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## TAWWIL BĀLAK

Shortsightedness is a condition which can happily be corrected by the aid of a pair of spectacles, bringing the long and the distant into focus and so saving a situation in which all but the immediate is blurred. Shortmindedness, however, while even more inconvenient, is far less readily corrected. There is the outlook or the attitude which, for a variety of reasons, sees only and always in terms of what is familiar and so disqualifies itself for any enterprise of thought or venturesomeness of mind. In such sense there is perhaps more than first appears in the familiar colloquial Arabic phrase with which a harassed merchant may check his hasty customer or a mediator quieten some heated altercation. "Ṭawwil bālak"—"Be patient." But in the literal sense: "Make your mind longer," "Lengthen your wits," or, if we may be somewhat grander, "Enlarge your categories."

Indeed an excellent idiom for patience since most of the occasions when the phrase is heard arise from shortness of mind, from seeing the situation only from one, and that the immediate, point of view. In the old fashioned sense of the English "long-suffering" there is much the same idea, to bear longer than the first reaction, to allow an enlargement of the criteria by which one judges, decides or contends.

In this sense there are many aspects of Christianity, rightly understood, which amount to just this enlargement of mind, this re-education of shortmindedness. Was it not thus with the very conception of Messiahship within which Jesus operated and out of loyalty to which He suffered? In fulfilling the old expectations, He entirely transformed their content. In the process how sadly the disciples lost patience with Him, Judas tragically, until in the issue of the Cross, and with the new length of mind and scope of comprehension created by the Resurrection, they were able to take in the nature of His redemptive mission and the large secret of His Person and Office. So it was also in the crucial issue of the inclusiveness of the Early Church and the openness of its fellowship unconditionally to the non-Jewish world. The first shortminded reaction of the Jerusalem Church was one of impatient disquiet about the baptism of Gentiles, until the enlargement of their imagination under the evident guidance of the Holy Spirit brought a new hospitality and saved the Church from a

threatened disaster due to narrow vision.

So it has always been. Wesley exchanging "the faith of a servant for the faith of a son:" Carey with the map above his cobbler's bench and India seen as clearly as his shoes: or Douglas Thornton remarking of the youths of Cairo "I never know which of them may be a Saul of Tarsus." Those who have come to feel a Christian duty to and for Islam have great need of this longsightedness of spirit. "Ṭawwil bālak" must be our attitude. Not simply the patience of doggedness, but that sort of hospitable hope that looks beyond the immediate and is resourceful in all its attitudes, because it sees its calling and knows that it is not in vain.

And in another sense the burden of the Christian approach to the contemporary Muslim may be captured by the same phrase. We are inviting him to lengthen his mind and enlarge his hospitality, not the hospitality of tent and table, already so traditional, but a hospitality of heart and thought, a readiness to see beyond the instinctive attitudes of unconcern, to see more than the things that fill the foreground, the West, the Crusades, the secular influences, the accusations of exploitation, the old controversies. Our yearning is that the obscured, the inner meanings of the Christ, the beauty of His face, the wonder of His sorrows, the glory of His peace, the blessedness of his Lordship, should be revealed and that all flesh should see them together. Our belief is that the very issues of Muslim life today, as Muslims know them well, are capable of carrying into their hearts the significance of Christ in His Church if only there is the lengthened mind, the willingness to look further and to see deeper. "Ṭawwil bālak" we may well say. Become aware that there are things of which you are not aware, that self-sufficiency has always been the foe of self-completion. The fullness of the truth comes only to the opened mind. Islam is thinking, but not yet unto Christ.

It happens that the Arabic press has fixed upon the happy phrase "Al- 'Ahd al-Jadīd" to describe the new Régime in Egypt. It is thus generally known by the title which the Arabic Bible uses for the New Testament. Should not the co-incidence fire our imagination to mediate more effectively to the contemporary Muslim aspiration after newness the abiding significance of the newness of life which is the witness of the New Testament? Let us pray that the criteria of change may be wide enough to embrace the meaning of Christ and our ministry long-hearted enough to serve the prayer. "Ṭawwil bālak"—enlarge your thoughts to the dimensions of God's truth and your hearts to its proper service.

## THE CHRIST OF THE SYRIAN ROAD, 1953

Some thirty years ago Dr. E. Stanley Jones wrote an epoch-making book, "The Christ Of The Indian Road." As a protest against the interpretation of Christianity as a "foreign" religion in India and against the accretions of the years, whereby the presentation of the Gospels had come to mean the defense not only of everything from Genesis to the Revelation but also of all of Church History, as well, the book met a deep-felt need.

In Syria, too, there is need for such a protest. Byzantine ritual, Latin theology, Oriental pomp and ecclesiastical machinery and Western ideas and sectarian distinctions have come in, layer by layer, to cover over the faith and practice of the primitive church. The services today are too often said, or read, or sung in a dead language or a foreign one until the Church has come to be considered a relic out of the past.

What of a book, "The Christ of the Syrian Road"? How would it begin? What would it say? The thought stirs the imagination. After all, *there was no other Christ*. His birth was dated by the census taken "when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." All his days, after infancy, were spent in the various subdivisions of Roman Syria. The setting of his life was the familiar Syrian scene:—hills, fields, roads, inns, bridges (many of them still in use) and villages, much as they are today. Behind it all was the relatively unchanging pattern of Syrian life and thought. In 1916 Pastor Ibrahim Mitrie Rihbany, then living in America, wrote that he knew the Bible was true ". . . because whenever I open my Bible it reads like a letter from home."<sup>1</sup>

So here, if anywhere, it should be possible to slip back over the years, and visualize Jesus as walking once more the roads of Syria, as he did before the Byzantine or the Crusader, the Turk, the Frenchman, the Englishman, or the American came to influence the patterns of life in the land. One has but to sit at some historic spot and read the Gospels, blotting out from one's mind all the changes of the years. There was no Christian Church then, nor would Jesus even have recognized the name (though it is to be hoped that the Church has held on to many things from his teaching that he would recognize!). The traditional religious divisions now in the

<sup>1</sup> The Syrian Christ, By Ibrahim Mitrie Rihbany, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1916, P. 5.

land would not have entered the discussion. He was not a good Jew, at least by the standards of the Scribes and the Pharisees—who were, after all, the good religious people of their time. Nor was there such a thing as a Muslim, though none in history ever more fully exemplified the root idea of surrender to the will of God than did Jesus.

As he sits there by the well-curb, or on the corner of a Roman bridge, he wears simple village clothes. There is no book in his hands, nor hint of bookishness in his talk. He speaks to simple men, in simple language, of the simple relationships of life. He appeals to each man's conscience, with a deft reference to his particular problem against the background of faith in a loving God.

He speaks to us, too, and we are pleased. We find in him the Pioneer of Life, leading men down the years. But there are many of the things we had thought to ask him about which we are now glad to leave unmentioned. Sectarian issues seem out of place. He is so unappreciative of the forms and rituals which we had meant to discuss. The very mention of national connotations of religious belief might be embarrassing—we do not want him to speak harshly to us! Proselytism seems to be connected in his mind with the narrow zeal of the Pharisees. When we think how he drove the money-changers out of the Temple, we decide to say nothing about the commercialism we fear has crept into our churches. Perhaps it is just as well, after all, to let him do all the talking.

And so we listen, and think, and dream of new simplicity and new vigor in our approach to our problems. Little prayers form in the heart. And through it all there grows a loyalty to him who speaks to us so simply and so clearly.

If Jesus Christ is a man,—  
 And only a man,—I say  
 That of all mankind I cleave to him,  
 And to him will I cleave always.  
 If Jesus Christ is a god,—  
 And the only God,—I swear  
 I will follow him through heaven and hell,  
 The earth, the sea, and the air!<sup>2</sup>

*Aleppo, Syria*

ALFORD CARLETON

<sup>2</sup> The Song Of A Heathen, Richard Watson Gilder, Copyright Houghton Mifflin & Co.

## THE FORCES NOW MOULDING ISLAM

### 1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE IMPACT OF THE WEST

If we are to understand the Islamic East or any other part of the East at the present time, it is important to realize the full extent of the impact of the West upon Asia and Africa. There has been a tendency among some of those who have written on this subject to consider Islam mainly in its intellectual or theological aspect, and to emphasize the intellectual influence of the West. This, however, is by no means the only way in which the West has influenced the Islamic East. In the total impact of the West economic, social and political influences are probably more important factors than the purely intellectual.

The impact of the modern West on the Islamic East may be said to date from the development of trans-oceanic navigation in the 16th century. The voyage of Vasco da Gama to India in 1498 opened the way for an ever-increasing stream of Portuguese, Dutch, French and British shipping. The luxury goods of the Indies were in demand in Europe, and trade grew and flourished. The merchants established their 'factories' or trading centres. They found themselves obliged to enter into political agreements with the local rulers to gain security for their trading operations. From agreements they passed to active intervention, bringing troops from their home countries in Europe. European quarrels were transferred to Asia, and in the end most of India was under British rule and of the East Indies under Dutch.

While these regions were thus being brought within the net of European commerce and politics, the Ottoman Empire remained comparatively isolated. Though it had a frontier in Europe, and though there was a certain amount of trade in the Mediterranean, European civilization cannot be said to have greatly influenced it before the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon in 1798. From that point, however, the economic, political and intellectual penetration of the Turkish and Persian Empires was rapid and extensive.

Even in the 17th and 18th centuries European civilization was superior to that of Asia in various respects. Trans-oceanic navigation was an important economic factor, and it was a monopoly of the Europeans. The Asiatics apparently lacked the requisite temperament and skill to cross vast stretches of sea in the frail ships of the time. Europe was also ahead in military science, especially perhaps in discipline. This, in turn, may have been due to the more stable political organization of the new national states in Europe.

Europe, too, possessed a basis of scientific knowledge and new scientific methods. The gap between Asia and the West, which had been comparatively small when the closer contacts began, widened enormously with the stupendous development of science and tech-

nology in the 19th century. The beginnings of the industrial revolution in the later 18th century were small, but the 20th century saw mass-production in full swing on a scale undreamt of in earlier times. Communications shared in the general technological advance, and mechanical transport by land, sea and air made the world one as it has never been one before. International commerce and finance, encouraged by the new mass-producing industries, have increased the inter-dependence of the various parts of the world. When within the last hundred years or so the Islamic East woke up from centuries of slumber, it found that it had been incorporated willy-nilly within this global industrial order.

The economic basis of the greater part of the Islamic East prior to its contact with the West was subsistence agriculture. The peasants grew food to feed themselves and not for selling or exchanging, while the ruler and the various administrators under him lived from the proportion of agricultural produce they could extract from the peasants. This varied according to circumstances but was often about a third of the yield. Besides the peasants and the land-owning and administrative class there were a number of town-dwellers, but the various functions these performed were essentially subordinate to peasant agriculture.

Contact with Europe has led to two main changes in the economic sphere. One is that various parts of the East have changed over from subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture. Instead of growing what they themselves need, they grow crops like cotton, tobacco and tea to sell for export. To begin with, this may be more lucrative; but it means that the peasant becomes dependent for his prosperity or the opposite on the state of world markets. The present drop in the world price of cotton, for example, is having a serious effect upon Egypt, whose economy was unduly dependent on the export of cotton.

The other change in the economic sphere is the introduction of mechanized industry. This has taken place in varying degrees in certain parts of the Islamic East. Nowhere is there extensive industrialization, but the fact that the change has begun is important. In certain respects the development of industry emancipates Islamic countries from the economic domination of the West. The emancipation, however, is only partial and can never be complete. There is little prospect that the Islamic East will be able to maintain its industries without, for example, coming to the West for spares and replacements. As the peoples become accustomed to factory-produced goods, the new industries will become a necessity instead of a luxury; and the Islamic East will find itself involved in a subtle, but no less real, form of dependence on the West.

Gandhi's spinning-wheel focusses the issues confronting the Is-

Islamic East as well as Hindu India. It is specially appropriate since the East is manufacturing cloth with considerable success. Gandhi saw that, if you are to have mechanized industries based on Western technology, then you cannot keep yourself out of the clutches of the West, financial and intellectual alike. Mechanized industry and commercial agriculture (at least where sale to Western countries is intended) lead to involvement in the webs of international trade and finance. Moreover, because of its weak initial position, the East has usually had the worst of the bargain. By its protests, vocal and physical, and by playing off one Western power against another, as Musaddiq is trying to do, the East is getting rid of some forms of political and economic domination. But it is becoming no less involved in Western civilization, whether in its Atlantic or its Moscow form. If involvement with the West is to be avoided, the East must give up its Western manufactures (even when made in the East) and return to its spinning-wheel. When the Shah of Persia made a very bad bargain with a European company over tobacco, the people of the country invalidated it by refusing to smoke tobacco. But there is no indication that any Muslim country is sufficiently strong-minded to do without *all* Western goods—from aeroplanes, railways and motor-cars downwards.

In the social sphere one important repercussion of the impact of the West must be mentioned. This is the appearance of a Westernized or partly Westernized middle class. Previously, it is roughly true to say, there were only two classes, the land-owning and ruling class, and the peasant class. Smaller groups of town and city dwellers may be neglected for present purposes. Between these two classes there has now developed a third class. This is essentially a new feature on the scene. It consists of professional men, minor civil servants, army officers and the like. Where there are skilled artisans working in mechanized industries these also may be reckoned as belonging to it. One feature of this class is that its education has been almost entirely Western. It has adopted many Western customs, and been influenced by certain Western ways of thinking. It admires the West, even when it does not admit this; and it often likes to think that its way of life is similar to the West apart from religion. The distinctive feature of this middle class is that it, and it alone, makes possible that structure—or should we say façade?—of institutions based on Western technology which are necessary to the self-respect of every modern Islamic and Asiatic state.

## 2. THE RESULTANT PROBLEMS

The problems facing the Islamic East as a result of having become engulfed in the industrial civilization of Europe and America

may conveniently be described as the problems of external and internal relations.

The first problem—and the one that has received most attention—is, in its simplest terms, how to find “a place in the sun” in a world where there are many larger and more powerful states which have grabbed all the best places. This problem of external relations appeared first in the form of escaping from the political domination of European powers, whether overt as in the case of India and Indonesia, or half concealed as in the case of Egypt and Persia. Subsequently the aim of escaping from economic domination has become more prominent, with Persia as the obvious example. Attempts of various kinds have also been made to escape intellectual domination, e.g. by re-formulating Islamic thought or by grafting Western thought on to an Islamic stock. Underlying these different ways of reacting to the impact of the West, there is perhaps a psychological factor. An awareness of one’s own inferiority, not necessarily well founded, is often the complement of admiration for others. Because of such an awareness and the contempt frequently shown by Westerners, the Islamic East wants to feel that it counts for something in the world. It wants to be assured that its contribution to world culture in the past has been appreciated. Even more, perhaps, it wants the West to recognize that it is potentially capable of making a distinctive contribution to world culture in the future comparable to that of the West itself. The need to shout in order to obtain a fair deal from the great powers may be most urgent, but this psychological need is perhaps ultimately more important.

Though the problem of internal relations has received less attention, it is no less urgent or difficult. The kernel of the matter is that the old balance of classes has been disturbed, and a new balance has not been achieved. In the old system, which lasted for at least a millennium, the peasant had come to accept his position in the social structure and to find it tolerable except under the worst of rulers. Even corruption in high places could be accepted, because it had a recognized place in the system. The social structure, too, had a high degree of stability, and was little affected by changes in the persons to whom taxes had to be paid.

The impact of the West has changed all this. Those of the upper classes who were quick to realize the possibilities of applying Western technology in the Islamic East have usually managed to make themselves much wealthier than they were. They have passed on little or none of this additional wealth to the peasants, and consequently the latter are relatively worse off than they were before, and in some cases even absolutely worse off. The peasant, who has been induced to change over to the commercial growing of cotton, and then with the coming of a slump has been reduced to destitution,

cannot understand what is happening. Even if he does not drift into the town, his trust in the social system has been shaken, and he begins to ask questions.

The position of the middle class is exasperating. They are absolutely essential to the running of each country as a modern state, and yet they have practically no share in political power. An exception to this is Egypt where the movement under General Naguib is primarily a middle-class one. In general, however, the old upper class has sufficient influence to manipulate in its own interests the press, the elections and all the paraphernalia of government. The middle class is not badly off, but it sees what a large proportion of the national wealth the upper class has, and it thinks there should be some redistribution. Hence General Naguib's outcry against corruption, for the corruption of the upper class of today has a much wider field in which to operate than the 'traditional corruption' which had become accepted.

In the problem of internal relations, as in that of external relations, the psychological factor is important. Unsettlement and dissatisfaction seem to be due above all to absence of the feeling that one has one's place in a stable social system. It is not only the Islamic East, of course, that experiences disturbance and maladjustment, but the whole world. We in the West, too, have our problems of external and internal relations, and we feel the birth-pangs of a new social order.

As we turn to consider the forces competing for men's allegiance in the Islamic East, these problems must be kept in mind. It is not sufficient to study the forces statically, as it were, that is, to consider their importance in the present. They must also be studied dynamically, in respect of their ability to provide solutions for the two problems. The philosophy or ideology which gives the best solution is likely to become dominant. The giving of solutions, however, is no merely theoretical matter, but is above all the attempt to meet the personal need of the men and women who live in an environment dominated by these problems.

### 3. WESTERN IDEAS

For over a century the Islamic East has realized that, if it is to have anything approaching equality with Europe, it must assimilate much of the learning of the West. Young men and latterly also women have been sent in increasing numbers to study in the universities and technical colleges of Europe and America. Many of these, on returning to their homes, have become professors or teachers, and so have handed on something of the Western outlook which they had imbibed. At the same time, Christian missionaries

from Europe and America have been allowed and even encouraged to found schools and colleges in the Islamic countries. Institutions for higher education on Western lines have now been established by the governments of most Islamic countries, staffed in part by Westerners, but now mainly by Western-trained nationals. Thus Western learning has come to play an important part in the Islamic East, and there is a wide familiarity with many Western ideas.

It is to be noted, however, that Muslims have exercised a certain selectivity in their acceptance of Western thought. Some ideas have been very influential, others have aroused no interest at all. In general one might perhaps say that the ideas which have been influential are those which were subservient (as means) to ends already being pursued by Muslims. Because of this context in which they are influential, many Western ideas have quite different net effects in the Islamic East from those which they have in the West. At the deeper levels—in determining the ends of action and the categories of thinking—Western ideas have found little or no acceptance. With the exception of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl and perhaps one or two others, little effort has been made to come to grips with modern Western philosophy in the widest sense, while practically no Muslim has shown interest in modern Christian thinking.

The aspects of Western thought influential among Muslims may be considered under four heads.

(a) *Nationalism*. A superficial view of the Islamic East might suggest that nationalism is strong and is likely to play a considerable part in moulding the future. Further consideration, however, makes this view seem doubtful. Nationalism has no deep roots in Islamic civilization. With one or two slight exceptions, the Islamic world has been extremely successful in transcending differences of race, colour and national background. A man's loyalty has been to his family, clan or, at most, tribe, or else to the community of Islam as a whole. Indeed, there is no proper word for 'nation' in Arabic, for one of the words used, *ummah*, means primarily a religious community, while *sha'b* and *qawm* suggest a tribe or other racial group.

The apparent strength of nationalism is due to the fact that it appeals to the Western-educated upper and middle classes, and these alone are vocal. Its attractiveness for these people, however, does not lie in its intrinsic merits, but in its usefulness as an instrument for reducing foreign political domination. The great powers have said so much about 'national self-determination' that they cannot easily reject claims made on this basis, when these are put forward in an international assembly. Thus nationalism is a useful stick for beating the foreigner and compelling him to make concessions; and of course freedom from external control is, to begin with at least, to the advantage of the ruling class. In so far as nationalism is largely nega-

tive, that is, an anti-foreign movement, it has little difficulty in securing the adhesion of the masses. Yet there is probably always a tendency, where the support of the lower classes is required, for secular nationalism to pass into 'Islamic nationalism,' that is, patriotism towards the Islamic community as a political entity. This will be considered presently.

Such nationalism has little contribution to make to the solution of the problem of external relations, and it would seem that it cannot do much positively in respect of the internal problems. It is too weak and too limited in its appeal to certain classes to produce a real national unity. There is something artificial in regarding Iraqis, Lebanese and Syrians as nations. Even a comprehensive Arab nationalism is too weak to overcome personal rivalries and make the Arab League an effective political unity. Much the same is probably true of Indonesian nationalism. In Egypt attention has been directed to the glories of the Pharaonic inheritance, but the sentiments evoked in this way are unlikely to heal the difference between Copt and Muslim. In a word, nationalism in the Islamic East is now largely a force that is spent.

