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## GOD, OUR HEAVENLY FATHER

“Like as a father—” is the God who through many dealings with the people of Israel makes Himself known. As a Father he commands, rebukes, chastens, comforts. He is the exalted Lord, the high and holy One who inhabits eternity; yet he is near to him who is of a humble and contrite heart. Clouds and thick darkness are His dwelling place; no man can look upon His face and live; He is unimaginable and incomprehensible. But this God of mystery is an infinitely tender enfolding presence in whom the weak and oppressed may find comfort, the One who truly cares for man. “As the shadow of a great rock in a weary land” is God for man in his extremity. No human metaphor but that of “father” can suggest all these contrasted qualities of God in his overlordship and undergirding of the life of man, although the relation of God to man involves no physical or material factors as in our human fatherhood.

“He knoweth our frame—.” This God, for whom the nations of the earth are as but fine dust in the balance, knows us. Strangely enough He is interested in our affairs. Ancient and modern rationalists have thought it beneath the dignity of the high God to hear the prayers or even to give attention to the small affairs of such puny creatures as we. The popular expression of this point of view today is to play down the physical size of man and even of his solar system—a second rate planet in a third rate system—and then to show how absurd it is for the God of the vast universe we know today to concern Himself with the aches and pains, the hopes and fears, even the highest dreams and aspirations of single individuals or even of the whole race of men. Aristotle’s God, the Unmoved Mover, did not have as object of His knowledge, to say nothing of His care, even the total universe but spent eternity in contemplation of the only worthy object of his thought—Himself. But a truer

greatness is revealed in the God whose power and wisdom are so unbounded, whose love so particular, whose care so unwearied that He knows and cares for every man in all the necessities of his life. Both body and spirit are the object of God's infinitely wise and gracious providence. He is the real tutelary deity of every man's soul. "There is not a word in my tongue but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether." "Thou has beset me behind and before and laid thy hand upon me." Yet this care is not paternalistic; it is fatherly in a real sense. For God does not coerce but with infinite patience sustains the freedom of his human children and awaits their willing acceptance of His gifts and His moral sovereignty. He is infinitely interested in the moral education, the maturity and the free participation in His kingdom of every one of the children of men.

I. God, who is unseen and unseeable, to whom it is an offence even to make a visible representation of His being, speaks to man and hears the small, responsive voice of His human children. He speaks that He may guide, rebuke or comfort. Seemingly the whole meaning of the creation heads up in this response of man, the child and creature, to the Creator. The spirit of man would be crushed by the vast silence of a universe in which no voice spoke to him and no response to his own cry was to be heard; the cry of his spirit would fall inert into the emptiness of the purely physical system envisioned by the science of today. But God as He has made Himself known through the Judeo-Christian revelation is sensitive and responsive to man and seeks the response of man to Himself. The high God, the mighty Lord, the Infinite Majesty seeks not only obedience but also trust, love, fellowship. He seeks a personal bond with man.

II. To know the full power of the Lordship of God we must pass beyond all thought of "principles" of reason or "laws" of nature or moral goodness. God is free; no law or principle binds Him. Indeed He is the source of the creation and the moral order in which the mind and conscience of man can discern the majesty of law. Another name for

His sovereign freedom is Spirit. God is Spirit and Spirit is free; the absolute Spirit is absolutely free, immaterial, the uncreated Creator of all things. Our thought must take a clear leap into infinity from the conditions of our own existence and know God as Spirit. We find ourselves in a world which we did not create, with an order of things wrought out through the slow work of the eons in which God has brought the world into existence. Our consciences are responsible to obligations and possibilities in a human world wherein the strange combination of natural order and freedom presents us with general principles that we call moral laws or commandments of God. In such a world reason discovers and honors principles and conscience acknowledges laws. We are both bound and free. Our physical security depends on our observance of natural law and our moral stability upon our respect for moral law.

Yet even for us, beyond these laws, there is freedom. The research scientist obediently acknowledges the existent law of physical change. But having learned how to conform to it, he is made free to use that law and does use it to direct the forces of nature to his own ends. The law of change he cannot alter; what the change shall be he can in some measure determine and his freedom is expressed in that determination. Even more in moral life, does freedom lie beyond obedience to law. True goodness is always free; it goes beyond the demand of the law. The very choosing to keep the law is a free choice, else the action is not moral. But in many circumstances of life the unique demand upon our action can be wholly guided by no clear rule or precedent. Only the "answer of a good conscience," the free act of a good will and the impulse of a pure heart can suffice. Here the spontaneity of spirit takes the final step, a step that goes beyond principle and law and is the substance of goodness.

But the action of God is free absolutely for He originates or creates the world itself and so brings into being the reality which reason knows as principles, science as natural law and conscience as moral law. He is before not after the

creation; He determines what the "laws" shall be, for laws are just the description of the existent order that He creates. His goodness is prior to human history and therefore to all law of human goodness. Human goodness must go beyond the regularities demanded of our conduct which we respect as moral law and respond freely to the will of the God who is the Author of our moral being. Man must be led by the Spirit of God to be truly good. We are led, not coerced; that is the irreducible freedom of our moral life. God's will is free in the absolute sense. What He wills is good because He is good. What He wills is the measure of goodness because it freely expresses His nature. He does not do what He does because it is good; what He does (wills) is good because He does it. This is to assert priority of free spirit over abstract principle and over all rules and structures of the created world. To say that God is Spirit is to say that God is free. It is really what we mean when we say that God is personal, or Personal Spirit.

III. The sovereign freedom of God does not mean arbitrary or irresponsible action. It is the fear of falling into admission of such irresponsibility that causes philosophers to affirm that the goodness of God lies in His perfect observance of the eternal and universal laws of right. But there are no such laws prior to the being and the will of God. His integrity and responsibility do not need such a support, in any case, because God is perfect love. His love and not eternal law is the guarantee of the dependability of His free and sovereign act. This, after all, is the only way to understand freedom. For freedom is not merely random movement. Physicists can describe the motion of electrons as random; but that does not imply freedom. Only love is free and that is the meaning of the unconditioned freedom of God the Father. In creation and in His dealings with men the ultimate and dependable source of His doing is Love.

To say that God is love is to carry further the meaning of freedom and to say more fully what is meant by saying

that God is Spirit, or Person, or, better, personal Spirit. Love is the moral aspect of Spirit.

IV. God the Father has always sought to bind His children to Him in love and obedience. The most hopeful beginning of a successful approach to mankind in history was in the "covenant" with Israel. The covenant was recognized by the prophets not just as a bargain but as the approach of the high God to men seeking a response in obedience and fellowship. God bound Himself freely to the nation of Israel, to seek their good. This is the beginning of truly moral or personal living. The Divine maker of the covenant is unfailingly true to it, not through any outward compulsion but in the strength of His own integrity and good will. Men may and do, as did Israel, fail in keeping the covenant, but God abides faithful for He cannot deny Himself.

V. The supreme test of this kind of relationship comes when man fails and shows himself unable to rise to the demand of a personal covenant with God. And man always fails; he cannot do his part. Man uses his freedom to rebel and disobey. But the failure of man is not failure or frustration of God's purpose. His love is sufficient not alone to create man and establish a covenant; it is equal to the task of restoration and redemption. His goodness goes beyond the keeping of the covenant or the maintaining of the personal bond with man and has power to restore that bond that man, by his sin, has broken. This is the power of forgiveness, an act of personal freedom, a free act of grace. His love is restorative; it seeks the sinner, the wayward, the rebel. God loves his enemies because He is God and they are His children. Though their sins bring suffering to His fatherly heart, He accepts the suffering and forgives. This is the meaning of the Cross. It is always true that reconciliation is made by the innocent and offended person bearing the cost in suffering and freely forgiving the offender. If this is true among men how much more between God and man

where the failure of the human sinner is so great and the goodness of God correspondingly greater.

The act of forgiveness is a free sovereign act of the spiritual Person. This carries further the meaning of Spirit or of Personality. The reconciliation of men to God through His forgiveness is the restoration or, rather, the creation of the full personal existence of man.

VI. The greatness of God, therefore, lies not in His lofty aloofness from man; He is not the unmoved mover, but is moved by the feeling of our infirmities. His freedom does not mean arbitrariness for He is love and love binds Him by the integrity of His own being to faithfulness in all His dealings with men. His power does not mean merely that He demands the submission of the wills of men to His will, but that He seeks the much greater thing, the winning of our free response to His love and grace. Out of the accomplishment of the divine purpose come communion, fellowship, the harmony of free spirits in God. This is the full revelation of God's fatherhood, the full realization of personal existence in time and eternity.

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## THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF MUHAMMAD

As de Tocqueville so well put it: "Historians who write in aristocratic ages are wont to refer all occurrences to the particular will or temper of certain individuals; and they are apt to attribute the most important revolutions to very slight accidents. They trace out the smallest cause with sagacity, and frequently leave the greatest unperceived. Historians who live in democratic ages exhibit precisely opposite characteristics. Most of them attribute hardly any influence to the individual over the destiny of the race, nor to citizens over the fate of a people; but, on the other hand, they assign great general causes to all petty incidents."<sup>1</sup>

During the last hundred years, the mass of historians have tended to discount the influence of Great Men on the course of history, seeking rather to explain the latter in terms of population pressures, economic development, class struggles, climatic changes, racial or national characteristics and the like. And, generally speaking, it is true that close examination reveals the part played by the Great Men of history to be much smaller than appeared to their contemporaries. Thus, a century after his death, we can see clearly that Napoleon's historical mission was the taming of the Revolution within France and at the same time the spreading of its equalitarian doctrines around Western Europe. We can also see that both these processes were well under way before Napoleon appeared on the scene. Already in 1794 the Coup d'Etat of Thermidor marked the beginning of counterrevolution in France, and by 1795 the French armies had crossed the Rhine into Germany and the Low Countries.

The same analysis may be applied to several other leading historical figures, with similar results. But there are some men who do seem to have diverted history from the course it would otherwise have taken and who may, therefore, be classed among the great historical forces. One such man was the Arabian prophet, Muhammad. Perhaps the

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<sup>1</sup> A. de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*.

best way of measuring the historical significance of Muhammad is first to describe the main events attributed to him and then to evaluate his own contribution to those events.

The immediate effect of Muhammad's preaching was to found the religion which inspired the Arab conquest of all the lands lying between the Pyrenees in the West and the steppes of Central Asia in the East. Its long-term effects were:

- The establishment of Islam as a world religion;
- The emergence of a specific Arab-Islamic culture;
- And the permanent Arabization of the southern half of the Mediterranean world.

*The spread of Islam.* With an estimated total of over 300,000,000 followers,<sup>2</sup> ranging from Morocco to China and from Turkestan to South-East Africa, Islam is undoubtedly one of the three or four leading religions of the world. It has been said that the name Muhammad (or one of its derivatives such as Ahmad, Mahmud, Hamed, etc.) is borne by more persons than any other masculine name in the world, a fact which perhaps more than any other illustrates the sway of Islam.

Islam is moreover not only a widespread but a very living religion. Not only does it retain its hold on its followers but it is steadily gaining ground. Its missionary activities have never slackened, even when the political power of the Muslim states was weakest, as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries<sup>3</sup> and it has scored, and is still scoring, signal triumphs in equatorial Africa and South-East Asia.

*The emergence of Arab-Islamic culture.* The combined

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<sup>2</sup> This total has been obtained by bringing up to date, wherever possible, the figures given in the *Handwörterbuch des Islam* (Leiden 1941, article ISLAM). These figures, which were based on censuses or estimates dating from the 1920's or early 1930's totalled about 270,000,000, but higher estimates of the total Muslim population are quoted in the same article.

<sup>3</sup> See Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* and H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chapter I. Since there is no organised church in Islam, there has not been any missionary activity comparable to that of the Christian churches. But, precisely because of the lack of distinction between churchmen and laymen, every Muslim trader, traveller or soldier living abroad was a potential missionary.

effect of the Arab conquest and the rapid Islamization of what is now known as the Middle East was to bring into being a new civilization, the Arab-Islamic, stretching from Spain to Central Asia. Between the 8th and the 13th centuries, this civilization led the world in most fields of activity. Today, its cultural heritage provides the intellectual and artistic background of nearly 200,000,000 Arabs, Turks, Iranians, Afghans, Indians, Uzbeks and others.

*The Arabization of the southern Mediterranean.* In the perspective of world history this phenomenon is probably less important than the two mentioned above; nevertheless it has considerable present-day political and cultural significance.

Between Morocco and Iran live over 60,000,000 Arabs, the overwhelming majority of whom are Muslim but among whom Christians have played, and continue to play, an important part. These Arabs control some of the largest oil resources of the earth and occupy a strategic position in the center of the Old World. They are rapidly moving towards political unity and will doubtless make their weight increasingly felt in international affairs.

*Muhammad's role.* Such then is the balance sheet of Islam and the Arab conquest. It now remains to ask whether the three phenomena described above can be directly attributed to Muhammad.

*Islam.* That Islam was created by Muhammad as perhaps no other religion was created by any single man is not a matter for controversy. Judaism evolved very slowly, through many centuries, before assuming a shape at all resembling the one it now bears. St. Paul has been called the "Second Founder of Christianity." But although Islam underwent considerable development—although it has not in fact even yet finally crystallized—its characteristic features were undoubtedly stamped upon it by its founder, Muhammad.

This bare statement does not, however, convey the full significance of Muhammad's achievement, which can be appreciated only by realizing in what a state of spiritual

poverty seventh century Arabia lay. A brief survey of Arabian Judaism, Christianity and paganism shows that none of them was a likely seedbed for a new world religion.

*Judaism.* This religion had been established in the Arabian peninsula for several centuries, but it had made relatively little headway. The Jews do not seem to have proselytized very actively, their only notable triumph being the conversion of the King of Yemen, Dhu Nuwas, ensuing in a persecution of Christians. Nor do the Arabian Jews seem to have been in that state of spiritual fermentation which precedes the birth of a new religion or the transformation of an old one. No important new ideas are known to have been contributed by the Arabian Jews to the development of Jewish theology. Except for the fact that the proportion of craftsmen was higher among them, the Jews did not differ greatly from their Arab neighbors, and the one literary portrait of an Arabian Jew which has come down to us—that of the hero As Samaw'al—does not bear any marks distinguishing him from the surrounding Arabs.

It therefore seems reasonably safe to say that Judaism in Arabia could not have provided the seeds of a new world-religion.

*Christianity* was in a somewhat different position. Supported by the prestige—and sometimes the arms—of Byzantium and Abyssinia it had undoubtedly made considerable progress in the northern and western parts of the peninsula, as witness the contemporary descriptions of Christian basilicas and the persecutions of Najran.<sup>4</sup> The very development of Muhammad's thought shows to what an extent Christian ideas—sometimes in an extremely distorted form—were current in Mecca and other parts of Arabia. There is then nothing to warrant the affirmation that Christianity could *not* have spread in Arabia, perhaps eventually converting the whole population of the country.

But, equally, there is not the slightest reason to believe

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<sup>4</sup>There is also some evidence that Christianity was spreading in the area around Qatif and Bahrain—see Peter Bruce Cornwall, "In Search of Arabia's Past," *National Geographical Magazine*, April 1948.

that this Arabian Christianity would have made any startling contribution to world history either by creating a radically new form of Christianity or by spurring the Arabs to world conquest, which is precisely what Islam succeeded in doing.

There is even less justification for thinking that *Arab Paganism* had evolved to the stage where it was ready to produce a new, superior, world religion, in the way the Hellenistic world had been ripe for a new religion and had produced Mithraism, Christianity and other creeds.

Central Arabian paganism at the time of Muhammad was a polydaemonism evolving towards the higher forms of polytheism.<sup>5</sup> One can go even further and notice, in the subordination of the main goddesses to the god Allah, an emerging monotheism. The trend itself is significant, and it is irrelevant for the purposes of this paper to enquire whether it was due to Christian or Jewish influence or to other causes.

There is also evidence that the old fetishism no longer "satisfied the religious emotions and insights of many of the Arabs."<sup>6</sup> In all the biographies of Muhammad mention is made of certain Arabs, such as Waraqa ibn Nawfal, who were seeking a higher religion, generally turning towards Christianity.<sup>7</sup>

All this is important, as showing that, to a certain extent, the ground had been prepared for Muhammad to come forward with a new message. It is also true that Muhammad incorporated much of the old Arabian religions in his system.<sup>8</sup> But this "does not alter the fact that the religious

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<sup>5</sup> Tor Andrae, *Mohammad*. By the sixth century Yemen had "not only been thoroughly impregnated with Judaism and Christianity but had modified its ancient paganism, consolidating the old pagan gods . . . in the person of dhu-Samawi, the lord of the heavens, who at an earlier period of the highland culture had shared the supreme power with Talab Riyam and other deities." H. St. J. B. Philby, *The Background of Islam*, p. 114. As the same author goes on to say "in the highly civilised south paganism had virtually gone down before the impact of the monotheistic creeds of the north and had, presumably about this time, withdrawn to its last defenses in the area of Mecca." *Ibid.*, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, "Muhammad and the Qur'ān," *MUSLIM WORLD*, April 1948.

<sup>7</sup> See article HANIF in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

<sup>8</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, "The structure of religious thought in Islam," *MUSLIM WORLD*, January 1948.

attitudes expressed in and mediated by the Qur'ān constitute a new and distinctive religious structure."<sup>9</sup>

Moreover, Muhammad created not merely a new tribal or national religion but a new *world-religion*. He was able to do this because he united in himself not only the religious intuition of a prophet but also the power of expression of a poet and the shrewdness and political sense of a statesman. This combination is probably unique in history and nothing short of it could have launched Islam on its career of world conquest.

Confirming the above contentions is the fact that, to the best of our knowledge, no prophets or seers *preceded* Muhammad, in the way that John the Baptist preceded Jesus Christ or that Wycliffe and Huss preceded Luther. The "false prophets" (of whom Maslama is the best known) who arose during Muhammad's lifetime and after his death were most probably inspired by his remarkable success, and must therefore be regarded as imitators, not forerunners.

To emphasize the importance of Muhammad's personality in the foundation of Islam does not, however, imply ignoring the historical conditions which enabled his religion to sweep the Near East. Islam's success seems to have arisen mainly from its attractiveness to the religious and national sentiments of the peoples living in the Fertile Crescent and Egypt.

There is considerable evidence that the Semitic world, which had been brought under Greek rule by Alexander's conquest and subjected to an intense process of Hellenization, was becoming increasingly restless and striving to liberate itself from both Roman political and Greek cultural domination.<sup>10</sup> The revolts of the Jews were the most spectacular, though not the most enduring manifestation of this discontent. The renaissance of Aramaic literature was another pointer in the same direction. But perhaps the most significant, because the most widespread, sign of revolt was the emergence of one Christian heresy after another,

<sup>9</sup> H. A. R. Gibb, "Muhammad and the Qur'ān"; *MUSLIM WORLD*, April 1948.

<sup>10</sup> See Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. I.

the consequent sects engendered and the ceaseless struggle between the sects and the Orthodox Church centered on Byzantium. Historians are becoming increasingly aware that the religious struggles of the 4-6th centuries contained a very large, if not predominant, political element, viz., a nationalist revolt of Syrians and Egyptians against Byzantine rule.<sup>11</sup>

Judging from the results, Islam presented itself to those peoples as a Semitic religion which had transcended Jewish particularism into a world wide view and at the same time had eliminated most of the Greek elements in Christianity. Islam's appeal was greatly reinforced by the fact that it had itself been greatly influenced, both in fundamentals and in details, by Nestorian Christianity,<sup>12</sup> which had been precisely a product of that revolt against Greek Christianity.

As a result, not only did the Muslim invaders get much help from the local populations<sup>13</sup> but within two centuries they had converted the bulk of the inhabitants to their own faith.

Islam's great advantage over the competing Christian heresies which were attempting to supplant the Church lay in the simplicity of its dogma; its social equalitarianism; and the prestige which it enjoyed as the religion of a conquering group.

The simplicity of Islamic dogma is well known and recognized. All that it demands is a belief in the Unity of God, in his Revelation to Muhammad, and in the Day of Judgment, as well as some simple observances. As a result, Islam readily appeals to all types of mind, the most sophisticated as well as the most primitive, and to all types of temperament, the laxest as well as the strictest. (It should, however, be remembered that some Christian sects were also striving after the same simplicity of dogma.)

No sect born in the Fertile Crescent or Egypt during

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<sup>11</sup> See H. Lammens, *La Syrie*; Edmond Rabbath, "Querelles Byzantines avant l'Islam" in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Beirut, Vol. I, No. 5; and Gustave Neyron "Foi catholique en Orient avant l'Islam," in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Vol. II, No. 1.

<sup>12</sup> See Tor Andrae, *Mohammed*.

<sup>13</sup> See A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*.

the sixth or seventh centuries, however, had the social equalitarianism of Islam. Muslim equalitarianism was a product of desert tribal society, not of the caste-ridden ancient civilizations.

The same may be said of the prestige enjoyed by Islam as a conquering religion. And there is no doubt that the political power enjoyed by Islam greatly helped its diffusion. For while it is, with few exceptions, true that the Muslims did not try to convert others at the point of the sword,<sup>14</sup> it is equally true that the temporal success of Islam, its position as the State religion and the great social advantages to be gained by becoming a Muslim, were all potent factors in swelling the stream of converts.

Thus the spread of Islam must be attributed partly to the qualities it derived from its desert environment and partly to the state of mind of the contemporary Near East. But the fact that outside conditions helped him in no way detracts from Muhammad's achievement.

