ² Ibn Sa'd, *Biographien Muhammeds* etc., Bd. I, Theil 1, hrsg. Eugen Mittwoch, p. 85, ll. 5ff; Cf. also for Khadija, Bd., VII, p. 8. ll. 24-25; p. 9, ll. 9, 17; p. 10, l. 6. Quoted by A. Sprenger in *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*. (Berlin, 1869), Vol. I, p. 195.
- ³ See Horovitz in *Islamic Culture*, I (1927), 536-537. Cf. also D. S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*.
- ⁴ Joseph Horovitz as in previous note, pp. 542-549. Cf. also Margoliouth's *Lectures*.
- ⁵ Joseph Horovitz as in note 3, p. 548. See Tabari, *Annales* (ed. M. J. de Goeje et alii, Leiden, 1885-93), I, 1180, 1224, 1234, 1284, 1634, 1770.
- ⁶ Joseph Horovitz as in note 3, pp. 552-553. A copy of the pact and edict of Muhammad to the people of Najran appears in *Patr. Orient.* XIII, 4ff.
- ⁷ See C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott Reinhardt* (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1906).
- ⁸ Lammens says about 580 A.D. See his "La Mecque à la Veille de l'Hégire" in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beyrouth, IX, 3 (1924), p. 360-364. Cf. on the Tradition concerning Muhammad's life Th. Noeldeke in *Der Islam* V, 2-3.
- ⁹ Bukhāri, Ch. XXVI, 2; LX, 29; LXX, 50.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Koran Surahs XCVI, 5-11; CVIII, 1.
- ¹¹ Surah LXXXI, 19-23; Cf. LIII, 5-18.
- ¹² Cf. *Das Leben Muhammeds nach Muhammed Ibn Ishāq*, bearbeitet von 'Abd el-Malik Ibn Hisham, hrsg. von F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1859), p. 151.
- ¹³ Cf. Surahs LXXIII, LXXIV and XCIV.
- ¹⁴ *La Recueil des Traditions Mahométones par . . . el-Bokhāri*; ed. L. Krehl (Leyde, 1862), Vol. I, Ch. I, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 4 and 5.
- ¹⁵ Such as, for example, his wife, Khadija, his first convert, and Abū Bakr, his adopted sons, Zayd and 'Alī, and Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, the future conqueror of Persia, and Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, his own cousin and his wife's nephew, and Ṭalḥah, and 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf and 'Uthmān, the third Caliph.

- ¹⁶ Tabarī, *Annales*, Prima Series III, p. 1174, l. 9ff. See A. Sprenger, *Das Leben*, Vol. II, p. 176, Note 1.
- ¹⁷ Cf. the Koran, Surahs LXIX. 42 and LII. 29.
- ¹⁸ This seems to have been the common reaction. Cf. Surahs XVII. 50-51; XXI. 3; XXIII. 63 and XLIII. 79.
- ¹⁹ See Surahs VII. 43 and 64; XI. 29 and 93; XIV. 3; XXII. 29ff; XXIII. 24, 33-34; XXV. 61; XXVI. 111; XXXIV. 30-32; XXXVIII. 5 and 86; XLIII. 30 and LIV. 24-25.
- ²⁰ Cf. Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām) as in note 10, pp. 168-169. See G. Weil's translation of Ibn Hishām (Stuttgart, 1864), Vol. I, p. 125ff. Cf. also Ibn Sa'd (*Biographien*), I. 1, p. 134ff.
- ²¹ Ibn Ishāq, pp. 205-209. On the flight to Abyssinia Cf. Tabarī, *Annales*, I, 1284; also F. Buhl in *Orientalische Studien* (Noeldeke), pp. 13, 22; Ibn Sa'd, I. 1, p. 136ff; *Zeitschrift d. Morgen. Gesellschaft*. XXXVI. 1 (1881).
- ²² Ibn Ishāq, pp. 225-6.
- ²³ Surah CXI.
- ²⁴ Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām) as in note 10, pp. 279-280.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287. Yathrib seems to have been famous for the arrows manufactured in it. Cf. F. Krenhow, *The Poems of Tufail and Tirmmah*, p. 5, Tufail I, vs. 57, and Tirmmah, no. XLIX. 32.
- ²⁶ Besides Aus and Khazraj there were also apparently other Arab elements who belonged to a previous infiltration and were partly Judaized. See J. Wellhausen, "Medina vor dem Islam" in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1885-99). Winckler supposes the Jews of Medina to have been just Judaized Arabs ("Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch"), in *Mitteil. der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*. (1901, 4), p. 72ff. Margoliouth is sceptical of their Jewish origin (*The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to Islam*, p. 70). But cf. C. C. Torrey as cited in note 28.
- ²⁷ For Wars of Aus and Khazraj see the *Mufaddaliyyāt* (ed. Sir C. C. Lyall). LXXV, pp. 224-225, and CXIX, vs. 29-30.
- ²⁸ C. C. Torrey. *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933) p. 25.
- ²⁹ C. C. Torrey. *op. cit.* p. 42-45. Muir and Sprenger think that the person referred to in XVI. 105 may have been a Christian, either Suhaib b. Sinan, a Greek slave, or a monk of Nineveh, named Addas. See Rodwell's *Koran*, for references. It may be pointed out that Ibn Hishām does not seem to know of any Meccan Jews. The Quraysh are reported to have sent envoys to Medina, when they wished to consult Jews in regard to the prophet and his speeches (See *Das Leben Mohammed's nach Mohammed Ibn Ishāq* etc., translated by G. Weil (Stuttgart, 1864), Vol. I, p. 143). There are traditions, on the other hand, of Christian visitors to Mecca (*ibid.* p. 193) and of Christian slaves in Mecca (*ibid.* p. 209). But Sprenger in his *Life of Muhammad* tells of a Syrian Jew, Ibn al-Hayyabin, who settled in Mecca several years before Muhammad's call (Vol. II, p. 145). He also knows however, of two Christian sword-makers, Jabr and Yasār, and a Christian slave, 'Ayish, who had several books. And Lammens reports a Christian maulā of Safwan b. Omayya, Nastas, in his *La Mecque*, IX. 3, p. 353-357.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33. Cf. for the Medinan Surahs, II, 27-99, 247-253, 261-283; IV. 26ff; V. 1-16, 23-36, 44-49, 69; VIII. 67; XXIV. 31. Much of the matter in what are headed "Meccan" Surahs is doubtless Medinan in origin. The beginning of a Surah seems to have established its origin. Cf. for learned Jews in Medina, who accepted Islam, A. Sprenger's *Das Leben*, Vol. I, pp. 54-57; Bukhārī (ed. Krehl) LX. 1. 4. For other views regarding the "Jews" of Arabia see D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations*, etc. (Calcutta, 1930), pp. 59-70; Hugo Winckler, "Arabisch Semitisch-Orientalisch," pp. 1-223. J. Finkel, "A Risāla of al-Jahīz" in *Journal of American Oriental Society* (1927, Dec.), p. 326ff.
- ³¹ Cf. Surahs XXVI. 197 and V. 48, 68.
- ³² See Hubert Grimme, *Mohammed* (Münster i. W., 1892), Vol. I, p. 71. Cf. also G. Weil's *Das Leben Mohammed's*, Vol. I, pp. 283-287.
- ³³ See Thaddäus Kowalski. *Der Diwān des Kais Ibn al-Hafīm* (Leipzig, 1914) esp. pp. XXXI and 1-85. Kais mentions the Kāhināni in II, 13; IV. 12; XVII. 2; and Jews in VII. 5. It must be confessed that the Arabic poetry of the Jews exhibits as little evidence of Jewish influences as that of their Arab compatriots.
- ³⁴ A. Sprenger. *Das Leben*, Vol. II, p. 203 citing Ibn Ishāq (see note 35) p. 134. See p. 201 of the same volume for the names of Madinans who believed in the One God. See also G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammed's*, Vol. I, p. 101.
- ³⁵ See Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām), p. 289 (See Note 10).
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 291ff.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 296; Cf. also pp. 297-300. See also A. Von Kremer. *History of Muhammad's Campaigns by Aboo 'Abd Ollah Mohammad . . . al-Wakīdy* Biblioteca Indica Nos. 110, 112, 113, 121 and 139) p. 44, l. 5ff.
- ³⁸ Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām) p. 316.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 323-325.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 328-335.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 355ff and p. 364. Cf. Surahs XXXIII 12-20; LXIII; IX. 65-88.
- ⁴² Cf. for example the Koranic passages, Surahs II. 70-73, 85, 88, 95, 107, 141, 134, 159; III. 58-61, 68, 72; V. 16.
- ⁴³ See H. Grimme. *Mohammed*, Vol. I, p. 94.
- ⁴⁴ Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām), pp. 545ff; pp. 652-3; pp. 673, 686-690.
- ⁴⁵ Cf. on division of booty in Pre-Islamic times the *Mufaddaliyyāt*, LXXIX. 6.
- ⁴⁶ Cf. Surahs VIII. 7-8, 17-18, 43-68; III. 11. On the battle of Ohod cf. Surah III. 117-20, 145-149, 157, 166-167.
- ⁴⁷ Cf. further Surahs II. 187, 189, 212-214, 245-246; IV. 73-80, 105; IX. 1-29, 112, 124; XXXIII. 9-20.
- ⁴⁸ *History of Muhammad's Campaigns* (ed. A. Von Kremer, Calcutta, 1856), pp. 2-7. Cf. for Badr pp. 12, 24-34, 40.
- ⁴⁹ See Surah XLVIII.
- ⁵⁰ See H. Grimme, *Mohammed* Vol. I. Ch. VI, p. 143ff. Cf. H. Lammens "La Mecque," p. 416/320.
- ⁵¹ See Carl Brockelmann. *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 41-45.