(b) *Democracy.* The cluster of ideas and practices, from elected parliaments to universal suffrage and ballot-boxes, which together may be labelled "democracy," has been accepted by the ruling classes. Their reason for accepting 'democracy' has probably been to show that their states are modern and comparable in political organization to those of Europe and America. The outward trappings of democracy thus help to satisfy the psychological need connected with the problem of external relations. In actual practice, however, democratic institutions are simply the method by which the ruling classes continue to rule. There are usually several parties, but those of any importance are merely different groups within the ruling class. Between them they control newspapers and wireless, and have various other means of gaining the support of the masses. In so far as the latter think almost exclusively in Islamic terms, democratic ideas, when presented to them, have to be 'Islamicized'; there is, of course, a democratic stratum in Islamic thought, inherited from the pre-Islamic nomadic Arabs.

For the middle classes democracy is less attractive than nationalism. As it functions in the Islamic East, it seldom offers a way of redressing their grievances; and thus in Egypt the middle classes have been driven to a military coup. Democratic theory, on the other hand, tends to justify their grievances and also to make them more aware of the internal problems of the various countries. Whatever may happen in the distant future, it would seem that democratic theory and practice have little to contribute to the Islamic East in the next few decades.

(c) *Marxism*. There are very few Muslims or ex-Muslims who have more than a superficial knowledge of Marxism in its Stalinist or any other form. Thus Marxism is not at the moment strong in the Islamic East. It is potentially important, however, because of the strength of Russia, China and the satellite countries. To the problems of external and internal relations in the special forms which these take in the Islamic East, Marxism has no final or satisfying answers. But it is aware of the problems and the underlying grievances; and the Communist Party is able to adopt 'lines' which make the ignorant think that it has answers. Thus it can align itself with the anti-foreign nationalism of Asiatic countries and claim that Marxism is against all imperialistic exploitation. There is, therefore, the possibility that Communism may gain a few resolute adherents in an Islamic country and that these, with some local non-Communist support and extensive aid from Russia, may bring off a *coup d'état*. Their country would then come within the Russian (or perhaps Chinese) orbit, and they and their mentors could gradually set about indoctrinating the various classes. What degree of success they would have in this would depend on various factors which can hardly be assessed now. In general, it may be said that Marxism is potentially of great importance in the Islamic East, but that its future is highly problematic.

(d) *Philosophy and Scientific Thought*. Western science and technology have been widely studied and, in their practical applications, have been accepted without question. On the other hand, the underlying attitudes, that is, the basic attitudes of Western philosophy and scientific thought, have not been appreciated or accepted to any extent. It is unlikely, then, that these will make any great contribution to the moulding of the future. They may be said, however, to have had a negative effect in loosening the hold of religion upon the middle class. This movement away from religion may simply be an instance of the usual revolt against authority, in this case that of the dogmatic theologians; but it also marks the failure of the theologians to deal with the difficulties of the new Western-educated middle class.

#### 4. THE RELIGION OF ISLAM

The hold of the Islamic religion on its adherents is outwardly greatest in the case of the masses. Among the upper and middle classes there is little positive practice of religion; but there are many who would scrupulously avoid any public expression of opposition to Islam, while at the deepest level even irreligious men usually think in Islamic terms and categories. In so far as the lower classes are a factor in politics—and this is perhaps not so much at the ballot-boxes as in staging mass demonstrations—appeals to them, if not on an anti-

foreign basis, must be directed towards Islamic sentiments. Politicians have to respect these sentiments in all their public actions and utterances, though opinion is possibly more sensitive in Pakistan, for example, than in Egypt or Indonesia.

In estimating the importance of religion as a force moulding the future of the Islamic world, it is not sufficient to consider its present strength. We must also look to its ability to solve the two problems of external and internal relations. To deal with these problems is the business primarily of the religious leaders or '*ulamā*,' but there is nothing to prevent any Muslim contributing to their solution. Unfortunately there has been little sociological or political thinking among Muslims during the last half-century except at a comparatively superficial level. They have been interested in how to get rid of Western domination and what attitude to adopt towards Western culture, but not in the underlying sociological questions. The most profound thinking has been that of Muḥammad Iqbāl, but no successor of comparable intellectual stature has yet appeared.

The absence of explicit analysis of a situation does not imply inability to deal with the situation. This is especially true of the Islamic world, where the '*ulamā*,' by their corporate tradition have an appreciation of the strength of their social system and its ability to function more or less independently of the political sovereign. For centuries rulers have come and gone, some good, some bad, and some indifferent, but the social structure has stood firm and carried masses of men and women safely through difficult periods. Conservatives by tradition, the '*ulamā*' will endeavour to maintain intact the foundations of social stability by permitting modification only gradually and only in secondary matters.

While it is certain that the '*ulamā*' will attempt adjustment on these lines, it is doubtful whether they will be able to achieve modification to a sufficient degree and with sufficient speed. The problem is the most difficult Islam has had to tackle in the last twelve centuries, for there has been a radical change in the economic basis of Islamic society. Moreover, deterioration has already gone a considerable way, and over a wide area there has been a loss of mutual trust and confidence. To restore the foundations of society would seem to require a revival of religion as the dominating force in men's lives. Nothing else is capable of dealing with the allegations of widespread corruption, which are themselves a symptom of class-suspicion. Are the '*ulamā*' capable of heading such a revival? Are they or any other Muslims capable of directing a revival movement, should such make its appearance, into fruitful channels?

Of real religious revival in Islam there are few signs. What has appeared, and what might be mistaken for religious revival, is the growth of 'Islamic nationalism,' that is, a feeling akin to nationalism

as it is found in Europe and America, but directed towards the *ummah* or community of Islam. This is mainly a secular feeling, though the community which is its focus has a religious basis. Despite its mixed character Islamic nationalism is not to be underestimated. It is probably the strongest force in the Islamic world today, and in the immediate future the only one capable of moving men to the reconstruction of society. The question we have to ask, however, is: Is it capable of calling forth a sufficient degree of self-sacrifice to meet the needs of the time? Unless it becomes more religious and less secular, the answer is almost certainly 'No.' A real religious revival is not impossible, but from the human standpoint, the chances of it appear to be small.

Islamic sentiment, then, is still strong in the Islamic countries, and in the form of Islamic nationalism is likely to become stronger. On the other hand, it is improbable that the religion of Islam will be able to make an important contribution to the solving of the problems of external and internal relations.

#### 5. CHRISTIANITY

As a result of the spread of industrial and technological civilization over the globe, Europe and America, no less than the Islamic East, have their problems of external and internal relations. The world has become one world, and the various states have to find some method of sharing the world's good things that is acceptable to all or most; while, even in the West, mass-producing industry has affected the class-structure, since the lower classes are important as consumers, as well as in the role of factory-hands, and the running of large-scale industries is apparently bringing into being a new managerial class. The future of the Christian Church throughout the world will from one point of view depend on its success in providing the foundations for a stable social system in this unitary world, that is, in providing a faith which will meet the personal needs of the men and women who have to live in the new circumstances. In attempting the solution of the two problems for the world in general, the lead will presumably come from the Church in the West.

There have been few converts from Islam to Christianity, except in Indonesia (and even there the total number is not large), and so the Church is very weak throughout the Islamic East. It is strongest, curiously enough, at the heart of Islam, in the Arabic-speaking countries. In these countries, however, there is a complication in that there exists a group of ancient churches which have lived under Muslim rule for some thirteen centuries. They have nobly maintained their allegiance to the Christian faith, despite many material inducements to adopt Islam, but in achieving this they have come to

adopt a defensive attitude. This is not surprising when one is living in a state whose law permits conversion in one direction only, namely, from Christianity to Islam and not *vice versa*. One mark of the defensive attitude is that these Christians, however devout in their own lives, have no clear conviction that they have *good news* for the surrounding Muslims. They believe that their religion is superior to Islam, but that is a different matter from believing they have a gospel.

In the Islamic East apart from the Arabic-speaking countries a number of small groups of Christians have been formed as a result of the work of Christian missionaries from the West. Though the groups are usually tiny, they consist almost entirely of converts to Christianity or their descendants and have some consciousness of having a message to the Muslim. In the Arabic-speaking countries, on the other hand, the Christian groups associated with Western Christendom as a result of missionary effort have mostly adopted the defensive attitude of the older churches. Indeed the great majority of their members (in the case of Anglicans and Protestants) are 'converts' from other forms of Christianity. Despite the shortcomings of their attitude, however, these groups are channels for the transmission of Western Christian thinking on the two problems, as on other matters. Most vitality is shown by the segments of the ancient churches which, while retaining their own rites, have accepted Papal supremacy and are commonly known as Uniates.

On the whole the Church in the Islamic East appears too weak to be likely in the visible future to make any large contribution to the treatment even of local problems. In so far, however, as it is building up the personal piety and devotion of its members and of converts it attracts, it is helping to create the basis for a long-term solution.

## 6. THE PROSPECT

This review of the intellectual and spiritual forces at work within the Islamic East points to the conclusion that no genuine solution of the external and internal problems is likely within the present century. Such a solution would only be possible if there was a widespread religious revival within Islam; and this is unlikely. What is likely is the increase of Islamic nationalism, but this would tend to hinder a real religious revival. It would emphasize those aspects of the Islamic heritage which are most prominent in the awareness of the masses, but which are probably not the most relevant to contemporary needs.

Unless there emerges a stable order in the Islamic East, the region, and especially the part from North Africa to Persia, is likely to come more and more under the influence of either the Atlantic or

the Soviet alliance. The Middle East is of such importance, both strategically and economically, that the great powers cannot allow chaos or a vacuum there. As a result of that practical and intellectual stimulus the existing disintegration of the social structure may well proceed further. Though this is regrettable in itself, it has a hopeful aspect, if it means that the Islamic East will be more open than it has been of recent centuries to the growth of new religious movements. These may include a radical reform movement within Islam, and also Christian and Marxist movements.

The struggle between such movements will be largely on the spiritual plane, despite help which any may receive from sympathetic rulers. While the issue depends partly on the success of kindred movements throughout the world, something can also be said about the conditions of success within the Islamic East. If any movement of the sort mentioned is to gain the allegiance of Muslims, (a) it must be relevant to the problems of the people of the Islamic East, including the personal problems of those living under contemporary economic and social conditions there, and (b) it must be able to explain its relevance in terms of the basic ideas already present in men's minds, that is, in terms of the categories of Islamic thinking.

In view of the growth of Islamic nationalism and of anti-Western feeling it is likely that Western Christian missionary work may no longer be possible in the sense in which it has been understood during the last century. Europe and America may cease to be the main source of missionary personnel. There may be some scope for Christian witness by Westerners engaged in secular work in the Islamic East. In the main, however, the emphasis will be on the Church in the various countries. In any Christian advance in the Islamic East the brunt will fall on the Christians of the region, and perhaps, in the second place, on Christians from other parts of Asia and Africa.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is an expansion of a talk given to a small group at St. Albans, England in September 1952. While it would be impossible to acknowledge my total indebtedness to others, I should like to mention the name of Professor H. A. R. Gibb; besides his better-known writings, a little article, 'La réaction contre la culture occidentale dans le proche-orient,' in *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*, XXIII, has been specially helpful.

## AN ETHIOPIAN VIEW OF THE QUR'ĀN AND CHRIST

Shaikh Zakariyyā ibn 'Abdallāh lived at the turn of this century in Gondar in northern Ethiopia. He became the author of a small work called *Kitāb ul-Qawl il-Ṣariḥ bittibā' Dīn il-Masiḥ*, a study of Christ in the Qur'ān, which has recently been reprinted in Cairo for circulation in the Danish Mission area at Aden and in Arabic speaking Islam in general. Thus the historic connection between the lands on both sides of the Red Sea is renewed in a simple partnership between an Ethiopian Muslim who, after a deep experience, became a Christian, and an Aden Mission giving wider utterance to the voice by which he, being dead, yet speaketh. It is the purpose of this article to offer a brief exposition of the interpretation of Christ in the Qur'ān and the New Testament given by Shaikh Zakariyyā. The study of how a Muslim who has embraced the faith of Christ interprets his new allegiance to his old associates and how he understands the nature of the transaction we call conversion must always be of prime importance to students of both faiths. The evident sincerity and candour of this writer deserve to be reciprocated in any reckoning with his argument and his witness, whether on the part of Muslims or Christians.

In the Preface he describes the vision with which everything began. A tall and impressive figure coming from the east accosted him in a dream as he slept and gave him promise of wisdom and knowledge. The shaikh was reading the Qur'ān in the vision and he took the purport of the promise to refer to *tafsīr*. Shortly afterwards came a second vision of three shaikhs of grave mien and with golden turbans on their heads who re-iterated the promise and summoned him to explain the Qur'ān worthily and without fear, and to clarify its bearing on the religion of Christ. The time of the vision is given as three years after the coronation of the Emperor Menelik. Its sequel was a prolonged and careful study of the Qur'ān, the Law and the Gospel. The three celestial figures whom he had seen in the vision ascended toward heaven where a cloud covered them. Before they disappeared the three became one man. The clouds were heavy with vapour and the rain poured down. The meaning of the vision was that the three witnesses, the Old and New Testaments and the Qur'ān, bore a single testimony to the faith of Christ. From this experience the tractate under review took its rise.

Its author divides it into the following sections:

- (1) The Abidingness of God and the Eternity of His Word.
- (2) The Prophets and the Coming of Christ.
- (3) The Birth of Christ.

- (4) Christ's Baptism.
- (5) Sacrifice and Atonement.
- (6) Christ's Death and His being raised to Heaven.
- (7) The Fellowship of the Holy Spirit.
- (8) *Al-Nāsikh wa-l-Mansūkh*.

Shaikh Zakariyyā relies mainly in his argument upon texts quoted, often *in extenso*, from both the Christian Scriptures and the Qur'ān. Though in so doing he is pursuing the sense of his "heavenly vision" and his interpretations deserve study, many will hesitate to allow all the proof-texts he finds or the use he makes of them. The ground is cleared at once by his initial quotation from Surah v. 67: "Say: O People of the Scripture, ye have no ground to stand upon, until ye observe the Law and the Gospel and that which was revealed unto you from your Lord." Also Surah x. 95: "And if thou (Muḥammad) art in doubt concerning that which we reveal unto thee, then question those who read the Scripture before thee." On the basis of these and similar passages the author proceeds also to cite numerous Biblical passages from Genesis onwards in which the subsequent teachings of the Qur'ān as to God and the world are to be discovered. He makes much of the statement of Surah xx. 196: "Lo it (the Qur'ān) is in the Scripture of the men of old,"—which he takes to mean that the Qur'ān is quoted from the Old Testament. "The *tafsīr* of the whole Qur'ān which is closest to the truth is that which is according to the Law, the Psalms and the Gospels." (p. 11). He relies upon Surah xxi. 91: "And we breathed into her (Mary) of our Spirit" and Surah iv. 171 "His Word which He conveyed unto Mary" to show that Jesus could not have been so described and be also merely human. "We, the household of Islam," as he puts it, have mistaken the significance of these passages by failing to take the Bible as the clue to *tafsīr*. The point, of course, is a very familiar one, and may impress some readers as of doubtful value, since the Qur'ān itself elsewhere counters the arguments which may be drawn from it by its own explicit exclusion of the Incarnation. But there is no mistaking the sincerity of Shaikh Zakariyyā's approach and his belief that *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān should be held to Biblical patterns, on the ground of the verses quoted.

The second Chapter, the longest in the tractate, concerns the Biblical prophecies relating to the Person of Christ. It also cites Surahs iii. 81: ii. 123: iv. 170: and xxii. 52, among others, to show that the Qur'ān reflects these prophecies and that it should be interpreted in conformity with them. Though the author's treatment of Messianic prophecies would not find support everywhere, his Biblical erudition is evident throughout. The third Chapter on the birth of Christ gives him many opportunities to corroborate the Scriptures

by the Qur'ān. Chapters 4 and 5 deal briefly with the baptism and the ministry of Christ. Surah v. 112-115 is boldly identified with the feeding of the five thousand in the desert-place. Chapter 6 uses familiar Quranic verses to establish the New Testament account of the Cross and the Resurrection, while ignoring the passages that have a contrary sense. Similarly Chapter 7 finds the doctrine of the Holy Trinity in Surah iv. 170 where God, the Word and Spirit are referred to, and insists further that Quranic refutation of tritheism, while of course absolutely sound, is not to be understood as rejection of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

The reference to *nāsikh* and *mansūkh* in Chapter 8 quotes Surah xxii. 52 and 53, where it is stated that no messenger or prophet has been exempt from the opposition of Satan. Its purpose is not to delve into this intricate question but to provide the basis for a warm appeal to a true understanding. While the Chapter is thus unfortunately named, the association of ideas seems to be that obtuse and ignorant hostility to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity on the basis of an illusion that it means tritheism is part of this deceptive hostility of Satan to which all prophets are exposed. The gainsaying of the Devil lies behind the rejection of the truth and its being made to appear what it is not. This line of thought is significantly connected with our Lord's reply to the tempter in the wilderness—"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and Him only shalt thou serve."

From this point the tractate passes into a moving and fervent conclusion. "O that the God of peace would send His peace into our hearts. Come, brethren and let us ponder together what is written in Surat al-Qadar (Surah xcvi) 'Lo, we revealed it on the night of power . . . the angels and the Spirit descend therein by the permission of their Lord. That night is peace until the rising of the dawn.'" This passage, he goes on, is generally taken by Muslims to describe the night of the initial descent of the Holy Qur'ān. For Shaikh Zakariyyā, however, it speaks of Bethlehem and the chorus of the angels over the shepherds' fields, the night of heavenly peace and revelation. "Good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people, unto you is born this day . . . a Savior Christ the Lord." The truth of the incarnate Word, the revelation of the Eternal God appearing in human flesh, is also, properly understood, the witness of the Holy Qur'ān. The author closes with the tremendous words of St. John's Gospel, Chapter 1, 1-18. If he has done little to reconcile the Christian reception of those amazing truths with the allegiance which Muslims pay to the Qur'ān as they read it, it may be argued that serious as the failure is the duty was not part of the vision from which his writing came. He conceived that all three Holy Books, the Old and New Testaments and the Qur'ān, had one testimony and

that it concerned Christ the Lord. If visions are liable to neglect the problems of scholarship and the hard tasks of reconciliation, at least they generate the zeal and the yearning which scholarship too often lacks. Shaikh Zakariyyā's exposition may be naïve in its simplicity and perhaps in places oblivious of its larger relationships. But he was not content that the brethren of Islam to whom he belonged by tradition should perpetually remain indifferent to the Christian fellowship to which he had come to belong by discovery, nor that they should fail to see that there is a road from their Qur'ān to the Christ of faith.

In reprinting his booklet we have not been unmindful of its limitations. But as we distribute it among the Arabs of these regions we share his hope and prayer that the God of peace will send the peace of understanding and of pardon into every heart.

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M. BORCH-JENSEN

"BELONGING TO CHRIST: BOUNDEN TO ALL"

"Just as He had given worth to them, so would He, through them, give the same worth to all. All men of every blood and clime become sacred in Him. 'Honour all men' because you 'love the brotherhood.' In and out the two motives will play. The election into Christ of the few had been the revelation to them of the full honour done to the many. All men are dearer because some men have become dearest in Jesus Christ. All men have become dearer because Christ is dearest of all. The Christian fellowship which had made all men dear, itself became dearer as its full significance was realised.

How strange, how impossible it would be for St. Peter to imagine that the concentration of affection within the narrower limit of 'the Brotherhood,' of the Church, could be at cross purposes with that wider impulse which drew all humanity together. Nay! the concentration into the narrower limits represents, simply, a storage of force, an accumulation of heat, through which a wider and wider range of outward activity may be made possible. In their Divine election, they become aware of the worth with which humanity is endowed. The grace of Christ in them became a measure of the preciousness of all flesh."

HENRY SCOTT HOLLAND

# CONSTANTINOPLE AND ITS CONQUEROR: 1453

## A QUINQUE-CENTENNIAL TURKISH STUDY

(The following is a recent Turkish study of the period of the capture of Constantinople and of the achievements of Muhammad 11—Fātiḥ—both as a conqueror and a builder. It is specially written for the Quarterly by a well-known Turkish architect, Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, and has been done into English by Mr. F. Lyman McCallum of the American Bible Society in Istanbul. It should be noted that the writer draws upon Turkish sources and presents the Turkish angle. Readers interested in an authoritative history, objectively written, but concerned also for the Byzantine records of these events, may consult A. A. Vasiliev: *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 1952, University of Wisconsin Press, Chapter XI, and the extensive bibliography there presented.)

On the 29th of May, 1953 Turkey will be celebrating the five hundredth anniversary of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. What follows is a study of some features of that event with special reference to the subsequent architectural achievements—architecture being the greatest of the Turkish arts and the period of Fātiḥ one of its finest chapters. I regret the impossibility of including illustrations, which would have simplified my task and added to the interest of the article.