*Arab-Islamic Civilization.* The rich and complex entity known as Arab, Saracenic, or Islamic civilization contained many ingredients and was the product of many forces. Here it is sufficient to distinguish four main factors:<sup>15</sup>

First, a universal state ruled, for about a century and a half, by an Arab dynasty and an Arab ruling class. This gave the political framework in which the different elements could blend.

Secondly, the diffusion of Islam, the acceptance of Muslim religion as the underlying social and political ideology and the regulation of social life by Muslim law.

Thirdly, the universal use, for at least four or five centuries, of Arabic as the language of theology, philosophy, science and even literature throughout the vast expanse of the Muslim world.

Finally the immense intellectual and esthetic contribu-

<sup>14</sup> Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*. In India more coercion seems to have been used than elsewhere; see James D. Brown "The History of Islam in India", *MUSLIM WORLD*, January, April and July 1949.

<sup>15</sup> For a fuller treatment, see C. Issawi "The role of the Arabs in Islamic Civilization," *MUSLIM WORLD*, July 1948.

tions made by the non-Arab subjects (whether Muslims, Christians, Jews, or pagans) such as the Persians, Turks, Copts, and Syrians.

This brief sketch brings out the central fact on which this civilization was built, viz., a conquest by *Muslim Arabs*. And this brings out, in turn, Muhammad's contribution to that civilization. For while there is considerable divergence of opinion as to how far the conquest was due to Muhammad's preaching and how far to other factors, there can be no doubt that the fact that the Arab conquerors had already embraced Islam fundamentally changed the character of their conquest. This fact has not been sufficiently stressed by historians and deserves some elucidation.

The Arab conquest was due not only to religious factors, important as they were, but also to economic and demographic factors.<sup>16</sup> In fact the Arab conquest was merely the last of a long series of Semitic invasions from the desert to the sown. In the four millenia preceding Islam successive outbursts from the Arabian peninsula had resulted in the emergence of the Babylonians, Canaanites, Phoenicians, Hebrews, Aramaeans, Nabataeans and other Semitic peoples.<sup>17</sup> Whenever the power that controlled Syria or Mesopotamia showed any sign of weakening, a pressure from the desert would make itself felt. And the powers that controlled these countries in the 7th century, the Byzantine and Sasanian empires, were definitely showing signs of exhaustion. Perhaps the most eloquent proof of this is that, in their wars, both came to depend heavily on their satellite Arab forces; the Byzantines on the Syrian Arab kingdom of Ghassan and the Sasanians on the Mesopotamian Arab kingdom of Hira. In fact the last great Perso-Byzantine war was practically fought out and decided by the armies of the two rival Arab kingdoms.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> See P. K. Hitti: *History of the Arabs*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> A close historical parallel is to be found in the last stage of the Achaemenid empire, where both the central government and the rebels against its authority (such as the Egyptians or the provincial satraps) relied heavily on Greek mercenaries, a fact which paved the way for Alexander's sweeping conquest. See A. T. Olmstead *History of the Persian Empire*.

It will therefore be seen that the Persian and the Eastern Roman Empire had, like the Western Roman Empire, entrusted the keeping of their marches to allied "barbarians." In these circumstances, it is difficult to believe that sooner or later, the Eastern barbarians, like the Western, would not have sought to conquer and take over the territories they were supposed to be guarding. With or without Muhammad, an Arab conquest of Syria and Mesopotamia would not only have been possible but even highly probable.

*But*, and this is the vital difference, such a conquest would have had consequences very different from those that actually took place. But for Islam, the Arab conquerors would have been—as their Semitic predecessors had been, or as their Western counterparts were—simple, raw, uncivilized barbarians. In such circumstances there is no reason to doubt that, like their eastern predecessors and western contemporaries, they would have succumbed to the civilization and religion of the peoples they had conquered. They would have been Persianized and Romanized. Above all they would have been Christianized.

Those are not mere speculations but a deduction, by analogy, from the fate of the Ghassanids of Hauran and, to a lesser extent, the Lakhmids of Hira, as well as the fate of those earlier Arab invaders who had founded the states of Palmyra and Petra. The Ghassanid ruins of Bosra and other places in the Syrian desert show how deeply Roman civilization had been assimilated; and Christianity too had struck deep roots, claiming both the ruling dynasty and the subjects. There is no reason to believe that any pagan Arab conquerors would have reacted to the impact of Romanism and Christianity differently from the way the Ghassanids had reacted.

Instead the 7th century Muslim conquerors came not only as raw barbarians seeking loot and conquest but also as missionaries of a new faith. They came committed to a religion, a law and, since the language of the Qur'ān was sacred, a language. The 14th century Arab sociologist and

historian, Ibn Khaldun, well understood the spirit of these early Arab conquerors: "Hence it was the noblest and proudest members of the [Islamic] community who undertook to teach the Book of God and the Laws of His Prophet. . . . For the Book was revealed to a Prophet chosen from among *themselves* to serve as a guide to *them*. And Islam was *their* religion, for which they had fought and died, which had been given to them among all the nations and in which they gloried."<sup>19</sup>

As a result of all this, the Arabs entered with an attitude very different from that of, say, the Franks or the Goths—not to mention the Huns or Tatars.<sup>20</sup> They came to *teach*, not to learn. And although they learned an immense amount from their subjects, what they took over either had no connection with their religion, law and language (for example the natural sciences and technics) or else was absorbed in amounts sufficiently small and was adapted and transformed so as to harmonize with the basic requirements of the Muslim religion. The fact that Muslim civilization was hardly, if at all, influenced by Greek art, drama, poetry, mythology, historiography, and political life and thought, clearly shows how deeply Islam had affected its adherents and how greatly their outlook was conditioned by the framework of ideas they had taken from Muhammad.

*The Arabization of the southern Mediterranean.* Muhammad was not only the founder of Islam and of Islamic civilization. He was also the founder of modern Arab nationalism, which is in some ways different from the nationalism of western or central European peoples such as the French, the Italians or the Poles. This is because the Arab world, stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Taurus and Zagros mountains, is not just another nation-state. It covers a group of peoples of widely different racial stocks (Berber, Punic, Egyptian, Aramaic, Phoenician, etc.) and very different historical pasts. These peoples have been

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<sup>19</sup> *Prolegomena*—Quatremère's edition, Volume 1, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> As was rightly pointed out by J. Weulersse, in *Paysans de la Syrie et du Proche Orient*, Islam is "the only world civilization which was founded by nomads."

*racially* Arabized only to a limited extent, an extent that decreases the further west one goes. On the other hand they have been completely Arabized in a linguistic and cultural sense. The last pre-Arabic languages (Coptic, Aramaean, etc.) spoken in the Eastern half of the Arab world died some centuries ago, and today are represented by only two small villages near Damascus and some others in Kurdistan, which continue to speak different forms of Aramaic.

In the Western half of the Arab world the only surviving language is Berber which is spoken by about half the inhabitants of Morocco and a third of those of Algeria.<sup>21</sup> In the religious field, on the other hand, the process of adoption of the Arabian faith has been carried to an even greater degree in the West than in the East, for in North Africa, unlike Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, there are no Christian enclaves, though relatively large Jewish communities are to be found.

The present day Arab world is, therefore, the product of a cultural and historical process, a process of cultural diffusion carried out by the Muslim conquest of the 7th century and subsequent beduin invasions such as that of the Banu Hilal in North Africa in the 11th century. Its members are bound together by a common past, common memories, a common language and a common heritage. Professor H. A. R. Gibb has well defined the Arabs as "a people clustered round an historical memory." He goes on to say: "To the question 'who are the Arabs?' there is—whatever ethnographers may say—only one answer which approaches historic truth: all those are Arabs for whom the central fact of history is the Mission of Mohammad and the memory of the Arab Empire, and who in addition cherish the Arabic tongue and its cultural heritage as their common possession."<sup>22</sup>

One other characteristic of the Arab world remains to be noted: it is in many ways the vanguard of the Islamic world, and as such enjoys both the moral and political sup-

<sup>21</sup> Robert Montagne: *La Civilisation du Désert*, Chap. VIII.

<sup>22</sup> *The Arabs*—Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs.

port of the non-Arab Muslims. This is due to the fact that, as the people among whom Muhammad was born and in whose language the Qur'ān was written, the Arabs have continued to enjoy a special prestige and position in the world of Islam. As E. F. Gautier<sup>23</sup> put it: "It is true that the Arabs have lost, since centuries, political domination over Islam, but they have kept moral domination. Islam is their creation. The human language which God employed, once and for all, in the Quran is the Arabic language. Today, as thirteen centuries ago, the holy cities of Arabia are the Holy Cities."

In the light of what has preceded, it does not seem too much to say that if any one man changed the course of history that man was Muhammad.

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<sup>23</sup> *Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans.*



## EARLY DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE QUR'ĀN

(Concluded from the January issue)

5. *Man's Utterance of the Qur'ān.* Fresh problems are raised by the fact that the Qur'ān can be recited, written and remembered. How is it possible for man to recite the Word of God? In one respect this is the problem of eternal and temporal in a new form. But in the main it is the problem involved in the reciting of any poem—one aspect of the problem of the One and the Many—and belongs to metaphysics rather than theology. Al-Ash'arī has not included in the *Maqālāt* any of the arguments for the creation of the Qur'ān, but he has given many of the detailed views on "man's utterance of the Qur'ān" of those who, like the Mu'tazila, held that the Qur'ān was created. Unfortunately, however, a number of these are anonymous and the precise point cannot always be discovered.

Throughout the Muslim world in thousands of different places the Qur'ān is being recited, written and remembered. There is thus a great multiplicity. Yet it is also in some sense a unity; it is the one Qur'ān which is recited, written and remembered. The latter conclusion is thrust upon theologians both by religious feeling (since they are convinced that it is indeed God's Word which they themselves have heard and known) and also by reason in the form of commonsense; yet loyalty to the abstract rational idea of unity makes them hesitate somewhat in accepting it. Thus the two Ja'fars held that what is heard from the reciter is indeed the Qur'ān, only it is imitation (*hikāya*) of the Qur'ān; similarly what is written is the very Qur'ān on the Preserved Table, but in the sense of being like it (*mithl-hu*) or being imitation of it.<sup>49</sup> Again, 'Abdallāh b. Kullāb held that what we hear the reader read is an "expression" (*ibāra*) of the Word of God; for him the real Word of God was an idea (*ma'nā*) subsistent in God (and not created), which could be expressed in other languages than Arabic; but although it was only an "expression" or copy (*rasm*) of the Word which we heard, we truly came into contact with the Word of God in understanding it.<sup>50</sup>

The conviction of the unity of the Qur'ān was coupled with that of its self-subsistence; it has, as it were, an existence and a life of its own. Some tried to indicate this by saying it was a body or substance (*jism*). Others (including the chiefs of the Mu'tazila) said rather that it was an accident (*arad*) inherent in the Preserved Table; in this they were probably not simply following tradition, but also making allowance for the fact that speech is always someone's speech, and

<sup>49</sup> *Maq.* 600.

<sup>50</sup> *Maq.* 584f.; cp. 601f.; on p. 587 the first view about whether the Word of God is heard appears to be his.

even when written has a material substrate. There was some discussion of the elementary problem of the transference or transmission (*naql*) of the Qur'ān; but it was soon seen that this transference was quite different from physical motion.<sup>51</sup>

There is an interesting anonymous view which shows a high degree of readiness to accept paradox.<sup>52</sup> The Qur'ān is said to be a body subsisting in God; it is not in a place or substrate (*makān*), and so there can be no question of its transference, since transference is spatial. What happens is that when the reader reads it, God creates it along with his reading; and it is what has been freshly created in this moment that is heard by the audience. Those who held this view also attempted to explain the multiplicity by saying that, as God is present in every place, though not as a body is present in a body, so the Qur'ān, being in God, is present in every place, though not as a body. This does in a fashion account for the multiplicity, but in doing so it almost abandons the created character of the Qur'ān, and nothing is said about how the fresh creation (in each moment of reciting) is related to the original.

Some of the problems involved in this point are tackled by a theologian who, though not named, is clearly under the influence of Ḍirār. Of Ḍirār himself we know little beyond the fact that he applied his theory of action to the recitation of the Qur'ān and said that the recitation is God's creation and man's act or "acquisition," and also held (in obedience to the demands of religious feeling) that what is heard is indeed the Qur'ān.<sup>53</sup> The anonymous follower was one of those who regarded the Qur'ān as an accident on the Preserved Table; it subsisted there and it remained there. Whenever the Qur'ān is recited or written or remembered, God creates "it." Just what "it" is presents some difficulty. One line of thought is that it is the *reciting* which is created by God in the given moment of time, and thus the reciting is God's creation and the reciter's acquisition. Yet, on the other hand, what is God's creation and man's acquisition in this moment is none other than the Qur'ān created in the Preserved Table before they were created. Thus, while the distinction is clearly made between the original creation and the subsequent creations, and it is recognized that man cannot acquire what is in the Preserved Table but only what is created in

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<sup>51</sup> *Maq.* 590; etc. Abū 'I-Hudhail is said to have held that the Qur'ān is an "accident" on the Preserved Table (*Maq.* 192, but not elsewhere); but from another account of his views it seems that he thought the Qur'ān existed only when it was recited, written, remembered, and that if these temporal manifestations disappeared the Qur'ān would cease to exist—as if a substance were merely the sum of its accidents.

<sup>52</sup> *Maq.* 590f.; this view resembles some of the doctrines of the Jahmiya.

<sup>53</sup> *Maq.* 594.

secondary fashion, there is nevertheless a firm assertion of the identity of what is secondary with what is original. Faithfulness to religious facts is preferred to abstract rational clarity.

Those who held that the Qur'ān was not created had to deal with very similar difficulties. There was an extreme party, who, in their eagerness to safeguard the conviction that man truly hears the Word of God, maintained that man's utterance of the Qur'ān is likewise increate. On the other hand, there was a body sometimes known as the Lafziya, of whom al-Ḥusain al-Karābīsī (d. 245 or 248) was a member, who held that man's utterance (*lafz*) or reciting of the Qur'ān was created. Finally, there was the middle party, called Wāqifa in view of their suspension of judgment, who refused to say whether man's utterance of the Qur'ān is created or not.<sup>54</sup>

Later orthodoxy came to take the view of the Lafziya. This is earliest found among the Ḥanafīya or followers of Abū Ḥanīfa. The writer of the *Waṣīyat Abī Ḥanīfa*, who probably lived in the first half of the third century, in holding that, though the Qur'ān is increate, man's utterance of it is created, makes use of words and phrases which remind one closely of 'Abdallāh b. Kullāb. The points in which he seems to be chiefly interested are these: 1) It is truly the increate Word of God which man hears and recites; what is "written in the pages, recited by the tongues, preserved in the breasts" is in reality God's attribute, neither identical with Him nor different from Him; though it is thus recited, written and preserved, it is not inherent (*ḥall*) in the tongues, pages or breasts, for it is never separated from God (*min ghair muzāyala 'an-hu*). 2) While he does not go quite so far as to say that the Qur'ān which subsists in God's essence is the idea or meaning, he rather implies this; what is important is that man should understand the meaning; this is done through the writing, the words, the letters and the verses, for these are an indication or manifestation (*dilāla*) of the Qur'ān for human needs; when he says that the ink, paper and writing are created, he suggests that all that belongs to the temporal form of the Qur'ān (including words, letters and verses) is created, and that the essential Qur'ān is something which transcends this.<sup>55</sup>

The view of *Fiqh Akbar II* (which may tentatively be dated 300-350) is similar to that of the *Waṣīya*, but the emphases are completely different. What is written is declared to be identical with the eternal Word of God, but there is no special insistence on the point. Again, there is no mention of "meaning" or "manifestation,"

<sup>54</sup> For all these see *Maq.* 602f.

<sup>55</sup> See Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, p. 127, art. 9; Hyderabad text, 12f.; note that *qā'im bi-dhāti-hi* must, in view of theological considerations, mean "subsisting in His essence," and not "self-existing" as Wensinck translates.

nor of ink and paper; all that is said about this is that "our utterance, our writing, our reciting of the Qur'ān is created, but the Qur'ān itself is not created." There are, however, two fresh points which are strongly maintained. 1) The Word of God, with which He addresses His prophets, is one of His eternal attributes. In other parts of the creed, the author has maintained that God's active attributes are eternal as well as His essential ones; and he includes the Word among the essential attributes. To make his view quite clear, he considers God's addressing Moses and making statements in His eternal Word about temporal events. 2) He insists on God's difference from creatures. God's word is increate, but theirs is created. Further, men speak by organs (or instruments) and letters, but God speaks without these. (This suggests that, like the author of the *Waṣīya*, he conceives of the Word of God as transcending temporal forms; but he seems to attach no great weight to the point.)

It is perhaps worth remarking, for the sake of completeness, that another Ḥanafī, al-Ṭaḥāwī (d.321 at a great age), does not appear to have made any pronouncement on the question of man's utterance of the Qur'ān, except to maintain that what a man hears is truly the Word of God; whoever says it is man's word is worthy of the Fire. There is nothing to prove that he denied that man's utterance of it is created.

6. *Al-Ash'arī*. From his book *Al-Ibāna 'an Uṣūl al-Diyāna* we have comparatively full information about al-Ash'arī's arguments about the Qur'ān.<sup>56</sup> These arguments mostly aim at disproving that the Qur'ān is created and establishing its eternity. He very clearly stands in the tradition of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the group around him, repeating and developing the arguments these had used.

Among these arguments are several of those from verses of the Qur'ān. Thus he makes use of the distinction between the Creation and the Command, and the identification of the Command with the Word, which had been used by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.<sup>57</sup> He also has an argument which had previously been used by Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā al-Buwaiṭī (d.232), based on the description of creation as God's saying to a thing "Be" and it is.<sup>58</sup> The reasoning is: If this word "Be" is created, then another word must have been spoken to it, and so on *ad infinitum*; and that is absurd; therefore God's word cannot be created: on the other hand, to interpret the verse as "God causes the thing to be" is a departure from the text of the Qur'ān, and

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 23-42, Hyderabad edition; = 20-33, Cairo edition, and 66-82 of Dr. Klein's translation.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibāna*, 23f. and Q. 7, 52, etc.; cp. *AHM*, 139, 162 and the tradition about Aḥmad in *Ibāna*, 33.

<sup>58</sup> Q. 16, 42; cp. *AHM*, 119.

would moreover imply that God's word is identical with created things.<sup>59</sup> It must not be thought that these are purely arbitrary explanations, forced upon the selected verses. They are thoroughly in line with an important strand in the teaching of the Qur'ān. Within the course of history God has spoken to His prophets; and what He is within the experience of men that He was before creation; therefore from all eternity He is a *mutakallim* or speaker.

The special relation of speech to the speaker, which was found to underlie the thought of Muḥammad b. Aslam,<sup>60</sup> is prominent in the thought of al-Ash'arī. He repeats briefly the argument of his forerunner about the implications of the Word of God being created in a bush; in such a case it would be the bush, a created thing, which says to Moses "I am God," and that of course is rank heresy.<sup>61</sup> But he has also other arguments. He refers to two stories in which a joint of meat said to the Prophet "Eat me not" and a wolf spoke so eloquently to an unbeliever that he became a Muslim. Now in both cases the words spoken are created by God, yet they are not His words nor His speech; what He creates He does not speak. On the assumption that the speech here is created, there is no essential difference between these cases and that of Moses' bush, and therefore, on the same assumption, no reason for asserting that the speech from the bush is God's speech and not that of the bush. We know, however, that the speech is not the speech of the bush, and consequently the assumption that it is created is to be rejected.<sup>62</sup>

Some opponent had tried to maintain that the difference was that the bush was inanimate and that inanimate things could not be speakers (though the joint of meat would raise difficulties for him). Al-Ash'arī made short work of this theory. If it is impossible for an inanimate thing, to be a speaker, he argued, then it is also impossible for speech to be created in it; by "created in it" he here means "created in it as a subject," so that he would not have said that the speech proceeding from a gramophone is created "in" either the instrument or the record; he would probably have allowed that a noise *qua* noise may be attributed to the bush or gramophone, but would have held that as soon as we regard the noise as speech, the only subject "in" which it can be said to be is an intelligent one. He also notes that the premise that it is impossible for an inanimate thing to be a speaker is untenable, since there

<sup>59</sup> *Ibāna*, 24f.

<sup>60</sup> See note 42.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibāna*, 26; Q. 20, 14.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibāna*, 29f.

is a verse of the Qur'ān which mentions the heavens and earth as speaking.<sup>63</sup>

The point underlying these arguments was better understood and more clearly formulated by al-Ash'arī than by Muḥammad b. Aslam. If God were to create His volitions (*irādāt*) in a creature, he said, then it would be the creature which was "willing" (*murīd*), that is, the subject of the volitions; similarly God may not create His speech in a creature, for then it would be the creature which was speaking, and the speech (or Word) of God would have become the speech of the creature.<sup>64</sup> In other words, speech is what we would call an expression of the personality of an intelligent being; in speech a person is attempting to communicate with other persons. If we suppose that a psychiatrist somehow or other causes a noise resembling speech to proceed from the vocal chords and lips of a man in a trance, that is nevertheless not speech in the strict sense; there is no attempt on the part of the man to communicate with other people; the noise proceeds from his body but not from his personality; it is connected with him in a fashion that is merely physical and external, whereas the connection of speech with a speaker is closer and more intimate.