- ⁶² Cf. Surahs XXI. 5; LII. 30; LXIX. 41.
- ⁶³ *Kitāb al-tābaqāt al-kabīr*, I. ii. 102.
- ⁶⁴ Cf. Surahs XLIV. 13; LII. 29; LXIX. 42. Cf. on notes 53 and 54 Th. Noeldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* (ed. Schwally) Vol. I. p. 76. In the Peshitto, St. John, VIII, 48, the Jews say to Jesus: "You are a Samaritan and have a demon (Daiwā)."
- ⁶⁵ Cf. Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām), p. 154; Tabari, *Annales*, I, 1152; Ibn Sa'd (as in note 2), I. 1, p. 130, l. 10.
- ⁶⁶ See Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām), p. 370, vs. 13 and 14.
- ⁶⁷ See J. G. L. Kosegarten, *The Poems of the Huzailis* (London, 1854), I, p. 273 no. 127; vs. 1, 3, 4 and 5.
- ⁶⁸ See his *Diwān*, no. CXXXIV. (ed. by H. Hirschfeld, Leiden, 1904). On this general subject cf. Gustav von Grünebaum's "Von Muhammad's Werkung und Originalität" in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenl.* XLIV, pp. 30-50.
- ⁶⁹ *Diwān*, ed. Thorbeck in *Morgenl. Forschungen*, 1875, pp. 254-260, no. XVII, vs. 14-20.
- ⁷⁰ Verses 45 to 51 of the *Bānat Su'ād* of Ka'b b. Zuhair. (ed. and tr. by Gerardus Joannes Lette, Lugduni Batavorum, 1748).
- ⁷¹ Cf. Surahs XXVI. 77-88; LXXIX. 45; LXXXVIII. 21. Compare also II. 274 and III. 133; VI. 107; XVIII. 110; XXI. 3; XXVI. 192; XXVII. 82-83; XLVI. 8; L. 1; LXXII. 24; LXXV. 16-19; Observe especially XXV. 22; XIV. 4, 13; XIII. 38.
- ⁷² Cf. Surahs XXXVIII. 25 and XXVIII. 15.
- ⁷³ See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben Seiner Gemeinde* (Stockholm, 1917), pp. 132, 176-177.
- ⁷⁴ *Shifā*, II. 137.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145ff. See Luke II. 52. Cf. Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in *Epistolas B. Pauli Commentarii*, H. B. Swete, 1880, Rom. I, 2-3; VIII. 3; Phil. II, 8-11; Eph. I. 7, 10, 20, 23; II. 13, 16; Gal. III. 12, 27, 28; IV. 5; Col. I, 13; II. 11; Tim. III. 16.
- ⁷⁶ But cf. Surah XCIII. 7, and A. Sprenger's *Das Leben*, II, 1, 746, 90.
- ⁷⁷ See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, pp. 143-150; 154-170; and Snouck Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, p. 68. Cf. Al-Ash'ari's *Ibānah* (Haidarābād, 1321 A.H.), p. 15, ll. 6-10. On Muhammad's worship of idols, however, cf. Surah XV. 94. The incident concerning Zayd's wife (XXXIII. 37) is sometimes quoted as a lapse on the prophet's part. For the orthodox mystical point of view cf. *The Kitāb al-Lum'a' fī'l-Taṣawwuf* of Al-Sarrāj, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Ch. XLVII, pp. 93-104; and cf. chapters CXLIII and CL, pp. 426-427, 433-435.
- ⁷⁸ Surah LXXXVIII. 21-22. Cf. the citations in note 61. Cf. also XLII. 47.
- ⁷⁹ Cf. verses 108, 110, 126, 131, 144, 150, 163, 179. Cf. also LXIV. 12 and LXXI. 3.
- ⁸⁰ See Surah X. 48.
- ⁸¹ Ibn Taimiyya, *Majmū'atu'l-Rasā' ilā'l-Kubrā* (Cairo, 1323 A.H.), II, 341, cited by Tor Andrae on p. 177, note 1 of his *Die Person Muhammads*.
- ⁸² Cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammed's*, Vol. II, pp. 348-349 (See Wüstenfeld's edition of Ibn Ishāq (Ibn Hishām), pp. 1012, 1013. See Surahs XX. 57; XXI. 85-86; XXIX. 57; XLVI. 9; LVI. 60ff; LXXVI. 1; and cf. also the implications of Surah XXVIII, last verse.
- ⁸³ Cf. Surah LXXI. 16-17.
- ⁸⁴ Cf. Surah XXXII. 36-39; LVI. 60-62; L. 11, 14; LIII. 48; LVI. 47; LXXIX. 10; LXXX. 22; LXXXVI. 8.
- ⁸⁵ Cf. Surahs XXXII. 8; XXXVIII. 72.
- ⁸⁶ Cf. the citations from the Koran in note 72. See Surahs XXXIX. 43 and L. 18; and XXX. 54ff; and XX. 103ff, for Jewish conception of souls being stored up in the neighborhood of God. But it might be the Syrian Christian idea of the Sleep of the soul. Cf. Tor Andrae, *Mohammed, Sein Leben und Sein Glaube* (Göttingen, 1932), p. 72. God also takes souls to Himself in sleep, but returns them (See Surahs XXXIX. 43 and VI. 60). The soul here is evidently the equivalent of consciousness.
- ⁸⁷ Surah II. 149.
- ⁸⁸ See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, pp. 285-289. Cf. Surah LIII. 48.
- ⁸⁹ Ibn Hazm, *Al-Faṣl fī'l-Milal wa'l-Ahwā' wa'l-Nihal* (Cairo, 1318-1321 A.H.), I, 88ff. Cited by Tor Andrae in *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 287-288. Cf. the curious Koranic verse X. 46 in which God speaks of taking Muhammad to Himself.
- ⁹⁰ See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, pp. 190-228.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 367-390.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 298.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 333ff, 353, also pp. 272, 276, 318, 325. See the first chapter of the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif* of Al-Suhrawardi on the margin of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, Azhar ed., 1302 A.H.
- ⁹⁴ See Tor Andrae's *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 322ff.
- ⁹⁵ Al-Suhrawardi as cited in note 83.
- ⁹⁶ See Tor Andrae's *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 353ff. Cf. also p. 271ff.
- ⁹⁷ See *Ibid.*, p. 318, 335ff. Cf. R. A. Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 84ff; D. H. S. Nyberg's *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-Arabī*, p. 48ff, p. 90ff, p. 126ff; and Suhrawardi as cited in note 83. On the Muhammad legend cf. also J. Horowitz in *Der Islam*, V. 1, and in *The Moslem World*, Jan., 1920.
- ⁹⁸ Cf. further Surahs XXVI, 100-101; LXXIV. 49.
- ⁹⁹ Cf. Surahs XL. 7-9; LIII. 26-27. Cf. further Surahs X. 3; XIX. 90; XX. 108; and XXXIV. 22.
- ¹⁰⁰ Cf. also Surah III. 153 and Surah XLVII. 21.
- ¹⁰¹ Al-Tabari, *Jāmi'u'l-Bayān fī tafsīru'l-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1231 A.H.), Vol. XV, 91. Cf. also Muslim, *Al-Sahīh* (Bālaq, 1290 A.H.), (*Kitāb al-īmām*) I, 74, for the most generally used tradition concerning the prophet's intercession. The Abbasid prince and poet, Mu'tadid, speaks of the prophet's intercession. See Carl Lang in *Zeitschr. f. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.* XL, p. 504, 505.
- ¹⁰² See his *Ibānah* (Haidarābād, 1321 A.H.), p. 10, ll. 14-16. Cf. Abu'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Ismā'il al-Ash'ari's *Al-Ibānah* etc., translation by W. O. Klein (New Haven, Conn., 1940), p. 52 bottom.
- ¹⁰³ Cf. Surahs III. 158; XXVI, 192-197; also III. 104 and XX. 134.
- ¹⁰⁴ Cf. Surahs III. 43ff; XX. 20ff, 49, 58, 59, 72; XXVI. 154, 173-174, 187-190; LI. 20, 32-37, 40-48; LIII. 51ff; LIV. 9ff, 41; LVII. 16; LXIX. 1ff; LXXIX. 20; LXXXIII. 10ff; LXXXIX. 1ff; XC. 18.
- ¹⁰⁵ Cf. Surah VIII, 5-20, 43-53.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cf. Surahs XXVI. 154, 187-190; XX. 20ff, 72.