When the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XI, began his reign in 1449, the empire which he inherited was tiny and precarious. The Turks were in command of the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus facing his city. On the Europe side his frontier was only sixty miles away. The Genoese were established at Galata only five hundred yards from the walls of Byzantium across the waters of the Golden Horn.

Byzantium itself stands on a peninsula, bounded on the north by the Golden Horn, on the east by the Bosphorus, and on the south by the Marmora. Its greatest length from east to west is about five thousand yards, from north to south at its tip this peninsula is about fifteen hundred and at its base along the land walls six thousand yards. Three times the city limits had been extended before they reached these dimensions in the first half of the Vth century. Attack from the water, by which it was surrounded on three sides, was impossible. So the city's sea walls were only 33 feet high, and 7 feet in thickness, defended by towers 40 to 50 feet in height. The landward side of the city was protected by a series of defenses, of which the inner and strongest wall was 13 feet in average thickness and 39 in height. Forward of this and parallel to it at a distance of 40 to 50 feet ran a lighter wall, before which, at a distance of 60 feet was a moat, 70 feet wide and 17 to 22 feet deep. Such was the city's triple line of defense. Whenever earthquakes damaged these walls, repairs were made, for without these walls Byzantium could not survive. But after the destructive Latin occupation, the city which had been the

greatest in the world, occupying an area of 5,400 acres enclosed by strong defenses, contained only 80,000 inhabitants, according to reliable authorities.

Trade was in the hands of the Genoese and Venetians, followed in a smaller way by the Pisans, Amalfians and Jews. This trade was gathered along the shores of the Golden Horn, where also the citizens lived. The Arab traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta, who visited the city in the XIVth century, records that even then the center of the city was given up to plowed fields among the ruins of houses. Clavijio, the Castillian ambassador who arrived in 1403 A.D. also records that the city was deserted save for plowed fields and little cabins like the huts of villagers. The active population was densely crowded among the warehouses and shops which had arisen on the narrow ribbon of land lying between wall and water along the Golden Horn. Large sections of the city were completely wild. Buondelmonti, who visited the city in 1419, reports all the Marmora shore and its lighthouses in ruins, the Church of the Holy Apostles (on which site now rises the Mosque of the Conqueror) as a complete ruin, and the great cisterns occupied by market gardens. Bertrandon de la Broquiere, who came in 1433, exactly twenty years before the conquest, observes that the different sections of the city were separated one from the other by tilled lands. Such were the final stages of the great city of the Middle Ages which, in the new age, was to become the diadem of the world.

#### THE CAPTURE OF THE CITY

During the preceding fifty years the city had sustained two blockades and four sieges. Everyone knew that a supreme effort to capture the city would not be long delayed. Assuredly the city walls were of such strength that they could not be breached by the cannon of those days. But men and arms were necessary to defend these walls against attack by scaling. Constantine, who fully appreciated this need, was compelled to turn to Europe for aid. Only under the greatest compulsion would he have taken this step, for he well knew that the least price which the Pope and his European allies would demand would be the suppression of the Orthodox church, and the acceptance by all its members of the Church of Rome. The Byzantine public was ready to give the many additional economic privileges which these allies would demand, though they at first opposed all attempts to interfere in matters of conscience and religion.

Muḥammad II—Fātiḥ had first to establish control of the passage to the Black Sea, whence came the food supplies of Byzantium. To this end he constructed a small tower at the narrowest point of the Bosphorus at a point distant five miles from the city, and exactly opposite the earlier castle of Bayazid the Thunderbolt. Under the protection of this small tower he began early in 1452 A.D. the collect-

ing of his building materials. Then, within the brief period of four and a half months from April to mid-August of that year, he erected the famous castle of Rumelihisar, which remains to this day a masterpiece of architecture, military engineering and rapid construction. In the opposite castle he had opened cannon embrasures of the latest pattern, so that with their combined fire the two castles could now control the waterway.

In charge of this work were the engineer, Saruja Pasha, Urbain, and the Architect Musliheddin. Hitherto it had been impossible to aim large cannon, but by means of proving-grounds he himself had invented Fâtiḥ discovered the ballistic laws which made this possible. The large guns had a bore of over 20 inches, and discharged a stone ball weighing 12 kantars or 147 pounds. Simultaneously, and for the first time in history, he invented high-trajectory mortars, which during the siege he employed against the ships in the Golden Horn. He realized that previous sieges had failed because the assaults were from the land only. So, in spite of his comparative weakness on the sea, he strengthened his fleet with light, swift ships. Thus the winter was passed in ceaseless, energetic preparations.

Meanwhile the Byzantines were strengthening the weak points in their fortifications, digging moats and laying up arms and stores of food. Appeals were sent to the German princes, to the Hungarian regent, John Hunyadi, and to the king of Naples, but favorable answers were not received. Only the Pope and the Genoese and Venetian Governments, which profited by the trade of the city, promised aid. Two Venetian galleys from the Black Sea and two from the Mediterranean brought food and soldiers, and were followed by ten others. Finally at the beginning of 1453, the Genoan, Giustiniani, Count of Chios, came to their aid with two great galleys loaded with war materials and 700 armored soldiers, and was appointed by the emperor to command the defense. Crews of the merchant ships coming into the harbor were also hired for the defense with promises of money. Lands and privileges in the Greek islands and elsewhere were promised the higher commanders, should the defense succeed. The Pope still demanded as his price for intervention the suppression of the Greek Orthodox church and the subjection to himself of all its members, to which demands Gennadius Scholaris continued his violent opposition. Discouraged by this confusion, 700 foreign civilians lost heart, took ship and deserted the city.

The defense of the city consisted of such forces as could be recruited from among its eighty thousand inhabitants, together with troops brought from the Morea and Crete. If we remember that sixty years before this time, during which period the empire had changed but little, the emperor Manuel had gone to the support of Bayazid the Thunderbolt with a force of 12,000 men, it would be

fair to estimate the same number as the strength which the city could now raise. Taking this number more conservatively at eight or ten thousand, and adding to this number three thousand foreign armored soldiers, together with the five thousand Byzantine and two thousand foreign civilians who, according to the list drawn up by Frances, the emperor's chamberlain, could bear arms, we arrive at an estimate of from eighteen to twenty thousand as the force available for the defense. Citizens unable to bear arms would naturally serve in distributing supplies and water, and in the repair of fortifications.

Their naval force consisted of fifty-nine ships, of which 16 were great galleys. The entrance to the Golden Horn was closed by a very heavy chain supported on pontoons and ending in a tower on either shore.

Reports concerning the strength of the Turkish forces vary considerably. The actual fighting force was about eighty thousand men, of which half were Janissaries and regular troops, while the other half was made up of provincial levies. There was also a brigade of 1500 Serbian supporters. One part of the army had been despatched to the rear to defend the besiegers against possible attacks from that quarter. The Turkish naval forces consisted of twelve small galleys, seventy small frigates and twenty lighters or transports; its fighting power against large ships was insignificant.

The siege began officially on April 6, 1453, and after the five days which were required to place the great guns, the first heavy balls were discharged against the walls on the 12th. Employing a new tactic, three shots were fired at the three points of a triangle while a fourth struck in the middle of this area. Even on the first day important sections of the walls and towers began to collapse. Though this result surprised the Byzantines, they closed the breaches with light materials which did something to lessen the damage caused by the projectiles.

On the 18th, when the walls in the Lycus valley had been considerably shaken, an assault was staged to wear down the defense. Resistance was still strong and the assault failed. Parallel with this attack, the navy attempted to press against the chain by which the Golden Horn was defended, but the great ships of the allied fleet repulsed this attempt. Fātiḥ wished to put pressure on the city walls along the Golden Horn, to do which he had first to destroy the Byzantine fleet. He opened fire on this fleet with his mortars placed on the Pera slopes, and a ship was sunk by the second shot. The ships then sought refuge under the walls of Galata, where they were safe but largely immobilized. On the night of April 22nd by an extraordinary stroke of genius, Fātiḥ transported 72 small ships overland, by means of planks and rollers, a distance of over three-quarters of a mile

and launched them in the Golden Horn at Kasimpasha, close to the western wall of Galata. Seeing this fleet there in the morning, the Byzantines were greatly disheartened. On the 28th they made an unsuccessful attempt to burn these ships. The Turks then strengthened their position by constructing a pontoon bridge from Hasköy to Jibali. Upon this the emperor sued for peace, promising the heaviest tribute, but nothing could deflect the Sultan from his purpose, and the offer was rejected.

The land walls were kept under constant bombardment and steadily crumbled. During the nights of May 6th and 12th the Turks made two more assaults, the purpose of which was to exhaust the defense. On the 16th, as an additional threat, sapping and mining operations against the walls were begun. On the 18th came attacks with portable towers and scaling ladders across a moat which had been filled in. In spite of the heroic defense, in which even women and children took part, weariness and exhaustion within the city reached the point of despair. Bombardment, attacks by towers, scaling attempts, sapping and mining succeeded one another relentlessly.

On May 23rd, Fâtiḥ sent Kasim Bey Isfendiyaroglu to the emperor with an offer that if he would surrender, thus sparing the city and its buildings the ravages they would suffer if the city were captured by force, he would allow the emperor and his court to leave the city with all their treasure and properties, and would establish him as Despot of the Morea. If however, he continued his hopeless resistance, the responsibility for what would happen in the city under the laws of war then prevailing would rest on the Byzantine leaders alone. This embassy the emperor rejected. On the 25th his clergy proposed to the emperor that he secure his person by secret flight, even though the city should fall. This also he refused.

Bombardment and sapping were continued without intermission. Fâtiḥ appointed the morning of Tuesday May 29th, 1453, as the time for the general assault. While his fleet exerted pressure on the defenses of the Marmora and of the Golden Horn, his soldiers were to attack the land walls in a succession of waves. One attack was also to be based on the bridge which they had built across the Golden Horn. Terrified by their sense of these final preparations, the citizens began here and there to take flight. The remainder hurried with heads and feet bare to pray in the churches. In the walls three great breaches had now grown so large that there was no possibility of closing them. On the 28th the Catholics and Orthodox forgave one another and united in prayer. The emperor donned his armor and prepared himself.

The assault began towards dawn. It was directed against the three breaches, one by the Sigma Gate, one in the Lycus valley, the

third by the Blachernae Palace, and against the sea-walls of the Marmora and the Golden Horn. The first wave of assault on the land walls was designed to test the defenses. This was succeeded by the assault by the Anatolian levies on the great breach. Finally the Janissaries rose to attack and the Byzantines threw in the reserves which they had assembled near the Church of the Holy Apostles. When the commander, Giustiniani, was wounded, the Emperor took command. But his skill did not equal his courage. He could not prevent a very powerful warrior, Hassan of Uluabad, and thirty of his companions from gaining a foothold on top of the wall. Although Hassan was killed, his companions gained access to the rear defenses and the position was turned. There followed a fearful struggle in the narrow area between the two walls, where the defenders in their flight trod one another down. And now Constantine, the last emperor of Byzantium, truly heroic but unfortunate, met his end. The manner of his death has never been known, for the three noble warriors who fought at his side had already fallen and he was alone. Among the various traditions the most plausible seems to be that he was crushed in the rout. As his uniform included nothing distinctive, he was buried as an unknown soldier with the other bodies. When the Turks poured into the city through two great breaches, the Golden Horn defense was caught in the rear and collapsed. Here and there the defenders, who were mostly Venetians and Catalans, surrendered in groups. These events took place between 7 and 8 in the morning. There was little street fighting. The resisters were killed; the others taken prisoner. From fifty to sixty thousand prisoners are said to have been taken; the larger is probably the more correct figure.

Though resistance had ceased throughout the entire city by noon, the Cretans defending the Aya Vasil tower on the Golden Horn continued to hold out till seven in the evening. Fâtiḥ, who wished an early end to the fighting, granted these heroes the right to go out of the city with honor. When the sea walls surrendered, the Turkish crews brought their vessels alongside and began looting. Profiting by this situation, the allied navy broke the chain which closed them in the Golden Horn, and, aided by a strong north wind, put to sea with the Genoese, Venetians, Catalans and those elements of the Byzantine population which had sought refuge with them.

Towards noon Fâtiḥ entered the city at the Cannon Gate (Topkapu) accompanied by a magnificent procession. Before him went his special corps, on either hand rode his cavalry and armor bearers, while behind him came his Grand Vizier, the other Viziers, his Shaikh Akshemseddin, Molla Gurani and all the shaikhs and doctors of law. The tradition is that when he reached the spot now known as Shehremeni he dismounted and performed the ritual prayer.

Looting was permitted for only three days. This was the right of an army which had shed its blood to capture a city. The same rules of war required that the temples and churches, particularly those of an alien religion, should be seized. To the Greeks Fātiḥ restored about one hundred or their churches, and of the others which were redundant he gave some for the use of the newly imported Armenians, some to the Turkish Orthodox and some he converted to mosques. During the thirty years of the Fātiḥ period, only fifteen churches were turned to the Muslim creed.

Two days after the capture of the city Fātiḥ gave orders for the election of one of the Byzantine clergy to the Patriarchal throne which had been vacant for a few months since the day when it had been subjected to the Pope. When the clergy voted unanimously for Gennadius Scholaris Fātiḥ confirmed the election.<sup>1</sup> The new Patriarch was received into the Sultan's presence with all the traditional Byzantine ceremony, and a magnificent staff of office was presented to him. It is even reported that Fātiḥ visited the Patriarch in his office, and it is certain that he engaged with him in long philosophic discussions.

The Patriarchate was formerly situated close to St. Sophia. But when that building became a mosque and the Greek population was concentrated along the shores of the Golden Horn, the Patriarchate was removed to the Monastery of Pamma Karistos where it remained until 1587 A.D. Tradition has it that the Patriarch was elevated to the rank of Minister of State, and that a guard of Janissaries was appointed to attend him. This regard for their clergy and for their religion won the gratitude of the entire Orthodox world, so that 5,000 of those who had fled the city returned. In 1458 A.D. the populace of the Morea begged aid from Fātiḥ against the Venetians, and the Athenians did the same against their Italian duke Francesco Acciajuoli, and both showed no hesitation in surrendering their countries to the justice-loving Turks. Three and a half centuries later the Turks were treated treacherously by their Greek subjects. Secret information was supplied by the Patriarch to all the enemies of the country. For this cause there have been those who criticize Fātiḥ. Had he not given the Greeks such wide powers would these conditions have arisen? But in that case the Divine Will would have manifested itself in other ways and by other hands, but still the Turks would have been stabbed in the back. But for this tolerance they would neither have been able to gain the successes which they won in the succeeding periods, nor to resist for long centuries the as-

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<sup>1</sup> (This matter is still in doubt. The patriarchate was revived after two days, but there are some indications that the election may have been delayed for seven or ten months.)

saults of the whole world. Still more, the honor of being the first to set this example to the world would no longer have been theirs.

As for the Catholics and Latins, Fātiḥ had recognized the independence of Galata and the continuation of the Latin rule on condition of their remaining strictly neutral during the siege. Realizing that if the feeble city of Byzantium should succumb they could no longer maintain their dominant position, the Genoese, while maintaining a show of neutrality through fear of the Sultan, gave secret aid to the city. They assisted with money, supplies, and so-called volunteers. Despite the Sultan's warning they sheltered in their town Latin and Byzantine refugees from the doomed city. When the city fell many of them took ship with their wealth and fled. The unexpected victory of the Sultan threw them into consternation. On the very day of the city's capture, Angelo Zaccharia, the Podesta of Galata, despatched an embassy to Fātiḥ, but they were not received. Having been told to bring back all those who had escaped and to see that no more left the city the ambassador returned sadly to Galata. This cold reception forced Angelo to come to the Sultan in person, where he began speaking boldly of his privileges. He was cut short with the reminder that among the Byzantine military prisoners was his own grandson, and that in view of his failure to maintain neutrality, grounds for privileges no longer existed. If those who had fled did not immediately return, their possessions would be seized. The control of the Genoese Republic over Galata, together with all its privileges which had lasted for a century and a half was expiring.

On Friday, the first of June, Galata was occupied, some of its towers were pulled down, and the moat was filled in. At the same time Zaganos Pasha, the Vizier, gave the city a written guarantee of freedom in religion and trade, in which document the independence of their municipal administration was also recognized. Existing churches could be maintained, but new ones were not to be built nor church bells sounded. Under these conditions the Latins of Galata have continued down to our own time under the name of Levantines. For five centuries they have been Turkish citizens and have lived through their trade with the entire world in wealth and comfort.

No sooner had he conquered the city than he thus established its legal basis and the civil rights of the communities. By his great social, cultural, political and military successes he justly earned the title of Fātiḥ. He had now to take up energetically the great task of restoring the desolate city he had besieged and conquered, and of making it fit for his capital, and suitable for the large re-population it needed.

## ARCHITECTURE AFTER THE CONQUEST

The existing Byzantine palaces were in a ruinous condition, with only a few small sections fit for occupation. These completely failed to meet the requirements of the Ottoman Sultans. Although Fâtîh remained in the city for only 20 days, he did not leave for Adrianople without commanding the immediate construction of a palace. This structure was to occupy the wide space of the Bayazid hilltop, now occupied by the University and the Mosque of Sulaymaniye. This palace was completed in 1454, and Fâtîh occupied it for 20 years. Of this structure, which was destroyed by fire in the XVIth century, we know very little, save that it occupied an area of 320,000 square yards. Its plan must have resembled that of the palace of Adrianople built in 1451, with an outer court for ceremonies and an inner court private to the Sultan.

In 1459, a group of buildings which included a mosque, mausoleum, madrasa, food kitchen, and bath were erected at Eyüb Sultan. This mosque was constructed on a novel plan consisting of a square covered by a dome 39 feet in diameter, supported by three half domes. By the beginning of the XIXth century, this structure was in ruins, and the madrasa also was pulled down to make way for the present somewhat larger mosque. The mausoleum, bath, and ruinous food kitchen still exist.

The third great structure of this period was built in 1462 by the Grand Vizier, Maḥmūd Pasha, and includes a mosque, mausoleum, madrasa, school and law court, together with the bath and han, the income from which maintained the entire institution. Although the mosque has suffered a good deal of restoration made necessary by various earthquakes, it still retains perfectly its original shape. Its general plan corresponds to that of the Butsa mosques, but the addition of an entrance at the front gives this some resemblance to a narthex. The wings on either side of the central structure are modifications of the "T" type of mosque from Bursa. Earthquakes have largely destroyed the interior decorations, and left only the stalactites of the dome over the main entrance. The main door is of pure marble ornamented with stalactites, and is a magnificent work. The entire structure is of cut stone. Although the mausoleum is a simple edifice, octagonal in shape, with 14 windows and a dome, its exterior wins for it an unusual importance. These outer walls are faced with a thin porous stone into which tiles in turquoise and cobalt blue are inset in designs of stars and hexagons. These ornamentations of tile are widely spaced, so that the building loses nothing of the appearance of strength and stability of stone, on which this attractive decoration is superimposed.

The law court and school have disappeared completely. Of the madrasa only the lecture hall survives. Though the women's bath no

longer exists, the men's bath with its great dome 55 feet in diameter, its imposing entrance, and its interior divisions and decorations, enjoys the reputation of being one of the handsomest baths in Istanbul. The Kurkjiler Han, at the foot of the Maḥmūd Pasha hill, is a huge place containing 100 rooms, which was erected to provide income for the students in the madrasa. Three quarters of this building has survived the earthquakes and it is still in use.

Next in order of construction came the mosque, madrasa and bath of Murād Pasha in the Aksaray quarter, built on the plan of the "T" mosques of Bursa. Mosque and bath are relatively intact; the madrasa is a ruin. Between the layers of cut stone with which the mosque was constructed are thin layers of brick. Earthquake has ruined the Shaikh Vefa mosque and bath built on the plan of the Eyüb mosque, and only the mausoleum remains.

Next in order was the great University, begun by Fātiḥ in 1462 and completed eight years later. Whether we regard it from the point of view of architecture, social and educational organization, or of municipal planning, this is a most remarkable edifice. The old mosque of Fātiḥ, which was the hub of this group of buildings, was crowned with a dome 71 feet in diameter, supported in front by half domes which rested on pillars. It was a vast and important structure with two minarets and a magnificent enclosed fountain court-yard before the entrance. In two minutes during the terrible earthquake of 1765 the dome and walls were thrown down. The mosque was rebuilt on its present lines in the year 1771. The dome which is supported on four pillars is much smaller than was its predecessor and in every way the present structure falls short of the original. By long and serious personal investigations on the spot I have established that the diameter of the original dome was 71 feet (26 meters). The minarets together with the impressive entrance, the fountain and the walls enclosing its court, have survived from the previous structure. On either side of this mosque were eight seminaries and eight secondary colleges (*tali madrasa*), each having 20 cells and 1 lecture hall. Of these the University section remains, but the college section has been pulled down. In each section one thousand students studied, lived and received rations together with a daily allowance for spending money. The system of study closely resembled that which was established at Oxford and Cambridge. Their tutors lived with the students day and night and guided them in learned discussions. The subjects included *Fiqh* (Islamic law), *Kalām* (Theology), Medicine, Astronomy, and Mathematics.