Another brief argument about the superior merits of prophets is based on the same conception of the close relation between God's speech and God Himself.<sup>65</sup> The assumption is that the prophet directly hears God speaking to him by way of revelation (*wahy*), whereas the ordinary man only hears the words of God as they are transmitted to him by the prophets. If, then, it is argued, God's word is created, the difference between the prophet and the ordinary man disappears (since the object presented to both is now distinct and separate from God, and there is no specially close contact with His essential being); indeed the prophet Moses will be worse off than most ordinary men, since this allegedly created Word comes to them from prophets, but to him (who might have been thought worthy of greater honor) it comes merely from a bush.

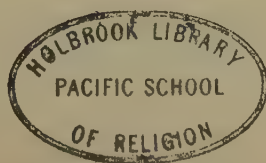
It is perhaps a little surprising to find a theologian of the depth of al-Ash'arī repeating the somewhat naïve view that since the names of God are in the Qur'ān and are uncreated, the Qur'ān cannot be created.<sup>66</sup> It is difficult for the modern scholar to sympathize with the old Semitic belief in the close association of name and attribute signified. But what he said was apparently effective as an *argumentum ad hominem*. Al-Ash'arī, of course, had other

<sup>63</sup> *Ibāna*, 30; Q. 41, 10.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibāna*, 26.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibāna*, 29.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibāna*, 27f.; cp. *AHM*, 90f., *Ibāna*, 34.



lines of thought. Thus we find him asserting that, if God's Word is created, then God is not "speaking" or "saying" (*qā'il*); but to hold that God is eternally characterized by the opposite of speech, that is, by silence, is to ascribe deficiency to Him, which of course is inadmissible.<sup>67</sup> Once again there is the distinction between a creator of speech and a speaker.

Another, apparently original, argument is based on the comparison of God's eternal will in respect of moral distinctions with His Word. The wrath of God against unbelievers is eternal; He is eternally well-pleased and satisfied with angels and prophets; He eternally wills the separation of His friends and His enemies; if His will in these matters were not eternal, God would be defective; but there is no fundamental difference between His Word and His Will. Indeed, God's Word is clearly bound up with the everlastingness of His curse upon Iblīs (or Satan), another moral judgment, for the curse is a word spoken.<sup>68</sup>

After some ten pages of arguments al-Ash'arī gives about a score of "traditions" (about Muḥammad) of various sorts supporting the view that the Qur'ān is not created, and then a list of theologians who had held that view. Finally he discusses two other problems. First, he argues against the view of those who held it right to suspend judgment on the question of the creation of the Qur'ān (who are elsewhere named the Wāqifa). Their grounds for this position were that there was nothing about either of the conflicting views in the Qur'ān or the customs (*sunna*) of the Prophet, nor was there any consensus of the community on the matter. His reply is: there is likewise nothing about suspending judgment in either Qur'ān or Sunna or consensus, but on the contrary there are proofs to be derived from the Qur'ān that the Word of God is not created.<sup>69</sup>

The treatment in the *Ibāna* of the question of man's writing and reciting of the Qur'ān is not satisfactory. In view of some Quranic verses (and also in accordance with his general views) al-Ash'arī holds that the Qur'ān is on the Preserved Table, and that it is really written, remembered, recited and heard; but he refuses to say that it is uttered, since "utter" (*lafāza*) is not a polite or dignified word, he alleges, and because those who speak about "uttering" the Qur'ān only want to assert that it is created. This point is weak, for many who held firmly that the Qur'ān was uncreated were ready to say that man "uttered" it and that his "utterance" of it is created. One has the impression that al-Ash'arī was making an excuse for

<sup>67</sup> *Ibāna*, 25.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibāna*, 31f.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibāna*, 40.

not discussing this difficult problem; elsewhere he advocates suspension of judgment on the question.<sup>70</sup>

7. *Concluding Remarks.* Such are the leading views on these matters in the formative period of Muslim theology. It is remarkable how much of the discussion touches on questions that are of interest to Western and particularly Christian thinkers. The ostensible subject of debate, the Qur'ān, is not relevant to any of the special concerns of the West; and arguments from the text of Islam's sacred book leave the Western scholar unmoved. Yet these are, as it were, only garments which can be stripped off, only the husk surrounding a valuable kernel. Under these forms we are confronted with an issue which is alive today—the problem of the relations of Time and Eternity—for the Qur'ān, in Muslim eyes, both belongs to the eternal being of God and appears at a definite moment in history. Unfortunately it requires considerable effort and much patience to penetrate the husk, to understand the technical language and enter into the mentality of these Islamic doctors and to see what essentially they were talking about.

The chief advocates of createdness are the Mu'tazila. In their rationalistic optimism they either denied the existence of real evil, or said evil always led to good in the end, or else attributed evil solely to creatures. Because of this they could find in creation a reflection of God's righteousness. Creation is an operation whereby God makes something that is in some respects like Himself. Now the vehicle of God's revelation to man, namely, either written or recited words, is a temporal thing, and therefore it is natural to think of it as created; the idea that the creature reflects something of the Creator fits in nicely with this view. Revealed Scriptures may be a fuller and more adequate expression of God's being than other created things, but the difference will be only one of degree. From this standpoint there is thus no objection to holding that the Qur'ān is created, and this gives the simplest account of its historical character.

The outlook of al-Ash'arī is more realistic in its awareness of the evil in the created world. He sees that there is much in the world which is unlike God in respect of righteousness, and contrary to His commands. In his eyes the dominant aspect of the activity of creation is that creatures are unlike God. At the same time he believes that to a few privileged men, the prophets, there comes a knowledge of God in His essential character which is due to direct contact or communication between God and these men; through the prophets other men receive an indirect or second-hand knowledge of God.

<sup>70</sup> In article VIII of the creed in the *Maqālāt*, pp. 290ff.; the creed is translated in the Introduction to Dr. Klein's translation of the *Ibāna*, p. 32.

Thus God in His essential being is to some degree and in some respects present in the creaturely sphere of history. More than that, certain finite temporal things, marks on paper and sounds, become adequate vehicles for something of the very essence of the Eternal. For al-Ash'arī this Eternal-in-history cannot be a creature merely, because of the otherness of the creature from the Creator. He therefore posits a closer and more intimate relation of the revealed Word to God from Whom it came. In the relation of speech to speaker he finds a conception to express this special relation, and he therefore insists on the distinction of God's speech from God's creatures.

Fundamentally, then, the dispute is one between those who uphold the primacy of reason and those who uphold the primacy of revelation. The rationalists conceive of God primarily as Reason, and despite the capital R He is assumed to be not very dissimilar from human reason. Lip-service may be paid to the revealed scriptures, but in the last resort it is human reason which provides the measuring-rod by which they are judged and the canons by which they are interpreted. Such a system of belief is likely in course of time to dispense more and more with revelation and to become a pure rationalism.

If rationalism with its superficial conception of human life is to be opposed, then there must be a return to revealed religion—for recorded history shows revealed religion as the chief dynamic in the consolidation and betterment of human society. Perhaps the study of these Muslim theologians, by presenting the matter from a fresh angle, will help the modern thinker to see more clearly which points are of strategic importance. I would humbly suggest that the following are worthy of attention:

(1) Revelation implies an irruption of the Divine and Eternal into time and history, and that has the further implication that what thus irrupts into history is other than what is already present in history. The knowledge gained by revelation must therefore be *other* than all knowledge gained by the human intellect apart from revelation. Al-Ash'arī may have overemphasized the Divine otherness; but it would certainly be wise for us to pay more attention to that aspect of God's nature which is described in such words as: "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord" (Is. 55:8).

(2) Since what is revealed is in some sense a communication from the Divine, that is, from what is above human reason and transcends it, it follows that reason cannot presume to sit in judgment upon revelation, but that revelation must somehow provide the standard by which reason is to be judged, or, to speak more accurately, that the human mind enlightened by revelation is ar-

biter of the validity of the results obtained by reason apart from revelation. The insistence of orthodox Islam that the scriptures are uncreated is a vigorous reminder that for man to attempt to sit in judgment over what God has revealed is presumptuous folly, since the scriptures are an expression of the Divine nature. Yet does not much modern Western scholarship assume the competence of reason to weigh the Christian scriptures, and sometimes to find them wanting?

(3) These two consequences are, I believe, inescapable, if revelation is what it is commonly claimed to be. There is yet another, however, which is not without its importance for the Christian West, and which it is certainly surprising to find in Islamic thought. This is that created things, despite their otherness from God, despite His transcendence of all creatures, are nevertheless capable of becoming a vehicle for conveying to men something of His essential being. When the scriptures are recited what is heard is none other than the Word of God. Under temporal forms there is present in Time something of the Eternal. God the transcendent is also immanent in history.

While for Muslims the Word of God is primarily the scriptures, for Christians the phrase refers above all to a person. Yet it may be that the difference, great as it is, is yet not quite so vast as it is commonly supposed to be, and that Islamic orthodoxy, taking seriously what it understood by the Word of God, was struggling for much the same things as Christian orthodoxy has fought for in the past and may have to fight for again in the future.

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## THE QUR'ĀN AS SCRIPTURE, II

In the religious thought of the ancient Near East it was well understood that a man might be the recipient of a revelation from the gods and thereby be called upon to make known to others what he had learned of the divine will. The Louvre tablets make it quite evident that at least as early as the already mentioned Urukagina, King of Lagash, we are in contact with a man who claims to have heard the voice of his god Ningirsu bidding him undertake to restore the "way of the gods." After a period of political and social upheaval Urukagina came to the throne to find the situation in his realm well nigh out of hand, and organized religion not only incapable of dealing with the troubles, but itself involved in the corruption. Officials had misappropriated estates. Judges had been imposing a tax for their personal benefit on cases coming before them. Men in positions of power were enslaving the poor. Lay officials were plundering temple revenues. Even the Chief Minister was demanding his percentage on everything that passed through his hands, while in the temples, where one might have expected better things, the oracle-priests and the sacrificial priests, in spite of the fact that they were on the temple budget, were demanding private fees, and for their own benefit were deliberately encouraging senseless extravagance in the funeral ceremonies. Such things ought not so to be, and at the call of his god Ningirsu king Urukagina girds himself to a mission of reform to restore the ancient ways, the "ways of the gods."

In early seventh century Mecca affairs were sadly out of joint. Outside pressure from three great powers, Byzantine in the north and west, Sasanian in the east, and Abyssinian in the south, was forcing the Arabs in on themselves, and there was no unity among the tribes to present an effective resistance. At home the wealthy merchants were growing ever wealthier and the poor folk ever poorer. There was injustice, oppression, exploitation, and the official religion of Mecca, though its shrine was in some sense the pantheon of all Arabia, was powerless to deal with the urgencies of the situation. Then there appeared a man Muḥammad, just an ordinary man, one from among themselves, who had shared as they had in the caravan trade so important for their economy, but who claimed to have heard the voice of Allah calling to him to a mission to restore a "way of God" which had been forgotten. As in the case of Urukagina his reform included large measures of social and political reform, but his reforms were based on religion. In essentials his mission was an attempt to bring the life of the com-

munity in which he lived once again under divine direction as it had been in olden time.

The Qur'ān makes it clear that in undertaking his mission Muḥammad thought of himself as standing in the succession of that great company of men to whom God had spoken, and who, because they had received a revelation of the mind and will of God, or what they conceived to be such, felt themselves called of God to announce that revelation to men and thereby undertake the task of reform within their communities. In his preaching he often referred to the stories of his predecessors in this succession. It seems evident that he knew that he could assume in his audiences some familiarity with a number of these stories, and indeed we have a certain amount of evidence that some of these stories of men of God who had preached to their communities were known to the pre-Islamic poets.<sup>1</sup> What Muḥammad has to say about them in the Qur'ān is interesting to us for two reasons, (1) because even a cursory examination shows that for him their stories follow a clearly defined pattern which obviously gives us his theory of the "messenger and his mission"; (2) because they provide another clue to what Muḥammad meant when he spoke of his Qur'ān as Scripture.

The two words that Muḥammad used for such a messenger are *rasūl* and *nabī*. Sometimes the messenger is called a *mursal*, but that is from the same root as *rasūl* and in the Qur'ān means the same thing. *Arsala* is "to send", so a *mursal* is "one who is sent," and *rasūl*, "a messenger," is equally one who has been sent.

In the case of *rasūl* we are dealing with a normal Arabic word which has been given a special religious meaning. Human messengers may bear the name *rasūl*, as e.g., the messenger whom the king of Egypt sent to Joseph in the prison (XII.50), while the related word *mursal* is used of the envoys from the Queen of Sheba (XXVII.35). The celestial messengers sent to Lot have the name *mursal* (XV.57,61), Gabriel tells the Virgin Mary that he is a *rasūl* from Allah (XIX.19; cf. LXXXI.19), and the angels who come to take the soul at death are Allah's messengers (VI.61; VII.37/35). The parallel here with the development of meaning in the case of the Greek ἀπόστολος, and of the Jewish words *shālūah*, *shāliah*, is striking.<sup>2</sup>

*Shēliḥa* is the *terminus technicus* in the Syriac-speaking Church

<sup>1</sup> The relevant passages are assembled by J. Horowitz in his *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> See Rengstorff in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, I, 406-434. From Epictetus Diss. III, 22 we see that ἀποστέλλειν was used in this sense as early as the Cynics, for they considered themselves to be "sent" to be the "messengers, intelligence officers and heralds of the gods."

for "messenger," "legate," and in the religious sense "Apostle." That this root RSL from which are derived both *mursal* and *rasūl* was the normal South Semitic equivalent for the North Semitic root ŠLḤ, would seem clear from the fact that it is used in Sabaean inscriptions for "legatus" (Conti Rossini, *Glossarium*, p. 242).

The development of the religious use of such a word is fairly obvious. Kings and potentates sent messengers to carry word from their presence to those whom they desired that word to reach. Such messengers heard the word from their mighty overlords, in their turn they spoke the word with authority and with expectation that it would be received and obeyed. Often they carried with them credentials to prove that they were accredited messengers, and not uncommonly they were empowered to speak warnings or utter threats of what might be the consequences if their message were disregarded. Now God was King of Kings and Lord of Lords, so at any time He might send messengers to bear His word to men. Such a messenger would necessarily have what to all intents and purposes was an audience, in which he was told the content of the message he would have to deliver and given instructions as to the people to whom it was to be delivered. In the accomplishment of his mission he would have to speak in the name of God who sent him, might prove his accreditation by showing his credentials, and might have occasion to point out the kind of vengeance God would take on such as disregarded the message sent by his mouth.

It is obvious that such a conception might have arisen independently at a number of different points in time and space, but as we study Muḥammad's statements in the Qur'ān with regard to the messengers and to his own place in the succession of these messengers. it becomes clear that he is following very closely a pattern of thought already well established in the religious tradition around him in the area of his mission.

The other word *nabī* "prophet" was not originally an Arabic word. There is a genuine Arabic verb *naba'a* cognate with the Akkadian *nabū* "to summon, call," but the word *nabī* in the meaning of "prophet" is a borrowing into Arabic from the Judaeo-Christian tradition.<sup>3</sup>

In the Old Testament a *nābī'* is not necessarily a messenger. The Canaanite Baals and Asheras had their "prophets" (I Ki.XVIII.19-40: I Ki.X.19). Abraham was a prophet though he was the bearer of no message (Gen.XX,7), and indeed all the Patriarchs were Prophets (Ps.CV.15). Miriam, the sister of Moses, was a prophetess (Ex.XV.20), and when the Spirit of God happened to fall on

<sup>3</sup> See my *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, p. 276.

quite ordinary men such as Saul's messengers (I Sam. XIX, 20) they might prophesy. It seems that in ancient Palestine the *nābī'* was primarily associated with the cult and would normally be expected to have close associations with some shrine.<sup>4</sup> The well-known gloss in I Sam. IX. 9 shows that the *nābī'* was known to belong to the fraternity of what we should call the "diviners".<sup>5</sup> The passive sense of the word would thus seem to be the original,<sup>6</sup> i.e., the *nābī'* was one who "was called" and then acted in response to the call. The call was not necessarily by a voice. Some happening at the shrine; some seemingly fortuitous occurrence in life as it went on around him; some peculiarity in the casting of the lots or in the consulting of the omens; some sudden "falling of the spirit" on him, or it might even be just the sense of the shaping of political or social crises around him in his environment would call him and he would respond.<sup>7</sup> The response was not necessarily the delivering of a message. Abraham heard the call and his response was to go out on his venture of faith. Miriam heard the call and her response was to lead the song and dance in an expression of thankfulness for deliverance. Indeed, in his *Dalālat al-Hā'irīn* Maimonides considers that the stories of the judges and the leaders who succeeded them are rightly labelled "Former Prophets" in the Hebrew Bible, for these were the men who heard the call and responded by delivering their country from oppressors, intervening to prevent injustice, and labouring to establish the well-being of the community. That is, in their way each of them responded by an effort to establish the "ways of God."

The response, however, might well be the delivery of a message. The prophet Gad gave David a message for his direction before he was king (I Sam. XXII. 5), and the prophet Nathan gave him messages after he was king (II Sam. VIII. 3 ff.) Deborah the prophetess seems to have given messages of counsel to the people as she judged Israel from her seat under the palm tree (Judg. IV. 4 ff.). Hilkiyah the priest and Shaphan the scribe went to Huldah the prophetess, wife of the keeper of the king's wardrobe, for the express purpose of getting a message with regard to the find they had made in the temple (II Ki. XXII. 14 ff.) Even more explicitly we read of the message given in "the word of the Lord" to a prophet, as e.g., to the unnamed prophet in Judg. VI. 7 ff. in the days of distress

<sup>4</sup> See A. Jepsen, *Nabi, soziologische Studien zur alttestamentlichen Literatur und Religionsgeschichte*, (1934), pp. 154 ff.; 191 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Micah, it will be remembered, complains (III. 11) of the prophets who so lower themselves as to divine for money; cf. Jer. XIV. 14; XXIX. 8; Mic. III. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Jepsen, *op. cit.* p. 10; Torczyner in *ZDMG*, LXXXV. p. 322.

<sup>7</sup> Good illustrations of this are given in Guillaume's *Prophecy and Divination among the Hebrews and other Semites*, London, 1938.

under the Midianites, or to Jehu the son of Hanani against Baasha king of Israel (I Ki.XVI.1-4,7,12). In later times the word "prophecy" came to be narrowed to this specific form of response by delivering a message. Still later attention was concentrated on the threats and promises contained in the message, so that prophecy tended to mean no longer the whole message of the prophet but the prediction<sup>8</sup> of what doom would fall on the disobedient and what joyous triumph would be the lot of the obedient.

Muhammad as he took up his mission claimed to be both a *rasūl* and a *nabī*, representing Allah as addressing him "O thou Apostle" (*yā ayyuhā' r-Rasūl*: V.41/45,67/71), and "O thou Prophet" (*Yā ayyuhā' n-Nabī*: VIII.64/65,65/66). He assumes that the audiences know what these words mean, for more than once he gives expression to his distress that they think it amusing that he should consider himself in the succession of the ancient messengers (XXV.41/43; X.2). What then would the *nabī* as messenger have meant to the people of Scripture from whom his contemporaries had learned the word? A number of points immediately suggest themselves as important for our consideration.

(1) He was a source of guidance.

When there was a prophet among the people they would turn to him in moments when more than human guidance was needed with expectation that he could make contact with God and bring them a message containing such guidance.

"But Jehoshaphat said: Is there not here a prophet of the Lord that we may enquire of the Lord by him? And one of the king of Israel's servants answered and said: Here is Elisha the son of Shaphat . . . and Jehoshaphat said: The word of the Lord is with him. So the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat and the king of Edom went down to him." (II Ki.III.11,12).<sup>9</sup>

In the First Book of Maccabees we see the other side of the picture, namely the makeshift arrangements that must of necessity suffice when there is no prophet among the people to whom they may turn for needed guidance.<sup>10</sup>

(2) He would be a man subject to peculiar experiences.

The contact with God through which the message was received was commonly, if not always, a psychically disturbing experience for the prophet.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A suggestion that fulfillment of prediction was the mark of a true prophet is already given in Jer. XXVIII.9.

<sup>9</sup> See also I Ki.XXII.5-28; I Sam.IX.9.

<sup>10</sup> I Macc.IV.46; IX.27; XIV.41; cf. Ps.LXXIV.9; I Sam.III.1: Lam.II.9.

<sup>11</sup> At times the bystanders also were affected by the psychical disturbance, though unaware just what it was that the prophet was experiencing. In the story of Daniel we read: "I Daniel alone saw the vision, for the men who were with me

(a) It might cause disturbances which were forced to manifest themselves in bodily reactions. The prophets of Baal in a kind of frenzy gashed themselves with knives (I Ki.XVIII.28). Saul when under the influence of inspiration stripped off all his clothing and lay naked for a day and a night (I Sam.XIX.24). The youthful attendant of the priest Zakarbaal at Byblos, as we read in Wen-Amon's narration, when he was "seized by the god" danced and began to prophesy (Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV.p.280, §570). So Ezekiel was as it were taken out of his body during the experience (Ezek.VIII.3.Cf. II Cor.XII.1-4), and in the *Biblical Antiquities of Philo*, XXVIII.6 we read that when the Holy Spirit came upon Kenaz, as he sat among the elders, "it took away from him his bodily sense and he began to prophesy." This is the "prophetic ecstasy." The psychic experience frequently upsets the recipient. Daniel is pictured as being smitten down, overcome by the experience (Dan.X.9,15), as were Ezekiel (Ez.I.28) and Paul (Acts XXII.7) and the Seer in IV Ezra V.14,15. Commonly we read how the prophet was sore afflicted by the experience (Dan.VII.15; VIII.27; X.8; Isa.VI.5; IV Ezra V.14; Apoc.Baruch XLVIII.25; LV.1-4), which was doubtless one element in the "burden" of the Prophets (Isa.XIII.1; Nah.I.1; Jer.XXIII.33-39; Hab.I.1; Zech.IX.1).