- ⁹⁷ Surah V. 110 and Surah III. 43. Cf., however, Surah LXXIX. 20 in regard to Moses.
- ⁹⁸ Surah LIV. 22.
- ⁹⁹ Surah XXVI. 192-197; III. 158; X. 38.
- ¹⁰⁰ See Surahs X. 39; XI. 16; also XXXVI. 157; LII. 36 and LXVIII. 36. Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien* (Halle, 1899), Vol. II, p. 401ff for imitations of the Koran in later times. See E. Browne in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S. Vol. XXI, p. 916ff for the Báb's contention that his book is better than the Koran. And cf. M. Schreiner in *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, XLII, pp. 663-675 on Muhammad's challenge.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibn Sa'd (Leiden, 1905), I. 1.114f. Cf. Ibn Hishâm (translated by G. Weil), I. 113.
- ¹⁰² Ibn Sa'd, I. 1.114.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid., I. 1.124.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., I. 1.112.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ibid., I. 1.119.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., I. 1.121.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., I. 1.118.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., I. 1.125.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid., I. 1.117.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid., I. 1.125. See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, Ch. I, pp. 26-91, for other legends and further references to this genre of literature.
- ¹¹¹ Cf. A. Sprenger, *Das Leben*, Vol. I, p. 162ff., who gives all the necessary material and references. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, I. 1.96; Tabari's *Jâmi'ul-Bayân* etc., XV. 3, 6; *Annales* (ed. de Goeje), I. 1154; Noeldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, I. 94.
- ¹¹² Ibn Sa'd, I. 1.58f. Cf. Tabari, *Annales*, I, 1078.
- ¹¹³ Ibn Sa'd, I. 1.60.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., I. 1.63.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., I. 1.64.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., I. 1.63, 98. Cf. Ibn Hishâm (tr. G. Weil), I. 80.
- ¹¹⁷ See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, Ch. I, especially p. 68ff.
- ¹¹⁸ See Tabari, *Tafsir*, XV. 6. For other versions cf. G. Weil, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, Vol. I, p. 196ff.
- ¹¹⁹ My friend, Professor E. E. Calverley, has called my attention to the fact that this story is a doublet of the immediately preceding one.
- ¹²⁰ Tabari, *Tafsir*, XV. 7 & 8. Cf. Bukhâri (ed. Krehl), II, LIX, p. 428 and LX, p. 467. Another miracle ascribed to Muhammad with a Koranic reference is the Splitting of the Moon mentioned in Surah LIV. 1. The Mecans are supposed to have asked for a sign; and Muhammad then split the moon into two pieces, "so that Mount Hirâ could be seen between them." See Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads*, p. 35 for the story and reference to Bukhâri. A curious book by M. Ali, *Mohammed in Ancient Scriptures* (Agra, India, 1936) seeks to prove that the prophet is the Buddhist Mastreya or Metteya. On the Ascension cf. A. A. Bevan in *Zeitschr. f. d. Alttestamentl. Wissensch.*, XXVII (Festschrift-J. Wellhausen), p. 51; Noeldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qor.*, I, pp. 99-100; A. Schricke in *Der Islam*, VI (1915), p. 1; *Bibliothek Warburg* (1928-29) (Leipzig, 1930), p. 42; W. Bousset, in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*. IV (1901), p. 100.
- ¹²¹ See Chapter I, 38, notes 90, 91, 92.
- ¹²² See Dunbar's "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins" and his "The Joust between the Tailor and Souter" and Lyndsay's "Dream."
- ¹²³ *Muhammedia Imposturae* etc. (Leiden, 1615), Title.
- ¹²⁴ Cf. *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcester* (ed. Jacob Nasmith), pp. 32, 33, 44, 57.
- ¹²⁵ See the *York Plays* (ed. L. T. Smith, 1885), p. 91; *Towneley Plays* (E. E. Text Society, 1892), IX; *Coventry Mysteries* (Shak. Soc., 1841), XXIX, pp. 290-291.
- ¹²⁶ See Langland's *Piers the Ploughman*. Pass. XVIII; in Andrew Provide's *Introduction to Knowledge* (1532) a camel is trained to bring the Koran to Muhammad. Cf. story of prophet Sâlih in Koran. Cf. also the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais.
- ¹²⁷ *The Golden Legend* translated by Caxton in 1470; the *Roman de Mahomet* of Alexandre du Point (ed. Reinaud, Paris, 1831); the *English History* of Matthew Paris (Bohn ed., 1852), pp. 14-28; cf. Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Part I, Act I, Sc. ii, "was Mahomet inspired with a dove?"
- ¹²⁸ Cf. Ibn Sa'd, I. 1.75ff, 82ff.
- ¹²⁹ See Chapter I, note 24.
- ¹³⁰ Bohn ed., 1849. I. 75.
- ¹³¹ See A. Sprenger, *Das Leben*, Vol. I, p. 207ff; Cf. also Vol. II. 1, pp. 76, 89, 111, 114. See also *Journal Asiatique*, Sériés III, Vol. 14, p. 108.
- ¹³² Sprenger's *Mohammed*, Vol. I, p. 275ff. Cf. W. H. T. Gairdner's "Mohammed without Camouflage," in *The Moslem World*, Jan., 1919, and Christensen's "The Quest of the Historical Muhammad," *ibid.*, XVI, 4.
- ¹³³ See H. Lammens, "Mahomet fut-il sincère" in *Recherches de science religieuse*, 1911, p. 22 (Cf. *The Moslem World*, July 1915, and T. H. Weir there also, Oct. 1918). Cf. Lammens "La cité Arabe de Taïf à la veille de l'hégire" and "La Mecque" in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, Beyrouth, Vol. VIII (1922) and Vol. IX (1924). Cf. also his "Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale", *ibid.*, Vol. XI (1926), 2, pp. 91/127 to 133/169; also pp. 59/95 and 85/121 and "La république marchandise de la Mecque vers l'an 600 de notre ère", *Bull. de l'Inst. Egypt.*, 5 série, t. 4, pp. 23-54. See the critical essay of E. Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim, "L'Orient vu de l'Occident" (Paris, H. Piazza et P. Geuthner, c. 1922) on Lammens's views.
- ¹³⁴ See D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam* (New York, 1911), pp. 72, 73 and 74.
- ¹³⁵ See Tor Andrae, *Muhammad: the Man and His Faith* (New York, 1936), pp. 63, 69.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 233, 259, 268. See also J. de Goeje in *Orientalische Studien* Th. Noeldeke gewidmet, C. Bezold (Giessen, 1906), I, p. 5ff. See Surah XXVI. 78 for Muhammad's piety. Cf. also Bukhâri (ed. Krehl), IV. 1, *Kitâb al-Adab*, no. XCI, p. 149.
- ¹³⁷ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 41. For a philosophical study of Muhammad's life and religion cf. Jules-Charles Scholl, *L'Islam et son Fondateur*.
- ¹³⁸ Noeldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte d. Qor.*, 1909, p. 6. Cf. pp. 1 and 4.
- ¹³⁹ *Aspects of Islam*, p. 74.
- ¹⁴⁰ Cf. Tabari, *Annales*, I, p. 901ff; Ibn Hishâm (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 4ff; A. Moberg, *The Book of the Hymyarites*, Introd., p. 48; Pereira, *Historia dos Martyres de Nagran*, p. 80; 'Abid (ed. Sir C. Lyall), VIII, 6 on Jewish sailors; Bukhâri (ed. Krehl), I, XXIII, Ch. LXXX. 1; IV, 1, LXXVIII, Ch. XCIV, p. 196; IV, 2, LXXXII, Ch. XIV, p. 326.
- ¹⁴¹ See H. Charles, *Le Christianisme des Arabes Nomades sur le Limes* etc. (Paris, 1936). Father Charles gives a critical bibliography which contains most of the literature necessary for a

study of this subject. I would only add in support of my statements the *Chronique de Séert* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, Graffin et Nau, VII. 2 (1911), II (1), p. 117ff; *Das Buch Synhadon*, p. 89; Isô Yahb Patriarchae III. *Liber Epistularum* (*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Syri*, Series II, Vol. 6s), ed. R. Duval, Paris 1904-5. Text, p. 247ff, transl., p. 179ff. For Persian influence cf. *Ferzadak* (ed. and tr., R. Boucher), LXXIII, last line, p. 229, XCIX, 3 from bottom, p. 310; *Mufaddalyyât* (ed. Sir C. Lyall) XXVI and XXI. 13.

¹⁴² See Sir C. J. Lyall in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, pp. 253-266.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Surahs LXXIV. 35; XCIII; XCH; LXVIII; XC; LXXXVI; XCI; XCV; CIII; LXXXV; C; LXXIX; LXXVII; LXXXIX; LXXV; LI; LII; LIII; XXXVII.

¹⁴⁵ El-Bokhâri, ed. L. Krehl, Vol. I, p. 4, no. 2; p. 5, l. 10. Cf. also Al-Wâqidy's *History*, p. 49, ll. 8-9, p. 51, l. 4 from bottom, p. 52, l. 12ff. See Noeldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qor.*, Vol. I, pp. 22; 87, note 2; *Orientalische Studien Th. Noeldeke . . . gewidmet*, C. Bezold, Vol. I, p. 5; *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, E. H. H. Macartney on Dhu'r-Rummah, p. 294, who wrapped up his head when composing his first poem to Mayya; *Die Legenden von der Berufung Muhammeds in Le Monde Oriental*, VI, 5-18.

¹⁴⁶ On Jewish legends in Islam cf. Hans v. Mzik's "Die Gideon-Saul Legende und die Überlieferung der Schlacht bei Badr," *Festschrift. Joseph Ritter v. Karabacek*, p. 63; P. Jensen, "Das Leben Muhammeds und die David-Sage," *Der Islam*, XII, 1-2.

¹⁴⁷ See "Les Sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale" in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, Beyrouth, XI. 2 (1926), p. 94/130. In the Koran cf. Surahs XIX. 48; XXVI. 86; XIV. 42; IX. 114; LX.

¹⁴⁸ See M. Friedlaender, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Apologetik* etc. (Zurich, 1903), p. 306.