In addition to its private libraries, the University possessed a general library. There was a hospital in which the sick who applied were treated, and the medical students learned their art. For the astronomers and public there was a clock-room. Social welfare was repre-

sented by a hospice in which strangers in the city might live freely, receiving food and lodging for three days while they sought accommodation in the city. Their horses were cared for and their goods safeguarded in the adjoining caravansarai. Daily meals for the poor of the city were distributed from the food kitchen. For little children of the community there was also a special school. Of these buildings only the hospice now exists. Earthquakes destroyed the remainder. Cut stone was used throughout, and the area occupied was in the neighborhood of 109,000 square yards.

Three madrasas were established immediately after the conquest; one at St. Sophia, one at Zeyrek (St. Saviour Pantocrator) and one at Eski Imaret (St. Saviour Pantepopte), and placed under the direction of learned men. But when the University of Fātiḥ was completed, these scattered institutions were removed thither and many new teachers were employed.

'Ali Kushju, the learned mathematician who had gone from Anatolia to Samarkand and had there in the Ulugbey observatory made important discoveries, was invited to teach in Istanbul. Unfortunately he soon died, but the sun dial which we see on one of the minarets is his work.

The mosque and madrasa with accompanying buildings which the Grand Vizier, Rum Maḥmūd Pasha, built in Scutari, belong to this period. But of these only the mosque and mausoleum have survived. The final mosque of the Fātiḥ period is that of Daud Pasha, which is a structure of first importance. Its dome is 49 feet in diameter and the exterior aspect of the building is both beautiful and imposing.

Although the site which Fātiḥ chose for his Palace during the 20 days after the excitement and weariness of the conquest is beautiful and gives a wide view of the Bosphorus and of the Golden Horn, it does not bear comparison with that at the tip of the peninsula where now stands the Topkapu Saray (Seraglio Palace). The beauty of this spot, unparalleled in the world, looking out on three seas, attracted Fātiḥ whenever he returned from his campaigns, and drew him to establish his palace here. Fifteen years after the conquest he began to carry out this purpose. The first two buildings were independent kiosks. Later, a general plan was made, and the wall 1300 yards long, extending from the Golden Horn to the Marmora, separated the point of the peninsula from the city. With this wall the ancient Byzantine sea walls formed a complete enclosure. The first court-yard lay immediately within the new wall. The court was surrounded by buildings for food storage, depots for building materials and other supplies, ovens, and barracks for those engaged in these services. The main entrance to this court is the Babi Humayun (Sublime Porte) opposite St. Sophia. The inscription gives the date of the completion of

the whole palace (883 A.H.—1478 A.D.). The second court begins at the gate with twin towers which still gives admission to the palace. The gate is from the Fātiḥ period, but the towers were added by Sulayman the Magnificent. Of this court the right side is occupied by kitchens, in the center is the entrance to the third court, flanked by the inner Treasury, the Council Chamber and the Tower of Justice. On the left are the quarters of the Halberdiers, the private stables, and one section of the harem.

The third court is devoted to the Enderun, that is, the offices of those in attendance on the Sultan. Immediately inside the gate stands the throne room in which the Sultan received foreign ambassadors and important personages. To the right of this court-yard is the Great Kiosk of Fātiḥ, the Palace school, now used as the Treasury of the palace museum. On the opposite side of the court-yard were the supply and treasury stores flanked by the buildings of the small palace school and the quarters of the falconers. The entire left side is occupied by the residence of the Sultan and his harem. Only the kiosk of Fātiḥ and a portion of the harem have survived to the present, the other structures have been greatly altered. There existed also an outer court which was devoted to horse races, jereed, and polo. The famous Chinili Kiosk was erected to serve as a stand for watching these competitions. The entire Palace covered an area of 64,000 square yards.

The Palace at Topkapu was called the new and that at Bayazid the old Palace. During the XVIIIth century a kiosk was built on the sea wall of the new palace, and because of the cannons which were mounted below this wall, the building took the name of the Topkapu Kiosk, from which, three centuries after its construction, the Palace itself acquired the name by which it is still known, the Topkapu Palace. The palace now houses a museum of Turkish arts.

Century after century, the palace buildings were repaired, restored, enlarged and altered. The portions surviving from the Fātiḥ period are the land walls, the middle wall, some fragments of the kitchens, the private stables, the Treasury, Tower of Justice, the foundations of the Council Chamber, the Kiosk of Fātiḥ, a portion of the harem, and the Chinili Kiosk. Of these the most important are the Fātiḥ Kiosk, now the Treasury of the Museum, and the Chinili Kiosk.

The Fātiḥ Kiosk is a remarkable building containing handsome salons and a bath. Of the former, some have domes and some have decorated wooden ceilings. Against the front is a wide arcade, while on the opposite side of the structure a wide verandah overlooks the Marmora. The building is worth study to observe how such a structure can be welded to and serve as a frame for its natural surroundings. The doors, columns, and important sections of the building are of solid marble, the remainder entirely of cut-stone. The Chinili

Kiosk remains faithful to a more ancient tradition of architecture in its combined use of cut-stone with glazed brick. Tiles with golden ornamentation line its rooms and cover the facade. Its plan closely resembles that of the Gedik Aḥmad Pasha mosque at Afıyon Karahisar. Both within and without it leaves an impression of delicacy rather than of grandeur.

In addition to the mosques and palaces Fātiḥ constructed the Grand Bazaars, including two large bedestens (closed markets). In no other of the Eastern capitals can one find a covered market of this extent and so well planned. In fact this Bazaar is unmatched in the world. The markets of Byzantium stood at a distance of six hundred to a thousand yards from the present Bazaars. In their final period the Byzantine markets lived more by transit business than by local trade, so that the shops and warehouses were spread along the water side. Fātiḥ, however, established his markets in the center of the city which he planned to develop and populate. Of the three hundred shops which now constitute the Grand Bazaars, two thousand were built in the period of Fātiḥ. The bedestens served as stores for gold, jewels and valuables, and were administered under very strict rules. Any one might deposit his valuables here as though it were a bank. In addition to the Grand Bazaars, Fātiḥ built bedestens in Galata and Scutari and some three thousand shops in these two and other sections of the city.

In addition to the mosques which have already been listed, Fātiḥ built many others, some of which had masonry domes, and others wooden ceilings. Mosques in Bursa and Adrianople, whether small or large, were always domed. The reason for the construction in Istanbul of handsome mosques with wooden ceilings was the need for haste in meeting the requirements of the rapidly increasing population. As the Byzantine churches had been restored to Greek occupancy, no large buildings were available for conversion as mosques. A dome took much longer to build than did a roof. From the few samples of these roofed mosques which have escaped the fires, we can see how graceful they were. The total of mosques, large and small, in Istanbul in the Fātiḥ period of which traces survive reached the surprising figure of 184. The total number must have been much larger.

After the conquest, a great number of public baths were erected in Istanbul. Among the most important of these were the baths of Maḥmūd Pasha and Murād Pasha already mentioned, together with those of Tahtakale, Gedik Pasha, Ishak Pasha, and Chukur. The baths of which we have some knowledge numbered 32. Included in the catalogue of buildings belonging to the Fātiḥ period we must mention 32 madrasas, 12 hans, 2 naval yards, 2 barracks, 40 fountains, and the water system of Halkali.

While the city of Istanbul was being thus rebuilt, the construction of Bursa, Adrianople and other cities was going forward with full speed. Thirty mosques were built in Bursa, 28 in Adrianople and 60 elsewhere. Among these the mosque of Gedik Aḥmad Pasha in Afyon Karahisar deserves special mention for its plan and manner of construction. The plan is that of a double "T"; the minaret is constructed in spirals of stone and tile in alternate courses.

The Great Palace, built in 1451 on the banks of the Tunca at Adrianople was destroyed by an explosion of ammunition during the Russo-Turkish war of 1871. Only the ruins of a few buildings and bridges remain. The complete list of buildings of the Fātiḥ period would include over 300 mosques, 60 madrasas, as many baths, 30 hans and bedestens and over 300 other structures of importance. These are the ones of which we have at least some knowledge. The Fātiḥ period is the age in which Ottoman architecture which for a century and a half had been developing as a great art began to establish its rules and traditions. Turkish-Ottoman architecture had adopted many older elements, both of plan and motive from the architecture of their subject races such as the Seljuks and Danishmands. This was only natural since both branches of the Turkish people were endowed with architectural genius. But in the plan and decoration of their mosques the Ottomans differed both from the Turkish Seljuks and from other Muslim races, such as the Persians and Arabs. In Bursa and Nicaea they constructed on the completely novel "T" plan, as seen in the Orhan Mosque built in Bursa in 1339. Nor do these resemble in any way the structures of the Byzantines. Yet the influence of tradition was so strong that they continued for a while to build mosques with 15 or 20 small domes, such as the Ulu Jāmi' of Bursa.

The outstanding element in which the Ottoman school of architecture separates from that of the Seljuks is the exterior harmony which instantly strikes the eye, achieved by agreement between the mass and lines of the structure. It is true that among Seljuk monuments there were some possessed of beautiful proportions, but such buildings were rare. The Seljuks paid more attention to a profusion of decoration rather than to beauty of proportion. Scarcely a single Seljuk building is content with modest ornamentation. Ottoman style was the exact opposite. They had scarcely a building of which the proportions are not beautiful, while those clearly lacking in harmony are rare. The Ottoman style sought grandeur in dignity. The first aim, therefore, was to assure dignified proportions combined with the greatest simplicity. Both the conscious and subconscious labored simultaneously to achieve this result. The personal influence of the Ottoman rulers in achieving these standards was doubtless very great.

Surely the first impression made on the eye is the one most important, especially as a structure is viewed from a distance within the frame of a city's outline. To achieve this end without becoming lost in decoration and detail is a stroke of genius.

This independence and character, this novel idea, appears in the first Ottoman buildings, and grows in perfection as the Seljuk age is left behind. The proportions grow in harmony, the plans in order, and the element of unity controls everywhere. Decoration was confined to the doorway, the pulpit and the prayer niche. In the Orhan Mosque of Bursa (1339), the Yeshil Mosque at Nicaea (1390), and the Muradiye Mosque of approximately the same date at Bursa the proportions grow stronger; decoration is reduced to the limits necessary to satisfy the eye and is placed only where it will be most effective.

Most of these mosques have two rather large domes with a diameter of 32 to 35 feet placed along the main axis. On either wing of the building are four rooms with lower domes, suitable for residence, for the entertainment of guests, and for purposes of administration. Along the front runs an arcade of 3 or 5 small domes. This type of building does not admit of great size. In the Doganbey Mosque (1420) at Demotika, the plan has been executed of a central dome resting on four pillars and surrounded by smaller domes, by which means a wider area has been enclosed. Though this dome is only 33 feet, the surrounding space is much wider. This building did not satisfy the ambitions of the expanding empire. In the Uch Sherefeli Mosque (1437-1447) at Adrianople the diameter of the dome reaches 66 feet. By the addition of an enclosed fountain forecourt, a magnificent structure has been achieved.

At the same time, the minaret passed through important stages of evolution until the world's most beautiful and slender minaret, 185 feet high with three galleries, was achieved, giving its name to the Uch Sherefeli Mosque of Adrianople. Instead of one or two minarets, mosques now had four, constructed entirely of cut-stone. The Mosque of Fâtih, built after the conquest with its dome 71 feet in diameter and enclosing a large area, established a new precedent and made Istanbul a city of great domes and matchless monuments.

The Turks began this succession of buildings and structures in Istanbul in a spirit and technique completely independent of the Byzantine traditions. The Greek architects constructed in brick, which was either left exposed or, as in St. Sophia, hidden under thin slabs of marble. Neither the bare bricks nor these wide slabs with their immediate suggestion of thinness produce an impression of endurance and strength. Compared with cut-stone they are feeble and lack stability. Despite this tradition of their new city and the many examples by which they were surrounded, the Turks did not

yield to the fashion. They at once took their independent way and by the skillful use of porous cut-stone they achieved a sense of strength and permanence in their structures.

The Byzantines gave little thought to exterior proportions of their buildings; masses, large domes, and other important elements were not kept in harmony. St. Sophia itself has no exterior harmony. Were it not for the sloping buttresses tapering upwards which the Turks have added to support the building, it would appear as a harsh mass rising suddenly out of the ground: whereas, in their architecture, the Turks have learned to surround the great dome with smaller elements, each supporting the other and reinforcing the appearance and stability of the whole. By this means, the eye and aesthetic taste are pleased with an impression of combined stability and lightness. Byzantine taste demanded that churches be constructed with three or five aisles, but Turkish plans maintain a strict and absolute unity. In St. Sophia the side aisles are completely separated from the central nave by screens composed of parallel rows of closely-placed pillars. The spectator, therefore, surveys the building from the nave without ever requiring to visit these side aisles. Those who do visit them are either making an expert survey, or are glancing about in idle curiosity. These aisles are low, dark and oppressive. The magnificent central nave covers only forty-two percent of the enclosed area, which means that some fifty-eight percent of the structure is wasted. Where there is this lack of balance between the elements making up such a composite structure, harmony is destroyed, and the effect of the entire building is lost.

The basilica type of building with aisles is an inheritance from pagan temples. Roman, Gothic and Byzantine basilicas with roofs all followed this tradition. St. Sophia itself could not be freed from the tradition of supplementary naves though it conformed to the style of the baths of Caracalla and other truly Eastern buildings in employing a dome instead of a roof. Practically all the Byzantine churches employed three naves, but some, such as the Pantocrator, increased the number to five.

The Turkish mosque, on the other hand, shows a different spirit within as well as without. The entire interior constitutes a single unit. If the visitor stands at one corner, the whole building can be taken in at a glance. The aisles have not been separated from the center; all are welded together into a unit.<sup>2</sup> In the matter of ornament, it is natural to give importance to decoration if the exterior aspect is weak. Decoration is redundant where the building itself is

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<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that mosques built by the Ottoman Turks do not resemble those with many pillars erected by their close relatives, the Seljuk Turks. Neither are they at all similar to the Arab, Persian or Indian mosques of the same style.

beautiful. When the Turks won the city, which they had supposed to be of a heavenly beauty, they failed to find there the splendor which they had expected, and immediately realized the superiority of their own style. Ignoring the local tradition, habitude and structural materials, they developed the quarries of excellent building-stone lying close at hand, and established an architecture of unity both within and without. Ornament they confined to the doors, windows, pulpit, and prayer niche.

The Turkish empire was successful in creating and maintaining a native style at a time when other nations were borrowing the styles of the Romans, Gothic and Renaissance. Just as we can distinguish at first sight between a Turkish Ottoman building and those of the Arabs, Persians and Indians belonging to the same religious group, so too when we compare Turkish structures with those of the Byzantines, Serbians or Bulgarians, standing on the same soil and erected with the same stone and mortar, we have no difficulty in identifying them. So the Turks, who throughout the XVIth century were to produce countless masterpieces, remained true to the traditions of their art established in the first half of the XVth century. The main principles and essentials, unity of plan, harmony of proportions and masses, the forecourt of the fountain, the gates and prayer niche, were all conceived and established during the Fātiḥ period.

In the fine arts such as painting and sculpture, the Turks were inferior to other nations. Nor is there any one who would ascribe to them world leadership in literature and music, though in these they produced a series of great works in a style different from those of the West. But it is true that in architecture they attained the highest rank. Peoples of the West, accustomed to a different and more ornamental style, may at first sight feel a strangeness in Turkish architecture, but those who remain in the country and undergo a training and familiarizing of the spirit, and free themselves of prejudice will not fail to experience a deep sense of admiration as they gaze on these structures.

#### FĀTIH'S DEATH AND PLACE IN HISTORY

While the city was being thus rebuilt and re-settled, political events were not at a standstill. Countless principedoms and dukedoms had arisen on the former Byzantine territories and in the islands. The two brothers of the late emperor had each established a separate government in the Morea. In Trebizond, one of the Commen dynasty ruled with the title of emperor. Fātiḥ first conquered the islands. The Athenians then applied to him for protection against the cruelties of their duke, Francesco Accijuoli, himself of Italian extraction. Athens and the Morea were occupied. Serbia, which had fallen into anarchy on the death of the king, was finally conquered. Bosnia and

Herzegovina entered fully into the Turkish dominion. The governments along the southern shore of the Black Sea, that of Isfandiar Oghlou, the colonies of the Genoese, the Commen empire of Trebizond, were one by one erased from the map. With these obstacles eliminated, Fātiḥ could no longer ignore the government of Karamania with its constant treachery against its Ottoman Suzerain and its disregard of treaties. In 1466, he destroyed this government and carried away the population which he settled in the city of Istanbul.

At this time the Republic of Venice had declared war, using as its pretext a difference which had arisen in the Morea. Throughout this war, which lasted for sixteen years, their only successes were obtained in their occasional raids on the islands. For the rest they suffered continual defeat. Under the protection of their fleet, they occupied the southern shore of Anatolia and established there in the castle of Selefke a surviving prince of the Karamanian dynasty. Their real purpose was by this means to supply weapons and funds to the powerful Turkish government of Akkoyunlu which was then in possession of Azerbaijan, Iran and Iraq. Knowing that while these conditions prevailed in the East he would never be at rest, Fātiḥ made this event the cause for war on the Akkoyunlus. In a fierce battle in 1473, he defeated their ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, and conquered Eastern Anatolia.

Deprived of their hope of finding an ally in the East, and no longer able to sustain the losses caused by the war, the Venetians sued for peace. In the treaty which followed the Venetians agreed to restore Scutari (Albania), Euboea and the castles which they had occupied along the Albanian coast. Reparations were fixed at 200,000 gold ducats together with a yearly tribute. Now the widely scattered agents of Fātiḥ gave word of the first stirrings of a new power in the north. This was the government of the Grand-Duke of Moscow, Ivan III, who until then had been subject to the Mongol Kiptchak princes. Sofia, the daughter of the Byzantine prince, Thomas Paleologue, who on the conquest of the Morea had fled to Rome, had married Ivan. She had turned the ambitions of her husband southwards, where he had entered into relations with Uzun Ḥasan, the enemy of Fātiḥ. On the basis of family inheritance, he began to imagine himself the heir of the Byzantine empire. Fātiḥ understood these ambitions which were to be reproduced more menacingly two centuries later. He conquered Theodosia and other Genoese colonies lying along the northern shore of the Black Sea, and by taking under his protection one of the fragments of Jenghiz Khan's empire, the Khanate of the Crimea, he made of the Black Sea a Turkish lake. Fātiḥ was thus the first to take energetic steps against threats from the Russian north.

Having now secured the safety and unity of his lands from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean, with the single exception of the

kingdom of the Mamalukes in Egypt, Fâtîh now prepared to intervene in European politics, every move of which he had been observing closely. Encouraged by the Venetians, he dispatched a naval force and captured the castle of Otranto in southern Italy. At the same time, he besieged Rhodes but was there repulsed. The reason for his Italian campaign is not clearly known. Scarcely had he established a bridgehead at Otranto, and built there a most powerful castle, then he died, and the whole campaign lapsed. While the castle in Italy was building, Fâtîh himself, at the head of his army, was preparing for a campaign in the East, and had pitched his camp at Touzla at a distance of twelve miles from Istanbul on the spot still known as the Sultan Chayri (Sultan's Meadow). Here, after a slight indisposition, he was seized with great pain and died the same night. His sudden and painful death gave rise to rumors, and many of the chroniclers of the time hint, though they do not openly charge, that poison was administered. For at the time of his death the Sultan was vigorous enough to face the hardships of a campaign, and had even taken to the road. The pains ensued after a violent remedy had been administered by his doctor, a renegade Italian Jew.

Fâtîh, one of the greatest figures in history, with his energy and determination, his justice and fair-dealing, was the symbol of the deep-rooted and inflexible will and upsurging spirit of the Turkish people in the XVth century. In the great advances which they then made his people were conscious of something mystical in his personality and felt him to be a supreme idealist endowed with secret powers. In this attitude the conscious and subconscious played an equal role. As his great deeds kindled these emotions in his people, they saw themselves gathered up in him. In his person they saw themselves, and when each individual began to feel himself a humble particle of a transcendent personality, all individualities were fused in one. Then all their activities, construction, fine arts, learning, politics and war were illumined and inspired by this general spirit. Vast undertakings were completed at the command of the great leader.