(b) It might include visions. The passage in I Sam.IX.9 is interesting evidence of the connexion that was felt to exist between the *nābī'* and the Seer,<sup>12</sup> so that we are not surprised to find Michaiah having a vision of the Lord on His throne and seeing the way in which the celestial powers were directing human affairs (I Ki.XXII.19 ff.). When Ezekiel was called to his mission in Babylonia the heavens were opened and he saw visions of God (Ezek.I.1). So Isaiah in the year that king Uzziah died saw a vision of the Lord sitting on His throne (Isa.VI.1 ff.), Amos saw Him on the altar (Amos IX.1), and Zechariah had a vision of the chariots and horsemen (Zech.VI.1 ff.). Daniel tells what he saw in visions (Dan.VIII.1 ff.; X.7 ff.; XII.5 ff.), as in the later books do Baruch, Ezra and Enoch (Apoc.Baruch LIII.1; IV Ezra II.42 ff.; XIII.25; Eth.Enoch XXXVII.1 ff.). One of the afflictions of a community is when its prophets find no vision

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saw not the vision, but a great quaking fell upon them, so that they fled to hide themselves" (Dan.X.7). This reminds us of the experience of Saul of Tarsus on the way to Damascus, where his companions stood speechless with amazement at the psychic manifestation, though they knew nothing of the "call" it gave to him (Acts IX.7).

<sup>12</sup> Seers are mentioned along with Diviners in the Zakir inscription, (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III.8). In II Sam.XXIV.11 the prophet Gad is called David's Seer; cf. II Ki.XVII.13; Hab.I.1.

from the Lord (Lam.II.9), for people in distress turn expectantly to their prophet for a vision (Ezek.VII.26).

(c) It might include dreams.<sup>13</sup> In Numb.XII.6 we read how God said, "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known to him in a vision, and will speak to him in a dream." So some of the messages reported to have been given to Daniel were in dreams (Dan.VII.1), Enoch saw dreams (Eth.Enoch LXXXV.1), as did Ezra (IV Ezra XI.1). Jeremiah reports how the prophets of his day used to come forward with their message saying, "I have dreamed, I have dreamed" (Jer. XXXIII.25, and cf. verses 28,32). Just as it was the descent of the spirit of God which caused the prophetic ecstasy, it was a similar descent of the spirit which caused such dreams, as the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* XLII.8 tells us in connection with the dream of Miriam the sister of Moses.

(3) He would be a preacher.

The message had to be delivered. When it was a simple message as a word of God about some specific matter it might be delivered in a sentence or a few sentences. The message of Gad to David in I Sam.XXII.5 was in three brief commands. The message of the prophet to Ahab concerning the army of the Syrian Benhadad was in three sentences (I Ki.XX.13,14). Michaiah, however, preached a little sermonette to the monarchs and their court when he was sent with his message (I Ki.XXII.19 ff.). Jonah was sent to preach (Jonah III.2). Amos preached his message to "all the house of Israel," and the "burdens" of Habakkuk and Nahum as well as the messages of the Second Isaiah and Jeremiah were sermons in the true sense. It was thus natural that at a later time the office of prophet should be thought of as in a special sense that of a preacher, "And Thou hast also appointed prophets to preach of Thee at Jerusalem" (Neh.VI.7). So we find that Noah is described as a "preacher of righteousness" (II Pet.II.5. cf. Josephus *Ant.*I.iii, 1), Solomon was the preacher who was king over all Israel (Eccl. I.12), and in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* we find the Patriarch delivering a sermonette to his father Terah, much as Enoch is represented as preaching to his children (Slav.Enoch LVII ff.). In the *Apoc. of Baruch* the elders are specially assembled that Baruch may preach to them, and Moses, the Rabbis say, preached and expounded the Torah in seventy languages (Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, III.439).

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<sup>13</sup> Deut.XIII.1 ff. does not necessarily mean that the dreamer of dreams is to be distinguished from the true prophet, though it is clear from as far back as Early Sumeria that it was thought that revelations by way of dreams might come to others than prophets.

Since the message was from God the prophets preached what they claimed was a word from God (Jer.XXIII.16; XXVIII.18; XVIII.12; XXXIV.8; Ezek.XXIII.1; Hos.IV.1; Dan.IX.6; Hag.II.1; Zeph.I.1; Amos.VII.16; Apoc.Baruch XIII.2). Jeremiah in telling of his call says that the Lord put the words into his mouth (Jer.I.9; XV.19 and cf. XXXIV.8). Ezekiel contrasts his message as the word of the Lord with that of many contemporary prophets who but prophesied out of their own hearts (Ezek.XIII.2). The common complaint against the false prophets was that they prophesied although the Lord had not spoken to them (Jer.XXIII.21; Ezek. XIII.3,6-9), therefore their prophesying is called prophesying lies (Jer.XIV.14; XXIII.25; XXVII.9; Ezek.XXII.28), so that they are "prophets of deceit" (Jer.XXIII.26; Lam.II.14; Zeph.III.4), who lead the people astray instead of guiding them (Micah III.5). Since the message is the word of God the true prophet is under a sense of compulsion to speak the word that has been given him. This appears quite clearly in Jer.I.4-10, and was given its classical expression by Paul in I Cor.IX.16, "for necessity is laid on me; yea, woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

(4) He might be a quite unexpected person.

Though in ancient times the prophets were generally attached to the shrines, and there was even a sort of "order of prophets" among whom men would naturally expect the gift of facility in making contact with the divine and bringing the message, yet the "spirit of God" might fall on any ordinary man at any time and cause him to prophesy. The story of Saul tells how at one time the spirit of God came upon him so that he prophesied among the prophets (I Sam.X.5-13. cf. I Sam.XIX.20-24). Amos told Amaziah the priest that he had been no member of any order of prophets, nor the son of a prophet, but a simple herdsman when God called him, taking hold of him and saying: "Go, prophesy to My people" (Amos VII.14,15). The most unexpected person, the most unlikely person,<sup>14</sup> might at any time anywhere be "taken hold of" by God to serve as His messenger to preach His word.

(5) He might be expected to record his message.

Though the earlier prophets seem to have written nothing the later prophets were writing prophets who set down their message in a more permanent form. Habakkuk was expressly commanded to write his message (Hab.II.2), as were Jeremiah (XXX.2; XXXVI.2) and Isaiah (VIII.1). Since Daniel is told to seal up the scroll

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<sup>14</sup> E.g., the messengers from Saul in the story in I Sam.XIX.20 were as unlikely persons as one could imagine, yet on their mission to apprehend David, when they came upon Samuel and the prophets prophesying the spirit suddenly seized them also so that they prophesied.

(XII.4) it would seem that he also had been bidden write his message. As this tradition of written prophecy gained authority there was a tendency to suggest that the earlier prophets had also written their messages along with accounts of the events amidst which they sought to carry out their mission. Thus in I Chron.XXIX.29 we read of books of Samuel, Nathan and Gad, in II Chron.XII.15 of books of Shemaiah and Iddo (cf.XIII.22), and in XXI.12 Elijah is pictured as writing to Jehoram. From this it was only a step to the idea that to every prophet must be ascribed a book, so that, presently, since all the Patriarchs were prophets, we begin to find references to *Books* bearing the names of Noah, Lamech, Enoch, Seth, Abraham, Joseph and even of Adam.

(6) He might be an unpopular person in the community.

The preaching of the prophets who as preachers of righteousness sought to restore the "way of God" among men was by no means always popular with the privileged and powerful in the community. We read of Zechariah the son of Jehoiada that the spirit of the Lord came upon him so that he prophesied but the powerful conspired against him and stoned him (II Chron.XXIV.20,21). The prophet sent to Amaziah had to hold his peace lest he be smitten (*ibid.*XXV.16). In the days of Jezebel's power in the land Obadiah had to save a group of prophets from slaughter by hiding them in a cave till the storm of persecution was over (I Ki.XVIII.4,13). Elijah himself had to flee from Jezebel who threatened his life (I Ki.XIX.2-4). Ahab king of Israel tells Jehoshaphat plainly that he hates Michaiah the prophet and only unwillingly brings him in for consultation, and then when Michaiah tells the kings the truth a courtier smites him in the face and the king has him sent to prison (I Ki.XXII). Jeremiah was often in prison because of his message (Jer.XX.2; XXXII.2; XXXVII.15), and Jesus mourned over Jerusalem the city which killed the prophets and stoned those sent to it (Matt.XXIII.37.cf.Neh.IX.26). Even as early as Amos we hear the complaint that when God sent prophets the leaders of the people forbade them to prophesy (Amos II.12; VII.12-16). In this rejection by the people the messengers shared the fate of the prophets:

"And the Lord God of their fathers sent to them by His messengers, rising up betimes and sending; because He had compassion on His people, and on His dwelling-place. But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised His words, and misused His prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against His people, till there was no remedy. Therefore He brought upon them the King of the Chaldees" (II Chron.XXXVI.15-17).

It will already have been noticed how closely all this corresponds

with the picture we have in Qur'ān and Tradition of Muḥammad as prophet. He claimed to come with "guidance" (XVII.94/96; V.15/18; XXVII.2), and expects the people to turn to him for the solution of their perplexities (II.189/185,217/214,222; V.4/6; LXXIX.42; XVII.85/87 and cf. IV.59/62,65/68; XXIV.48/47). The accounts of his ministry all mention the strange physical and psychical disturbances to which he was subject and which he associated with his reception of messages from Allah.<sup>15</sup> Tradition says that his revelations began with veracious dreams,<sup>16</sup> and there are Traditions recording his statement that certain classes of dreams belong to prophecy.<sup>17</sup> Sūra LIII.1-18 is an account of one of his visions, and the famous *Mi'rāj* story recounts his vision of heaven and hell. Over and over again he announces that he has been sent to preach both good tidings and warnings (XI.2; V.19/22; VII.188; II.119/113; XXXIV.28/27; XXXV.24/22). What he has to preach is Allah's word (*Kalima*, XLII.24/23; X.82; XI.119/120; VI.115; XVIII.109), and so he is under constraint to deliver the message (X.16/17). That he was an unexpected phenomenon when he appeared as a messenger is clear both from the attitude of his contemporaries towards him (XLIII.31/30; X.2; L.2; XXXVIII.4/3; XXV.41/43), and from his own statement that he was only a messenger from among themselves (III.164/158; IX.128/129; LXII.2). That his preaching was highly unpopular with the groups in power and authority in his community hardly needs illustration. Finally there is his insistence that he has a Book from Allah (XLII.17/16; VI.114; III.3/2; IV.105/106).

To every prophet a Book, therefore Muḥammad must have a Book. Here again it is clear that he has taken over from the religious tradition in his environment not only a theory as to the nature of Scripture but also a theory of the prophetic office in connection with which Scripture comes to men. Let us look therefore a little more closely into what the Qur'ān reveals of his own thinking about that prophetic office to which his experience had led him to feel that he had been called.

Apparently he made no special distinction between the two names *rasūl* and *nabī*. The later theologians made a definite distinction between them, taking *nabī* to be a word of wider significance than *rasūl*. They spoke of a very great number of prophets, perhaps as many as 224,000, who while they exercised the prophetic office had no particular message, whereas the messengers were a smaller number, each of whom was given a special *risāla*. Thus for

<sup>15</sup> Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I.4, 389, 447; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, I.392.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, p. 151; *Musnad* Aḥmad, VI.153; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, III.380,

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<sup>17</sup> Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, IV.348, 350; *Musnad* Aḥmad, I.315.

them every *rasūl* would be a *nabī* but not every *nabī* a *rasūl*.<sup>18</sup> The Qur'ān does not support such a distinction.<sup>19</sup> If anything the Quranic evidence would seem to point the other way and suggest that the *nabī* was the narrower term, the prophet being a special class among the messengers. In this Muḥammad would be following the older usage for in the Old Testament the prophet appears as a messenger of a particular kind.

He speaks of himself as both a *rasūl* (II.101/95) and a *nabī* (VII.158). Like those of old he was "sent" (III.144/138) in order to announce (*nabba'a*, XV.49), and to preach (*bashshara*, XXXIII.47/46), so that he is both a bearer of good tidings (*bashīr*, XI.2) to those who heed the message, and a warner (*nadhīr*, XVII.105/106) to those who disregard it. Thus he stands in the succession both of the ancient warners (LIII.56/57; XXVII.92/94), and of the previous messengers (II.252/253 ff.), and feels bidden to declare to his contemporaries, "I am Allah's messenger to you all" (VII.158/157). His message is in his Qur'ān. It is the Qur'ān he is to preach as his good tidings (XIX.97), and it is by the Qur'ān that he is to warn (VI.19,92; XIX.97; XXV.1; XXXII.3/2; XLII.7/5) and to remind (L.45). He thus expects his Qur'ān to be taken as Scripture in the same sense as the messages of earlier prophets and messengers had come to be regarded by other communities as Scripture.

What then did he know of these earlier messengers and their Books? Over and over again he reminds the Arabs that they had hitherto had no such messenger sent to them. "Nay it (i.e. the Qur'ān) is the truth from thy Lord, that thou mayest warn a people to whom no warner has come before thee" (XXXII.3/2 and cf. XXVIII.46; XXXIV.44/43). For this reason he can claim that he is teaching them what neither they nor their fathers had known (VI.91), since they had so far received no book of Scripture (XXXIV.44/43; XXXV.40/38; LXVIII.37). He challenges them to produce Scriptural evidence in support of their religious practices if they think that they are in "the way of God" (XXXVII.157; XLVI.4/3 and cf. XVIII.5/4). He even represents them as complaining that had Allah sent them a messenger and a Scripture they might have been in the true path (XX.134; XXXVII.168,169; VI.157/158; XXVIII.47).

The point he is making in all this is that without Scripture there can be no true religion. For true religion men need accurate

<sup>18</sup> *Sharḥ at-Taḥāwīya fi'l-'Aqā'id as-Salafiya*, p. 89; *Hāshiyat al-Baijūrī*, p. 135; *Sharḥ at-Taftāzānī 'alā'l-'Aqā'id an-Nasafiya*, p. 30 (with the super-commentaries of al-Khayālī and al-'Aṣṣām on the same page); *Sharḥ Abī Maṣṣūr 'alā 'l-Fiqh al-Akbar*, p. 26.

<sup>19</sup> This is contrary to Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, p. 203, who has transferred the later theory of the theologians to the Qur'ān.

knowledge of God and guidance from God as to the "way of God." Such knowledge and guidance can come only by way of revelation. While it is true that the Divine Being does in a measure reveal Himself in His works (L.6-11),<sup>20</sup> and to some extent in history (XLVII.10/11), yet His more complete and purposeful revelation of Himself has ever been through the messages He has given to those men whom He has chosen (XXI.7,25). How foolish, therefore, is it for one to venture to dispute about Allah without knowledge or guidance or enlightening Book (XXII.8). Indeed, it is precisely because revelation is essential to true religion that Satan is ever interested in interfering in this matter (XXII.52/51).

Since revelation is of such importance it is obvious that Allah would have revealed Himself in this special way very early in the history of mankind. In the text books of Muslim theology we find that the sending of messengers is thought to have begun with Adam, who was the first of the series of prophets which extended in continuous succession up to Muḥammad.<sup>21</sup> In the Qur'ān itself Adam is never called either a *nabī* or a *rasūl*, but we read how Allah taught him (II.31/29 to 37/35), guided him (II.38/36; XX.122/120 and cf. 123/121), and particularly how Allah chose him (XX.122/120; III.33/30), all three of which are terms which have a special use in connection with Allah's calling of messengers. The passage III.33/30 is particularly interesting for it mentions how Allah chose above all human beings Adam, Noah, Abraham's family and the family of 'Imrān, thus placing Adam at the beginning of that series of three groups which elsewhere in the Qur'ān are specially marked as those chosen for the task of bearing Allah's revelation to mankind (XXXIII.7; LVII.26,27; XXIX.27/26; VI.84-89; XIX.58/59).<sup>22</sup>

This setting of Adam at the beginning of the prophetic line is possibly a later development of thought, for there are other passages in which Noah appears to be the starter of the line of messengers. Sūra LVII.26,27<sup>23</sup> speaks of the sending of Noah and Abraham and the appointing of the prophetic office and Scripture to

<sup>20</sup> There is teaching (*ibra*) in the phenomena of cattle (XVI.66/68; XXIII.21), in the succession of day and night (XXIV.44), in the histories of the messengers (XII.111), in the stories of the dire punishment visited by Allah on various peoples (LXXIX.26), and even in the events of the battle of Badr (III.13/11).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. al-Jazā'iri in G. F. Pijper's *De Edelgesteenten der Geloofsleer*, Leiden, 1948, p. 17; Ibn Sa'd *Ṭabaqāt*, I.1,26; *Musnad Aḥmad* V.178,179; at-Ṭayālīsī, *Musnad*, No. 479.

<sup>22</sup> The fact that in XIX.58/59 the prophets are said to have been of the posterity of Adam is not significant in this connection, for it need mean nothing more than that as humans they were naturally children of Adam.

<sup>23</sup> The Exegetes make v.25 also refer to Noah, for the "balance" mentioned in that verse they regard as our well known instrument for weighing but which was unknown to mankind till Gabriel instructed Noah in its use and Noah instructed his posterity.

be among their posterity, so that in their footsteps the messengers followed one another, and finally Jesus also. Again both IV.163/161 and X.74/75 suggest that it was only after Noah that messengers began to come in regular succession, while in XXXIII.7 we find him as the first in the list of those predecessors of Muḥammad with whom Allah made strict covenant. It would be natural, of course, for a new start to be made after the flood, so that this does not necessarily mean more than that with Noah the succession was taken up again.

In any case Adam's progeny were promised that messengers would come to them (VII.35/33), and that Muḥammad thought of a succession of them according to some divine plan appears clearly. "Then sent We our messengers, one after the other. Every time its messenger came to a community they treated him as a liar, so We caused them to follow in succession on one another" (XXIII.44/46 and cf. X.74/75 ff.). One such messenger has been sent to every nation (XVI.36/38; X.47/48; XXXV.24/22), and even to the Jinn (VI.130), for it was not consistent with the justice of Allah to visit with punishment any community till a messenger had been sent to warn it (XXVIII.59; XVII.15/16), and after one has been sent men have no plea against Allah (IV.165/163). For this reason the messengers are normally chosen from the members of the community itself (XIV.4), so that their message may be plain.

In His choice of messengers Allah exercises His divine prerogative and chooses whom He will (III.179/174).<sup>24</sup> Some of them were more highly endowed than others, and some He raised to higher rank than others (II.253/254; XVII.55/57), but they are all His servants (XXXVII.171; XVI.2; XIV.11/13; XL.15). His sending them is an act of mercy (*rahma*) on His part (XLIV.6/5), and He desires that men make no distinctions among them (II.136/130,285; III.84/78; IV.152/151).<sup>25</sup> They are always humans (XXI.7,8; XVI.43/45; XVII.93/95 ff.; XIV.11/13; XII.109), performing nor-

<sup>24</sup> A big point was made of this in the later theological writings, which insisted that men might attain high positions of power, wealth, learning and even sanctity by their own efforts, but no man by his own efforts could ever attain the office of prophet. For that office Allah chose whom He would, perhaps a person of no learning or position or significance in human eyes, but whom He saw was the one best fitted to bear His message at that particular time to that particular group. It is noteworthy how often the word "chosen" (XIX.58/59) is used in connection with these messengers.

<sup>25</sup> Apparently there were some in his audiences who wished to believe in certain of the messengers but not in others (IV.150/149). One supposes that Muḥammad is referring here to those who believed in earlier prophets but refused to believe in him, but the position he consistently takes is that belief in the whole succession of messengers is what is required of men who would follow the "way of God" (II.285; III.179/174; IV.136/135,150/149,152/151,171/169).

mal human actions such as eating and going about the market places (XXV.20/22), and having wives and children (XIII.38). This apparently excited comment from Muḥammad's contemporaries, for there seems to have been some idea abroad that this bringing a divine message ought to have been the task of angels rather than men (XXV.7/8,21/23; XV.7; XVII.92/94; XI.12/15; VI.8,9,91,111). Muḥammad apparently felt the pressure of this objection so much that he represents the same objection having been raised against Noah by his contemporaries (XXIII.24; XI.31/33), and by the peoples of 'Ād and Thamūd against their messengers (XLI.14/13). Since the messengers, however, are but humans, they are not to be taken as Lords (III.80/74), yet are to be obeyed (IV.64/67) as those to whom Allah has given authority over what He wills (LIX.6).

Having chosen His messengers Allah enters into a covenant with them (XXXIII.7; III.81/75). On His part He gives them a revelation of Himself which makes clear to them His uniqueness (XXI.25), promises them His aid (XL.51/54; X.103),<sup>26</sup> and His guidance (VI.90; XIX.58/59), and of course gives to them the message, His "word" which they are to deliver (XXXVII.171). They on their part undertake the task of delivering the message (V.67/71; VII.62/60,68/66,79/77),<sup>27</sup> firmly enduring in spite of all opposition (XLVI.35/34; VI.34), bearing witness (LXXIII.15), setting forth Allah's signs (XX.134), and asking no recompense from men since their reward is from Allah (XXXVI.21/20). They are to expect opposition to their mission (XXV.31/33; VI.112), and to be made mock of (XLIII.7/6), but on the great Judgment Day all men will have to face questioning on how they responded to the messengers sent them (XXVIII.65; VII.6/5),<sup>28</sup> and it will then become apparent that Allah and His messengers finally prevail (LVIII.21; XXXVI.52).