¹⁴⁹ Bukhârî (ed. Krehl), Vol. I, p. 5, l. 11ff. Cf. also no. V. p. 6.

¹⁵⁰ Wâqidî, *History of Muhammad's Campaigns* (ed. A. von Kremer, Calcutta, 1855-1856), p. 8, ll. 1-2.

¹⁵¹ Bukhârî, Vol. I, ll. 8-9. Cf. also l. 4.

How Old Is the Camel?

Describing a journey to Kilwa in Transjordania, Agnes Horsfield tells of earlier explorations of this ancient site. Leo Frobenius spent six weeks at Kilwa and found Palaeolithic implements and carvings. (*Geographical Journal*, 1943, p. 75.)

"Most interesting of all the animal carvings is the rendering of a small dromedary (still the typical Arabian camel of to-day) poised in space behind a mesolithic ibex, the patina of both establishing their contemporary date (T.J., Pl. 15.2). To all but specialists a veil of secrecy has obscured the origin of the Arabian camel, which first appeared in literature in the reign of the Persian King Nabonidus in the sixth century B.C. But geological expeditions in North America have brought to light its fossil bones in Pleistocene deposits when America and Asia formed one single continent. In the Second Glaciation stage of the Middle Pleistocene the dromedary had migrated to Kashmir, where its fossil bones are deposited with those of the topmost Upper Siwalik fauna, in the company of bos, hippo, and crocodiles, and in the period of the oldest flake industry in India, the Cromerian. From India it could gradually have reached Afghanistan, Persia, and Arabia.

"Another still larger dromedary found at Kilwa by the Frobenius Expedition and shown by a beautiful drawing in *Transjordanien* (Pl. 15.2, p. 224.1), is in the style of the best of the mesolithic ibexes and considered by Rhotert to be as ancient as the smaller camel. These Kilwa drawings of dromedaries must be the earliest known.

"On the rocks of the 'Uweinât Oasis in the Libyan desert and on both sides of the Nile valley, carved at a time when the river was dry, prehistoric drawings of elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and giraffe are widely distributed. But the camel is absent, and first appears on rock drawings in Egypt in the third to fifth centuries A.D."

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE A.C.L.S.M.

Many years ago, before the numerous government agencies had made alphabetical organizations common in this country, a notable society was formed which has been known over the years as the A.C.L.S.M. It was called by these letters because it took so long to say or print the full name, The American Christian Literature Society for Moslems. At a recent meeting of the Board of Directors, the balance of cash on hand, the good will and list of subscribers of the A.C.L.S.M. were all turned over to the recently formed Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. A few of the Directors of the A.C.L.S.M. will continue as a legally incorporated body to receive funds and legacies, and all such financial support will be passed on to the larger committee. Since the work of this Literature Society for Moslems enters a new phase, it is fitting and proper that we should review at this time the truly magnificent accomplishments of this rather modest organization.

The work of the Society really began when Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer and Dr. Charles R. Watson, with others, got together in 1910 and formed a group to support the Nile Mission Press. It was through this committee that the sum of \$29,200 was raised for the purchase of the building in Cairo which became the home of the Press. By 1915 the work of the organization had grown and with the desire to expand the literature work into other Moslem fields the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems was incorporated. The settled purpose of the Society was not to *publish* any book or tract, but to promote the use of Christian literature and to finance publication through area literature committees on the various fields in Moslem areas, where books and tracts were printed.

With the passing on of the work to the general Literature Committee, provision has been made that all publications for which the A.C.L.S.M. contributes funds shall be evangelistic and evangelical in content. From the beginning, the Society has insisted that the literature which it sponsored must be evangelistic in purpose, must have Christ at the center of its subject matter, and be conservative in content. In this connection we might quote from the Constitution of the Society:

“The distinctive method of missionary work which this corporation desires to encourage and promote is the use of the printed page, since it is our conviction that this has a unique value as a means of carrying the Gospel to Mohammedans. The printed message finds an entrance into many doors

closed to the living witness and can proclaim the Gospel persistently, fearlessly and effectively.

"The members of this corporation believe that the only unailing sources of moral energy and spiritual quickening which the world needs are to be found in Christ and His Gospel, as accepted and preached by the great body of evangelical Christian Churches. It is therefore agreed that the Christian literature whose production and distribution this corporation shall encourage, shall be of such a character as to be generally approved by those who, acknowledging the divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, believe in one God—The Father; the Son, the Lord Jesus Christ our God and Saviour, Who died for our sins and rose again; and the Holy Spirit by Whom they desire to have fellowship with all who form the one body of Christ."

The A.C.L.S.M. attracted to its membership such notable elect ladies as Mrs. Wm. Bancroft Hill, Mrs. Eben E. Olcott, Mrs. Finley J. Shepard, Mrs. William Borden and Mrs. James M. Montgomery, as well as many other consecrated women who gave up their time and funds to support the work. Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer has been the great inspiration and life of the Society throughout its existence and he was ably supported by Delavan L. Pierson, Robert E. Speer, Fennell P. Turner, William I. Chamberlain, James Cantine and many others; among them, of late years, by such men as Fred J. Barny and such women as Miss May S. Blauvelt, who is still the recording secretary and treasurer.

The annual meetings of the Society were notable events. In 1915, for example, Dr. John Henry Jowett gave over the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church for a meeting and appeared on the program with Dr. Zwemer and others. The edifice was packed to overflowing for the occasion and there was a chorus of five hundred voices led by Dr. Tali Esen Morgan.

Local auxiliaries of the Society were formed in many places, and Dr. Zwemer made a number of visits to different parts of the United States to stir up interest and raise funds. On one of these trips to the middlewest \$18,000 in cash was contributed to the Society in less than a fortnight.

While the work was promoted with vigor at home, the actual outreach of the A.C.L.S.M. greatly broadened on the field. In 1918 the work was extended to China, and Dr. Zwemer created a great interest in literature for Chinese Moslems by a visit there in the interests of the Society. He also visited South Africa, as well as Persia and India, and spent time in North Africa, Southeastern Europe and other Moslem fields. Wherever Dr. Zwemer went, hearts were set on fire with zeal for this cause.

I know that in Iran at that time we had distributed in our whole Mission only a few hundred pieces of Christian literature before Dr.

Zwemer's visit and conference on Literature. In the years following, the circulation mounted into the thousands and a real Christian literature was produced in most attractive form. It covered the field from small tracts of a single page to a Bible Dictionary, in Persian of a thousand pages, and all of these books and tracts go on working across the years for Christ and His kingdom.

Since the actual publications sponsored by the A.C.L.S.M. were always produced by the Literature Committees in the various areas it would be well to call in the testimony of one or two leaders of these committees who know better than anyone else the place of the Society in the actual production of Christian literature for Moslems. First, hear from Dr. Murray T. Titus of India:

"The A.C.L.S.M. has meant everything to the development of our Christian Literature program for Moslems in India during the last twenty years. Without its grants we would not have been able to make any advance at all. Today we have a fairly adequate literature program for Indian Moslems in twelve languages."

Dr. William N. Wysham, who was for many years chairman of the Literature Committee in Iran adds his testimony:

"Perhaps the best way to characterize what the A.C.L.S.M. has meant to Christian literature in Iran, is that it has served as a constant answer to prayer through the years. Again and again the Inter-Mission Literature Committee prepared a book for publication with no money in sight. Along with our prayers to God for funds went a statement of our need to this Society, and unfailingly the money was made available, so that no 'worthy book ever had to wait long for publication.

"Through the years a number of most effective evangelistic books and tracts in Iran were sponsored by the Society, and many Moslems have become Christians there after having their first introduction to Christ through these books. Moreover, the effect of the Society's generous grants has only just begun, for through decades in the future these same books will continue to bear witness to Christ in Iran."

Statements such as those above give an idea, from those who know best, as to what the work of the Society has meant throughout the Mohammedan world. Those publications stand as a great monument to the one who has been the heart and soul of the Society, Dr. Zwemer, and to the hundreds who have been faithful over the years in giving and in prayer for this truly great work. Not only did the Society sponsor books and tracts in North and South Africa, Egypt, Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Albania, China, Turkestan, India, Malaysia, the Dutch East Indies, Cyprus, and Bulgaria, but the various areas were stimulated into a new literature consciousness by visits of Dr. Zwemer. There are many reasons to believe that the near future holds greater promise than any era of the past for effective literature production and distribution in Moslem lands. It is

the sincere hope of the A.C.L.S.M. that all former friends will continue to support this work, now that it has been taken over by the larger Literature Committee. Bequests can still be made in the usual form to the A.C.L.S.M. and will be passed on to the Field Committees through the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, with proper safeguards to maintain the special evangelical character of the publications for which such funds are used.

The thirty-odd years of the A.C.L.S.M. are an example in our day and generation of what God can do when weak human channels work in accordance with His will. The Society has received and expended in the cause of Literature for Moslems more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars! Nor has there been any overhead expense except for office rent and postage. The Society has never had any paid executives. The travel expenses of Dr. Zwemer were met privately, by special gifts, not included in the above amount.

There is no limit to the good that will be accomplished through the years by this quarter of a million invested in seed for the sower and bread to cast upon the waters. These myriad pages of Christian literature are truly "leaves for the healing of the nations." Last of all, it should be noted that these great ends have been accomplished through the power of consecration, faith and prayer. We trust that many may be moved to continue faithfully this great work which has been so well begun in the most difficult of mission fields—the Moslem world.

J. CHRISTY WILSON

Princeton, N. J.