During these thirty years, what did Fâtîh and his people accomplish? We have seen how the foundations of a world-famous architecture, its first rules and principles were established in the age of Fâtîh. Its distinguishing quality was the grandeur of the structure as a whole, in which ornament and decoration were relatively subdued, and importance given to the complete mass. This period established a basis for the achievements of the XVIth century.

Painting also showed promise of great development in the Fâtîh period. Fâtîh brought from Italy numerous artists including Constanza di Ferrara and Gentile Bellini whose skill produced for him medallions, bas-reliefs and oil-paintings. They trained some disciples, like Sinan Bey, and by 1480 painting was becoming established in

Turkey. Calligraphy, so little understood and appreciated in the West, began in this period to develop its principles. The great masters who made the early XVIth century the greatest period of this art were trained and perfected in Fātiḥ's day. Calligraphy became the most artistic expression of abstract beauty. During the Fātiḥ period, and in the succeeding twenty-five or thirty years, calligraphy reached a high level. The greatest calligrapher of all times, Shaikh Ḥamdullah Efendi, worked in the Fātiḥ period. Illumination and miniature also produced some noble examples in this age. Books of the period are of such delicacy that one never wearies of looking at them and studying their exquisite bindings.

In the field of literature and of Turkish language, the strong movement beginning in the time of Murād II, made such advances in the Fātiḥ period that the works of the most important poets and writers were in constant circulation. In this development, Fātiḥ played an important part. Himself a poet, he expressed his emotions in lyric poems. He mixed constantly with men of letters, entered into discussions with them, sought their comfort and welfare, and did everything possible to protect and encourage them. Poets coming from all the Turkish lands to Istanbul were met there with gifts and honours, their livelihood was ensured, and rewards given for the Divans which they produced. Philosophy and learning were highly advanced. Important figures in Islamic philosophy and theology, such as Molla Khusrev, Molla Gurani, Sinan Pasha, Hizir Bey and others, appeared soon after 1450 A.D. In mathematics and astronomy there was the learned 'Alī Kushju, who produced important theories and writings. In medicine there were Lari Chelebi, Yaqūb Pasha and others. These outstanding men trained many students in the madrasas of Fātiḥ, and the other madrasas of Istanbul, Bursa and Adrianople. The Privy Council of Fātiḥ was a sort of academy outside the orbit of the regular madrasas and schools. All these learned men, together with travelers coming from afar, as well as Byzantine philosophers, had their place in this council, where long and learned discussions were held. Fātiḥ himself knew Arabic, Persian, Greek and Serbian, while some hold that he had Latin and Italian as well. He was a close friend of the Byzantine, Amirutzes.

Fātiḥ was succeeded by Bayazid II, a son who was far from being able to reach his father's level or to follow in his liberal ways, one who brought dismay and sorrow to his people. Had Providence ordered otherwise, the Renaissance, in its formative period, might well have developed not in Italy only but in its Turkish neighbor and throughout the East as one great movement. So this awakening, which, despite its brilliance, was based almost entirely on rationalism, would have been saved from being one-sided.

## PERSONS, SITUATIONS, BOOKS

### CHRISTIAN LITERATURE FOR THE CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM

The following is the substance of a Paper presented to the Seminar for Christian-Muslim Study of the Near and Middle East Committee of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. at a meeting in the Damascus Restaurant, New York, on February 18th, 1953. It is here printed at the request of the Seminar as a stimulus to the further thought and action for which the subject calls.

There is a famous story of the Arabic historian, al-Wāqidī, retold in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj ul-Dhahabi wa Ma'ādin ul-Jawhari*, concerning the historian and his two close friends of the house of Hāshim. The feast that ends the fast of Ramaḍān was approaching and al-Wāqidī was pressed by his wife to write requesting aid from one of the friends so that, despite their poverty, the children might be suitably arrayed for the feast. The friend at once responded with a purse containing a thousand dirhams. Al-Wāqidī had hardly received it before there came a missive from the third friend, begging in similar circumstances for an urgent loan. Accordingly, without waiting to consult his wife, al-Wāqidī sent off the purse he had just received without opening it. The mystery deepened when the friend who had first sent the purse came to al-Wāqidī's abode a few days later with the purse in his hand just as he had first sent it. On elucidation it transpired that having sent off the money, it being all that he had, he had hastily written to the third friend for aid. That friend in his turn had appealed to al-Wāqidī who, as we have seen, forwarded the unopened gift of the original giver to whom the third friend, all unknowing, despatched it as the answer to his plea. All were deeply touched by this spontaneous demonstration of unstinting friendship and decided to divide the thousand dirhams between them, having first made the mathematics easier by setting aside a hundred dirhams for the wife whose pleadings had initiated the exchange.

There is in many senses a similarly triangular quality about the three realms we are discussing. Persons, Situations, Books are, as it were, the three sides, or perhaps, the three angles of a triangle. Situations press heavily upon persons, and the latter, wishing to respond to them effectively and worthily, turn in wistfulness, in perplexity, or, it may be, in desperation, to books which may afford them the resources of mind and heart by which they may grapple with the issues that beset them. Books must be evoked by situations to guide and inform persons: persons must be enlightened and provoked by books to meet situations: situations must be reflected and illuminated in books for the succour of the persons they bewilder or oppress. Or, in the language of the mathematician, let A be the dilemma, B the individual and C the literature. Then C must be equal to A over B. And

to make C so equal, authors must have entered into A and identified themselves with B. All too often we do not speak to people where they are. The book, that is, is not in its corner of the triangle made by the reader and his mental, physical world. Authorship must be the response in Christ to felt situations and to love of the other where he is. Otherwise it will neither redeem the one nor persuade the other.

It may be argued that the triangle so conceived leaves out most of humanity. Needless to say, it leaves out the illiterate, perhaps also the barely literate. But if we are discussing literature, as distinct from literacy, we are obviously within the numerical limitation of the fully literate. Yet they are a rapidly increasing element in the Asiatic and African population. Plans are on foot to banish illiteracy and the technological resources are available to implement them in a few decades. If the Christian Church has pioneered this ambition with its "Each one, teach one," and its sense of reading as part of the dignity of personality to be enjoyed by every man, then it is vitally urgent that the Church should also concern itself with restless energy and sustained passion about the literature of the literate world. It would be treachery to the ideals of literacy to leave the new skill to the mercy of every exploitation and not to make available to it the satisfaction of Christ.

But let it be conceded that even among the literate the majority are not looking to books with the avidity suggested by our triangle. That may well be so. But the majority is never all. If the output of the Arabic commercial press alone is any reliable indication, there are those who do care about the issues of their time and the responsibilities of citizenship, of existence, and of this generation. It is this wistful minority which must be the concern of the author and publisher, though he must never lose sight of the problem of indifference and the necessity to write and publish in such a way as to arouse it. Questions of distribution are obviously also involved at that point. But important as these are, they are conditioned by the ultimate criterion of the quality of authorship. The more effectively we can keep in mind the perennial triangle—books for people in situations, works that are addressed to people and relevant to situations,—the more probably shall we attain a literature that circulates.

It may be argued that for the Christian the most contemporary of all books is the Bible itself, since Christ is Himself the great Contemporary. That is profoundly true. There is obviously no substitute for Bible distribution and for literature which may be said to be ancillary to it such as Bible commentaries and expository writing. Despite the tremendous handicaps of Muslim ideas about the corruption of the Scriptures and the unfamiliarity or distastefulness of many New Testament metaphors and doctrines as the Muslim sees them, Bible reading is a wonderfully potent factor and makes its own per-

suasive, winning way, where-ever it has opportunity. The Bible Societies are to be congratulated on their efforts to produce more attractive, more worthy editions of the Gospels in a format appropriate to the news they have to tell. No sane Christian writer will suppose that anything else can do more than serve the Bible's own witness to Christ.

Nevertheless it is clear that the contemporaneousness of the Bible is not always apparent and that it needs to be presented in ways which come to it from other starting points. While directly devotional and expository works may nourish the life of the Church, they may not in that form fill the angle made by the persons and the situations with which we begin. There is urgent need for that type of literature which "sits where they sit" as Ezekiel has it: for the authorship which takes its cue, though not of course its doctrine, from the secular, or the Muslim, literature which its would-be readers already read. If our concern is with the Muslim reader, our concern must also be with Muslim reading. That is the stream into which we must make the Christian sources flow.

Before developing this point, it may be well to observe how a similar situation exists for the Muslim in relation to the Qur'ān. It is always risky to make comparisons between the position of the Bible in Christianity and that of the Qur'ān in Islam, since they differ so profoundly as documents of faith and as Holy Books laying claim to be Divine revelation. The pre-suppositions of each as to the nature of the Divine Word and its relation to the scripture are so fundamentally contrasted. None the less from the standpoint of the individual reader in either faith, there is the same contemporary problem of relating the content of the revelation to the life of the present day and of interpreting the eternal and singular truth in the context of the temporary and plural situation. There are thus fervent current debates in some sections of Islam as to the details of contemporary obedience to the Quranic expression of the Will of God. It used to be thought that Christian mediators of the truth of Christ would be well-advised to cite the Qur'ān in its positive references to the Scriptures before it and thus appeal to Quranic authority for the witness of Christ. Apart from certain less helpful but quite obvious corollaries of this argument, it may well be that it is sounder to think in terms of a Christian literature which does not directly occupy itself with Muslim attitudes to the Qur'ān today, but relates itself constructively from the Christian side to those issues of thought and life which shape for the Muslim the internal problem. In other words we must concern ourselves with the people and the situations, rather than the internal issues of dogma, or perhaps we had better say, with the latter only and always in the context of the former.

In this sense the problem for the Christian as to how to proclaim the contemporary relevance of the Biblical faith, and concern of the Muslim as to a contemporary obedience to the Quranic faith, point the would-be writer in the same direction, in the direction, that is, of a literature which tries to think of its readers as people involved in decisions rather than as adherents involved in dogmas. The distinction of course has its dangers and should not be pressed too far. But is it not possible that we have thought too much of a mission to Islam and not enough of a ministry to Muslims? Again the distinction is perhaps dubious. But it is worth making, if only to suggest the importance of the contemporary and the actual over against the static and the theoretical. Perhaps our literature has been too self-conscious, too concerned with the need to refute, too occupied with a sense of antagonism, too much involved in controversial issues. Islam as a system and as a dogma is not to be ignored. Nothing so foolish. But we must not suppose that we have presented Christianity to Muslims when we have exhausted all the themes on which the two faiths diverge. Christianity must be explained to Muslims not only in terms of what divides the creeds, but in terms of what confronts the person. If one examines existing Christian literature for Muslims it is liable to create the impression that all Muslims are mullahs, all readers are pundits, and all believers controversialists. If one subtracts from it all that is calculated to give this impression, there is not too much left in the way of works that speak to the Muslim who lives in the sixth decade of the 20th century.

This is not to say that the old controversial themes were meaningless or mistaken. On the contrary they were the theological form of issues that abide and from which there is no final escape if Muslims are to reckon with Christianity and if Christians are to speak to the heart of Islam. We are not, therefore, pleading in any sense for an abeyance of honest communication or an avoidance of what is difficult. Neither the Christianity we bring nor the Islam to which we would bear it will be justly served if we attempt to elude the tasks of theology and the contradictions of doctrine. The point, however, is: In what context should these issues be broached? In detachment from the living setting, as items of arm-chair, or mosque pillar, controversy? Or in relation to the lives and communities of persons in places, to minds in tension and nations in travail? Shall we concentrate on themes of difference, ultimately necessary as these may be, or shall we not rather concern ourselves with themes of likeness, with areas of felt need? Do we always need to grapple with our task in consciously inter-religious terms? May we not sometimes more effectively communicate the Christian thing in the context of what is common in our personal situations? Are we to write *at* Islam or *to* the Muslim? Or when we strive to take him where and how he is, do

we determine the 'where' and the 'how' primarily in terms of his doctrinal background, or of his personal hopes, fears and yearnings?

If the answer is to be latter then it follows quite clearly that yesterday's literature is not enough for today, since it is precisely the situations and the persons in them who have changed so enormously. And changed, it should be noted, mainly under pressure of economic, social and political factors of Western, and so in part Christian, origin—factors which have been also operative in the deep personal experience and the theological thinking of contemporary Christianity. We, therefore, need books that have come out of this generation and are for that reason addressed to this generation. In a recent program of Christian publication in one important Muslim country the larger part of the works listed were written prior to 1920 and a number even before 1900. This does not imply that the classics are not to be translated or that works are necessarily unsuitable by virtue of their date alone. It does mean that we should not suppose that 1953 is no different from 1920 or 1900, that Naguib's Egypt is the same as Cromer's, that Pakistan in its sixth year of independence is what Khilafatist Muslim India was, or that Marx, Lenin and Stalin have made no difference to our Christian task among Muslims. The three friends in al-Wāqidī's story were all under pressure of the same need and gave, out of that pressure, to the needs of the other. If there is point in that parable it surely means that our Christian witness to the Muslim must be spoken *from* the heart of our own sense of Christ today, for us, with us and in us, and it must be spoken *to* the heart of the Muslim experience of what it is to be a Muslim in today's world. Classics may well have their part in such a literary ministry, not simply because they are classics, still less because they save us our own proper travail of communication, but only because they witness in their abiding way to what is true both yesterday and today, and only insofar as that witness is intelligible and plain for today's readers. And surely they must be Christian classics. Translations of David Copperfield and the like, however interesting and useful on the cultural level, are hardly a mediation of the living Christ. This is not the place for a detailed catalogue of the available Christian literature addressed to Muslims. But such a catalogue would seem to show that we have been all too content, either with what was written for ourselves, or with what was written for Muslims thirty or more years ago. The former is all too often in idiom, in tone, in garb and notion, unmistakably Western. (C. S. Lewis may be an excellent protagonist of the Christian faith in England, as H. E. Fosdick in America. It remains still unproved that in direct translation they avail in Pakistan or Egypt.) The latter may have been admirable and their authors enterprising. But it is surely the truest tribute to their enterprise that we strive to reproduce it in the changed circumstances

of our own day, rather than assume that what they did for their contemporary Muslims they also did for ours.

It follows from these considerations that our stock-taking in Christian literature should be done in the light of recent Muslim writing and reading. How do the persons and the situations with whom and with which we are concerned reveal themselves there? What are the pressures and the problems which those books disclose, for surely those are the areas of need where the Christian books that hope to circulate must find their themes. The Muslim reader cannot be addressed without attention to Muslim reading, particularly in that thoughtful segment of the population to which we have earlier referred. That of course is a formidable enterprise. Statistics of circulation are hard to come by and may not be too revealing. What is unmistakably clear, however, is that serious works are being written, and presumably read, in the Muslim world, (since their publication is a commercial venture,) and that they may be taken as our index to the minds and matters with which we should deal. This is not, of course, to say that Christian literature will only have to offer what a Muslim diagnosis says Islam needs. We study this Muslim writing not so much for the 'What' of Christian ministry, as for the 'Where' of Christian impact. To evaluate it exhaustively is beyond our scope and competence. The most that can be done here is to insist on the importance of this awareness of contemporary Muslim thinking to the business of Christian literature and to offer certain salient features in it which are indicative of the needs to which we must speak. Consideration of these may help to clarify the sense in which it was earlier suggested that we should write not so much as those conscious of inter-religious difference, but as Christians aware of inward human personal, social needs and of a mutual humanity.

If, then, we follow this clue, it would seem that a Christian literature taking the Muslim where his own literature finds him would need to concentrate at least on five main areas.

(1) THE DEEP, ABIDING HUMAN PROBLEMS. There is a moving passage in Thomas Hardy about how it would be if it were true of one's fellow man as it is of God, that to him "all hearts are open, all desires known" and from him "no secrets are hid." What revelations there would be of anguish, of aspiration, of fear, hope and perplexity, in face of all the personal meanings and demands of our human existence! Mercifully those secrets are with God and unto Him: but it is given to the Christian imagination and to human sympathy to enter in some sense into the burden and promise of the lives of others. This surely is one of the first responsibilities of our literature. It should speak, as Isaiah has it, to the heart. It should show itself sensitive to the frailties and sorrows of mortality, to the yearnings of

human finitude. We sometimes tend to assume that the Muslim mind, with its tendency to submission and its capacity to be stolid, is impervious to these emotions. The essays of Muṣṭafā Luṭfi al-Manfalūṭī—Al-Nazarāt—and their popularity would be sufficient to belie that assumption. And since he wrote, in the first two decades of the century, there have been plenty of writers to voice the urgent themes of human existence as it weighs upon the person, to search and sift, as literature should, the situations of common life, of sickness, pain, fear, poverty and death. The Muslim, on occasions, is as ready as any to expostulate with God and to seek His justification in the midst of sorrow. Poignant passages in the autobiographies of Ṭaha Ḥusain and Aḥmad Amīn mirror widespread experience and make it articulate. Perhaps we have not sufficiently thought of the Muslim in what we wrote for him, as part of human wistfulness and, in his own traditional phrase, a seeker of refuge. To the cry “īyyāka nasta’in” surely Christ has relevance. It was part of the appeal of the Levonian tracts, in the Woodbrook series, that they tried to deal with the great ‘Why’s’ and ‘Whither’s’ of human existence and that they did so, without being too much concerned with refutation or comparison. A recent group of broadcast talks on the Qur’ān in Cairo, includes a discussion of the way to peace of mind through the recollection of God.<sup>1</sup> A 1950 film in Cairo, entitled *Ilhām*, treats of the purposes of life and whether the individual is the helpless toy of passion and lust, or whether he can master himself in purposeful living. Examples are legion. Reiteration is needless. We need perhaps to see the Muslim less as an adherent of a different faith and more as a denizen of the same world. In which capacity will the relevance of Christ come home to him more readily?

(2) URGENT SOCIAL AND COMMUNAL PROBLEMS. How little of our literature, with the exception of two works in Iran,<sup>2</sup> effectively enters this field. The novel as an instrument of social criticism and social change is developing in Egypt, in Turkey and in Pakistan. Sentiment is becoming more articulate. Even in Saudi Arabia editorial comment and discussion is developing in the press. Elsewhere, where the problems are more immediate and chronic, patriotism and idealism spur the social critic, who is beginning to become in some sense also a critic of religion and of its customary role in society. Khālid Muḥammad Khālid’s *Min hunā Nabda’* evoked a conservative reply *Min hunā Na’lam*. A great debate is on. Issues are clamant and deep-seated. Islam aspires to meet and solve them. Over-population and its bearing

<sup>1</sup> Nūr ‘alā nūr

<sup>2</sup> The Influence of Christianity on Society, and The Path of Social Reform, both by the Rev. John Elder of the Inter-Mission Literature Committee, Teheran.

on the duty of the married: the issue of quantity versus quality which it poses: the legacies of political corruption: the criteria of social change: the role of the state, of party and of mosque in social justice: the burden of modernity and the distraction of the new technology—all these are reflected in contemporary Muslim writing. It is an obvious duty of the Christian writer to pioneer new efforts at Christian communication, drawing on the wealth of Christian travail and of Christian relevance at just these points. Surely F. D. Maurice and William Temple have a message to be mediated in these very areas. If there have been not a few Muslim writers hearkening in somewhat sophisticated manner to H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, should we have failed to mediate to them, in terms of their own social awareness, the deeper insights of the Christian mind into the social problems of the new age? We have sometimes complained that Islam lacks a sense of sin and that this precludes its discovery of the redemptive grace of Christ. Yet may not the consciousness of social evils to be righted be a means to the awareness of personal evil to be cleansed? Is the Christian diagnosis of the predicament of man not implicit in every honest urge to worthy change? Is it not our imagination or our enterprise which have failed rather than the opportunity which wanted? Communism only sharpens this challenge, with its doctrine of the inevitability of force in social change and its threat of worse evils than those it assails. Could there be a finer occasion for the communication of Christianity to Muslims than in the radical critique which Communism requires and the truths in Christ afford? At least here are wide open and largely unoccupied areas of Christian ministry in thought and word to the mind and mood of contemporary Muslims.

(3) THE MUSLIM AND THE WEST. There is perhaps no more potent source of Muslim misconception as to Christianity than the actual West. How urgently we need a reasoned, imaginative presentation to Muslims of the Christian relation between the community of faith and the community of this world, and what Christianity means and includes and what it does not mean and include. Even objective and dispassionate writers in Islam today seem to be unable to see beyond the easy identification of Christianity and Christendom, or, conversely, to appreciate the distinction between essential faith and derivative culture. The danger here is twofold. We must beware of seeming to contract out of social and cultural responsibilities as if the faith was no more than an individual salvation or a wholly other-worldly thing. But equally we must beware of the kind of statement of Christian cultural and social obligations which infers that the faith is itself invalid if they are not universally successful. We cannot adopt the facile notion that all that is well with the West is because of Christian-

ity and all that is not well is because of its rejection of Christianity. That is too superficial. We must take deep and searching responsibility for what the former Editor of *Time* called "a Christless Christendom". But at the same time we must not infer that our faith, so responsible to and in society, is identifiable with any territorial or historical expression.