In connection with this idea of a "covenant" with the prophets Muḥammad uses a number of technical terms.

(1) There are first of all the two words he uses for the covenant itself, viz. *mīthāq* and *'ahd*, both of which were in secular use but which lent themselves to use in a technical religious sense.

<sup>26</sup> Emphasis is laid on the fact that Allah always makes good His promises to His messengers (XXI.9; XIV.47/48), and on how when they are in distress and despair He comes to their aid (XII.110).

<sup>27</sup> There is a curious suggestion in LXXII.27,28 that when Allah has revealed the message to a messenger He sets angelic guards to see that the message is delivered.

<sup>28</sup> There is a suggestion that a special time is assigned to the Messengers on the Day, when they will be called to a reckoning and have to give an account of their mission (LXXVII.11; XVI.89/91; XXXIX.69-71 and cf. V.109/108).

(a) *mīthāq* is related to the verb *wathiqa* "to put trust in anyone," which is used in the III Form to mean "to enter into a compact or treaty with anyone." So *mīthāq* is a "covenant" or "treaty" entered into in such a way. It is used in the Qur'ān in its secular sense with reference to compacts between humans (IV.21/25,90/92, 92/94; VIII.72/73). In its technical sense, however, it is used only in connection with messengers and their communities. Most often the *mīthāq* is that between Allah and the Children of Israel (II.83/77,84/78,93/87; V.12/15,70/74; VII.169/168),<sup>29</sup> but Allah also had one with the Christians (V.14/17), and indeed with all the people of Scripture (III.187/184). It was because of the covenant that messengers came to the Children of Israel (V.70/74), and part of the covenant was that they should believe in the messengers and help them (V.12/15), but they broke the covenant<sup>30</sup> and killed the prophets (IV.154/153 ff.). The communities, however, come into the covenant relationship only because of their prophets, for Allah's strict *mīthāq* is really with those whom He sends (XXXIII.7). But when they have come into this covenant relation and have received Scripture through their prophet, they, like their prophets, are under covenant obligation to spread the message and labor to establish the "way of God" (III.187/184; XIII.20-25; II.27/25; V.12/15). Since Muḥammad claims to have a place in the prophetic succession he also is under the *mīthāq* (XXXIII.7),<sup>31</sup> and so consequently is his community (LVII.8).

(b) *'ahd* is related to the verb *'ahida* "to enjoin," "to stipulate," which in the III Form is used to mean "to make a covenant with." It is used in the Qur'ān of covenants among men (II.177/172; III.76/70; XXIII.8; XIII.20; XVII.34/36; LXX.32), of Muḥammad's compacts with his contemporaries (XXXIII.15,23; II.100/94; IX.12), and of covenants men might make with Allah (XIX.78/81,87/90). In this last case the word has already begun to take on a religious rather than a secular sense (cf. XLVIII.10; IX.75/76). It is more generally used in the Qur'ān, precisely as *mīthāq* is used, for the covenant relation entered into by communities with Allah through the messages sent to them by the messengers.<sup>32</sup> It is in this sense that

<sup>29</sup> Some details are given of the content of the covenant with the Children of Israel (II.83/77 ff.; IV.154/153; V.12/15 ff.) which make it clear that Muḥammad has in mind the Mosaic Law. This Jewish covenant is associated with revelation in II.63/60,93/87; V.70/74.

<sup>30</sup> Which suggests that II.27/25; V.7/10 were addressed to the Jews.

<sup>31</sup> This explains why in III.81/75 he insists that part of the covenant with the prophets was that when he appeared to preach his mission their communities should recognize his claim to be in the succession and should aid him.

<sup>32</sup> Covenant with the Children of Israel is particularly mentioned in II.40/38, 80/74, and with the *Ahl al-Kitāb* in general in III.76/70 ff.

Allah is said to be faithful to His covenants (IX.111/112; II.80/74), that there is reproof for the ancient communities because Allah found them not following their covenant (VII.102/100), and men are reprovèd for their evil ways since it was enjoined on them in their covenant not to serve Satan (XXXVI.60). It was in this sense that some among the audience answered back to Muḥammad and told him that their covenant with Allah bade them accept no messenger unless he presented a sacrifice which fire from heaven devoured (III.183/179).

(2) In VI.89 after a list of the messengers who in times past had had the covenant with Allah and had been sent to their communities, we read: "these are they to whom We gave the *kitāb*, the *ḥukm* and the *nubūwwa*."<sup>33</sup>

(a) *Kitāb*, as we have already seen, is the normal word for Scripture, so it is clear that the message, the "word" (*kalima*) of XXXVII.171, is thought of as connected with the Book. It is true that we are not expressly told of each messenger or prophet mentioned in the Qur'ān that he had a Book, but we have the general statement that when Allah sent prophets to announce good tidings and to warn He sent down Scripture with them (II.213/209; XXXV.25/23; XL.70/72; LVII.25).<sup>34</sup> This Scripture was given them *bi'l-ḥaqq* that they might decide among the people on matters wherein they differed (II.213/209). Furthermore, LVII.26 states that it is particularly the progeny of Noah and Abraham who are concerned with the receiving of Scripture (cf. IV.54/57), and we have already noticed that these are the families specially associated with the gift of prophecy.

The *kitāb* is given to the chosen messengers by revelation (IV. 163/161; XXI.7,25; XVI.43/45; XI.36/38; XIV.13/16; XII.109). The mechanism of revelation we shall have to investigate later on, the point of interest at the moment is that the terms used for Allah's process of revealing His message to His messengers are precisely the same as those used for the revealing of Scripture.

(b) *ḥukm* in this connection means "jurisdiction." The word is used frequently in the Qur'ān to mean "judgment" or "decision," as when the ordinance concerning marriage with believing and unbelieving women is called a *ḥukm* of Allah (LX.10), or when we

<sup>33</sup> These three terms occur together again in XLV.16/15, where all three are said to have been bestowed on the Children of Israel, and in III.79/73, where it is said that it is unseemly for a man on whom Allah has bestowed *kitāb* and *ḥukm* and *nubūwwa* to claim that men should worship (or serve) him instead of Allah.

<sup>34</sup> And compare III.184/181; XVI.43/45 ff.; II.136/130.

are told that no man may have part in Allah's judgment (XVIII. 26/25). It may even refer to a human decision, as e.g., that of David and Solomon (XXI.78), or that of the Times of Ignorance (V. 50/55). In this sense the Torah contains the *ḥukm* of Allah (V. 43/47), and the Qur'ān is said to be sent down as an Arabic *ḥukm* (XIII.37). Since the root ḤKM also develops the meaning of "wisdom," some have thought that in these latter cases we are to understand the word in this sense, that the Torah and the Qur'ān contain the "wisdom" of Allah, that when Abraham prays for *ḥukm* to be bestowed on him he is praying for divine wisdom, and that when Allah bestows *ḥukm* on Joseph (XII.22), on Lot (XXI.74), on Moses (XXVI.21/20; XXVIII.14/13), on David and Solomon (XXI. 79), on John Baptist (XIX.12/13) and on Jesus (III.79/73), it was a bestowal of His wisdom. This may be so. Its use along with *kitāb* and *nubūwwa* in the three passages already mentioned, however, makes it more likely that when used in connection with the messengers whom Allah sent it refers to the prophetic jurisdiction.

In the ultimate sense final jurisdiction, of course, is with Allah alone (VI.57,62; XII.40,67; XXVIII.70; XL.12), so that when men differ about a matter the decision goes to Him (XLII.10/8; cf. XXVII.78/80). Yet Allah gives delegated authority to His messengers (LIX.6). They come with the truth (VII.43/41,53/51), at their coming to a community judgment is given with justice (X.47/48), and Allah expects that His messengers will be obeyed (IV.64/67).<sup>35</sup> Their jurisdiction is associated with Scripture, for we read that the prophets among the Children of Israel gave judgment according to the Torah (V.44/48).

(c) *nubūwwa* is the prophetic office. Those called of Allah are "sent" (XLIII.6/5; XXIII.44/46; XLIV.5/4 and frequently).<sup>36</sup> Their mission is twofold, they are to be announcers of good tidings and they are to be warners (II.213/209; VI.48; XVIII.56/54), the former to those who received the message, the latter to those who reject it. They are not responsible for the outcome of their mission, but only for fulfilling it (XXXIII.39) and clearly proclaiming their message (XXXVI.17/16); XVI.35/37; V.99; XXIV.54/53; XXIX. 18/17). Allah knows best where to place His messengers (VI.124), and it is for Allah to make a way for the message in the hearts of sinners (XV.12; XXVI.200 and cf. XLIX.7). The message will dif-

<sup>35</sup> This may be the meaning of the statement that Allah never sends a prophet to a people but He afflicts that people (VII.94/92; VI.42,43).

<sup>36</sup> Two different verbs are used *arsala* and *ba'atha*, but apparently they are used interchangeably. Thus *arsala* is used of the sending of Moses in XI.96/99, but *ba'atha* in VII.103/101.

fer in particulars according to the needs of the community to whom the messenger is sent but the one element common to all the messages was that Allah alone should be worshipped and idolatry shunned (XVI.36/38).

The messengers bring Allah's command (LXV.8), and they make known to men Allah's promises (III.194/192), but the two main functions are those mentioned above, those of—

(a) warner—*mundhir* (XXXVII.72/70; IV.165/163; VI.48; XVIII.56/54), or *nadhīr* (LIV.5,23,33,41), who bring to men Allah's threat (L.14/13,45) to evil doers and point to the coming judgment (XXXIX.71; VI.130).

(b) preacher—*mubashshir*, "announcer of good tidings" (IV.165/163; VI.48; XVIII.56/54), or *bashīr* (V.19/22; VII.188; XI.2. cf. XII.96), setting forth Allah's signs for men to follow (XX.134),<sup>37</sup> and teaching men Scripture (II.129/123).<sup>38</sup>

For their accreditation they bring from Allah clear evidentiary proofs (*bayyināt*). A *bayyina* may mean nothing more than something which makes clear. Allah's judgments on former peoples are a *bayyina* (XXIX.35/34). False gods have no Scripture which contains a *bayyina* (XXXV.40/38). What was revealed in previous Scriptures was a *bayyina* for men (XX.133), and so Muḥammad's own message is referred to as a *bayyina* (II.209/205; VI.157/158; XXIX.49/48). The word, however, is also used for a miracle. Moses' nine miracles are called *bayyināt* (XVII.101/103), and Ṣāliḥ's miraculously produced she-camel is a *bayyina* (VII.73/71). So when the messengers are said to have come with *bayyināt* as well as Scripture (III.184/181; XXXV.25/23), and Allah declares that He has sent as messengers none but inspired men with their *bayyināt* (XVI.44/46), we are justified in deciding that the *bayyināt* with which the several messengers are said to have come (VII.101/99; IX.70/71; X.13/14,74/75; XIV.9/10; XXX.9/8; XXXV.25/23; XL.22/23,83) were the miracles they performed in justification of their mission.<sup>39</sup> As such these miracles are also called *āyāt* "signs" (XL.78; XXI.5; VI.109,124; XVII.59/61). The messenger does not himself choose the type of miracle he will produce, but Allah bestows the power of producing them when and how He sees fit (XIV.11/13),

<sup>37</sup> This is commonly referred to as "rehearsing" Allah's signs (XXVIII.45,59; XXXIX.71; VII.35/33; VI.130; II.129/123).

<sup>38</sup> This is said to "purify" men (II.129/123).

<sup>39</sup> This was the accepted theory of the later theologians who devoted much space to the discussion of miracles as evidentiary signs of the prophets. See *Sharḥ at-Taḥāwīya*, 81 ff.; *Sharḥ Abī'l-Muntahā 'alā'l-Fiqh al-Akbar*, p. 31; al-Jazā'iri in Pijper's *Geloofsleer*, pp. 18-20; Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, p. 224.

for such things of wonder are in the power of Allah alone (XXIX.50/49; VI.109) and may be wrought only by His express permission.

The fulfilling of the mission was no easy task. No messenger was ever sent but he was mocked at by his contemporaries (XV.11; XLIII.7/6; XXXVI.30/29). Men scoffed at them (XXI.41/42; XI.38/40; XIII.32), treated them as impostors (LXVII.9; L.12 ff.; XV.80; X.39/40; XXXVIII.14/13; XXIII.44/46),<sup>40</sup> argued with them to refute their message (XL.5; XVIII.56/54), thought their pretensions an example of insolence (LIV.25), taunted them that they were only human (XXXVI.15/14; XXIII.33/34 ff., 47/49; XXI.3), said they were possessed (LI.52), and not content with opposing them (LXV.8), tried to lay violent hands on them (LX.5; III.183/180). The Jews in particular are upbraided for having killed the prophets unjustly (II.61/58,91/85; III.21/20,112/108,181/177; IV.155/154). The miracles they produced as evidentiary signs were considered as impostures (LIV.42; XVII.59/61), or as the products of magic (LIV.2). The Satans endeavored to lead them astray from their mission (XXII.52/51), and we read that Allah appointed a special enemy to every prophet (XXV.31/33; VI.112).

We thus have a fairly clear picture of Muḥammad's conception of the prophetic office of those messengers into whose fellowship he felt that he had been brought by his "call." But who were the prophets in whose succession he made claim to stand?

Nowhere in the Qur'ān do we find any statement of the number and order of the prophet succession from Adam to Muḥammad himself. Muḥammad thought of them as a numerous body. Sūra XLIII.6/5 reflects on how many a prophet Allah had sent to those of old, and Moses is represented as bidding the Children of Israel remember Allah's goodness in appointing prophets to be among them (V.20/23, cf. 32/36), a statement which assumes that there were a number anterior to Moses.<sup>41</sup> That others were raised up later than Moses is clear from (II.87/81), and it was in the footsteps of these that Jesus walked (V.46/50). The *Ahl al-Kitāb*, i.e., the Jews and the Christians, know about these messengers (XXI.7; XVI.43/45), and think that the succession has already reached its end (V.19/22). Muḥammad knows that though he has learned

<sup>40</sup> Cf. V.70/74; XXIX.18/17; XXXVI.14/13.

<sup>41</sup> Since the verse 20/23 goes on to mention the appointing of kings some have thought that the reference is to the prophets and kings whom God has appointed to come in the future to the Israelites. In XL.31/32-34/36, however, we find that the Egyptian at Pharaoh's Court, who supported Moses there, is represented as knowing that messengers had been sent to early communities such as those of Noah, 'Ad and Thamūd, and that Joseph had brought *bay-yināt* to the Egyptians themselves.

about the stories of a number of them yet there are some about whom he has no information (XL.78; IV.164/162). No list that we could derive from the Qur'ān would thus be, even for Muḥammad, a complete list, but such lists as we find are highly significant for our attempt to understand what the prophetic office meant to him.

The earliest passage which provides such a list is Sūra XIX, where we have the stories of a number of messengers whom Allah chose and guided and sent. In this appear Zechariah and his son John Baptist, Jesus, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Ishmael, Idrīs and Noah. In II.136/130 we have mention first of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and "the Tribes,"<sup>42</sup> as those to whom a message had been "sent down," and then Moses, Jesus and the prophets as those to whom something had been given. This list is repeated in III.84/78. In III.33/30 is the list of those whom Allah "chose" for His special service, namely Adam, Noah, Abraham's family and 'Imrān's family,<sup>43</sup> all of whom are in family succession from one another. Sūra LVII.26,27 makes the succession start with Noah and Abraham, then the messengers followed in their footsteps and finally Jesus in those of the messengers. The list in IV.163/161 also begins with Noah who was followed by the prophets, Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, the Tribes, Jesus, Job, Jonah, Aaron, Solomon, David, and then in the next verse Moses. The longest lists are those in VI.84-89 and XXI.48/49-91. In the former we find Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Noah, David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Zechariah, John Baptist, Jesus, Elijah, Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah and Lot. In the latter occur the names of Moses and Aaron, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Lot, Noah, David and Solomon, Job, Ishmael, Idrīs, Dhū'l-Kifl, Jonah, Zechariah and John Baptist, the Virgin Mary and Jesus. Finally in XXXIII.7 where Muḥammad includes himself in the list of those with whom Allah made this strict covenant, the others are, the prophets, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus.

Apart from these lists we read elsewhere in the Qur'ān of one Hūd, who was sent to the ancient people of 'Ād, of Šāliḥ, who was sent to the people of Thamūd, of Shu'aib, who was sent to the folk

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<sup>42</sup> In my *Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, p. 57, I was inclined to favor the view that there was in this use of "the Tribes" a confusion between the twelve tribes and the "Twelve" as a name for the Minor Prophets, among whom was the Jonah who is mentioned in the Qur'ān. It seems more likely, however, that it means "the Patriarchs," the twelve sons of Jacob, who in later Jewish thought were included among the prophets, and who even had a "Book," the well known *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

<sup>43</sup> By the well known confusion of Miriam the sister of Moses and Aaron with Miriam (= Mary) the mother of Jesus, the latter comes to belong to the family of 'Imrān.

of Midian, and that is the complete list of the messengers mentioned by name in the Qur'ān.<sup>44</sup>

The most obvious thing about the personages in these lists is that they are almost all Biblical characters. Many Western scholars, indeed, have endeavored to make all of them Biblical characters. Idrīs is generally identified with Enoch, though Torrey would make him Esdras = Ezra. Dhū'l-Kifl has been thought to be Ezekiel or Obadiah. This name, which occurs in XXI.85 and XXXVIII.48, means "he of the portion," and may be but another name for Elijah, just as Jonah, who is usually called Yūnus, in XXI.87 is called Dhū'n-Nūn, "he of the fish." Shu'aib has often been equated with Jethro in view of his association with Midian, and with less likelihood Hūd with Eber and Šāliḥ with Salah the father of Eber. In any case Muḥammad's tradition about the succession of messengers would, as far as the lists go, quite clearly derive from the Jewish and Christian groups of his day. What is more striking, however, is that when we examine in detail the pattern of his teaching about these messengers and their mission we are at every point taken back to these same groups.

### 1. The Patriarchs as Prophets.

To us it seems a little strange to consider Adam as a prophet, but Clement of Alexandria commenced the prophetic line with the father of mankind, regarding him as a prophet "who spoke prophetically with regard to the woman and in the giving of names to creatures" (*Strom.* I.21). This was a notion he derived from Jewish

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<sup>44</sup> Two other lists should be mentioned which, though they are not strictly lists of messengers, are connected therewith for they are lists of ancient peoples who rejected their messengers. One such list is an interpolation in Sūra L, where it now forms verses 12-14/13, and the other is in IX.70/71. The former lists the people of Noah, the men of ar-Rass, Thamūd, 'Ād, Pharaoh, the brothers of Lot, the men of the Grove, and the people of Tubba'. The latter enumerates the people of Noah, 'Ād, Thamūd, the people of Abraham, those of Midian and of the overthrown cities. The "overthrown cities" are Sodom and Gomorrah, in all probability, and so their prophet would be Lot. The "men of the Grove" are the Midianites of the Shu'aib story. Pharaoh's people, of course, had the message from Moses and Aaron. The men of ar-Rass are mentioned again in XXV.38/40, along with 'Ād and Thamūd, as people of ancient times, but we have no idea who they were, nor who was the prophet Ḥanzala who later tradition says was sent to them. The people of Tubba' are the Himyarites of South Arabia, who are mentioned again in XLIV.37/36, but nothing is said as to their prophet, who some think is meant by the name Tubba', the people being so called because they were the people to whom he was sent. Ezra is mentioned in IX.30 and would be classed by us among the prophets, but the Muslim Commentators are doubtful whether he belongs to the prophet succession, as they are about the Luqmān who appears in Sūra XXXI, and the Dhū'l-Qarnain of Sūra XVIII.

sources<sup>45</sup> for it occurs in Philo *Quis Res. Div. Haeres*, 51, in the *Seder Olam Rabba*, XXI (ed. Ratner, p. 91) and the *Zohar* I.125 a. Origen repeats it in *De Principiis*, I,iii,6 (ed. Koetschau, V.58) and *In Cant.*ii (ed. Lommatzsch, XIV.418), and it is often referred to in the later literature.<sup>46</sup> It was doubtless under the influence of this idea that the various "Books of Adam" later came into circulation. Jewish sources similarly stress the prophetic activity of Noah (*Jubilees*, VIII.18; *Seder Olam Rabba*, XXI, ed. Ratner, p. 92; Philo *Quis Res. Div. Haeres*, 52), and in this are followed by Christian writers (Clem.Alex.*Strom.*I,21; Theophilus *ad Autol.* iii,19), so that it is not surprising that we find "Books of Noah" in circulation.<sup>47</sup> Clement of Alexandria in the passage above quoted adds Abraham, Isaac and Jacob among those who prophesied, apparently reproducing an earlier Jewish idea that all the Patriarchs were prophets and consequently had books.<sup>48</sup>

## 2. The Covenant with the Prophets.

That God had a covenant with the Patriarchs is a notion fundamental to the theology both of the Old and of the New Testaments. The covenant with the prophets as a body was but an extension of this, an extension which may very well have been suggested by the fact that Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, whom XXXIII.7 specially mentions in connection with Allah's strict covenant, are all figures prominently connected with covenant relations in the Scriptures of the older religions.<sup>49</sup>

The illuminating passage with regard to this covenant is Sūra

<sup>45</sup> In the Zoroastrian *Videvdāt*, ii, Ahura Mazda revealed his law to the first man Yima and wanted him to promulgate it as the first prophet, but Yima was unwilling.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Moses bar Kepha, *Comm. de Paradiso*, I.28; the Clementines *Homil.* III.21 (ed. Schwegler, p. 95); *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 62 (ed. Casey, p. 82); Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 14 of the Syriac text.