New Highways in the Near East

It is not easy to estimate the wide influence of the war upon the countries in which it is going on or in adjacent countries. The Holy Land is being crossed and crisscrossed with splendid macadam roads necessary for army transportation. They lead from Egypt through the entire land of Palestine and from the Mediterranean into Persia. When the war is over these roads will remain. Many of them run through localities heretofore unreached by any method of transportation.

BOOK REVIEWS

Chinese Jews. A Compilation of Matters Relating to the Jews of K'ai-feng Fu. By William Charles White, D.D., F.R.S.C. Vol. I, Historical. pp. 211. Vol. II, Inscriptional. pp. 182. Vol. III, Genealogical. pp. 226, quartos, with many maps and illustrations. The University of Toronto Press, Toronto. \$12.00.

The author was formerly Bishop of Honan, is now Professor of Chinese studies at the University of Toronto and Keeper of the East Asiatic Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum. He lived for twenty-five years in the city of K'ai-feng, the center of the orphan colony of Chinese Jews. "They were my friends," he says. "The one continuous disappointment in this association was the fact that no spark of interest in their history and in the divine heritage of Israel could be aroused in them; they were Jews no longer, either in a religious sense, or even as a community."

Part I is almost entirely a compilation of selected historical materials dealing with the Jews of K'ai-feng, but includes two articles relating to Chinese Mohammedanism, "such being considered of value in the appraising of parallel Jewish matters." This historical section is a partial and temporary statement of many-sided views regarding the history of this ancient Jewish colony, and calls for further research. The problem of the relations between the Nestorians, the Jews and the Moslems is complex, but Bishop White is the first scholar to attempt a statement of its linguistic, ethnological and religious factors. The story goes back to the silk trade between China and Rome in the first century A.D. There is evidence from Chinese writings that Jews were the traders. This is corroborated by clay figures found in the tombs of the T'ang dynasty.

The early Jesuit missionaries had contact with the Jewish colony which then had a large synagogue. In 1851 Dr. W. A. P. Martin met and studied the remnant and saved some of the memorial stones from the ruined synagogue. In 1910 Bishop White, then of the Canadian Church of England Mission, began work in K'ai-feng and also his investigations of the Jewish remnant. It is a fascinating story. "Chinese Judaism was intimately connected with Chinese Mohammedanism, and the latter borrowed much of its terminology and its usages from the Chinese Jews, who doubtless were already established in China when Islam came." But Islam grew, and the tiny Jewish colony died out despite its long history and racial tenacity. Isolation led to syncretism and extinction.

There is a considerable bibliography (258 items) on these Jews of China, but here we have excerpts from many sources and the cream of all the early writers. Beautiful photographic illustrations, rubbings, maps and diagrams add to the value of the text, and the three volumes are carefully indexed; there is also a brief appendix on the Moslem population of China by Claude L. Pickens. Students of Islam in China will turn to Vol. II where some stone inscriptions, dated from 1489-1679, are given in facsimile, with the Chinese text and explanatory notes. The ancient Islamic stone monuments in China

found at Sianfu, Canton and Peking should be considered in comparison with these Jewish records. Both are here illustrated and described. There is a chapter on the Hebrew scrolls found at K'ai-feng including not only the Old Testament but also genealogical records, etc. One of the latter has an Arabic colophon (p. 171).

Vol. III contains a translation of a Chinese-Hebrew Manuscript (1642) giving genealogies that date back to one called Moses, a Hebrew-Chinese physician (1423); also a Hebrew-Chinese Codex with translation and notes (pp. 28-101), Biographical notes, the proper names of Chinese Jews from many sources, and the pathetic list of names of the remnant—thirty-two Chinese Jews present at the K'ai-feng Conference in 1919. The whole work is a monument to the research and careful scholarship of the author and his associates.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER.

New York City.

Ibn Rochd (Averroës) *Traité décisif sur l'accord de la religion et de la philosophie, suivi de l'Appendice: texte arabe, traduction française remaniée avec notes et introduction, par Léon Gauthier. Alger, 1942. Editions Carbonel. 8vo xxii, 50 + 38.*

Through the kindness of Sgt. Flaxman of the U. S. Signal Corps, we have received a copy of this work from Algiers, where it appeared last year as a volume in the series, *Bibliothèque arabe-française, publiée sous la direction de Henri Pérès.*

It is a new text and a revised translation of Ibn Rushd's *Faṣl al-Maḡāl wa Taqrīr mā bain ash-Sharī'a wa'l-Hikma min al-Ittiṣāl* and the related *Damīma li Mas'alat al-'Ilm al-Qadīma*, both of which had been printed along with the *Manāhij* in 1859 by Marcus Joseph Müller in his *Philosophie und Theologie des Averroes*. Müller's text, however, has been long unprocurable, and the Cairo editions from that of A.H. 1313 onwards, have been little more than badly printed reproductions of Müller's text, the variants and emendation being mostly arbitrary judgments on the part of the editors, based on no new MS authority. This new text is based, like Müller's, on the Escorial MS, but attempts to give us a trustworthy text, with a reasonably literal translation on the facing page.

M. Gauthier prefaces to the text a lengthy Introduction, in which he sets the *Faṣl* in its place among the works of Ibn Rushd, gives some account of previous work on the tractate, and an extended criticism of the views of Max Horten on the Averroian doctrine, which is at the same time a defence of M. Gauthier's own views as set forth in his *La Théorie d'Ibn Rochd*. The notes, which are gathered together at the end of the book, are for the most part attempts to give fuller explanation of the philosophical terms which frequently are very confusing to students who have not much experience in reading texts of the *falāsifa*.

As is well known the *Faṣl* is of particular interest for its criticism of al-Ghazzālī, and students will welcome both the elegantly printed text, and a translation more serviceable than the somewhat heavy German of the 1875 version of Müller, or the hasty and inadequate English version by Jamil ar-Rahman, which appeared at Baroda in 1921.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Sa'adyah Gaon on the Influence of Music. By George Henry Farmer, London, 1943. Arthur Probsthain. 8vo xi, 109 pp. with a facsimile of 2 pp. of MS. Price 21sh.

This essay of Dr. Farmer's is intended as a contribution to the celebration of the millenary of the famous Jewish savant of the tenth century. It consists of a text and exposition of the passage on Music and its influence, from Sa'adya's *Kitāb al-Amānāt*, together with the three Hebrew versions of Bar Ḥiyya, Berakyah ha-Naqdan, Ibn Tibbon, and the so-called "Paraphrase," the Payyētanīc interpretation of (?)1095. It appears that in this passage of the *Amānāt* Sa'adya is merely reproducing al-Kindī's account of music and its influence in his *Risāla fī ajzā' Khabariyat al-Mūsīqī*, and Dr. Farmer contends that what is in question is not "melodic modes" but "rhythmic modes."

The interest of the *falāsifa* in music was primarily due to the very ancient idea that various modes of music were instrumental in generating special "dispositions" in the soul of man. David's playing before Saul comes immediately to mind, and we remember that Pythagoras taught that music could influence the gods, not merely mankind. Al-Kindī had dealt exhaustively with this matter, showing the manner in which the rhythmic modes are linked to the zodiac, the bodily humours, the faculties of the soul, the times of the day, and what not, and Dr. Farmer reproduces a most informative table of these matters as related to the A string, D string, G string, c string of the lute.

On the one hand the study is of some interest to students of Sa'adya himself, quite apart from music, for the connection between him and al-Kindī (or the tractates which went under the name of al-Kindī), is of no little importance, and in addition Dr. Farmer is able to construct a suggested pedigree of the texts which may prove useful in the wider question of the textual transmission of Sa'adya's works. On the other hand the author's interpretation of the eight rhythmic modes opens the way for further discussion of music theory among both Jews and Arabs of the early mediaeval period.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The First Year of Standard Malay. By Vernon E. Hendershot, Ph.D. Pacific Press Publishing Company, Mountain View, Cal., 1943. \$3.00.

The author's qualifications for preparing this text are listed: Dean of Theology, Walla Walla College (Wash.); Twenty Years a Missionary in the Malay Archipelago; Eleven Years Principal of the Malayan Seminary, Singapore; Chairman, Malay Desk, Office of War Information.

This book has grown out of lessons the author prepared for his classes in Malay at Walla Walla College. But lessons do not make up the entire book of three hundred and thirteen pages. There are maps, pictures, history, military vocabulary, extracts from newspapers, radio broadcasts in Malay, pages from reading books actually used in Malay grade schools, Malay proverbs (with explanations), Aesop's Fables in Malay translations, extracts from Holy Scripture, letters actually written by Malays, etc., etc.

The best works on the Malay Language appearing in English in the last fifty years are familiar to the author. He says that he is not aiming at complete originality. Hence he feels free to draw from these wide sources, and he does draw freely (giving due credit). His own

organization and presentation of the theory of the language, and the arrangement of vocabulary and exercises will appeal to the student.

Romanized Malay is written in two styles, that of British Malaya and that of the Netherlands East Indies. The forward looking Malays long for a time when these two styles will become only one and they can have a common written Romanized medium throughout the Malay world. Dr. Hendershot has succeeded well in dealing with "Dutch" Malay in this volume, and presents a good number of pages to it.

Of special interest are the war vocabularies, and the sample radio broadcasts that have actually been delivered to the Malay world to counteract Japanese influence.

Mention should be made of the Malay-English and English-Malay vocabularies at the end of the book, a hundred and twenty-eight pages. About 2500 useful words are to be found there.