This is a profoundly difficult truth about Christianity to convey to Muslims. But it all the more urgent for that very reason. It returns in the end, surely, to the Christian truth of the natural and the redeemed humanity and to its corollary, the fact of human recalcitrance or sin. The Christian faith offers a personal revolution which transforms the individual and it holds a way of life in society to be lived by those whom it transforms. It affirms that social well-being and justice, though served by just laws and true economies, are finally right in proportion only to the extent of the personal redemption and obedience upon which they stand. Thus a Christian culture in so far as there can be one, is necessarily only derivative from the Christianity of the persons who embody, value and, by faith, undergird it. This means that the faith is responsible for its environment without being able to transform it universally, since the reception of the conditions of its transformation fails to be universal. This failure arises from the fact of human recalcitrance to the Divine truth and grace. Here lies the difference between Christianity and Christendom. Islam with its totalitarian unity finds it hard to appreciate the meaning of this distinction, lacking as it does, any clear doctrine of the remaking of humanity. But it is up against essentially the same problems, not less the same for being unrecognised. It is continually in debate as to why Islam comes short of what Islam should be, or as to why Muslims are sometimes not Muslims. Despite this, but yet in the same vein, is its instinctive tendency to assume, as do so many recent writers in many fields, that Islam is *sui generis*, that where there is an Islamic democracy it will be unadulterated, where there is an Islamic nationalism it will be impervious to the evils of all other nationalisms, that where there is Islamic economic theory and practice both capitalism and Communism are refuted and disarmed. These convictions, sincere as they are, are only possible because there has been a general insensitivity to the man's need of redemption, and to the truth that finally the realm of the good in human life stands within the realm of grace. The only sure answer to all these aspects of Muslim thought is humbly and honestly to manifest the Christian understanding of the Christian reproach of Christendom. As to the reproach itself, Muslims, with all their patriotism and self-consciousness, are fully sensitive. It fills all their literature and obscures their assessment of Christianity. We, then, must patiently interpret the inner meaning of that

reproach so as to elucidate what is essential in Christianity and what is derivative in Christian civilisation, and thus, in turn, to clarify the basic truth of human insubordination to the law of God—an insubordination that compromises all hopes of the Divine Kingdom built solely on revelation or on law, without the categories of forgiveness, grace and newness of life. Such plain and sincere exposition of the significance of Western failure will not only help to remove one of the greatest misconceptions as to Christianity among Muslims. It will also serve perhaps to illuminate the factors governing Islam's own contemporary quest for the true society, for the good life among men. For that search if it goes far enough and truly enough will end where Christ begins, namely with the basic, the universal, the inescapable problem of human nature.

(4) THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN SOCIETY. This area of modern Muslim thought calls for an active Christian ministry in the presentation of a new concept of tolerance. Since independence came to several great Muslim peoples, and they set themselves to think out in terms of constitutions and citizenship the relation of Statehood to Islam and of Islam to the total population, there has been much stimulus to the study of religious community. Almost all these states have some non-Muslim citizens and are faced with the issue of the reciprocal duties of majorities and minorities. The time is ripe for a real attempt to enlarge the conception of a static toleration, in which minorities are free to remain what they are, into a dynamic one, in which everybody is free to become what he will. It may be thought that this is a utopian hope. But it is certainly a vital issue. Islam itself would be healthier for an allegiance that had no other sanctions than conviction. What is even more important, truth has everything to gain from the freedom to be sought without restraint. Liberty is something more than being unmolested and tolerance something more than a refraining from persecution. The nature, the duty, the cost of this something more is surely a vital element in Christian witness in the new Muslim world.

(5) THE AREA OF SCIENCE AND SECULARITY. Perhaps we should apologise for coupling the two. But often they are in company. This is of course a familiar area of literary responsibility and calls for little enlargement here. But much more strenuous efforts need to be made to help and serve those who are dispossessed of conviction by the impact of scientific thought, as well as those for whom secularism is either a heady wine of temptation or a disturbing fear. Muslim writing, for its part, is full of a varied response to the oft-quoted Quranic injunctions to keep abreast of knowledge. Not all authors, however, have taken the measure of the scientific challenge, nor appreciated the apologetic task with which it confronts them. It is reasonable to suppose that this aspect of Muslim thinking and reading will steadily

increase in importance. Our attempt to share the experience of Christian thought under comparable pressures has in no sense been appropriate to the extent and urgency of this need.

The foregoing five areas are not intended to be exhaustive, but only illustrative of the duties of a Christian program of writing for Muslims, based upon some effort to assess the themes and follow the clues of their own reading resources. It is obvious that many features of our literature responsibilities are omitted here. The aim has been to tie books closely to persons, and to see persons as primarily in living situations. No criticism of the past is intended, nor any failure to recognise heroic efforts made against heavy odds: rather for those efforts the tribute of fresh initiative in a changed time. The odds doubtless remain heavy and we have not grappled here in any way with the problem of achieving circulation, except in the sense that relevance to what readers are already reading is perhaps the ultimate clue to circulation, with the avoidance, also, of what unnecessarily antagonises. It is not meant that all the above issues should be treated in major books, ideal as that might be. Throughout Asia and Africa there are growing numbers of journals, weeklies and monthlies, some of Christian publication, others not, whose readers and editors alike would welcome articles treating these themes. Of course there is no substitute for the good book but much can be done either way to widen the horizons and stimulate the mind of the local Church until it produces its own, more ultimate literature. Indeed the question of authors is hardly less pressing than the question of readers. But, in the end, are they not both to be found in the same place, namely in the context of the living yearnings and aspirations of their fellows? If we love the persons enough, if we feel the situations enough, surely the books will come, and to the books the readers. At least that must be our confidence. What deserves to be written deserves to be read. How often we have been unready to respond to the book-wistfulness of our generation and of our friends. In the words of the parable we are too often like the man aroused at midnight with "nothing to set before them." Do we not need men and women who will study to put the Gospel again into word for our time, who will say, each one within his disciplined vocation:

"I will not cease from mental fight,  
Nor shall my pen sleep in my hand,  
Till we have writ a worthy Christ  
For seeking minds in every land."

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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**The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī.** By W. Montgomery Watt. London, Allen and Unwin, 1953. pp. 155. 9/6.

Twice before has *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl* been translated into French and once before into English. It is fitting that a series of Ethical and Religious Classics should include the autobiography of Islam's most spiritual, most ethical and most sincere religious teacher. The steady re-publication in Arabic of al-Ghazālī's works indicates that he is becoming increasingly influential among Muslims. This fuller and more faithful translation provides English readers with excellent evidence of al-Ghazālī's worth as a teacher of religion.

Al-Ghazālī is not the first theologian who gave up high position, well-rewarded livelihood and family ties to find truth and peace of mind. For eleven years he lived in retirement, searching for what he needed. Not all that he wanted did he find. He had to leave unsolved the ultimate problems of God and man: he did not get beyond *islām*, the need of man to surrender to God. He did not reach the way, the truth, the life, but what he did learn was the best kind of Islam and that was what he returned to his family and his post to practice. He himself says (pp. 76, 77):

"I had been disseminating the knowledge by which worldly success is attained; by word and deed I had called men to it; and that had been my aim and intention. But now I am calling men to the knowledge whereby worldly success is given up and its low position in the scale of real worth is recognized. This is now my intention, my aim, my desire; God knows that this is so. It is my earnest longing that I may make myself and others better. I do not know whether I shall reach my goal or whether I shall be taken away while short of my object. I believe, however, both by certain faith and by intuition that there is no power and no might save with God, the high, the mighty, and that I do not move of myself but am moved by Him, I do not work of myself but am used by Him. I ask Him first of all to reform me and then to reform through me, to guide me and then to guide through me, to show me the truth of what is true and to grant of His bounty that I may follow it, and to show me the falsity of what is false and to grant of His bounty that I may turn away from it."

The complete sincerity, humility and concern for others evident in these words are the characteristics that gave al-Ghazālī his permanent position among Islam's outstanding religious leaders.

It is his ability to find and express the spiritual significance and values of external religious rites that gave him first place among Islam's theologians.

Dr. Watt's presentation of the Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī includes a translation of *The Beginning of Guidance*. It happens that this work also has been previously translated into English as the basis of an M.A. thesis at the Hartford Seminary Foundation, as yet unpublished. This work naturally and admirably supplements *The Deliverance from Error*.

Criticism has sometimes been leveled against Muslims for including the details of personal hygiene in religious instruction. Praise rather than blame should be accorded Islam for making natural and necessary bodily actions a part of the religious duties of the individ-

ual. There is no better place for the facts of life to be taught and experienced than in the atmosphere of religion and that is especially true of those activities that are universally considered to be unsuitable table talk. Al-Ghazālī could and did use even intimate personal hygiene information as a means of imparting spiritual instruction.

Without question the adherents of any religion can benefit by reading this book. Any ardent lover of truth and godliness will commend al-Ghazālī's aims, efforts and desires. Christians will wish that he had found the true Injil, rather than only the apocryphal traditions of Jesus that he admired and used extensively in these and his other writings.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

*Hartford, Conn.*

A History of the Crusades, Volume Two, The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East 1100-1187. By Steven Runciman. Cambridge, England, Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. xii, 523, with 8 plates, 6 maps, 3 appendices, and an index. \$7.50.

To one who welcomed Vol. I of Steven Runciman's *History of the Crusades*, both for himself and for his students in medieval church history, the second volume is received with gratitude, and its successor is awaited with impatience. While the first volume considered at length the remote and immediate backgrounds of the crusading movement and then traced the First Crusade to the capture of Jerusalem, the second volume, covering a much more limited period, considers the establishment and fate of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the whole complex political and military history of the Near East (1100-1187). The disastrous Second Crusade recedes into its proper place in that history and we are left on the threshold of the Third Crusade. It is to be presumed that the author will in the third volume deal, among other topics, with the lamentable Fourth Crusade and the so-called Latin Empire.

The first impression of the reader of this second volume is one of gratitude to Mr. Runciman for his lucid analysis of the conflicting interests of Franks, Byzantines, and Muslims, and of admiration for his unflinching guidance through the crowded events of the Near East of the Twelfth Century.

The second impression is one of sympathy for the chief actors in this great drama, whether they be Christian or Muslim. Using his sources with rare impartiality, Mr. Runciman paints a picture, for example, of Saladin, that one can never forget. Of Saladin's conduct toward Jerusalem after the decisive victory at Hattin, Runciman says: "The victors were correct and humane. Where the Franks, eighty-eight years before, had waded through the blood of their victims, not a building now was looted, not a person injured. By Saladin's orders guards patrolled the streets and the gates, preventing any outrage of the Christians." (p. 466) Here Saladin ". . . had shown how a man of honour celebrates his victory." (p. 473).

Of Raymond of Tripoli, our author speaks with sympathetic penetration: "His real tragedy was the tragedy of all the Frankish colonists of the second and third generation, who by temperament and from policy were ready to become part of the Oriental world but were forced by the fanaticism of their newly-come western cousins to take sides. . . ." (p. 469).

There is sometimes an epic quality in the laconic prose of Mr. Runciman: "At the same hour Raymond at Tiberias watched the mamelukes ride home. They kept to the pact. It was well before night-fall, and they had not harmed a building in the province. But on the lances of the vanguard were fixed the heads of the Templar knights." (p. 453).

Skilfully does he foreshadow the coming doom of the Crusading Movement as arising at least in part from the anti-Byzantine policy of the Norman princes: "When Bohemond went on into France he was accompanied by the papal legate, Bruno, who was instructed to preach a Holy War against Byzantium. It was a turning-point in the history of the Crusades. The Norman policy, which aimed to break the power of the eastern Empire, became the official Crusading policy. The interests of Christendom as a whole were to be sacrificed to the interests of Frankish adventurers. . . . The resentment of the western knights and populace against the haughtiness of the Emperor, their jealousy of his wealth and their suspicions of Christians who used a ritual that they could not understand were all given official sanction by the western Church." (p. 48). Mr. Runciman's verdict on the Second Crusade confirms this view: "But when it reached its ignominious end in the weary retreat from Damascus, all that it had achieved had been to embitter the relations between the western Christians and the Byzantines almost to breaking-point, to sow suspicions between the newly-come Crusaders and the Franks resident in the East, to separate the western Frankish princes from each other, to draw the Moslems closer together, and to do deadly damage to the reputation of the Franks for military prowess." (p. 288).

But most clearly of all is presented the gradual awakening of Islam to a new unity, at first premature, then finally flourishing in the person and skill of Saladin. As its counterfoil we see the tragic failure, moral, military, and economic, of the crusaders, reaching its nadir in the weakling King Guy of Jerusalem.

One cannot forbear to note the fine touches of humor which here and there enliven the pages of *The Kingdom of Jerusalem*: Baldwin II's pledge of his beard to the Armenian Gabriel of Melitene (p. 37), or the picture of the Patriarch Bernard's fright at the battle of Harran (1104): "The Patriarch Bernard was so frightened that as he fled he cut off his horse's tail lest some Turk should catch him by it, though by then none of the enemy was in sight." (p. 43).

Besides an excellent narrative account, the author has provided in appendices: (1) a useful discussion of the principal sources, classified by language, which serves as a guide to the bibliography proper (a continuation of the bibliography of Vol. 1); (2) indispensable genealogical tables. The maps and plates, so generously provided, add to the attractiveness of the volume, and the rather full index to its usefulness.

Everything about the volume is in conformity with Vol. 1, of which it is the worthy continuation. Of slips there seem to be very few. However one may note "Harron" for "Harran" on p. 41, and "pensinsula" for "peninsula" on p. 471, as evidence of the small errors that inevitably creep into the best of books.

FORD LEWIS BATTLES

*The Hartford Seminary Foundation*

**Challenge and Response in the Middle East.** The Quest for Prosperity 1919-1951. By Hedley V. Cooke. Harper & Brothers, N. Y. Pp. xiii, 350, Bibliography, Index. 1952. \$4.00.

*Challenge and Response in the Middle East* is a careful compilation of information regarding economic, political and social conditions in the Near and Middle East in recent years. It is based on the various plans and surveys worked out in the same period by the different foreign advisory groups resident for a longer or shorter time in the area. The whole is supplemented and interpreted by the personal observations of the author, who has lived in the area as a Consul and has served on the Middle East Planning Staff of the Economic Cooperation Administration. These sources of information assure a well-rounded study from the Western point of view, adequately documented by the most available—and on the whole probably the most reliable—statistics there are concerning each of the countries in the area under study.

By its very dependence upon foreign studies of the situation in each of the countries, the book might be irritating to an Arab, a Turk, or a Persian reader. Not enough attention is given to changes arising within the countries themselves. Local initiative is not given enough credit, for example, for the considerable urban and industrial development in cities like Ankara, Damascus, Teheran, Beirut, or Cairo.

In the introductory chapter the author stresses the weakness of the traditional approach of the West to the problems of underdeveloped areas in that it "ignores . . . local public opinion and the factors entering into its composition." Yet in the book as a whole there is little space given to such a study. The depth and bitterness of the antagonism between the Arab and the Israeli is minimized; both as a cause of the present economic situation in the Arab World, and as a definite bar to any fruitful regional planning for a long time to come. The book has too many easy generalizations about "Westernism" and "Feudalism" and "landlords." There is too much confidence in The Experts. (An Egyptian official recently defined an expert as "anyone from abroad.") The overall point of view of the book is sufficiently foreign that one reading the title might well ask, "What Challenge?" and "Whose Response?"

The book is on more solid ground in speaking of Turkey and of Israel than it is in dealing with the other countries treated. That may be because of the author's personal acquaintance with those two regions, while serving as Consul. It may also be because those two governments have put out more comprehensive and effective material in English than what has been put out in the same language by the governments of the Arab States or of Iran.

Having said those things, the fact remains that for what it claims to be the book is a competent and useful piece of work, worthy of a careful reading by any American who wants to know what foreign experts in the affairs of the Near and Middle East have had to say about the problems of that area and the hopes for their solution. The author set out "to determine, if possible, the nature of situations and trends with regard to living standards in the Middle East during the period January 1, 1919 to December 31, 1951." He has presented much valuable and readable material to that end.

The Sudan Question. By Mekki Abbas. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1952. \$4.25.

Any book on the political situation in a Near Eastern country is in danger of being out of date before it is published. Events in the Sudan have gone far towards accomplishing the steps to independence outlined by this author in his last Chapter. None the less the book is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the political tensions of the area. It should be read by everyone concerned for the Sudan or interested in the working of the condominium, not least because it would appear to be the only major work in this field to be written by a Sudanese. The author's training and experience in the governmental and political life of the Sudan qualify him for the task. He has written with commendable objectivity and fairness and in a creditable literary style.

He is concerned almost wholly with the dispute between Great Britain and Egypt over the question of sovereignty in the Sudan. The chapters on background history and geography are brief but comprehensive. They have a measure of detachment hardly to be expected in a Sudanese nationalist at this stage in political agitation. The author's factual analysis of the main dispute shows wide research and an effective treatment of source material.

Particular interest centers in the story of the emergence of the third party to the dispute—the Sudanese people, as it moves from the utter lack of national consciousness following the collapse of mahdism, to the active independence movements of the present day. There is judicious appraisal of the effect of this emergence on the views and actions of the two parties to the condominium. The main portion of the book closes with a presentation of Sudanese aims and a suggested program for their accomplishment.

There are some omissions; one notably that is also characteristic of speeches and articles on the scene,—the tendency to minimise the difficulties attaching to the setting up and administering of an independent government. The optimism of young Sudanese about the possibilities for their country, both political and economic, is not always well based in fact. The author reflects this optimism. Agriculturally speaking, too great reliance is put upon cotton—a fault also of the present administration. Another important omission concerns the jealousy between the two principal religious leaders in the Sudan—a jealousy which causes many Sudanese as well as foreign friends of their independence considerable disquiet. This author does not seem to be seriously aware of it. This bitter and determined religious rivalry is carried over into the political parties. Orderly demonstrations have been held celebrating the recent signing of the Sudan agreement by Great Britain and Egypt, in which all the major political parties participated and in which their leaders spoke of unity. However, securing that unity is still a major problem.

Another fault in this work is the casual way in which the author dismisses the problem of the three southern provinces. They are predominantly pagan though they have large Christian groups. The author omits this issue from the main body of his work on the ground that "it was never made an issue in the dispute between Britain and Egypt." He allows that "the problem of the South still occupies the thought of some British officials in the Sudan, some men and women

in England who take interest in the Sudan's affairs and the missionary societies which have been working in the Sudan." No mention, however, is made of the mind of the two million Sudanese directly concerned. The appendix which deals with the South states and refutes certain arguments for a separate administration of that area, all from the viewpoint of the dominant North. The disadvantages of a very primitive people, divided into many tribes, very poor and forming a little less than one third of the total population, in an independent union with the more advanced Muslim peoples of the North, cannot be dismissed in a few easy sentences. "It requires only a little knowledge and imagination"—to borrow a quotation from a C.M.S. publication which the author himself uses—"to guess at the pressure and strain that will arise, especially after Sudanese independence is secured." Some observers in the South, both residents and visitors, have reported a great disinclination on the part of the Southern Sudanese to be included in a union with the North which does not give some guarantee of their liberty to develop as they like. This problem should be a central concern of any party seeking independence and self-determination for the country. It is entirely misplaced in an appendix. Perhaps the explanation lies in the author's remark: "There is no reason why the Christian missionary societies should continue to be given the protection and sponsoring which they have so far enjoyed."

These points apart, the book is worth-while and readable. A good bibliography is appended.

RIEF F. SHIELDS

*Khartoum*

Sectas Y Movimientos de Reforma en el Islam. (Sects and Reform Movements in Islam.) By Fernando Frade Merino. Editorial Casado, Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, 1952, pp. 324.

This is a study written in Spanish of the sects, schisms and movements in Islam since its inception. These have arisen from a variety of factors,—differences over succession, the interpretation of the Qur'an, theological and ritual divergencies, national idiosyncrasies, political issues and finally the pressure of modern science and technology upon ancient dogmas. The book is especially intended for Spanish readers to whom it makes accessible much material more fully available in English or French. Spain is closely bound to the Muslim world, not only through Spanish Morocco but by historical affinities recently re-affirmed in the Levant.

A survey is made of some twenty-six different sects. Their founders and origin are discussed as well as their main tenets and their geographical diffusion. A third of the book is given to the Shī'ah movements and their sub-divisions. The Mu'tazilites are here alleged to reflect the influence of Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. Wahhābism is also dealt with extensively as a militant resister of secularization and idolatrous veneration of saints, their tombs and relics. The author believes that the contemporary Saudi-Arabian legates of Wahhābism are more ready than their forebears to co-operate with other sects in common defense of Islam.