<sup>47</sup> Such passages as *Jub.*VI.35; VIII.11; X.13 connect Noah with written documents. A fragment of a "Book of Noah" is printed by Jellinek in his *Bet Hammidrash*, III.155-160.

<sup>48</sup> The idea is implicit in *Ps.*CV,15. Cf. also Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* i,87, and Ratner's note to *Seder Olam Rabba*, XXI. That they had revelation given to them is often mentioned, e.g., *Mekilta de R. Shim'on*, 170,171. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the *Testament of Abraham* are well known pseudepigraphal books, but we also have Christian apocalypses of Isaac and Jacob, and the above mentioned *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* purports to derive from the sons of Jacob. It is curious that in *Test. Zeb.* IX.5 we have a tradition that Zebulun possessed the writings of the earlier Patriarchs.

<sup>49</sup> On the covenant idea see P. Karge, *Geschichte des Bundesgedankens im Alten Testament*, and Behm and Quell in Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch*, II,105-137. For the covenant with Noah see *Gen.*IX.12; for that with Abraham *Gen.*XVII.7; for Moses and the covenant *Exod.*XXXIV.28; *Deut.*IX.9,11; and for Jesus as the mediator of the new covenant, *Heb.*XII.24.

III.81/75. There we read of a particular occasion on which Allah laid on the prophets as a whole the covenant obligation that in return for His giving them Scripture (*kitāb*) and wisdom (*ḥikma*) they would promise that when a messenger came confirming what they had from Him they would believe in him and aid him. That was the condition on which they were to take up their task, and when they assented Allah promised that He would be with them. Obviously Muḥammad is here referring to his own claim to be in the prophetic succession. He is the one who comes "confirming" what was sent to the earlier messengers,<sup>50</sup> and verse 85/79 expressly links this passage with his religion of Islam. On the surface it would seem absurd that the prophets, who were all dead long before Muḥammad was born, should be called on to make a promise that when he did appear they would believe on him and aid him, so the Commentators have had to work out ingenious theories to explain that covenants with prophets included their followers, or that "prophets" in this passage does not mean the actual prophets but the descendants of the prophets, or that here it means the Jews, since they claimed that the gift of prophecy was found only among them.<sup>51</sup> The fact, however, is that in this verse we have a reflection of the popular Jewish legend that all the Patriarchs and the prophets were assembled at Sinai, both those who had been and those who were to come to witness the giving of the Torah to Moses, since the Torah was *the* great covenant of God with His people,<sup>52</sup> and there Moses is told that the perfect successor he desires will not come till the end of time when he will come as Messiah.<sup>53</sup>

Now Sūra II.129/123 speaks of Abraham praying that Allah would raise up among the Arabs a prophet who would rehearse to them His signs, teach them the Scriptures (*kitāb*) and wisdom (*ḥikma*) and purify them. Muḥammad's claim is that he is the answer to this prayer, since he is the Arab prophet sent with an Arabic Scripture to warn Mecca and the places thereabout (XLII. 7/5). Consequently he claims that his coming was foretold in previous Scriptures (VII.157/156; LXI.6),<sup>54</sup> that he is in a particular

<sup>50</sup> II.101/95; XXXVII.37/36; cf. X.37/38; VI.92; XXXV.31/28; III.3/2; V.48/52, and notice in this connection V.15/18; XVI.44/46,64/66.

<sup>51</sup> See the Commentaries of Ṭabarī, Qurṭubī and Baiḍāwī *ad loc.*, and the discussion in al-Alūsī's *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, III.184 ff.

<sup>52</sup> It is so called in Deut. IX.9-11.

<sup>53</sup> A simple statement of this legend may be read in Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, III.398.

<sup>54</sup> This latter is the famous Paraclete passage where the promise of the Paraclete in Jno. XVI.7 ff. is taken to be a prediction of the coming of Muḥam-

sense in the Abrahamic succession (III.68/61),<sup>55</sup> so that he is the one who has the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* (IV.113), who has come to purify them (LXII.2; II.151/146; III.164/158). This is conclusive evidence that he has heard of this Messianic expectation<sup>56</sup> among the People of the Book, and being convinced by his own experience of a call that he is to bring to his people the religion of the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, he identified himself with this expected figure, and so included himself in XXXIII.7 among those under the prophetic covenant.

### 3. The Prophetic Succession.

That God, before sending chastisement upon the nations, gives them due warning by the mouth of His messengers, is clear enough from the messages of the Old Testament prophets. That there was a planned succession of such messengers was a later idea. The basis for it is in the Old Testament. There we find that such a prophetic order was not confined to the Children of Israel. God raised up prophets to bear His message also among the Gentile peoples. The most famous of these in the eyes of the later Rabbis were Balaam and Job<sup>57</sup> and his friends. Nor was the mission of the Jewish prophets confined to their own communities for Jonah was sent to Nineveh, Obadiah to Edom, and the messages of the greater prophets were often enough addressed to the surrounding nations. Later Jewish piety was anxious to confine the prophetic gift to its

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mad. It will be remembered that there was persistent tradition that Mani had much earlier identified his coming with the promise of the Paraclete (*Fihrist*, pp.328,333; Al-Birūnī, *Chronologie*, p.207; Augustine, *C.Felice*, ix; Schmidt, *Mani-Fund*, pp.55,56), and that the Montanists taught that the Paraclete had manifested himself in Montanus (Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.*V.14), so that while the Old Testament and the New Testament were for the childhood and youth of religion respectively, this new revelation through Montanus was for the maturity of religion (Tertullian, *de Vel.Virg.*1; *de Monog.*14; *de Pudicit.*21; Gregory Naz. *Orat.*XII, chap.11).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. VI.161/162; XVI.123/124; IX.113/114 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Though there was a consciousness among the Jews that prophecy had ceased (Ps.LXXIV.9; Zech.XIII.2; Josephus *C.Apion.*I.8; Sanh.11 a; *Tosephta Sota* XIII.2; I Macc. IX.27), there was an expectation that it would appear among them again (I Macc.IV.46; XIV.41; *Orac.Sibyl.*III.78; *Test.Benj.* IX.2), and the time of its reappearance would be in the Messianic age (Joel III.1; *Numb.Rabba*, XV), when a new Torah would be revealed (Jelinek, *Bet Hamidrash*, III.27-28). It will be remembered how this expectation appears in the Gospels (Jno.I.21; Lk.III.15), where Jesus is constantly spoken of as a prophet, and in the stories in Josephus of pretenders to the prophetic office with Messianic claims who all had a considerable following (Theudas: *Ant.*XX,v,1; the Egyptian: *Bell.Jud.*II,xiii,5). The more famous Bar Cochba stood in the same succession.

<sup>57</sup> In this connection it is of interest to note that Muḥammad knows of both Balaam (VII.176/175) and Job (XXXVIII.41/40; IV.163/161; XXI.83,84).

own people, so that on the one hand we find attempts to show that the Gentile prophets were somehow connected with the Israelitish community, and on the other a theory worked out to show how the gift was withdrawn from the Gentiles and after the death of Moses was confined exclusively to Israel.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless God's message through His prophets was intended for the seventy Gentile nations also, so the Torah was written out in their seventy different languages,<sup>59</sup> was interpreted by Moses in seventy tongues,<sup>60</sup> while the prophets preached their messages in seventy languages.<sup>61</sup> There was also an idea of some plan of a succession among the prophets, for the Rabbis told how Adam was shown the series of prophets who should come each in his generation.<sup>62</sup>

The universal outreach of the messengers appeared again in Christianity, for Jesus in the Gospels sends out the Seventy to preach his message (Lk.X.1,17). Early Christian legend delighted to elaborate on the missionary activity of the Seventy as they moved out into the various lands allotted to them as the scene of their labors.<sup>63</sup> In consideration of the gift of tongues at Pentecost it was taken for granted that they would be able to preach in the various tongues of the peoples to whom they were sent. These apocryphal Acts of the Apostles were widely read among the adherents of the Eastern Churches,<sup>64</sup> so that Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 203, has suggested that it was from them that Muḥammad learned the idea of a messenger being sent to each people. A much closer parallel with the Quranic teaching on this matter is that of Mani, who not only sent his apostles as messengers to the peoples of the surrounding countries, but himself in his address to the Sasanian monarch

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<sup>58</sup> *Numb.Rabba*.XX,1; *Tanhuma*,ed.Buber,IV,132; *Baba bathra*,15 a-15 b; *Mekilta*,ed. Lauterbach,I,p.4. Muhammad found the Jews of Arabia claiming this exclusive possession of revelation and for that reason rejecting his claims (II.91/85; III.73/66, and cf. II.135/129).

<sup>59</sup> From a calculation of the progeny of Noah as detailed in Gen.X it was held that there were seventy-two (or seventy) different nations and consequently seventy-two (or seventy) languages. That the Torah was in them all appears from the statement of *Sota* VII.5.

<sup>60</sup> See Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, III.439.

<sup>61</sup> *Aggadath Bereshith*, XIV (ed.Buber,p.32).

<sup>62</sup> *Seder Olam Rabba*, XXX (ed.Ratner,p.151).

<sup>63</sup> The material has been conveniently assembled by Lipsius, *Die apocryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 1884. A convenient tabulation of the various areas of their missionary activity is given by Solomon of Basra in chapter XLVIII of his *Book of the Bee*, the Syriac text of which was edited by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1886 for the *Anecdota Oxoniensa*.

<sup>64</sup> A characteristic sample of these legends is that in the Ethiopic *Gadla Hawāryāt* (Contendings of the Apostles), edited by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1898, a cheap edition of the English translation of which is published by the Oxford University Press (London, 1935).

Shapur I in his *Shahpurqan*, as quoted by Bīrūnī (*Chronologie*, ed. Sachau, p. 207), said—

“Wisdom and mighty deeds have always been brought to mankind by messengers coming from time to time from God. So in one age they were brought to India by the messenger named Buddha, in another by Zarathushtra to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. So now this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age, through me, Mani, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia.”

#### 4. The humanness of the Messengers.

It is curious how often the Qur'ān mentions men's expectation that a messenger from God ought to have been an angel (XVII. 92/94, 94/96; VI. 8, 9; XXIII. 24), against which expectation Muḥammad feels the necessity of as constantly asserting that they are always humans (XXI. 7, 8; XXV. 20/22; XVII. 93/95-95/97; XIV. 11/13; XII. 109; VII. 35/33), though of course Allah can choose His messengers from among angels or men (XXII. 75/74), and angels do mediate revelation (XVI. 2). This expectation of angels as messengers may have something to do with the fact that Heb. *mal'āk* and Aram. *mal'ak*, like the Gk. ἄγγελος, are both “messenger” and “angel.” Yet there is also the fact that angels as God's messengers to bring messages and revelations are well known in both the Old and the New Testaments. It was an angel who came to the wife of Manoah (Judg. XIII. 2 ff.), angels came to Lot (Gen. XIX), one came to Gideon at Ophrah (Judg. VI. 11 ff.), and it was Gabriel who appeared both to Daniel (Dan. IX-XII) and to the Virgin Mary (Lk. I. 26 ff.).

The prophets of the Old Testament, however, were men with human imperfections and limitations. They were *sent* (Jer. XIV. 15; XXIII. 21, 32; XXIX. 19; Ezek. II. 3; Isa. VI. 8; Jonah III. 1-3; Chron. XXXVI. 15), just as Muḥammad insists that prophets are sent (XLIII. 6/5; XXIII. 32/33 etc.). Also as Muḥammad insists they are in the Bible always *servants* (Jer. XXIX. 1-9; II Ki. IX. 7; XVII. 13, 23; XXI. 10; XXIV. 2; Ezra IX. 11; Amos III. 7; Dan. IX. 6; Ezek. XXXVIII. 17; Jer. VII. 25; XXV. 4; XXXV. 15), in whose mouths God has put His word (Jer. I. 9; XXIII. 16; Zech. VIII. 9), that may warn (Jer. VI. 10; XLIV. 4-14; Ezek. II. 1-7; III. 18, 19; XXXIV, XXXV; Acts XX. 31), and give good tidings (Isa. XL; XLI. 27; LV; LX-LXII; Nah. I. 15).<sup>65</sup> They even reveal where necessary

<sup>65</sup> That prophets should be joyful persons was a theory of the Rabbis who held that the spirit of prophecy would come upon a Seer only when he was in a state of joyfulness. See on this Ginzberg, *Legends*, II. 116.

God's secret knowledge (Amos III.7). Their utterances, because they are human and deal with human situations, commonly make use of parables (Ezek.XXIV.3; XVII.2; XX.49 [in the Heb.XXI.5]; Lk.V.36; Mk.IV.13), where the Heb. word *māshāl* and the Aramaic word underlying the Gk. *παραβολή*, are precisely the *mathal* used in the Qur'ān for the similitudes employed by Allah's messengers. Indeed we learn from Hosca XII.10 (11) that similitudes were to be expected from prophets, who are always sent in the language of their own people (Ezek.III.5,6).

##### 5. The Accreditation of the Messengers.

We have already noticed that some of Muḥammad's audience averred that they could credit no messengers who did not cause fire to descend from heaven on a sacrifice (III.183/179). The reference is usually taken to be to the Elijah story of I.Ki.XVIII, though the same idea is present in the Gideon story in Judges VI.17-24. In any case it is sure evidence of the presence in that audience of conceptions derived from the Old Testament, and since the Mecans seem to be well aware that all the messengers of old produced signs (XXI.5; VI.124), it would seem that the *Ahl al-kitāb* of Muḥammad's day had made so much of the miraculous in association with the messengers that when folk heard Muḥammad claiming a place in the prophetic succession they immediately demanded a miracle as his credential (XX.133; XXI.5; XVII.90/92 ff.; X,20/21; VI.37,109.<sup>66</sup> To this his answer is that when such signs were granted to the peoples of old they did not believe in them (XVII.59/61; cf. VI.109). This demand was no new thing. When Jesus was preaching his Gospel he was asked: "What sign shewest thou, that we may see and believe thee? What workest thou?" (Jno.VI.30, cf. Matt. XII.38; XVI.1; Lk.XI.16). Such a request was not unnatural in that audience. They had read of how Moses was given his rod for the special purpose of working with it signs in accreditation of his mission (Exod.IV.17), being told when it was given him that if the Egyptians did not believe at the first sign maybe they would at the second (Exod.IV.8). Aaron also, they would remember, had performed signs (Exod.IV.30; VII.9), and the man out of Judah in the story in I Ki.XIII produced a sign in attestation of his mission. That signs and wonders could be expected of prophets whether true or false was the common belief (Deut.XIII.1-5). Jesus warned that the false prophets who should come would show great signs such as might deceive even the elect (Matt.XXIV.24), and the Rabbis used to say that when a prophet came and began to prophesy, if he pro-

<sup>66</sup> Cf. in this connection VI.124; XIII.7/8; II.118/112; XXIX.50/49.

duced a sign or wonder men would hearken, but if he did not men would not hearken (*Sifre Deut.*XVIII.19, § 177). The apocryphal Acts of the Apostles are full of stories of the miracles which the disciples of Jesus performed in attestation of their mission in the various lands to which they were sent.

Muḥammad's usual word for such an evidentiary sign is *āya*, which is the Arabic equivalent of the Heb. *ōth* and the Aram. *āthā* used of the signs which in a special way were associated with God's messengers and His revelation to them.<sup>67</sup> His other common word *bayyināt* is formed from the verbal stem *bayyana*, "to make clear," "to cause to understand," the Hebrew equivalent of which is the Hiphil form *hēbîn*, used in the Old Testament in precisely the same sense, and in particular in connection with God's making clear His mind and purpose to men.<sup>68</sup>

#### 6. The Reckoning with the Messengers.

It was doubtless a natural thing in the Courts of human kings that those who had been entrusted with a mission should be called on to render an account of their performance of that mission, which would suggest that the King of Kings would demand a reckoning both from His messengers and from those communities to whom they had been sent. There are two parables of Jesus (*Lk.*XVI.1-12 and XIX.12-26) which picture the master demanding an accounting from his stewards to whom he has committed his wealth, and in both there is an obvious reference to a coming accounting with God. The Grand Assizes at the Last Day is an appropriate place for this, so that such Quranic references as V.109/108; VII.6/5 to an accounting of this kind on the Day of Judgment might be part of any picture of the final Assizes. When we consider other passages, however, such as LXXVII.11; XVI.89/91; XXXIX.69 ff., which suggest that the accounting on the Day begins with the summoning of the prophets to bear witness,<sup>69</sup> the parallels with *aboda zara* 2 a-3 b are so striking that we can hardly avoid Tor Andrae's conclusion<sup>70</sup> that both are the product of the same conception of the meaning of revelation from God and the responsibility on man's part to respond to its message when it is brought to him.

We thus come at the conclusion of our second study on the

<sup>67</sup> See C. A. Keller, *Das Wort Oth als Offenbarungszeichen*, 1945.

<sup>68</sup> Ps. CXIX. 27, 34, 73, 135, 169; Isa. XXVIII. 9; Dan. VIII. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Pseudo-Ghazzālī, *ad-Durra al-fākhira*, pp. 71 ff. makes much of the scene of the prophets being called up and having to confront their respective communities. Cf. also ash-Sha'rānī, *Tadhkira*, p. 51.

<sup>70</sup> *Ursprung*, p. 69. In the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* we have the idea that the ancient worthies Enoch, Shem, Noah, Abraham, etc. rise first at the general resurrection for some sort of confrontation of their communities.

Qur'ān as Scripture to the same point we reached in the first. In carrying through the mission to which he felt he was called Muḥammad knew that he must have a Scripture such as the *Ahl al-Kitāb* had, and from those *Ahl al-Kitāb* he took over a theory as to the nature of Scripture. Scripture, however, was mediated through human messengers sent from God, the prophets to whom God had given revelation. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* had a theory also about prophets and their mission, a sort of "Doctrine of Prophecy," and it is now clear why in such passages as XVI.43/45; XXI.7 he bids the Arabs ask the *Ahl al-Kitāb* about the prophets. They would obviously tell the same story as he has been telling for he has taken over their pattern in this matter as he has thought out his own justification of his mission to his people.

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#### ANNOUNCEMENT

HARVARD SUMMER SCHOOL 1950  
Courses on the Contemporary Near East

The importance of the Near East in world affairs is growing daily. To meet increasing demands for a knowledge of this area, an integrated program on the contemporary Near East has been instituted at the Harvard Summer School from July 5 to August 28, 1950.

The purpose of the program is to introduce the student to the problems of the Near East through specialized courses not normally offered at any American university. For these courses, men distinguished in their fields have been assembled from various universities and institutions. The courses will be concerned primarily with the Arab states, but the rest of the Near East will be represented.

Although the program is presented in a fashion understandable to students who have had no previous acquaintance with the contemporary Near East, specialists in the area will also find the courses beneficial. This is especially true for those who may be proceeding immediately to the Near East.

The Summer School will also hold a Conference of three days' duration, August 7 to 9 inclusive, on THE GREAT POWERS AND THE NEAR EAST. The Conference and the Near Eastern program of courses are under the direction of Dr. Richard N. Frye, Assistant Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University. Students desiring information about the program should correspond with Dr. Frye, 546 Widener, Cambridge 38, Mass.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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The Short Koran: Designed for Easy Reading. Edited by George M. Lamsa. Chicago, Ziff-Davis Publishing Co., 1949, pp. xx, 377. \$3.50.

This book consists of Quranic passages selected by the editor, and arranged in sections under ninety-one headings, all in a very praiseworthy attempt to increase popular knowledge of the religion of the Muslim peoples, Western contacts with whom multiply year by year.

Though a native of the Near East, who grew up among Muslim companions, the editor says he knew nothing of the religion of the Muslims except the prejudiced misconceptions current among the Christian minorities, till the kindness shown him by an elderly Muslim, when he was in distress, started him on a search for the truth about Islam. A *Foreword* gives us this story. There follows an *Introduction*, telling of Muhammad and his times, and of the Qur'an. This Introduction is unusual, because it is written from the point of view of a Nestorian Christian. The editor holds that Christians of the lands where Christianity had its birth have been better qualified to understand Christ than Western thinkers of a different culture, and he cites Professor Toynbee in support of the thesis that the Nestorian Church and Islam represent two protests of Syriac society against Hellenic intrusion into the Orient. "Thousands of the members of the Church of the East and Assyrians . . . became converts to Islam. They looked on Mohammed as a reformer and a bearer of warning against image worship. They found that Mohammed's teaching about the unity of God, prayer, and worship were closer to the teaching of Jesus than the Greek and the Egyptian forms of Christianity which were forced on them by the Byzantine emperors" (page 13). To the Nestorians of today Islam appears as the torchbearer of Syriac civilization (12). So we come to *The Short Koran*.

The worth of an anthology of the Qur'an will depend on the essentialness of the subjects chosen for treatment, the adequacy of the passages selected for quotation, and the reliability of the translation of which use is made. Somewhat less than half of this collection is made up of passages about the prophets from Adam to Muhammad. Seven sections of varying lengths, with individual headings, treat of Jesus (sections 20-26), though only a single section is devoted to each of the others, including Muhammad. The remainder of the book treats of Muslim belief and practise. Here, instead of the standard outline of Muslim teaching, there is an arbitrary selection of subjects of quite unequal importance, chosen perhaps because of their presumable interest to the reader. It is as though one were to ask, "What does the Qur'an say about angels?" for example, and the answer to be found in passages from suras 35, 7, 50, 82, and 79 (section 42); or, "What is said about usury?" and the answer given in the words of sura 2.276-281 (section 75); or, "What is said of prayer in secret?" and sura 7.54-58 read in reply (section 53).