There is no other introductory text available for the English-speaking student that contains a comparable quantity and variety of teaching material. The student of the Malay Language will find here a reliable and sufficient guide.

There are some errors that the proofreader let slip, but they are not numerous enough to affect the usefulness of the text.

W. E. LOWTHER.

Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art. By Eric Schroeder. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942. pp. XIII + 166 with 30 plates. \$5.00.

The technical study of Persian miniatures by Western scholars did not begin until the turn of the century, and since then, considerable material has accumulated on the subject. Pioneers in this field include F. R. Martin, E. Blochet, Adolf Grohmann, Thomas Arnold, A. Sakisian, and P. W. Schulz. More recently we have benefited from the works of A. K. Coomaraswamy, Ernst Kühnel, J. V. S. Wilkinson, I. Stchoukine, Basil Gray, M. S. Dimand, M. Aga-Oglu and others. This field now has another contributor in Mr. Eric Schroeder, Keeper of Islamic Arts at the Fogg Museum. In view of the limited number of studies made in this field, Mr. Schroeder's book is a welcome addition.

Persian Miniatures opens with a brief preface, followed by fourteen pages of historical introduction. The remainder of the work consists of descriptions of the miniatures which are reproduced in thirty plates. A note on the system of transliteration used, a list of dates of important events, a chart on successions and influences in Persian painting, and an index are included.

In his preface Mr. Schroeder states that he has designed the book to meet the needs of the university student. Excellent as to format, this book is chiefly valuable in that it offers the student well-reproduced specimens of Persian miniature painting in the Fogg Collection. This Collection is, however, not completely representative, and for this reason Mr. Schroeder recommends acquisition by the reader of fifty supplementary plates from the University Prints (Newton, Mass., 1940).

Of the thirty miniatures described, the outstanding are five from the well-known "Demotte" Shāh-nāmah, one from a copy of the

Automata of al-Jazīrī, and one from a manuscript of a *Shāh-nāmah* depicting Rustam and Tahmīnah.

This reviewer would welcome more background material in establishing certain of the attributions in the present work. Because Dūst Muḥammad has stated that Aḥmed Mūsā and Shams al-Dīn illustrated respectively a *Bidpai* and a *Shāh-nāmah*, it does not follow that the well-known *Bidpai* in Istanbul is by the former, nor that the "Demotte" *Shāh-nāmah* is by the latter. Mr. Schroeder's article in the *Ars Islamica* (VI, 2, Ann Arbor, 1939), does not sufficiently establish a connection between the aforesaid artists, the Istanbul *Bidpai* and the "Demotte" *Shāh-nāmah*.

Furthermore, there are those who will not agree with Mr. Schroeder's implications that there are properly speaking no "Shiraz," "Herat" or "Tabriz" schools in Iranian art. Evidently Mr. Schroeder does not accept the usual definition of what constitutes a school of painting. No one will doubt that certain artists moved from one court to another as circumstances dictated. This, however, does not affect the fact that a "school" may have existed in each of these courts.

Some of the translations of the inscriptions of the miniatures are unfortunately not accurately rendered. For example the text:

*Hama ayvān-i shāhī gasht por nūr,
Falak mīgoft yā rabb chashm-i bad dūr.*

on Plate IX, "A Child Showered With Money" (evidently a circumcision ceremony), has been translated as:

*The whole palace was a field full of blossom:
the heavenly sphere said 'O Lord of my eyes, in the age . . .'*

correctly read this should be:

*The entire royal palace became filled with light;
The heavenly sphere said 'O Lord, far away be the Evil Eye.'*

It is possible that Mr. Schroeder has read: *Yā rabb-i chashm ba dōw*, although what this could mean is difficult to determine, and furthermore, the metre *baḥr-i hazaj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf*, that is, *mafā'ilun, mafā'ilun, mafā'il*, which is used here, precludes any such reading.

Again, in Plate XXX, the larger cartouche which contains the following fragmentary Persian verse:

Paydā'st bar āstān-i dunyī has been translated as: *An offense is apparent to the upright* but should be rendered as: *On the threshold of the World can be seen*. Here again, Mr. Schroeder has apparently read *bar āstān* as *barāstān* and *dunyī*, with two *yas*, as *danī*.

The translation of the last verse on Plate XXX is given as: *As if every water-fowl were taking flight* but this should be rendered:

Every drop has become a steep mountain.

Mr. Schroeder has read *kūhī* as *gūyī* and *chakāb* as *chakā*. It may be suggested that the reading of the signature on Plate XX be read as *Amin al-Khulafā*, not *Khalafā*. On page 44 Zav should read as *Zū* and Kaus as *Kāvūs*. With regard to the Glossary, the following corrections are in order: *khuṭbah* is not only the official Friday sermon, but may

apply to any kind of address, such as the *khuṭbah-i 'arūsī* or formal address to the contracting parties at a marriage ceremony; *kizil-bāsh* should read *qizil-bāsh*; *kulāh* is the generic term for hat, and need not have a turban wound around it; *laqab* is never a term of reproach or abuse as the author states; *qiriltai* is properly *qūrūltai*; *siyāh-i qalam* should read either *siyāh-qalam* or *qalam siyāh*.

It might have been interesting if Mr. Schroeder had given us the translation of the inscription in a cartouche appearing near the top of the painting, over the three windows of the alcove in Plate VIII. This inscription, which is repeated four times, is the well-known Islamic precept based on the Koran and reads: *al-mulku l'illah* (Dominion is God's).

In regard to the representations of the Constellation Serpentarius (Plate XI) the following statement appears:

"The bare feet of the Fogg miniatures, the unbecoming exposure of an indecent part of the body according to oriental manners, . . ." (page 83). In view of the prescribed removal of the shoes in the mosque, even though some cannot afford stockings, the exposure of the feet can hardly be considered indecent.

In conclusion, Mr. Schroeder's description of the plates offered is painstaking and shows a high regard for detail. It would have been well, if the style, which is awkward and ambiguous in many places, had been more easily understandable to the student for whom the book was designed. The volume, although more catalogue than textbook, is within the reach of every student, and, together with the supplementary plates recommended by the author, is well worth acquiring.

New York City.

MEHMED A. SIMSAR.

The Art of Falconry: being the *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Translated and Edited by Casey A. Wood & F. Marjorie Fyfe. Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press, and London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1943. Illustrated by 186 plates. pp. cx, 637. \$10.00.

This is a royal book by a royal author about a royal sport. It is worthily introduced, translated, edited, annotated and illustrated. It has additional chapters by authorities on related subjects and includes an annotated bibliography, glossary and index.

This volume belongs in the libraries of collectors of fine books and of lovers of nature. Students of mediæval civilization and of cultural expansion will find in it authentic source material illustrating the history of ideas. Followers of sport will enjoy the complete and correct description of an age-old and world-wide, but not common pastime.

Not many of any one nation, but a few people of many countries have thought the art of falconry worth the time and attention it takes, because falcons demand intricate knowledge, delicate skill and constant care; because the game involves risks and thrills, and because success provides rich and rare food. It has recently been suggested that the special vocabulary of this ancient sport can be readily adapted to man's new science of aviation.

The numerous Arabic, Bengali, Hindi and Persian items of the bibliography indicate the place of falconry in the Islamic world and tie this work to the interests of our readers.

Any government official or private individual looking for a princely gift for an oriental friend will find the answer to his quest in this admirably edited, beautifully illustrated and sumptuously printed volume.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

Hartford, Conn.

A Survey of Aids for the Study and Teaching of the Malay Language. By Maurice W. Sensius, Professor of the Malay Language at the University of Michigan. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan. 64 pp. Pocket size. Paper covers. 1943. \$.75.

In these days of broken communications with Malaya, the student of Malay is embarrassed in trying to locate Malay books in this country. Here is help for him. The author lists twenty-four American libraries, university and public, where books indispensable for the student may be found, and then classifies the books for the student: Seven Introductory Texts, ten Phrase Books, seventeen Advanced Textbooks, twenty-six Dictionaries and Vocabularies, fifteen Readers, thirteen writers and their works on Malaya. These lists represent the books composed by English, Dutch, French, and German authors.

This little book is an eye-opener for the person who thinks of the Malays as savage islanders without books. Here we learn that there are Malay translations of Mark Twain, J. O. Curwood (Kazan), Kipling, Stevenson, Conan Doyle, Dumas, Loti, Jules Verne, Sienkiewicz, Tolstoy, various popular Dutch authors, and (*mirabile dictu*) even three plays of Shakespeare. In 1940, 285 separate titles of books and pamphlets in the Malay Language were listed: History, Geography, Agriculture, Medicine, etc., etc.

The author gives light on the two chief systems of Romanizing the Malay Language, the British and the Dutch. His conclusion is that it is not a question of which is better, but that the student of Malay must learn both. The English-speaking missionaries of Malaya knew that long ago.

This book should find its way to the shelves of every serious student of matters pertaining to Malaya.

WILLIAM E. LOWTHER.

Norwich, Conn.

Meet the Arab. By John Van Ess. New York, John Day Company, 1943. pp. 218. Illustrated. \$2.50.

Many people are becoming aware of the Arab for the first time these days. The romantic notions fostered by the movies are being dissipated by actual contact with the citizens of Casablanca, Cairo, and Jerusalem. If true understanding of the Arab is to be developed in the soldier or sailor and his movie-going family, a well-informed introduction is highly desirable. *Meet the Arab* provides that introduction in a thoroughly competent and readable form. Full of tales and personal anecdotes of historical interest, told with a sense of fun that cannot even resist a pun on occasion, the book is very likely to appeal to the aroused curiosity of the general public.