The sources and wide dispersion of the Aḥmadiyya movement are also treated and special note is taken of its anti-Christian polemic

and its propagandist interest in the Gospels. The author also notes the Salafiyya movement as an attempt to purify Islamic practices, modernize education and set forward unity. He also describes certain recent Muslim conferences designed to promote the education of women, the extended teaching of Arabic and the development of activities for Muslim youth.

In its general assessment of future prospects the book considers that Islam faces major problems of readjustment but anticipates that Muslims will be successful in the task. They have experienced crises in the past and have emerged without disruption. Professor Frade, who belongs to the Academia de Interventores in the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco, appeals for Christian sympathy for Islam in its present conflicts. We should aim to unite all our spiritual resources for the solution of the great problems of our world.

IRVEN PAUL

*Hartford, Conn.*

*Outlines of Muhammadan Law.* By Asaf A. A. Fyzee, Oxford University Press, Indian Branch, Calcutta, 1949, pp. 443, Indices.

"A systematic and brief text-book on Muhammadan law as administered in India," says the Preface, for which "no apology appears to be necessary." Apology, however, is certainly necessary for the tardy appearance and the terse nature of this review. The tardiness at any rate is due to factors outside editorial control. The author has sought to give an elementary and analytical presentation of Muslim law relating to such matters as Marriage and its Dissolution, Parentage and Legitimacy, Gifts, Waqf, Wills, Estates and Inheritance. There is the briefest of historical introductions in which Dr. Fyzee discusses the origins of Muslim personal law. Although the book was not printed until 1949, there are evidences that it was written considerably in advance of that date. Iqbāl's *Lectures on Reconstruction . . . in Islam*, first published in 1930, are referred to in the Introduction here as "recent." Though the genesis of Pakistan is noted, the book is not effectively brought abreast of the changes it has occasioned.

There are many citations of cases in the text, not the least interesting being that of *Narantakath v. Parakkal*, in which a Muslim woman re-married when her husband became an Ahmadi on the ground that he was no longer a Muslim and that, therefore, the marriage-tie was already severed by apostasy. The lower court upheld this view, but the High Court disagreed on the ground that the Ahmadis accept the two basic dogmas of Islam, that, therefore, no apostasy was involved. However, the High Court did not order a new trial. (p. 49). It may be fair to add that the legal criteria for defining a Muslim are more readily attained and enforced than the total criteria necessary to the historian and the reformer. But in a work entitled as this is, one would have expected some thorough discussion of the spirit and theory of jurisprudence, more than the bare statement (or is it understatement) that "in Islam laws are intermixed with religion." The brief background treatment does less than justice to a law which is conceptually religious and a religion whose temper is legal. The author, however, is thinking of Muslim law as enforceable under the Shariat Act of 1937, not of the prophetic origins and the long course of revelation's interpenetration with cus-

tom. If he admires their style, the author is no Maitland or Dicey of Muslim legal study. As a handbook of Muslim Personal Law in the Indian Courts and for readers with a practical not a historical concern, the work is well done. It is written out of a full experience and is furnished with indices of cases, names, terms and subjects.

A. K. C.

Welcome to Bahrain. A Complete Illustrated Guide for Tourists and Travellers. By James H. D. Belgrave. Published by the author. Printed by Mark & Moody Ltd., Stourbridge, Worcestershire, England. 1953. Sole agents: Luzac & Co., Ltd., London, pp. 154, paper covers, 6 shillings.

Oil has displaced pearling as the principal source of income in the islands that make up the little Persian Gulf state of Bahrain. However, as this guide also notes, it is still a country where Shi'ite breast-beaters parade on the tenth of Muḥarram, where an American businessman lives on an island given him by a grateful ruler, and where Arab dignitaries don head ropes that are a survival of the Bedouins' camel hobble.

In addition to standard fare, the guidebook contains sections on pearling, Bahrain's stamps, religious customs, and a village-by-village description of the islands. Two new fold out maps are included: one of the major islands of the archipelago, the other of the capital and principal town, Manama.

Compression and a multitude of proper names may make the pages of Bahrain's turbulent history tedious study for one not familiar with the Persian Gulf. But, while a more careful and discriminating treatment is possible, it is a revealing introduction to information not readily available elsewhere.

For obvious reasons the author's references to his family are not effusive, but no one who knows Sir Charles, Adviser to the Government and Commandant State Police, and Lady Belgrave, Directress of Female Education, will consider inclusion in a list of officials adequate attention to their long and distinguished service to the ruler and people of Bahrain.

The booklet is attractively printed, although future editions will profit by another proofreading. Surprising is the variety of names given *The Arabian Mission of the Reformed Church in America*, and the failure to mention the name of the Roman Catholic Church in Manama, *The Sacred Heart of Jesus*. And, though regrettable, it is the *Bahreïn* (with an "e") *Petroleum Company Limited*.

Visitors to Bahrain will immediately appreciate the value of this guide, English speaking residents will want it as a memento, and people such as government officials, businessmen, and missionaries will find it more than a tourist guide and superior to other recent publications about the country.

WILLIAM E. MULLIGAN

*Hartford, Conn. and  
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia*

Arabian Adventurer. The Story of Hajji Williamson. By Stanton Hope. London. Robert Hale, Limited. 1951, pp. 331, with 23 illustrations from photographs. 16/-

Concerning Hajji Williamson, named William Richard Williamson at the time of his birth in Bristol, England, a legend had grown

up which intrigued the traveler and writer, Stanton Hope. In the mysterious figure of an Englishman who had become a Muslim, made the pilgrimage to Mecca three times and identified himself completely with Arab life Mr. Hope envisaged a subject for his versatile pen. After some difficulty he found the now aged Hajji living a typical Arab life with his Arab family among the date palms and orange trees of his secluded gardens at Kut al Hajjaj, outside Basrah, not far from Zubair. A second voyage to visit the Hajji was needed before the author heard from the lips of his courteous, bearded host the complete story of his extraordinary life. Fingering the beads of his *sibḥah* as he talked, the old man began the tale at the time when, in 1885, a spirited English lad of thirteen years went to sea and defied authority on a Bristol barque. Next we see him in the United States as a young cowboy and follow him in his life as a prospector and barnstormer in California ranches and Nevada gold fields and later, as a worker on the Panama Canal. After this he was in turn a shanghied sailor in an Arctic whaling ship; a trader in the South Seas; a prisoner of the Spaniards in Manila and, in the Aden police, a religious-minded constable who became a convert to Islam.

Following his conversion, Williamson was known first as a Bedouin warrior and dealer in camels and horses and then as the master of an Arab dhow sailing from Kuwait in the business of gun running and the merchandising of pearls. In the First World War, Williamson rendered valuable service to his native land as a member of British Intelligence. Between the wars, he acted as local agent and explorer for a well-known oil corporation.

The story reads like a novel. It should be rewarding to all those interested in Arabia and the Arabs. Most of all it will hold meaning for those who have lived in Iraq, Arabia and especially in Arabian ports along the Persian Gulf. One suggestion might be followed with profit at the time of future printings of this book. The transliteration of Arabic words should be revised by someone acquainted with the spelling in Arabic.

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

*Hartford, Conn.*

*Apostle to Islam: A Biography of Samuel M. Zwemer.* By J. Christy Wilson, Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952, pp. 261, \$4.00.

Those of us who knew Dr. Zwemer as a missionary were delighted when we heard that his biography was being written. He was in a very real sense an apostle to Islam. His writings on Islamic subjects created an interest in Muslim evangelism, and his platform addresses kindled many volunteers. His life was dedicated to this cause and he never failed to advocate it both by writing and speaking. The biography gives us a vivid picture of our old friend that is both accurate and inspiring.

Zwemer's early life and his pioneer days as a missionary help us to see the man as he really was: a man of prayer, a great reader and student, and a pioneer in one of the hardest fields in the world. His sense of humor saved him in many a difficulty—for his courage carried him into many situations that were dangerous. He was never content simply to preach. He knew Arabic like a native and his knowledge of Islam won the ear of mullahs and of shaikhs, as was

often seen in his visits to al-Azhar University in Cairo. Like St. Paul, he was "in journeyings oft." Few men have visited so many lands. He collected statistics about Muslims in every corner of the globe. He was at home among the people of Indonesia, South Africa and India as well as the Near East.

All this is brought before us very clearly. It reaches its climax in his visit to China. Few missionaries worked among the millions of Chinese Muslims. Zwemer's tour through China and his conferences with the Church leaders led to a new evangelism in China. His tour from start to finish covered over sixteen thousand miles. When he returned he told the story of China's Muslim population and the need for new efforts. The book carries the story of his life through to his retirement and his death in April 1952. Everyone interested in Islam should read this book, for he "being dead, yet speaketh."

WILLIAM WORCESTER

*Kidderminster, England*

Biographies, it may be assumed, have readers who bring retrospect and readers looking to prospect. There are those who knew the time and the life depicted and those who seek its stimulus and guidance for a new generation. It is, therefore, fitting that the foregoing brief review—for which we are most grateful to the Bishop of Worcester, a former friend of Dr. Zwemer in Cairo—should be supplemented by a few reflections on the latter's legacy by one who knew only the kindling quality of his platform addresses. A double review is perhaps excusable in the case of a book dealing with the honored founder of this *Quarterly*.

The author does well to quote, as he does on the fly-leaf, the words: "In the realm of biography there is always place for the work that is not so much a creation as a chronicle." For he has chosen the chronicle method. He gives us a largely chronological account with long extracts from reports of the times when the events happened. There may be some readers who would have preferred to see done for Dr. Zwemer what Miss Padwick did for Temple Gairdner, who would have delighted, that is, in the creative biography which re-possesses its hero's soul and so imparts its secret with imaginative power. This Dr. Christy Wilson has not attempted: he leaves the reader to do it for himself after possessing him with the bare facts.

But these are of such a wealth and quality, and abound in so many realms, scholarly and active, that the man becomes in retrospect like those Princeton "towers that dream against the sky," of which the biographer speaks when taking up the Princeton days. It is just this towering quality of Zwemer's life and vision that most arouses the reader who looks ahead as well as behind. Zwemer in retrospect is too great a figure to allow us to forget the prospective challenge of his work. How shall we discharge in our time the basic convictions which made him what he was? Clearly in many particulars the days are new and different. But the convictions remain. Zwemer lived and died for the twin belief that Christ must somehow be mediated to Islam and that Islam constitutes a supreme call to Christian devotion, patience and resolve in that glorious obligation. It must then remain the final significance of this biography to raise the question: Where is the succession and how should it be fulfilled

through loyalty and under change? An apostle to Islam is at rest: the apostolate remains.

A. K. C.

'*Abqariyyat-al-Masih*. (The Genius of Christ.) By 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, Akhbār al-Yawm Press, Cairo, 1953, pp. 223, 10 piastres E.

This is the latest book to come from the pen of 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, who is a contemporary Egyptian poet and man of letters with a considerable reputation. The book appears in a popular series, *Kitāb al-Yawm*. None the less it deserves our attention and consideration. The author is a prolific writer whose books and articles are widely read throughout the Arabic speaking world. He was not a student at al-Azhar, having received no more than a primary education in Assuan. But he read widely for himself and developed a popular literary style. His study of the Prophet Muḥammad, in the same series as the present work, '*Abqariyyat Muḥammad*', was first published in 1942. It is not strictly a biography but a series of essays depicting the Prophet as the paragon of the virtues. The author also wrote other studies in the 'Abqariyyat series and published in 1948 an Arabic life of Mahatma Gandhi. He has now turned his attention to Christ. Such a work by a Muslim writer must have a special interest, since so little has been done by Muslim authors in the way of objective, scholarly study of Christian sources and history.

This work has twenty-one chapters, grouped under four main sections. The first deals with the idea of Messiah, the anointed one, in history. It takes up such topics as prophecy in Israel, Jewish sects at the time of Christ, the political, social, religious and intellectual conditions of the time and the importance of "Galilee of the Gentiles" during that era. There is a discussion of the date of the birth of Jesus and some account of His characteristics.

The second section studies the message of Christ and the ultimate goal of His preaching. This latter topic bears the interesting title: *Ikhtiyār al-Qiblah*—the choice of one's religious direction. The author then proceeds to discuss the law of love, the ethical element in Christ's teaching and the Kingdom of Heaven. The following section takes up the instruments of Christ's call, His style of discourse, the languages He spoke and the fidelity of His disciples. There is a brief discussion of the Gospels drawing somewhat casually on critical studies.

The final section deals with the climax in the Cross, after discussing the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God." The author asserts that these should be understood in terms of their contemporary usage, without investigating those aspects of Christ which gave them the final significance they hold for Christian theology. Al-'Aqqād approaches the crucifixion with the remark that if Jesus' mission had remained in Galilee it would have gone forward, without becoming entangled in the bitter hostility of Jerusalem. He discusses the reasons for our Lord's going to Jerusalem and finds there was no escape from challenging His foes where they were most entrenched. The writer remarks that after the cleansing of the temple the historical ends and the credal begins. (p. 213). In this unsatisfying way he evades any discussion of the significance or meaning of the Cross, briefly protesting that it is no part of his purpose, which was to set forth the

teaching genius of Christ. He disclaims any certitude as to how the life of Christ ended but affirms the certitude that its living message illuminated the world like the light of the sun.

However, it may be remarked that the author shows acquaintance with Western literature and that the style is good. It is not, at the same time, the terse style of his other works in the 'Abqariyyat series where he is much more at home. Some of the Biblical citations appear to be freely rendered from some Western translation: where they are quoted from the Arabic Bible the precise reference is not always given. Some of the proper names appear in Western transliterated form, like *Jayms* (for James) where it might have been expected that the author would know that the Arabic equivalent was *Ya'qūb*. Herod is given as *Hirūd*, not *Hirūdus*. The infrequent footnotes also are devoid of precise references as to date, page, etc. There is no table of contents and no index, and the printing is in many places faulty or illegible.

Let us hope that this book will presage a more thorough and adequate Muslim treatment of its great theme. For this modicum let us be thankful.

BUTRUS 'ABD AL-MALIK

*The American University, Cairo*

*Song of the Arab*. By Rolla Foley, The MacMillan Co., New York. 1953, pp. xvi/170, \$3.50.

This book has a subtitle, "The Religious Ceremonies, Shrines and Folk Music of the Holy Land *Christian Arab*." The last words in italics are ours, and serve to emphasize one main purpose of the book, —a better understanding and appreciation of the Christian Arabs in what was Palestine. The author's *Benedictus* at the close of the volume should be read and pondered at the beginning as well as at the end. Rolla Foley was well-known in the student world in the "war years." Music and young people made their joint appeal to him. From Aleppo up to Jerusalem he put the schools to music. He properly belonged to the south—what is now dismembered Palestine, with so much of its age long culture shattered. Hence the value of his picture of Palestine as it was before 1948. The book will be an addition to the voluminous literature on the Holy Land. Mr. Foley has put on record the continuous Christian connection with the land of the Incarnation—a matter still hardly appreciated. Even though a tithe the number of Palestinian Muslim Arabs, the Palestinian Christian Arabs ran into tens of thousands. This preservation and presentation of Palestinian airs and melodies is a piece of well-doing, for which lovers of music as of the land should be grateful. There are 41 such melodies captured and transferred from ear to paper.

Mr. Foley has pictured, too, the celebrations of the well-known feasts at the Holy shrines—space in special measure being afforded the Bethlehem Christmas devotions and Jerusalem's pilgrimages through Holy Week and Easter. Here is a conscientious and industrious delving into the past. In some cases this is an ancient past, and we are thankful for the record of Palm Sunday afternoon in Ramallah—a "folk" festive occasion too often overlooked and seldom described. His description too of the Franciscan Basilica in Gethsemane is not often found in such detail.

The book is, however, impaired by inaccuracies, which might easily have been avoided. They concern for the most part recent rather than ancient times; though there seems confusion between the Councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon, the latter of which was in A.D. 451. There are few misprints, but on p. 10 a word seems missing between "crowned" and "Hosanna": and is "pits" a mistake for "Pips" on p. 57?—while "Kebria" on p. 138 should be "Kebira." The transliteration of Arabic words often leaves something to be desired: while there should be more consistency over the use of "Arabian" and "Arabic." There are more serious errors of fact. His Beatitude Damianos I passed away several years before Mr. Foley arrived. The present Patriarch is Timotheos. (p. 18). The Jurisdiction of the Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem has not included Asia Minor for many decades, it does include Iraq and the Persian Gulf. (p. 21). The London Jews Society ceased to be known as such in Palestine in the early twenties. It has been known since as Church Missions to Jews; and had to close its Printing Press in the thirties (p. 22). The Edinburgh Medical Mission has never had hospitals in Tiberias and Safad (these were or are Church of Scotland and C.M.J.). It is true that the devoted Moravian sisters were mostly German, but since the twenties the property was *British* Moravian. (p. 22). It is doubtful whether *Khan*, a Persian word, is suitable for the "habitation of Chimham" (pp. 34, 38). It is quite untrue that "Footwashing Thursday is a Greek Orthodox Church ceremony only" (p. 75). The Copts, Armenians, Latins and Syrians each have their own peculiar service of commemoration. At the "Holy Fire" the Patriarch is not "seen to emerge from the tomb with a lighted torch of Holy Fire" (p. 78). Two torches are pushed through two "portholes" by the Patriarchs of the Greek Orthodox and Armenians respectively. It is not quite clear what "site is owned by the British Government," but if the reference is to the "Garden Tomb" the information is incorrect. (p. 109). Perhaps there is some confusion with France owning the "Tombs of the Kings" not far off. Was not the road which "branches off to the right" made during the first world war by Turks and Germans for military purposes? (p. 123). Does not St. Luke imply that the Bartimaeus and Zacchaeus incidents were on the same occasion? (p. 134). There are other points which might be queried but as matters where personal interpretations differ. These blemishes can be readily expunged in another edition. We sincerely hope for this second printing (perhaps with additional melodies), both for its own sake and the dedication of the royalties to the education of refugees from Palestine in the U.S.A. The book is enhanced by the clear maps on the inside covers and the pleasant etchings, which bring back memories. There are two pages of bibliography. It would be nice to know how many of the renderings into English verse of the "hymns" may be due to the author. Some are literal versions. The song of the Arab is now heard mostly in dispersion.

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## SHORTER NOTICES

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**Mohammedanism.** By H. A. R. Gibb. Home University Library, Oxford University Press, 2nd Edition, 1953, pp. 206, \$2.00.

Those who possess the first edition of this book, published in 1949, have no need to acquire the second. Those who do not, are well advised to secure it, as a lucid and reliable exposition of its theme. The changes in this second edition are largely verbal. In Chapter 5 on Tradition, some sentences are transposed and in Chapter 6 on The Shari'a two short paragraphs have been slightly rewritten. Where necessary "Pakistan" has been substituted for "India." But there is no discussion of the rise and establishment of Pakistan as an index to contemporary Islam. One is at a loss, therefore, to understand the publishers' remark that "special reference is made to the emergence of Pakistan as the largest Muslim State in the world." Four works have been omitted from the Bibliography and six new ones inserted.

**India, Pakistan and the West.** By Percival Spear, Home University Library, Oxford University Press, 2nd Edition, 1952, pp. 251, \$2.00.

Another second edition, whose predecessor in 1949 was well received. A whole new chapter in this case (Chapter xiii) deals briefly with the events since independence in India and Pakistan. In Western Pakistan in 1947 nearly one man in five was a refugee. In the economic and the political fields Pakistan has demonstrated that she has maturity as well as enthusiasm. This new edition appears too early to take stock of the process of Constitution making. In general the author has done his task of historical condensation admirably and in a clear and effective style. He writes too with discerning sympathy and there is the memorable sentence here and there, as "It was, therefore, not surprising that when the Hindu stretched out his hand for the sceptre the Muslim cried out for Pakistan." (p. 91). The Bibliography on Islam is very slight, contains two errors and suggests nothing on the Prophet himself.

**Books and Periodicals in Western Languages dealing with the Near and Middle East.** A selected bibliography with special emphasis on Mediaeval and Modern Times. Edited by Richard Ettinghausen, under the auspices of the Committee on Near Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. Published by the Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C., 1951.

No less than forty-nine contributors have collaborated in this Bibliography which is intended for students and public libraries. The Editor's claim is that "the list as a whole comes as close as possible to the most useful selection of titles now feasible." No doubt some experts will want to dispute the entries or omissions, and at times the annotations to listed works, in their own immediate fields. But the average student will be more than grateful for the care and skill which have brought together this valuable handlist of the main Western works. It will save much tedium and should facilitate many studies. A short notice perhaps, but a frequent gratitude!

**A Guide to Iranian Area Study.** By L. P. Elwell Sutton, under the auspices of the Committee on Near Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies. 1952, pp. 235.