The plan of the book involves omission of much of the text of the Qur'an. The portions used must be those selected by the

editor; another editor might make a different choice. We have the entire story of Joseph from sura 12 (section 10). Regarding Moses the passages are 28:1-43; 7:104-156, 159-161, and 2:67-74 (section 11). In the section regarding Muhammad (33) we find the following passages, fourteen in number and in this order: 21:1-10; 3:144, 145; 6:109-112; 63:1-8; 46:7-14, 29-32; 61:5,6; 17:1,2; 33:40-48; 14:4; 7:157,158; 3:146-148; 53:1-18; 30:1-7. Ideas of chronological order in the contents of the Qur'an are explicitly disregarded (page xv).

The translation used is that of Sale, which "has never been excelled for its English style and beauty of expression," "has the flavor of Elizabethan English," and "reads like the Bible" (25). However, Sale's paraphrasings are sometimes deleted, and other liberties are taken with his renderings (19, 25-28). It is stressed that the Quranic *furqān* is the Aramaic word for "salvation," and that the Quranic *ummiy* is the Aramaic term used by the Jews for "Gentile," deviating from Sale, but *hanif* remains "orthodox," as with Sale (210,212), or is translated "faithful" (77). Wherever "We" occurs in the Qur'an, meaning that Allah is speaking, the word "God" is substituted and the construction changed to the third person. Comparison shows still other divergencies from Sale's translation, some of serious import. The net result is that in reading this anthology one cannot be sure whether he is reading the phraseology of Sale or an emendation without consulting Sale's translation, or whether he is reading a literal translation or a paraphrase without consulting the Arabic original.

The editor has undertaken a difficult task, one regarding which opinions may differ in many respects. Granted that the anthology is intended for popular use, one still could wish that it might meet with critical approval as well.

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*Beacon, N. Y.*

**The Faith of Islam. A Synopsis.** By Mirza Abu'l-Fazl Hyderabad, India, Uranus, 1949. pp. 53.

Dr. Abu'l-Fazl has ably attempted to present the cardinal truths of Islam, with a view to promote greater understanding between the Hindus and Muslims of India. His analysis is masterly and selections very appropriate to the motive of the book. The following statements clearly illustrate his good will: "All creation is the family of God and of all creation the most beloved of God is he who does most good to His family." "God will not be merciful to him who is not merciful to men."

The author's abhorrence of wrong doing and emphasis upon good works should be an eye-opener to those Muslims who take an unkind attitude towards their non-Muslim neighbors. He quotes freely from the Qur'an and the traditions ascribed to Muhammad to prove his point: "And woe to those who pray, who of their prayers are unmindful, who make a show and refuse the meanest help." Again, "Ye shall not believe unless ye love one another."

He strives to promote good feeling even amidst obvious enmity and opposition: "And let not the malice of a people provoke you to transgress, but act justly,—it will be nearer to piety; and fear God; verily God is informed of what ye do."

The book discusses in a simple form the main tenets of Islam and deprecates such practices as slavery, divorce and marriage without the consent of the maiden, which practices we note, are subversive to the growth of human personality.

But a careful reader can notice certain contradictions, particularly to the law of love which he emphasizes and which should be the dominating factor in human relationships. It is difficult to be convinced of a "just war," because war in any sense would be a contradiction to the law of love. While upholding polygamy, the author seems to be unaware that it is a denial of justice to the wives.

There seems to be no positive note of voluntarily suffering for the sake of the enemy. A strain of legalism runs through the entire book which may be understood and appreciated by an average Muslim but it does not guide them further to help bridge the gulf between the Hindu and the Muslim, which expressedly is the purpose of the author. At best, as the title indicates, the book is a synopsis of the main teachings of Islam in simple language without attempting at solutions of the problems involved.

F. K. LAZARUS

*Hartford, Conn.*

*Mohammedanism, an Elementary Catechism.* By E. J. Pool-Connor. London, Fellowship of Faith for the Moslems, 1949. pp. 24.

In this little book the author has chosen the question and answer method which is a valuable aid to memory and can be used with advantage by those who wish to gain smatterings of knowledge about Islam. The writer has taken a great deal of pains in order to frame the questions, although we feel he has not been very fair at times to Islam in his answers. Such statements as: "He was moved at times by forces which appeared to be external to him, during which his emotions found expression in words of remarkable force." This creates doubt as to the reality of Muhammad's spiritual experience. It seems as though the author wanted to convey that it was not an inward spiritual experience resulting in a vital change of Muhammad's life. He compares the swoon and trance of Muhammad to something like the experience of a "medium in modern times and while in this condition he heard voices which he claimed to be the voice of God or of the angel Gabriel. "Here again the answer is so presented as to imply doubt on the reality of Muhammad's spiritual experience.

There are also other statements which the author makes which prejudice the reader against the author. To mention a few let us take the following: "Judging by his own career, the doctrines which he preached, and the moral effects produced by the system which he founded, we conclude that he was controlled at these times by evil spirits." This we feel is a very strong statement to which any Muslim would react unfavourably. Another instance is where he says "There is a personal power of evil antagonistic to God and to the Christian faith, which devised and energised Mohammedanism as a means of combating Christianity, and that Mohammed be-

came the instrument of this power in the founding and developing of the Moslem faith." Such statements we feel are very unfair because the author disregards similar aspects of the expansion of Christianity and is not objective in his appraisal of Islam.

We hope this review will help the author to prepare a catechism of Islam which will be regarded by any Muslim as accurate and fair.

F. K. LAZARUS

Hartford, Conn.

De Edelgesteenten der Geloofsleer: Geschrift over het moslimse Geloof door Tāhir al-Djazā'iri; uit het Arabisch vertaald en van Inleiding en Aantekeningen voorzien door Dr. G. F. Pijper. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1948. pp. xxxiii, 45.

In Indonesia, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, there are favorite text-books for use in the elementary schools as a basis for instructing the youth in the principles of the Islamic religion. There, as elsewhere, it seems that there is also a preference in this matter for nineteenth century text books, which appear better adapted to the needs of the immature mind than the somewhat formidable presentations of the classical theologians which are used with more advanced students. One such text book which is apparently much used in Java is the little book *al-Jawāhir al-kalāmiyya fī Idāh al-'Aqida al-Islāmiyya*, by Ṭāhir b. Ṣāliḥ al-Waghliṣī al-Jazā'irī (1851-1920), a school book first published at Damascus in 1313 A.H. (1895 A.D.).

This work has an intrinsic importance since its author was a well-known scholar who was one of the foundation members of the newly organized Arabic Academy at Damascus, and was for a time the Librarian of the famous Zāhiriyya Library of that city, with whose reorganization and cataloguing by modern methods he had had much to do. He is well remembered in Cairo by the older Muslim savants, for he worked in the Cairo Libraries, both public and private, and was in familiar association with Aḥmad Ṭimūr Pāsha during the years of the First World War, when he had to flee to Egypt from the Turks. His name derives from the fact that his father was an exile in Syria from North Africa. He himself had travelled in Europe, and had lived in Turkey, having in fact some reputation for his knowledge of Turkish. As a result of his contacts with the West he was in many ways quite modern in his outlook, and this is reflected in his philological work. In religion, however, he held extremely conservative views.

*Al-Jawāhir al-kalāmiyya* is what we should call a Catechism, in the form of question and answer, arranged very simply so that young students may easily learn it by heart. It is divided into six sections with an Appendix: (1) On Allah; (2) On Angels; (3) On Scripture; (4) On Prophets and Prophecy; (5) On Eschatology; (6) On Predestination. The Appendix takes up a number of problems such as, "Is a reasoned account of the Being of Allah possible?", "How can we know Allah, since we have never seen Him?", "Are the bliss and the punishments of the Hereafter spiritual or physical?", "What are the Night Journey and the Heavenly Journey?",

"Is the Beatific Vision possible?", "What are Mujtahids?", etc. etc., all problems which are likely to arise for youthful Muslims studying the Catechism. In general the answers in the Catechism follow closely the older credal statements, though often in his phrasing of his answers it is clear that the author is aware of the modern scientific point of view and wishes to avoid statements which would conflict therewith.

Dr. Pijper has given a fairly literal translation of the text, limiting his footnotes to identifying quotations from the Qur'an and explaining names and terms that might have been unintelligible. However, he prefaces his translation by an account of some of the other popular books of this kind which he has found in use in Indonesia, and an explanatory summary of the material in the Catechism for readers who may be approaching the study of Islamic beliefs for the first time. It is a careful, accurate piece of work, though the name he transliterates as al-Faḍḍālī this reviewer cannot remember ever hearing pronounced with the *tashdīd*, though it is given that way in Brockelmann.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham, and preserved at the Selly Oak Colleges Library. Volume IV. Islamic Arabic Manuscripts. Fascicle 1, Qur'an, Hadit, Fiqh. By H. L. Gottschalk. Birmingham, Selly Oak Colleges Library, 1948. pp. xi, 100.

This is the commencement of the long-awaited completion of the Catalogues of the Oriental MSS. in the Mingana Collection at Selly Oak. Dr. Mingana was himself particularly interested in the Christian MSS. which he had procured on his various visits to the Near East, and devoted his labors to the cataloguing of the Syriac and Christian Arabic MSS. He often mentioned, however, that his Islamic Arabic collection was larger than either of these, so that it was a little surprising to learn when he died in 1937 that the cataloguing of them had hardly begun.

As was the case with the earlier volumes this Catalogue indicates that the mass of MSS. in the collection is of copies of works already well known, but it is always useful to know where MS. copies of important works are preserved, so that students both of Islam and of Arabic literature will welcome the appearance of Dr. Gottschalk's work in continuation of that of Dr. Mingana.

One always wonders why cataloguers of MSS. do not make their catalogues according to authors in strictly alphabetical order, rather than by subject division, where under a given author they include works of his which do not belong to that subject. However, it has become a convention, and one must suppose that it will continue that way, though it always seems strange to see al-Baiḍāwī's *Ṭawāli' al-Anwār* and al-Qurṭubī's *at-Tadhkira* catalogued under Quranic literature merely because the chief work of those authors was under that subject.

This first fascicule contains descriptions of 530 MSS. under the rubrics of Qur'an, Ḥadīth and Fiqh. It is estimated that three simi-

lar fascicules will be necessary for the remaining MSS., with a fourth for the indispensable Indices. The use of the work has been greatly facilitated by the relevant references being consistently given to Brockelmann, so that it is easy to look up where other MSS. of the same work are deposited, or whether printed editions exist. The printing has been beautifully done by the Oxford University Press, and Dr. Gottschalk's work seems a model of conciseness and accuracy.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

*El Renacimiento musulman.* Por Angelo Ghirelli, Barcelona, Montaner y Simón, 1948. Pp. 359, with a Map and six plates.

This latest volume of the series *Hombres, Epocas, Paises* is devoted to a description of what is popularly referred to as the "Islamic renaissance" of modern times, and though it is but a summary account, based for the most part on reports on the Muslim world by European observers, the author has put together an interesting and easily written account of the modern movements which in recent years have been stirring the populations of the Near East, and which have had, and will continue to have, their reaction on the policies being pursued by the big powers. It is somewhat curious that the author should go no further East than Arabia, barely touching Persia and Afghanistan, and almost completely ignoring the Muslim populations in India and further East. In Africa also he tends to limit his attention to the Mediterranean belt, having very little to say about the Muslims of the Sudan and areas to the south thereof. The stirrings of this "renaissance," however, have by no means been confined to the areas with which Sr. Ghirelli deals. In fact, in India and Indonesia they have been productive of changes that are in some ways more striking than those that have taken place in the Near East. The author's own area of special interest is Morocco, so it may be that the limitation he has imposed on this book is due to lack of available material for the Muslim areas further East.

The book has four parts, with a brief Introduction and an all too brief concluding section. The first part is the shortest of the four, for it deals with the earlier world of Islam about which we already have an abundance of books. It describes the conditions of pre-Islamic Arabia, the coming of the Prophet, the rapid Arab expansion and the equally rapid fall of that Islamic Empire into decay. Part two describes the nature of the modern "renaissance." It is in two sections, one on the religious aspects of this renaissance, and a longer section on the political aspects. Under the first he discusses three movements, that of the Wahhabite reform, the teaching of the neo-Mu'tazilites (which is where he brings in Indian Islam), and the movement of Muslim liberalism. This first section of Part II is the weakest portion of the book. Under the second section he discusses (1) Panislamism, an exploitation of that sense of solidarity which makes all Muslims feel one, with particular reference to its development in the teaching of Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī; (2) the nationalist movements in the various lands of Islam, where he em-

phasizes the Islamic and the Oriental tinge this political nationalism has been given in each case. These two parts are but introductory to the main body of the work, which he opens up in Part III, on the reactions in Muslim lands to this renaissance. Here he deals in some detail with the history of what reaction to this stimulus has brought forth, sometimes in the form of violent eruptions, sometimes as peaceful changes, in Turkey, in the Arab countries, in Persia and its neighbors, in Egypt, and in North Africa. Then in Part IV he discusses the related problem of Western influences in all this movement of renaissance, particularly as it has concerned the colonial policies of Russia, England, France and Spain. This is his best section.

The concluding part bears the title, "The actual State and Problems of the Muslim World," in which we would have expected to see a summing up of the discussion of the previous chapters, with some suggestion of the outlook, but its twelve pages are mostly devoted to an account of Zionism in Arab Palestine and the deep involvement of the U. S. A. in its development, which has meant the entry of America for good or ill into the political aspects of the Islamic renaissance of the Near East, to whose intellectual aspects she had long been contributing through educational institutions in that area. It is unfortunate that the book has so poor a Bibliography attached and has no Index.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

*New World of Southeast Asia.* By Lennox A. Mills and Associates. 445 pp., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949. pp. 445. \$5.00.

Prior to World War II, Southeast Asia was one of the main media through which European powers could obtain dollars to cover the deficit in their trade with the United States. It was also the center of a growing self-consciousness and self-assertion on the part of colonized people, who through contact with the West were in the process of finding themselves as nations. The war greatly disturbed the trade-triangle; but it also stimulated the growth of nationalism, and left both the colonizing powers of Europe and the United States with problems that have international significance and influence.

*The New World of Southeast Asia* is an attempt to analyse the present situation on the background of the developments before, during and after the war. To assist him in this task Professor Mills, of the University of Minnesota, called on some of the leading authorities in the field: Claude A. Buss of Stanford University, A. Vanderbosch of the University of Kentucky, J. F. Cady of the State Department, Charles A. Micaud of the University of Virginia, Kenneth Landon of the State Department, Victor Purcell of the Malayan Civil Service, and Roland Vaile of the University of Minnesota.

After a general orientation there are separate chapters dealing with the specific situations in the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, Malaya, French Indo-China and Siam. Four concluding chapters deal with problems that are common to all the countries: the Chi-

nese immigrants, self-government, the relationship of Southeast Asia to world economics and international relations.

The studies are centered around the problems of economics and politics, especially as these are related to the conflict or power-struggle between the colonizing powers and the nationalistic movements. There are but few attempts to look at these problems as they are related to the cultural and religious life of the peoples.

While being intended especially for students of the problems of Southeast Asia, the book provides factual material and data that will be valuable to anyone interested in international life and after-war developments in that part of the world. The state of affairs is skillfully analysed, the material well presented and this makes the book a vital source of information about Southeast Asia.

KJELL KNUTSEN

*Hartford, Conn.*

*The Foreign Relations of Turkey, 1481-1512.* By Sydney Nettleton Fisher. (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXX, Number 1.) Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1948. pp. 125, Bibliography. \$1.50 paper; \$2.50 cloth.

This monograph presents, for the first time in English, a detailed account of Ottoman foreign affairs in the reign of placid sultan Bayezid II. Though he was perhaps the richest and most powerful monarch in Europe, Bayezid was never as feared abroad as were his illustrious father Mehmed II, who awed Europe, or his grim son Selim I, who subdued Egypt and defeated Shah Ismail of Persia. The author sets forth Ottoman diplomatic activity in three major areas. First came the defeat of Prince Jem in Anatolia, followed by the prolonged concern lest he might return in the company of his European captors to lead a successful campaign against his elder brother Bayezid. Jem's nuisance value enforced circumspection upon the Turks until his death in 1495 removed this potential threat. A second problem was the challenge which Venetian sea and economic power in the Mediterranean presented to an expanding Ottoman fleet and empire. A war which declining Venice prosecuted indifferently from 1499-1503 ended decisively in Turkey's favor. Finally, the Ottomans were plagued by the "fifth column" support which Shah Ismail enjoyed in Anatolia and even among the Bektashi Janissaries who were the best soldiers of their time and the scourge of their enemies. Relations with Egypt, restive border tribes, the Balkans, Poland, and an impudent but impotent Russia are also fitted in to this tight framework. The narrative is introduced by a short account of earlier Ottoman history and the youth of Bayezid and his brothers. It closes with the story of Selim's virtually treacherous attempts to secure the Ottoman throne from his surviving brothers and aged father.

Dr. Fisher seems to accept a narrow purview for foreign relations and to assume that his readers are well versed in the general history of this late fifteenth century era. He has clearly limited his development of ideas, and his interpretation of the effect which broader factors like trade, religious differences, and, for instance,

the strategic results of the defeat of Venice, had on foreign policies to such an extent that the fine detail and diligent marshalling of facts tend to lose force. The extreme conciseness of treatment results, unfortunately, in an appearance of lack of insight into what one might call the tenor of the times as it relates to his thesis. For example, although the *ghazi* and *ulema* influences and tensions in Turkey are discussed, how vital these tendencies were in the recurrent Balkan campaigns and in the struggle for power within the Ottoman government is not made sufficiently clear. Nor is the very significant difference between "Turk" and "Ottoman" adequately brought out. In the discussion of Safavi—Ottoman affairs there is no illuminating statement which makes a sharp distinction between Sunni and Shia Muslim beliefs and why these as well as Anatolian heterodoxy influenced the course of these relations.

A number of errors and inconsistencies in the text and notes might have been corrected by more careful editing. A good many technical terms like *akinji*, "ruling institution", or *sanjak*, and proper names like Masto, Albistan, and Ravenstein are not properly identified or located when they are first mentioned. A glossary giving alternative spellings of names and terms, and an accurate map would have been valuable aids in this connection.

Such a study is particularly welcome when so few scholars in the United States are concerned with early Ottoman history. It gains in stature from the thorough use of several fine contemporary Venetian sources and by Dr. Fisher's analysis of a few good Turkish histories. However, recent worthwhile publications by specialists like Babinger and Hinz, and especially the fine Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the excellent work of Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı do not appear in the bibliography. This useful book gives a detailed, chronological statement of the negotiations conducted under Bayezid with other powers. It does not, however, clearly interpret these international contacts in the light of the constant trends in Ottoman history although some of them, like the *ghazi* tendency, are frequently alluded to. Yet the author has condensed a wealth of material into a work which students of both European and Ottoman history will find a helpful addition to the relatively limited literature dealing with the reign of Bayezid II.

HOWARD A. REED

Princeton University

**The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Sau'di Arabia.** By H. R. P. Dickson. London, George Allen and Unwin; New York, Macmillan, 1949. Pp. 648, with over 100 illustrations, nine in color, and ten maps. 63 shillings net. \$10.00.

Colonel Dickson brings unusual qualifications to an intimate study of the Badawin. Born in Syria, where his father was British Consul, he spoke Arabic from babyhood. As an infant he had the good fortune to be foster-mothered by a Badawin woman of the desert, and thus automatically by Islamic law became a blood-brother of her tribe, the important and aristocratic 'Anizah.

After government service in Northern India and twenty-four

years' experience in Iraq, Hasaa and the Kuwait hinterland, he was for seven and a half years H. M. Political Agent in Kuwait. He began "to collect material for this book in 1929 until the midsummer of 1936 when my notes were finally typed out." The result (with the help of Mrs. Dickson, who as artist and collector shared this life under the black tents) is an encyclopedic work on one corner of Arabia.

The book is true to its title, except that the "glimpse" includes all that could be minutely observed, classified and recorded by two enthusiastic lovers of the desert Arab and his ways! The style is easier than that of Doughty, his stories and anecdotes equal those of Burton, while the accuracy of his minute anthropological material is amazing.

The book has two parts, not clearly distinguished. The first tells in eleven chapters of Nomad Life, The Tent and its Furnishings, Tent Treasures, the Badawin Social System, Arab Honour, Marriage and Divorce, Women's Secrets, Children, and closes with a chapter on Faith and Prayer. Part Two treats consecutively of Food and Hospitality, Morality, Death, Burial and the Hereafter, Smoking, Festivals, Arab Greetings, the Pilgrimage, Seasons and Winds, Sandstorms, 'Ajman Talks and Tales, Story Telling (p. 263-301), Dreams, Proverbs, Badawin Warfare, Hawking, Greyhounds, Horses, Sheep and Goats, The Camel, Locusts, Wild Birds, Boat Building, Pearl Diving, Slavery, Sickness and Disease, Crime, The Supernatural, Curious Customs and Stories, with a concluding chapter on the Muntafiq Shepherd Tribes.