In these pages the reader meets the Bedouin, the marsh Arab, and the effendi, each with his characteristic attitude and way of life. The

land itself is discussed, its resources and possibilities, including a brief reference to the Garden of Eden and its long-lost River Pishon mentioned in Genesis. There is also a condensed history of the Arabs, which contrasts the Golden Age of Harun Er-Rashid with the modern Kingdom of Iraq and the part played by the Arabic-speaking people in World War II. Giving a further background of culture and customs, the chapters on the language, literature, and religious practices of the Muhammadans are both informative and fascinating. And Dorothy Van Ess has added glimpses of the veiled women which even her husband could not have obtained.

Of particular interest today, perhaps, are the timely observations on the Palestine problem and Arab-Jewish relationships. Dr. Van Ess presents a solution of his own, to which the only objection raised against it by the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem was that it is too plausible! There is shown here a depth of understanding of Jewish ambition and the growing pains of Arab nationalism that comes directly from long experience as a Christian educator, advisor, and friend of the youth of a people.

Once King Feisal I adjured John Van Ess to promise always to tell the Arabs the truth about themselves. He has done that here; he has told the truths that the proud Arab likes to be reminded of, and some of those that he would rather not admit. But it is to such as do not know him that this book is addressed, and they can find no better way, other than face to face, to meet the Arab than in these pages.

Hartford, Conn.

ELISABETH R. CALVERLEY.

A Demographic Study of an Egyptian Province (Sharqiya). By Abbas M. Ammar. The London School of Economics and Political Science, 1942. pp. 96.

This is one of a series of monographs containing results of modern anthropological field work. The author says his aim in this socio-economic study was "to obtain precise first-hand data about the living conditions of its people, to investigate the causes of the different problems and the effect of such problems on the life of the local community, and finally to follow as far as possible the social changes which are proceeding simultaneously and their reaction upon one another."

The author has analyzed data secured from census reports, vital statistics and other sources. He has a keen appreciation for the inaccuracies and inadequacies of the data and has evaluated his material in a very helpful way in the light of these facts. His analysis of the population, social and economic conditions of village life are well done. The work contains twelve carefully prepared graphs with interpretation and analysis, as well as maps and photographs of the district studied.

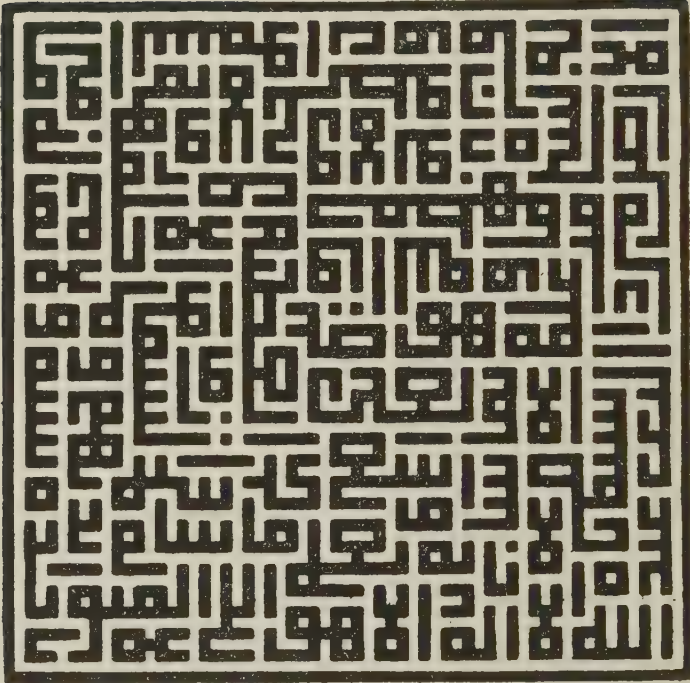
This monograph has value for all who are concerned with the facts of this particular district in Egypt. In the light of this study more intelligent planning will be possible for improving the social and economic status of the people. This being always one of the aims of Christian missions the study will be of value to missionaries working in this particular area.

New York City.

GLORA M. WYSNER.

CURRENT TOPICS

An Easy Lesson in Kufic



The ancient Arabic script known as Kufic is found in some Manuscripts but more especially in architecture and monuments. The above is the famous "Verse of the Throne" taken from the Mueyyad Mosque in Cairo. Those who know ordinary Arabic can easily decipher this intaglio. The text begins in the lower right hand corner: *Allah la ilaha illa huwa, al-hayy al-quayyum* . . . and then reads clock-wise to the center and the end of the verse (2:256).

Green the Sacred Color of Islam

The sacred color of Islam is undoubtedly green. The Moslem *Hajji*, proud of his journey to Mecca, and the Seyyids and Sherifs who claim descent from the Prophet, wear green turbans. Some darwish orders wear green robes. Mohammed himself used to wear a green *burdah*, uppergarment (see references in Wensinck's Handbook to Tradition p. 46). This *burdah* became famous and was preserved for many centuries as one of the relics of the Prophet (*Relics of the Prophet Mohammed* by Margoliouth, Moslem World Vol. xxvii p. 20 ff).

According to Tradition (Koelle's Mohammed p. 383) Mohammed preferred white and green. He greatly admired green. His celebrated green mantle was four ells long. The poem called *Al Burda*, the Mantle, was composed because a miracle wrought by this mantle extols the Prophet with almost divine attributes.

The banner raised for the Holy War in Islam is generally green, as by tradition was that of Mohammed. The curtains of the Kaaba, now black, were once green. The flags of Egypt, Persia and other Moslem lands have green as a predominant color.

We have looked in vain for the reason of all this, until a reference of Van Arendonk to the green robes of honor worn by *Sharifs* (Encyc. of Islam) gave us the key. He says they wore green in imitation or anticipation of the green robes of Moslem saints in Paradise. These are mentioned in the Koran. The root *khadra* (green) occurs only eight times. It is used of trees and herbs, especially the reviving-green of springtime, thrice (22:63; 6:99 and 38:80). Twice it refers to the seven green ears of corn in Pharaoh's dream (12:43, 46).

The other references are to the color of the garments and the couches of delight in Paradise (18:30; 76:21 and 55:76). They read as follows: "For them are gardens of Eden, beneath them rivers flow; they shall be adorned therein with bracelets of gold and shall wear *green* robes of silk and of brocade, reclining on thrones—pleasant is the reward and goodly the couch." And again: "On them shall be garments of *green* embroidered with satin and brocade, and they shall be adorned with bracelets of silver, and their Lord shall give them pure drink." While the last passage is even more explicit. It is taken from the close of Surah 55 which gives the fullest description of the Moslem Paradise: "In them maidens best and fairest . . . bright and large-eyed maids kept in their tents, whom no man nor *jinn* has deflowered . . . reclining on *green* cushions and beautiful carpets."

These statements of the Koran are embellished *ad libitum* in the Traditions and by the commentators. Here we have every detail regarding the inhabitants of Paradise, their sensual delights, their food and drink, their green dress and their mansions, the four rivers and the fountain of Salsabil. (For the green robes see Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Vol. 11:203, 224 sq, 445 and Al Tayalisi No. 2277 in the *Musnad*, Haidarabad 1321).

Whence did Mohammed get this picture of the Paradise he portrayed? Some say it was from Christian art, and that Mohammed made *Huris* (maidens) of the angels there portrayed. Others say it was the idealization of an Arab palace in a desert oasis; even as Damascus lies like a jewel of gold in an emerald setting. To the desert dweller of the hot barren hills that surround Mekka, such an oasis as Taif would be an earthly paradise. Even in Mohammed's day, as now, Taif may have had its roses and fair maidens.

The word *green* in many languages has not only the significance of color and verdure, but of life and vigor. However, the Koran references (although they too speak of gardens and streams) are here specifically to the color of the robes of the righteous.

Neither in the Old Testament nor in the New is there anything said of *green* clothing, except one very doubtful passage in the book of Esther (1:6).

The origin of Mohammed's idea of Paradise is still in question.

Professor E. Berthels of Leningrad wrote a long article on the subject (Islamica Vol. 1: *Die Paradiesischen Jungfrauen (Huris) im Islam*). His conclusion is, that not from Arabian paganism nor Judaism nor Christianity did Mohammed borrow his ideas of the delights of the hereafter for the true believer, but from Zoroastrian sources through a misinterpretation. He writes: "The *Huris* (maidens) are a sensualized reproduction of the Zoroastrian angels or spirits of heaven who were portrayed as young maidens." This was also the opinion of Sale (Intro. to the Koran) although opposed by Dozy and other scholars. There seems no doubt, however, that Mohammed, the prophet of Arabia, loved green and imagined that it was the gala-dress of Paradise. So naturally it became the color of sainthood and symbolized for Islam the hope of victory and robes of martyr-saints.

Ridiculous as it may sound, Goebbels, sometime ago, proclaimed on the radio for Arab ears "that Hitler was a direct descendant of Mohammed and so eligible for the caliphate." This is proved by the fact that "he was born with the holy green belt about his midriff." (Ben-Horin, *The Middle East*, N. Y., 1943, p. 173.) And so we end our quest with a *reductio ad absurdum*.

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER in the *United Presbyterian*.