This list of most of the chapters is an index to their orderly disorder. But that only urges the reader on from one glimpse after another of "the proudest and most loveable of all peoples, the Desert Arab." Every chapter oozes with information in text and footnotes, and evokes admiration for such brave adventures, in summer heat and winter cold that are indescribable. Yet they *are* described with artistic skill—the hot sandstorm, the frozen waterskins in winter, the death and funeral of a child in the desert, thirst and loneliness, slavery at its best and at its worst, all these are described in unforgettable words. For example, Colonel Dickson's sketch of the Arab character. Such is their inborn delight in raiding other tribes that

"when the strong hand is weakened or withdrawn, then merry hell is let loose, and every tribe is at its neighbour's throat. Such a period is what every tribe and every individual Badawin long to see. It means raiding and fun for everyone and wealth for him who is bold and strong. Not much killing or loss of life follows from this state of anarchy, but camels change hands frequently, and there is loot for all and exchange of worldly possessions. Since women are always safe under such conditions the Badawin considers this state of affairs as nearly ideal as possible, and is for ever talking about the good times when anarchy prevailed" (p. 49).

It is poverty that drives them to fight for loot and living:

"The average Badawin has a hard and difficult existence, and may be said to be always hungry and ill-clad. The main hardship he is at all times faced with is lack of money and inability to make any, by what the world would call honest methods. Hence if he cannot live on somebody's largesse he must steal or raid. He cannot spin, to work he is ashamed. If he is forbidden to raid (as

is the case under Bin Sa'ud's regime today), the fight for life is a particularly severe one, when he is not provided with an occupation to enable him to earn. Year in, year out, the poorer type of Badawin—and there are many tens of thousands of such—never gets a 'square' meal according to our standards. He probably has meat only when he can cadge it off somebody more fortunate than himself, or when his shaikh gives a dinner party" (pp. 55, 56).

But he loves them in spite of their faults, and faithful are the wounds of a friend. Envy and cupidity are the besetting sins of all the Arabs, and

"dirty as he and his wife always are, theirs is the dirt of the field, a thing totally different from the dirt of the town. He never washes his clothes till they are about to drop off, and then he replaces them. He and his good wife are covered with body lice, and reek of camel manure and other choice odours, but the important parts of their body are kept clean, and the wife bathes her hair once a week in she-camel's urine, and thus rids her head of vermin for a few days" (p. 56).

On every page and in every incident of their experiences Colonel and Mrs. Dickson show their deep love and warm sympathy. They show not only love and sympathy, but an unusual insight into the spiritual and physical needs of the Arab.

The author in several places pays high tribute to the work of Dr. Dame and Dr. Mylrea of the American Mission in the hospitals at Kuwait and Bahrain. His pathetic plea for more hospitals should find response. The three great oil companies in Eastern Arabia have first class hospital facilities for their thousands of employees, but the interior provinces are still neglected and there is urgent need for pioneer medical missionaries.

As regards Islam, this volume is realistic although not always penetrative. The author's chapters on the Pilgrimage, funerals, marriage, and birth ceremonies, especially those on blood revenge and war, are very informing. He is a careful observer. Yet knowledge of the Koran and orthodox tradition would have thrown light on the *chiaroscuro* painting of Islam so primitively and precisely practiced in Desert Arabia.

Except for a strange dream he had, foretelling the discovery of oil in Kuwait (pp. 332-333) Colonel Dickson has nothing to say of this modern Western invasion of Arabia and its immense importance on the economic and social life of the Arab. The motor car is displacing the camel, the derrick overshadows the mosque, and the worship of Mammon threatens that of Allah.

In spite of its rather high price this book will find many readers. It is in every way attractive. The glossary (of 36 pages) is also valuable, and the fourteen appendices include important studies on Arabian genealogies, lists of tribes, the varieties of fish, insects, etc., and notes on a Himyaritic inscription found in the Northeastern desert.

Our only major criticism of this great study of the Desert Arab is that in some places the author seems ignorant of the Koranic sanction for the practices and superstitions he describes. The Index is inadequate, and the transliteration of Arabic may offend the purist. These, after all, are minor matters. In its own field this volume has had few predecessors and no equal.

S. M. ZWEMER

## CURRENT TOPICS

### Islam and the Modern Moslem

By Omar A. Khadra

Mr. Khadra is a young Moslem who is related to the leading family of Jerusalem and who spent his childhood among pious Moslem People. After completing advanced studies at the American University at Beirut and Princeton, he now is advisor to the Saudi-Arabian delegation to the United Nations and is engaged in diplomatic work in Washington. He is a representative of a large group of young Mohammedans, who are loyal to the faith of their childhood, but are confronted with the problem of adapting it to the modern world.

EDITOR of the *Bulletin of the Near East Society*

"Islam, like the two other monotheistic religions, has evolved and progressed throughout the ages. Although it has become more complex and varied, it nevertheless has added invaluable wealth to its treasures.

"From the start Islam has been a dynamic religion. Some writers say that Islam is an inflexible religion, and that Moslems in general are not amenable to reform. That is not true. The Moslems of the Near East, especially the educated ones, are conscious of the need to re-examine the role of their religion. They do not intend to undermine the basic tenets of their religion, nor do they plan radically to alter its contents. Their sole aim is to introduce reforms that will adapt Islam to modern life.

"The writer proposes to consider the subject of his religion by breaking it up into three major components. The first is the relation of Islam to the political situation in a country (the problem of Church and State). Second is Islam and its regulation of secular matters, and third, the problem of religion *per se*.

I. "Just as the proponents of the High Church theory have argued that the Pope, as vicar of God on earth, combines in himself spiritual and temporal authorities, so many of the religious leaders of Islam maintain that the two authorities are inseparable.

"The modern Moslem takes exception to such an interpretation. There is no need to offer a rebuttal to this religious theory. This has been done by the religious leader, Ali Abd al-Razik, in his book *Islam and the Fundamentals of Authority*.

"The modern Moslem is convinced of the soundness of the interpretation of the theory of the two swords, as advocated by Pope Galesius I at the end of the fifth century. The need for a surgical operation is all the more necessary because of the spread of the concept of nationalism in the Near East.

"For better or for worse, nationalism has replaced religion as the mode of allegiance. No better example can be cited than the Arab revolt of 1916, when Moslems rebelled against the authority of the Caliph, and fought on the side of the Allies in the first Great War in return for a promise of independence.

"To assume that Church and state should not be separated is considered not only deleterious to the interest of the nation, but is contrary to the spirit of our time. Islam is not, and should never be, a theocracy. Furthermore, separation is the more plausible since it should eliminate completely the feeling of sectarianism which in the past has been fostered by foreign powers for political purposes.

II. "With regard to the relation of Islam to secular matters, the modern Moslem undoubtedly is influenced largely by the example of the West. He views matters arising from his personal relations with other people in his community realistically and with a sense of social fairness.

"First, come the marriage customs and the question of polygamy. The modern Moslem not only refuses to condone it; the whole idea is an anathema to him. He is convinced that legislation to outlaw polygamy and make it a criminal offense should be enacted.

"Similarly, divorce should no longer remain the monopoly of the male; or, as in some, though very few cases, the privilege of the female. Divorce, he believes, should be entrusted to a judge appointed by the State. The judge should interpret the law in each case, and use his discretion to grant or reject a divorce plea. In case the judge is convinced that there are strong grounds for the annulment of a marriage, he should be authorized to pass a verdict. He also should rule on alimony and make sure of the care and education of children.

"Inheritance is another problem. There are no reasons why a woman, as the situation is in some cases, should receive half of a man's property, or why a man should get preferential treatment. Furthermore, legislation designed to standardize all matters of inheritance is much needed.

"The problem of the veil has received considerable attention in Moslem countries. The modern Moslem not only fails to see any justification for the practice; he also considers its continuance harmful, since it deprives the Moslem community of half its members. There is no doubt that the unveiling of women and their equality with men would in the long run benefit the whole society.

"Such reforms would take away more and more authority from the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court and entrust it to national courts of law. This proposal, however, raises the legal question of the kind of law the national courts should follow.

"Some Moslem lawyers contend that a great amount of Islamic jurisprudence could be moulded so as to suit the requirements of the Moslems, and that the only change necessary is to transfer the authority of the execution of the law from religious bodies to their civilian counterparts. Others, however, would rather draw on the West completely.

"Once the need for reform is conceded, then the problem of its character could be agreed upon. Whether these changes should be put through by a ukase issued from above, or should be brought about progressively through education and other channels, is immaterial. The essential point is that the need for reform be accepted in principle.

"It can be observed that in all personal matters, modern Moslems do not differ substantially from modern Christians. Many have been subjected to the same kind of education, and therefore it should not cause surprise to see them arrive at similar conclusions.

III. "Finally, let us consider the views of the modern Moslem toward Islam as a religion. There should be no misunderstanding if he assumes an attitude that can be best described as one of non-

chalance. Yet as a Moslem he continues to cherish the values and ideals that his religion has given to the world. He rejects any idea or philosophy that purports to the non-existence of God, and always is inclined to attribute to that supernatural phenomenon, which he calls God, the whole *raison d'être* of our being.

"Without belief in the existence of God, he would argue that life is senseless, meaningless and purposeless. He furthermore would refuse to accept any interpretation that is promised solely and basically on a materialistic concept. He nevertheless is realistic and aware of the conditions of his time.

"Although a modern Moslem is a non-atheist, he is indifferent to the details of his religion and only falls back on it when he finds it necessary. He leaves it to his conscience to pass judgements on all his actions, based on the store of ethical principles he has acquired from family, religion, school and society.

"As to the *Koran* and its teachings, most young Moslems are inclined to believe that it is more the work of Mohammed than the word of God. Whether Mohammed was inspired by God, or was influenced by the incidents of the life at his time and the civilization of the surrounding empires, is something that he does not know. The fact that in Islam there is no religious hierarchy between man and God in the performance of the religious duties is greatly admired by him. Simplicity in the matters of religion is his goal.

"During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries two reform movements were started. One was headed by Sheikh Mohammed Abduh, and the other by the Wahhabi and the Sanusi in Saudi Arabia and North Africa. Abduh taught Islamic religious leaders courses other than religion. The modern Moslem insists that they be taught the significance of scientific progress so that they may interpret to the new generation matters arising from problems of faith and reason.

"Such are some of the thoughts that come to the mind of a young Moslem. They are undoubtedly rather nebulous, since he is not well versed in all the matters of his religion. They are important because they are indicative of his thinking. If ideas precede action, then it is not difficult to foresee a number of reforms which may be introduced in some Moslem countries."

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### "A Visit to the Blind" In the Orient and the Near East

"From Karachi we flew to Cairo, stopping enroute at Busra on the Persian Gulf, where a young missionary working among the blind of Arabia joined us. Six months before we had sent him our first publication in Arabic Braille, a collection of Bible promises.

"In Egypt we found the incidence of blindness seven times higher than here at home. (100,000 men and 50,000 women totally without sight in a total population of 20 million.) In Iraq it was fourteen times higher. In Iran health authorities told us that in at

least 3/5ths of their 35,000 villages, there was as yet no modern medical service of any kind. Health officials in all these countries are concerned over this situation and are doing all they can to change it. However, until better trained personnel and more funds are forthcoming, their efforts to educate the people on the causes of blindness and the need for prophylactic care will avail little.

"Egypt's program of services to her physically handicapped represents a creditable beginning, ably administered along enlightened lines.

"The only work under Christian auspices which we saw in Cairo was that being done in a school for blind girls. This school was in desperate need of better quarters and of supervision by trained sighted teachers. Fortunately our appeal to local missionaries on its behalf has resulted, since our visit, in substantial changes for the better.

"We felt it a privilege while in Cairo to meet with a small group of missionaries and Christian nationals interested in serving the blind and called together by the Near East Christian Council. At our request data on Christian schools and homes for the blind throughout the Near East is being assembled by several members of this group. When completed this should be of value both to missions and churches in these lands.

"At this conference we considered among other things—1. building up a small library of Christian books in Arabic Braille with distributing centers at Cairo, Beirut, Baghdad and Jerusalem; 2. the adoption of a single uniform Arabic Braille system to replace the five independent systems now taught in mission schools; 3. the preparation and publication of acceptable readers in Arabic Braille; 4. the purchase of a Braille press to be set up preferably in Beirut; 5. the need of more and better trained Christian teachers of the blind in order to raise the standards both of educational and industrial work.

"In Beirut and Baghdad, we found the same high incidence of blindness. From one Iraqi with whom we talked, came the words, 'In many of our villages an average of one blind child per family is not surprising.'

"After an awesome flight from Baghdad over snow-covered mountains we were received in Teheran with a heartwarming welcome. To be sure we had come 'shorn of our glory' by the absence of Miss Keller. The Society of the Red Lion and Sun (Persian equivalent of our American Red Cross) had specially invited her to attend the inauguration of its nation-wide program of services to Iran's blind and deaf. In spite of this disappointment we soon felt the deep concern of government in the care and education of its physically handicapped. Members of the Ministries of Education, Health and Social Affairs received us in their homes or offices, eager to have us tell them of all that America is doing for its blind and deaf and of the progress neighboring countries are making in their rehabilitation of their physically handicapped. At a reception given by government officials on one afternoon and at a tea before members of the Red Lion and Sun Society, we told the inspiring story of Miss Keller's life knowing that it would make its own appeal.

"We traveled all one day by bus from Teheran to Isfahan (a

distance of 260 miles) where the only Christian School for the Blind in all Iran is located. Surely, if there is any place in Moslem lands where Christ's love for the blind can be seen and felt it is here. Originally started and maintained as a German mission until the war, it has since been carried on under British mission auspices in order to keep its doors open and to prevent sending its blind charges back to the streets.

"The children stood in the sunshine to welcome us with warm handshakes, saying in English what I can believe they practiced long in advance. 'So glad you are here,' 'So good of you to come.' Financially, the future of this school is precarious. Its needs cannot be met indefinitely by the Orphaned Missions Fund of the International Missionary Council. Late one cold night the Bishop of the Diocese, the missionary in charge and I sat huddled around an open fire sharing our anxieties and planning for the school's future. The next afternoon at a tea in the Bishop's home we met the Governor of Isfahan and a company of influential citizens and laid the situation before them. Moslems and Christians alike resolved to do something about it."

Quoted by permission from a report by Dr. Milton T. Stauffer, General Secretary of the John Milton Society, Inc., A Christian World Service to the Blind, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

*Union Theological Seminary Library*

### I. GENERAL

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY.  
(In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. July, 1949. pp. 315-329; October, 1949. pp. 441-454).

Covers March first to August thirty-first, 1949.

THE JERUSALEM BISHOPRIC. R. W. Greaves. (In *The English Historical Review*, London. July, 1949. pp. 328-352).

An historical account of Anglo-German political designs in the Middle East from 1841 to 1885.

A NINTH-CENTURY FRAGMENT OF THE "THOUSAND NIGHTS."  
Nabia Abbott. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago. July, 1949. pp. 129-164).

A detailed description of "no. 17618," accompanied by a history of paper and paper books in early Islam.

SOME NOTES ON TRAVEL IN MODERN TURKEY. Lady Kelly. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1949. pp. 252-264).

Outlines eight trips which may be undertaken by tourists during which they may be sure of meeting prompt, practical help, true hospitality and real courtesy.

### II. ARABIA

SOME EARLY TRAVELS IN ARABIA. C. F. Beckingham. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Part 3-4, 1949. pp. 155-176).

Tells of journeys made in the 15th to 17th centuries mentioned by Portuguese historians, but not included in Hogarth's *Penetration of Arabia* nor in Kiernan's *Unveiling of Arabia*.

### III. QUR'AN, TRADITION. THEOLOGY

THE KARAWIYYIN—THE OLDEST UNIVERSITY OF THE MIDDLE AGES. G. Kheirallah. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. November, 1949. pp. 23-26).

Describes the institution founded at Fez in 859 by the Lady Fatimah Al-Karawiyah.

A REVALUATION OF ISLAMIC TRADITIONS. Joseph Schacht. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. Part 3-4, 1949. pp. 143-154).

Through an examination of Muslim law, the author shows that the early traditions taken from the Prophet and the Companions actually date from the 2nd century A.H.

RHAZES ON THE PHILOSOPHIC LIFE. A. J. Arberry. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1949. pp. 703-713).

A translation from the Arabic with a short account of the 9th century writer.

## IV. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA. Paul B. Henze. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1949. pp. 278-296).

The first of two articles examining Soviet methods applied to a semi-colonial area up to the beginning of World War II.

IRRIGATION AND LAND USE IN ZEINIYA BAHARI, UPPER EGYPT. Douglas D. Crary. (In the *Geographical Review*, Washington, D. C. October, 1949. pp. 568-583).

Describes the regulation of the water supply from the Nile, crops raised and living conditions in the villages.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN EGYPT. William J. Handley. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. July, 1949. pp. 277-292).

Limiting his article in general to considering the condition of the industrial worker, the author finds real improvement in recent years, especially in trade unions and government regulations.

OIL IN KUWAIT. C. A. P. Southwell. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1949. pp. 221-227).

An amazing social and economic advance has been made since 1934.

POPULATION PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. W. B. Fisher. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1949. pp. 208-220).

Presents a difficult situation in which the West will have to plan ahead carefully to avoid a loss of face such as it has already suffered in China.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFGHANISTAN. Peter G. Franck. (In *The Middle East Journal*, London. July, 1949. pp. 293-314).

Deals with the "impact of world conditions on Middle Eastern countries in general." To be continued.

PROGRESS IN THE NURSING SERVICES OF TURKEY. E. E. P. MacManus. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1949. pp. 801-803).

Tells of hospitals and schools of nursing.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE LEBANON. Irene C. Soltau. (In *International Affairs*, London. July, 1949. pp. 307-317).

A survey of conditions since the nineteen thirties.

TOBACCO OF TURKEY. Zeki Doganoglu. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1949. pp. 794-801).

A statistical article.

## V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

L'AN PROCHAIN À JÉRUSALEM. François Varillon. (In *Études*, Paris. Juillet-Août, 1949. pp. 75-85).

Now that Israel has gained her promised land, it is to be hoped that she will be fair to Christians and Muslims in their Holy City.

THE JEWS UNDER TURKEY'S "NEW DEAL." Hal Lehrman. (In *Commentary*, New York. January, 1950. pp. 29-39).

A study of the biased treatment accorded a minority in a

country allegedly eager to be considered liberal and democratic.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM. The Emir Dr. K. 'Ali Bedr Khan. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. July-October, 1949. pp. 237-248).

A plea for independence for Kurdistan, now jointly controlled by Turkey, Iran and Iraq, through the intervention of the U.N.O.

PEACE AND REFUGEES IN THE MIDDLE EAST. W. de St. Aubin. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. July, 1949. pp. 249-259).

Although the refugee problem is diminishing, its complete solution is absolutely essential to peace.

THE RACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND REFORM IN IRAN. T. Cuyler Young. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1950. pp. 278-289).

The Soviets are striving to frustrate all attempts to improve the political and economic condition of the people with the cry of "Exploitation" by the Western Powers, especially the United States.

## VI. INDIA AND PAKISTAN

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN A CHANGING INDIA. T. D. Sully. (In *The East and West Review*, London. October, 1949. pp. 110-114).

Both India and Pakistan are showing toleration and friendship towards English education, but of course changes in administration and methods will be necessary.

CHURCH AND STATE IN PAKISTAN. Kenneth W. S. Jardine. (In *The East and West Review*, London. October, 1949. pp. 115-117).

Describes rehabilitation successes in the Indus Canal Colony for Christians and rejoices in the liberal tone observed throughout the country.

THE CHURCH IN THE NEW INDIA. Alexander McLeish. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. November-December, 1949. pp. 345-350).

"New spiritual life will alone produce new power to witness."

EDUCATION IN PAKISTAN. Dr. M. Hussan. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1949. pp. 771-780).

Studies various aspects of the situation, presenting British and Muslim opinions.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN MUST CO-OPERATE TO STAVE OFF FAMINE. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. December, 1949. pp. 39-40).

Shows how crops, especially rice, must be increased to cope with the ever-rising population.

THE NEW INDIA—PAKISTAN—ASIA—AND AMERICA. A. Th. Polyzoides. (In *World Affairs Interpreter*, Los Angeles, Cal. Autumn, 1949. pp. 290-298).

A survey of political and economic conditions.

PAKISTAN STEERS HER OWN COURSE. (In *Great Britain and the East*, London. November, 1949. pp. 38-39).

Discusses finance and commerce.

PAKISTAN'S CLAIM TO KASHMIR. Sir William Barton. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. January, 1950. pp. 299-308).

Supports a plan giving predominantly Muslim regions to Pakistan while leaving Jammu Province to India.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE "OPEN SESAME" TO ARABDOM. C. W. Procter. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. November-December, 1949. pp. 331-334).

Presents the need for good Christian literature to distribute through a centralizing agency staffed by competent Orientalists as translators.

PROSPECTS OF CHRISTIANITY IN NORTHERN NIGERIA. The Rt. Rev. N. Sherwood Jones. (In *The East and West Review*, London. January, 1950. pp. 12-16).

Good leadership and more workers are needed for the evangelization of Muslims and also of the numerous Animist tribes.

UNCHANGING ISLAM IN A CHANGING WORLD. Samuel M. Zwemer. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. November-December, 1949. pp. 335-340).

A challenging description of the great power of Islam and the Christian reply to it.

THE YOUNGER CHURCHES IN IRAN AND PAKISTAN. Mabel C. Warburton. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day*, London. November-December, 1949. pp. 351-354).

Despite the threat of Communism throughout all Asia, some encouragement can be found in the interest and in the liberal attitude shown by Irani and Pakistani.