New Mosque at Cardiff (Wales)

Cardiff has always had the largest coloured population of any city in the United Kingdom. In the docks area you will find Arabs, Indians, West Africans, West Indians, Malays, Somalis, and many others. The Moslems are the most united and colourful element. For years, they worshipped in their Prayer Room in Bute Street, until it was destroyed by a German bomb. Forty were praying there when the bomb struck it, and though the fabric and the buildings on either side were destroyed, all of them miraculously escaped injury.

A Zaouwia—temporary mosque—was soon put up by the Moslem community, and it was here that they carried on their religious observances, and held their school, until—with some help from the Colonial Office and the British Council—they collected the money to build their new mosque.

On the morning of the opening, processions of Moslems carried flags and banners and recited in chorus as they marched. It was a scene of brilliant colour. Outside, the Noor-Ul-Islam Mosque is painted a light yellow, and through the open lattice work near the roof the blue sky could be seen. Over the entrance hung the brilliant green flag of Islam, inscribed with Arabic letters in white; and in the street hundreds of coloured people had gathered to hear Sheikh Hassan Ismail (Imam of the mosque) begin the open-air ceremony.

In the adjoining ablution block, you could see rows of shoes on wooden shelves, left by the worshippers before they entered the prayer room. Here they washed their feet before going to pray, and, after cleansing themselves of the dust of the outside world, according to the ritual required by their religion, they took care to walk to the prayer room on a series of raised tiles, and not on the ordinary floor.

Besides the prayer room and the ablution block there is a community centre, where the people can meet for relaxation after the

day's work is done. This part of the building also houses a school-room for fostering Islamic traditions and culture.

Moslem boys and girls, about 400 of them, go to the public elementary school like the other children of Cardiff. Most of them attend South Church Street School, where there are children of over twenty nationalities. But each day, when school is over, they have another two hours' schooling in their own faith. They are not forced to go; they go because they enjoy it. The boys have their lessons from Mussel Ahmid in the Zaouwia, and two of them are looked upon as future leaders; they are Said Ahmed, head of all the Moslem boys in Cardiff, and Abdullah Ahmed, both Arabs. In the house of Mr. Sheir, a Somali, who is secretary to Sheikh Hassan Ismail, Mrs. Sheir teaches the Koran to the girls, and they are an enchanting sight, seated on the floor in a circle around her while she reads from a heavy leather bound Koran on a low stand of carved wood.

—*Picture Post* (London).

"In the Name of God"

On learning that Mr. F. Lyman MacCallum, the Society's sub-agent at Istanbul, was to be stationed elsewhere, three Moslem Turks came to the Bible House in Istanbul one day last summer to plead earnestly that some other arrangement be made, so that Mr. MacCallum might remain. They left a letter entitled "In the name of God" and signed by their leader, Fevzi Bey, a former dervish, from whom Mr. MacCallum had had many visits. After recounting some of the unfortunate misunderstandings that had created so much enmity between Moslems and Christians, this earnest friend wrote, in part:—

"Yet, in spite of all these theories, born of misunderstanding, I came to know one Christian who did away with this chasm which separated me from all Christians. He filled it in completely, and made the path absolutely level. I have tested him for years. I came to believe that, if there could be one such real Christian in the world, there must be a great many more. I loved him, and in his person I loved all Christians who know and are true to their Bible. . . .

"This Christian is Mr. Lyman MacCallum. Under his guidance and encouragement I approached, read, and again and again reread the Bible. After that I began to write my religious treatises, which to-day, by God's grace and mercy, have reached a total of forty-four books. . . . It was Mr. Lyman who was the first cause of my beginning to write in this way, by which all sacred writings were included and made basic.

"But now I hear that Mr. Lyman is appointed to another country. To remove this good man, who with his single heart had set about to right the wrong of centuries, means that the work will be abandoned at the very beginning. . . .

"This I say without a moment's hesitation. To transfer him is not in the interests of truth and right. And I am very hopeful that, if the directing authorities can see through the eyes of this stranger, the true extent of the success achieved through God's hand by this quiet and humble Mr. Lyman, not only will they not remove him, but they will confirm his appointment to work here till he dies, and to live on here after death. May God grant to all whatever is best. Amen."

—*American Bible Society Record*.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THE NEAR EAST. S. Ralph Harlow. (In *World Economics*, Washington. July-October, 1943. pp. 63-67).

Surveys the work of the many American colleges and universities in this area and points out their tremendous opportunities to bring together young people of various races and creeds.

CHARLES DOUGHTY (1843-1926). Barker Fairley. (In *The University of Toronto Quarterly*, Toronto. October, 1943. pp. 14-24).

A clear exposition of the "central notion of life and mankind and civilization beginning" revealed in the works of Doughty, whose "Travels in Arabia Deserta" is well known.

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE PAKISTAN SCHEME. Capt. O. H. K. Spate. (In *The Geographic Journal*, London. September, 1943. pp. 125-136).

A thorough examination of the subject, accompanied by maps and statistical tables.

SCIENCE AND CULTURE IN THE NEAR EAST. Gustave E. Grunbaum. (In *World Economics*, Washington. July-October, 1943. pp. 56-62).

Finds Egypt the leader in these fields and Islam and Arabic are the dominant factors for promoting emotional unity.

II. ARABIA

HALÉVY IN THE YAMAN. H. St. J. B. Philby. (In *The Geographic Journal*, London. September, 1943. pp. 116-124).

A discussion of archaeological researches undertaken in 1870.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

INFLUENCE OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION ON EUROPE. Kazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. September, 1943. pp. 275-288).

Since the days of the Crusades the enlightenment of Islam has been potent in the Western world.

IRĀN. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1943. pp. 425-426).

Scans Persia's cultural contributions to mankind.

MOHAMMEDANS OF THE CHINESE FAR WEST. Alexandra David-Neel. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. December, 1943. pp. 677-679).

Firmly established in China as early as the 8th century, Moslems have proved themselves staunch citizens, though, perhaps, loyalty to their religion comes first.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

A MOSLEM THINKER ON THE TEACHING OF RELIGION. Richard Bell. (In *The Hibbert Journal*, London. October, 1943. pp. 31-36).

Offers a condensation of part of al-Ghazzālī's great work, "Ihyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn," dealing with the proper conduct of pupil and teacher.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

HINDUS AND MUSLIMS DO GET TOGETHER. J. Henry Carpenter. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. November, 1943. pp. 638-640).

The author sees no need for Pakistan when coöperatives have made such progress in so preëminently Moslem a state as the Punjab.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF PALESTINE. Edward A. Norman. (In *World Economics*, Washington. July-October, 1943. pp. 46-52).

A substantial advance since the last war has transformed a backward, neglected country into a progressive one.

SOCIAL TRENDS IN THE NEAR EAST. William Haas. (In *World Economics*, Washington. July-October, 1943. pp. 38-45).

Discusses the nationalist movement, the growing interest in the common man, the decline of nomadism, the emancipation of women—developments shared throughout the Levant.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

THE LEBANON. J. Anderson Burley. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. December, 1943. pp. 248-252).

A united Lebanon, backed by Arab world opinion, is looking to Great Britain for support in its search for self-government.

MODERN EGYPT. John M. Bee. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. September 25 to December 18, 1943. Various paging).

Presents the subject with emphasis on Anglo-Egyptian economic relations.

NOTES ON ARAB UNITY. Joel Carmichael. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. October, 1943. pp. 148-153).

A Near Eastern federation bound together for purposes of economy, education, defense and representation abroad might serve to enlist the support of divergent elements.

A NEAR EAST ECONOMIC COUNCIL. Emanuel Neumann. (In *World Economics*, Washington. July-October, 1943. pp. 52-55).

Proposes the establishment of an international commission under American leadership but sponsored by the United Nations aiming toward the creation of a progressive democratic civilization in the Levant.

THE NEAR EAST—FRINGE OF THE HEARTLAND. Lawrence T. Beck. (In *World Economics*, Washington. July-October, 1943. pp. 28-37).

Describes the functions and potentialities of the countries in this area in relation to the great economies of the world.

PAKISTAN. Paresh Nath. (In *Asia and the Americas*, New York. October, 1943. pp. 567-570).

Discusses the question unsympathetically and lists the fourteen demands of the Moslem world taken from "Pakistan and Muslim India," published by the Muslim League Press at Delhi.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION IN PERSIA. Ann K. S. Lambton. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1943. pp. 420-425).

Considers internal economic and political trends and hopes for the emergence of really representative government.

WILL THERE BE AN ARAB FEDERATION? Dr. J. Schacht. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. September 25, 1943. pp. 15-17; 27).

Finds the outlook promising with cultural ties offering the strongest point of approach.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

"ALLAH IS FILLING HELL!" James Haldane. (In *World Dominion and the World Tomorrow*, London. September-October, 1943. pp. 285-287).

Christian workers in North Africa must present our Lord's message with great simplicity, in these difficult days.

MOSLEM WOMEN AND GIRLS. Olive Botham. (In *China's Millions*, Philadelphia. April, 1943. pp. 60-61).

Describes work in Kansu.

S. O. S. GOD CALLING! Helen L. Holmes. (In *Egypt General Mission News*, London. December, 1943. pp. 37-40).

A vigorous appeal for men and materials to deal with the ambitious demands of hundreds of young Egyptians for education and social betterment.

TOOLS FOR MOSLEM WORK. Raymond H. Joyce. (In *China's Millions*, Philadelphia. April, 1943. pp. 61-62).

Tells of the publication of a manual for workers with Muslims, prepared by Mr. G. K. Harris.