A successor to J. Kingsley Birge's *Guide to Turkish Area Study*.

Works in English, French, German and Italian are included, described under topics, to each of which there is a brief introduction outlining the further lines of study before listing the books available. The Bibliography itself occupies 72 pages and lists 818 works or articles discussing Iran. Fifty pages are devoted to a chronology of Iranian history from B.C. 4,000 to 1951 A.D. There are several misprints—but this perhaps is inevitable in such a work. Nor does the writer always unify his own spelling of proper names. But the main criticism is that he is not equally at home in all fields. It might have made for a more efficient Guide if the various sections of the author's arrangement had been entrusted to specialists within them. His own forte would seem to be the political. Annotated bibliography is a notoriously difficult task for one scholar over so large an area.

*Études sur la Tradition Islamique: Extraits du Tome 11 des Muhammedanische Studien.* By I. Goldziher, traduites par Léon Bercher, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, pp. 335 and Index, \$7.06.

The German original has been justly famous for half a century and this French edition has been keenly awaited. An English translation is also expected to appear. The translator, who is Director of Arab Studies in the *Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis*, has prefaced each Chapter with a brief summary of its argument. The extracts chosen deal with tradition and the strife of parties, the reaction against invention of traditions, whether for edification or diversion, the travels of traditionalists, the writing and literature of tradition. The pages of the German original are indicated serially throughout the translation. The Index follows the page numbers of the original but can readily be used here. It is gratifying to have this basic work more widely accessible.

*L'Art Nègre. Presence Africaine*, 16, Rue Henri-Barbusse, Paris, 1952, pp. 254.

A series of articles on African plastic art by French, Belgian and English specialists. Charles Ratton, while not named as editor, is credited with the main responsibility for the production of the collection. Though there is nothing of direct relevance to Muslim studies, it is a fascinating volume, not least for its annexes, one of which deals with Black Orpheus—negro-African poetry. Take these lines, for example:

“Listen to the white world  
Horribly tired from its immense effort.  
Listen to its great victories trumpeting its defeat.  
Pity for our conquerors, omniscient and naïve.”

*Des Tentatives de Rapprochement entre le Monde de l'Islam et la Chrétienté.* By A. Perbal, O.M.I. *Studia Missionalia*, Vol. vii, pp. 269-296. A reprint. Rome, 1952.

The writer reflects on the significance of some recent developments in relations between the Holy See and the world of Islam. He cites the visits of Drs. 'Azzām Pasha and Ṭaha Ḥusain to the Vatican and summarises the attitude of positive understanding towards Islam advocated by R. P. Fausti, R. P. Jean 'Abd-al-Jalīl, Professor Louis Gardet and others, who have shown “the path towards a fraternal

symbiosis" with Islam. It is emphasised that an alert minority in Islam has given real evidence of a constructive attitude towards Christianity—an attitude which the Church should strive to reciprocate and foster, not with a view to some disloyal syncretism, but in the hope of mutual awareness, the dissipation of prejudice and common action against contemporary secularism. Witness, not baptism, is the primary vocation of the Christian Church.

**What the Arabs Think.** By W. R. Polk and W. J. Butler. Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, No. 96, 1952, pp. 63, 35 cents.

A brief and somewhat sketchy survey of the Arab World today, written, however, against the background of some local contact. A few cartoons from the Arabic press are reproduced. The map of the Muslim world seems unaware that Muslims remaining in the new India still warrant inclusion in that world. It is odd to find the succession of Abū Bakr to the Prophet likened to a *coup d'état*. (p. 26). "Several million landless agricultural workers" (p. 22) in Egypt would seem to be an exaggeration. But these are small points. For a headline booklet it is fair and useful. The trouble is that headlines are not all. "What to think of the Arabs" might have been a better one for these pages.

**Muḥammad in the Qur'ān, and other Quranic Studies.** By S.M.A., Islamic Series, No. 1, the 'Abbās Manzil Library, Allahabad, 1952, pp. 323, \$1.00.

The contents of this book are reprinted from the author's contributions to *The Islamic Review*, of Woking, England, as the first of a new series of books promoting Islam in India. The writer discusses various aspects of Muslim belief as derived from the Qur'ān, with extensive quotations. The general drift of the discussion is familiar enough. There are a number of unhappy expressions (e.g. "Let the pseudo-Muslims stew in their own juice." p. 27) and numbers of misspelt or mis-printed words.

**Mohammad in the Bible.** By 'Abdu-l-Aḥad Dāwud. Islamic Series, No. 2; the 'Abbās Manzil Library, Allahabad, 1952, pp. 393, \$1.00.

The second book in the Allahabad series purports on its title page and cover to be by a Christian priest, the Rev. David Benjamin Kaldani. However it appears within that it was written by him only after his conversion to Islam. It discusses exhaustively the passages in the Bible which it believes refer to the Prophet of Arabia. The lines of argument are well known. Beginning with the premise that in so far as it is trustworthy the Bible adumbrates the teaching of Muḥammad and foretells his coming, and in so far as it does not, it is corrupted, one can readily deduce numerous passages and interpret them in that sense. This book and its predecessor are a measure of the patience we need in the Christian Church and of the lack of a depth and objectivity Muslims have still to bring to Biblical studies.

**The Continuity of the Prophets.** By Myrtle Campbell, Pageant Press, New York, 1952, pp. 169, \$3.00.

A popular exposition of the work of the prophets through history according to the Bahā'i faith. The appearance of the New Prophet,

Bahā'ullāh, renews the Muḥammadan line which ended with the eleventh Imām and also marks the culmination of all earlier prophecy. Whereas the former prophets ministered to single areas or divisions of humanity, the Bahā'ullāh is the Divine manifestation for the age of World Unity. The basic thesis here that all religion suffers decay and calls for renewal surely fails to understand that the Incarnation is by its very nature irrepeatable. God's self-disclosure thereby, once perfected, avails in its timelessness for every generation in time, through the Holy Spirit, Whose presence makes possible renewed apprehension of that which itself never needs renewing because it never grows old.

**The New State of Israel.** By Gerald de Gaury, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1952, pp. 253 and Index, \$3.95.

The author, who has resided in and written on the Arab Near East, here presents an objective and carefully documented picture of the new fact of Israel—"a great camp of forthright pioneers." Controversy over Israel Arab-wise, he holds, should not lead to neglect of its immense significance as a battle with nature, an encounter between resolution and skill on the one hand and exacting conditions on the other, with high and precious stakes. The book offers a factual survey of all important aspects of the new State, from the Constitution to its press and architecture. There are twenty-four plates, a select bibliography and a glossary. There is a brief summary of religious communities. (Here the author seems to have used an unusual adjective in referring to "The Evangelic Arab Congregation.") A sound and dispassionate handbook to the new Israel.

**Seleccion de Conferencias pronunciadas en la Academia de Interventores, 1949,** 50, 51. Tetuan, Spanish Morocco, 1952, pp. 184 and 169.

These two Reports are reprints of lectures on Islam given under the auspices of the High Commission of Indigenous Affairs in the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco. There are twenty in all by various authors. Subjects include Mysticism in Islam, Spanish Explorers of Mediterranean Africa, Legends and Superstitions, Rome and the Berbers and Architecture.

**La Mention du Nom Divin en Mystique Musulmane.** By L. Gardet. Extrait de la Revue Thomiste, 1952, No. 3, pp. 37.

The well-known co-author of *Introduction à la Théologie Musulmane* discusses the technique of *dhikr* among Muslim mystics and suggests a comparison with the re-iteration of the name of Jesus in some Christian communities. He examines the forms of *dhikr* and the experience, interior and exterior, to which the practice gives rise.

**Marxism or Islam.** By Mazharuddin Siddiqi, Nashat-e-Saniah Press, Hyderabad, 1951, pp. 312.

Any examination of Marxism by a Muslim writer is of obvious interest to those Christians who believe that its strictures and theories demand a radical answer. Their disappointment will be all the greater when the refutation of Communism fails at important points to grapple with its real nature. This work, which is shorter than its

312 pages might suggest, makes many philosophical points with which there would be general agreement. But it is content, as many Muslims are at this point, with *zakāt* and the prohibition of usury as the sufficient answer to both capitalism and the Communist.

*Al-Sigilu-l-Thaqāfi*: 1950. Cairo, Idāratu-l-Tasjili-l-Thaqāfi, 1952, pp. 516.

This annual register is the publication of the Egyptian Government and offers a careful and comprehensive survey of books published, University lectures, periodicals and magazines, cultural societies, museums, conferences, exhibitions, films and plays. It is, therefore, a valuable book of reference for all those interested in Egyptian arts and sciences. It is admirably produced and well-ordered. But its most impressive feature is the vigor and variety of the intellectual life it records.

Resolutions adopted by the Different Organizations of U.N.O. on the Palestine Question. Syrian Ministry of the Interior, Damascus, 1952, pp. 152.

The Syrian Office for Palestinian Refugees has gathered together the various United Nations' resolutions on Palestine, from 1947-1952, here printed in both English and French. The Preface remarks that it is important to remember what these recommendations in fact were, in assessing the *de facto* situation but it adds that "a nation desiring . . . an effective solution of its various problems must depend on the exertions of its own citizens and not on mere decisions and recommendations."

Philosophical Periodicals. An Annotated World List. By David Baumgardt. Library of Congress, Washington, pp. 78 and Index, 65 cents.

Offering basic information on the periodical literature in philosophy in some seventy political areas, this survey will be welcomed. It lists in all 489 works including some whose philosophical affinities are somewhat tenuous. Only one journal (in educational philosophy) is included for Pakistan and there are some omissions for Egypt where *Al-Hilal* appears but *Majallat al-Azhar* does not. *Al-Mashriq* of Beirut does not appear, though *Ibla*, from Tunis, does. Iraq and Syria have no listed representatives. (*The Muslim World* is reported to be edited by H. V. White.) Over-all, however, such attempts as these to assemble the world's magazine literature in any single field are laudable and helpful.

The Suez Canal in World Affairs. By Hugh J. Schonfield. The Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, pp. 174, \$4.50.

An initial Chapter discusses the isthmus of Suez in Pharaonic times. Then the engineering achievements of De Lesseps and the still massive political reverberations of his handiwork. Those interested in a detailed and detached account of the Canal, its history and its workings, the ideals and conflicts which have centered around it, will be grateful for this narrative by an author already well-known for his biography of De Lesseps. Here is the story of the pick-axe which linked the waters of two seas,—and of a dangerous hatchet which has still to be buried.

Developments of great interest in Saudi Arabia are proceeding apace, in the realms of education, public health and public opinion. The Council of Education for the year 1371 A.H. reports the establishment in Mecca of a Teachers' Training College to supply teachers for a growing number of rural schools. It is also taking steps to improve teachers' salaries and to encourage students by scholarships and subsidies. A growing number of Saudi Arabia pupils are being sent abroad, either to Egypt or beyond, for educational training. Meanwhile Radio Mecca announces that 22 translators versed in modern languages are being recruited for work in the Saudi Arabian army. In the cities of Medina and Riyadh, extensive reform projects are announced. H.R.H. the Crown Prince has ordered the paving of all squares and streets and the principal roads leading to Medina, the building of a municipal electrical plant, and other amenities, the completion of Medina College as the greatest school in Arabia and the revival of Muslim scholarship in the Mosque of the Prophet. Artesian wells are to be drilled at several places on the pilgrims' route to Medina to tap newly discovered underground water. Public works and water projects are also ordered for Riyadh where the old walls that witnessed King Ibn Saud's dramatic coup of 1902 are to be demolished to make way for expansion. The Saudi Arabian Government has also expressed willingness to lend Syria the funds necessary for laying again the railroad from Damascus to the Hijaz, which has been out of use since 1924. A joint conference of Saudi Arabian, Syrian and Jordanian officials is taking up this matter.

Saudi Arabia has three newspapers—*Al Bilād al-Sa'ūdiyyah* appearing three times a week in Mecca, *Al Madīnah al Munawwarah*, a Medinan weekly and the semi-official Government paper *Umm al-Qurā*. The reading public would seem to be becoming more articulate. The first two mentioned carry increasing space devoted to editorial comment and readers' letters. Public opinion is thus making itself felt on matters like the parking problem in Mecca, stray dogs who disturb prayers, radio in the Holy City, water for the ritual ablutions and citizens' complaints on various other issues. Review and feature articles are also increasingly used by the editors. The Arab press in general throughout the Middle East is organising itself for a bigger future. In April last an all Arab Press Conference was inaugurated in Cairo which is to be held annually in different Arab capitals by rotation. Iraq has reportedly offered to abolish visas between Iraq and other Arab countries if Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and Jordan will reciprocate.

Kuwait has apparently added diamonds to oil in its *embarras de richesse*. The Middle East Diamond Company considers prospects bright enough to request a concession from the Shaikh for the extraction of diamonds on a fifty-fifty basis. Meanwhile the Shaikh has recently inaugurated a water distillation plant which will supply Kuwait with about one million gallons of pure water daily. Other costly construction projects are underway. Bahrian also is seemingly on the verge of important new technical developments. The British Companies there are preparing a scheme whereby gaseous wastes can be used for lighting and heating purposes at very cheap rates. A start is

being made in Manama, Bahrain, and the plan later is to construct a pipeline from the Gulf oil-fields, parallel to the existing one carrying oil, to bring cheap light and heat to the countries of the Mediterranean littoral.

The Syrian authorities are putting into operation a plan for the distribution of state lands to peasants. Priority is being given to peasants already at work on the lands in question, which are being sold to them at prices not in excess of 25% of the actual value. Where irrigation water is available the plots for sale are limited to 10 hectares: otherwise 50 hectares is the maximum area for each purchaser. The Egyptian Government for its part is expecting to distribute about half a million acres to one hundred thousand families, a number that will leave the larger part of the landless peasantry still landless. It is hoped, however, to provide for yet more families by desert reclamation.

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In January last a Seminar for the study of social welfare in the Arab world was held in Damascus attended by delegates from the seven states of the Arab League and Libya. Muḥammad Ḥassān al Ashmāwī, President of the Social Affairs Committee of the Arab League, was vice-president of the Seminar. Among the recommendations of the Seminar was one for a study of ways in which *zakat* could be incorporated into modern legislation and made available for public assistance programs along with other revenue from taxation. The establishment of an Arab institute for social studies was advocated as well as fiscal reforms designed to make taxation an effective means for the re-distribution of incomes as a way to social justice. The delegates expressed hopefulness of concrete results, citing the effect which an early seminar, held in Cairo in 1950 and devoted to the study of rural land problems, had exerted on the ideals now being implemented by the Naguib régime.

The nature and extent of the links between that régime and the Muslim Brotherhood have been a matter of deep interest for many observers. The anniversary in the spring of the assassination of Shaikh Ḥasan al-Bannā, founder of the Brotherhood, was marked by a visit to his tomb on the part of General Naguib and a speech in memory of the first Supreme Guide of the Brotherhood, who had eloquently affirmed the indispensability of religion to the cause of justice and the spirit of sacrifice. The Vice-Chairman of the Muslim Brotherhood has recently affirmed that Islam "gives the same rights to women as it does to men." He spoke in the People's University at Tanta, after a lecture by Madame Doria Shafiq on "The Duties of Egyptian Women under the New Régime."

"Al-Ahrām," the noted Cairo daily, has suggested that mosques be provided with public libraries under the auspices of the Ministries of Education and Awqāf. This would enable the people who frequent the mosques, in response to General Naguib's appeal to do so rather than spending their leisure in coffee shops, to find opportunity to develop their minds. The March issue of *Majallat al-Azhar* takes up the suggestion favourably and comments that historically mosques have always been institutes of knowledge. The decadence of Islam came only when the devil invented the coffee-house and herded Arabs into it to the detriment of their life in both this world and the next.

The first general elections in Indonesia will be held in 1954. Parliament has finally accepted the Elections Law providing for the election of about 500 representatives to a Constituent Assembly and 250 members of Parliament. Registration of voters will begin in July. The cost of the elections is estimated at 350 million rupiahs. There are about fifty million eligible voters. The minimum voting age is 18 and women have equal voting rights. Many, however, under eighteen will also vote, since all married persons have the suffrage and many Indonesian brides are below the age of 18. Fifty million registration cards have already been printed. The information Ministry is energetically pursuing a program designed to develop an election-awareness throughout the vast archipelago-Republic. Another immense experiment in Muslim modernity is thus under way.

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According to the Egyptian press, a Muslim appears for the first time as a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, which was reduced from 36 to 14 members after the death of Stalin. He is Sabrov from Azerbaijan. It is also reported by the Arab news Agency that ten Soviet students have arrived in Cairo to attend Al-Azhar University and that others are to follow. The establishment of an air service between Soviet Muslim territory and Saudi Arabia is said also to have been proposed, for the reason that a greater number of Soviet Muslims desire to perform the pilgrimage and are to be encouraged to do so. The same source indicates that an invitation has been extended to the Mufti of Palestine to visit Moscow. Some reviewers suggest that these steps betoken a change of attitude towards Muslims in the Soviet Union on the part of Communist authority.

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#### CONFERENCE ON ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

The Library of Congress and Princeton University are sponsoring a conference in September 1953 on Islamic Civilization and Culture. Thirty eminent Muslim scholars and intellectual leaders from countries of the Middle East and Asia are being invited to participate: Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Malaya, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey and Yemen. There will be a similar number of American delegates.

Meetings will be held at Princeton, New Jersey, September 8-17, 1953 and in Washington, D. C., September 17-19, 1953.

The conference is known as the "Colloquium on Islamic Culture in Its Relation to the Contemporary World." Papers and discussions will be concerned with aspects of one of the three following fields:

- (a) Classical Elements in Islamic Culture;
- (b) Islamic Law and Society;
- (c) Intellectual and Spiritual Movements in Islam Today.

The conference is being held in recognition of the need for further knowledge in the United States of the cultural bases of Islamic civilization and of the spiritual and intellectual aspects of Islamic life. It is anticipated that through the increased understanding in the United States of the significant movements in Islam today, new lines of research and study will be opened up.

The cooperation of the State Department has been secured in increasing the number of Muslim delegates who can attend the Colloquium. Through the Educational Exchange Service of the International Information Administration, a number of prominent Muslim scholars have been invited to the United States for three months during which they will attend the conference.

Dr. Bayard Dodge, President Emeritus of the American University, Beirut, Lebanon, has been appointed Executive Director of the Colloquium by the Library of Congress and Princeton University. It is hoped that some of the papers read at the Colloquium may appear in this Quarterly during 1954.

An Associate Editor of this Quarterly and a former Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, now at Aligarh, India, has been appointed to the Hulsean Lectureship at Cambridge University. His theme will be "CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IN RELATION TO THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAM." It is excellent that a lectureship of such long-standing and high repute should be devoted to this theme and that both should be entrusted to such a scholar as the Rev. Dr. Laurence E. Browne, until lately Professor of Theology in the University of Leeds, England.

The death of Dr. Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, President of the Arab Academy, Damascus, occurred on April 2nd last. He was a distinguished historian and man of letters who had studied in the West. His most well-known work, published in Cairo in two volumes in 134-36, was *Al-Islām wa-l-Ḥadārat al-'Arabiyyat*. It was an ambitious survey of Muslim culture and its history. It castigated certain forms of Muslim conservatism but was also critical of much Western scholarship.

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Among recent Arabic publications in Lebanon is a book by two well-known Muslim writers, Dr. Muṣṭafā Khālīdī and Dr. 'Umar Farrūkh, with the title: *Al-Tabshīr w-al-Ist'imār fī-l-bilādi-l-'Arabiyya*. Its vigorous thesis is that Christian missions have been only, always and consciously the handmaid of 'imperialism'. A fuller examination of the authors' points will be made in a forthcoming review, since they deserve full and temperate study. Their case overlooks much the recognition of which would have embarrassed it. But it is the will to make it which must be our final concern. Antipathy such as here appears can only be dissolved by the love that beareth and hopeth all things.

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## SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER  
*Union Theological Seminary Library*

### I. GENERAL

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS FROM JORDAN. G. L. Harding and W. L. Reed. (In *The Biblical Archaeologist*, New Haven. February, 1953. pp. 2-17).

Tells of activities in Dhiban, in the caves of Murabba'at and Qumran, in Bethany and in Jericho.

DIE BLACHERNEN. Alfons Maria Schneider. (In *Oriens*, Paris. 1951. pp. 82-120).

Describes and illustrates a complete archaeological survey of this district of Istanbul.

MODERN TRANS-SAHARAN ROUTES. Benjamin E. Thomas. (In *The Geographical Review*, New York. April, 1952. pp. 267-282).

Indicates various routes to follow and the services and facilities offered.

PATRIOTIC POETRY IN MODERN IRAN. S. R. Shafaq. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1952. pp. 417-428).

A study, with numerous quotations, of poems appearing since 1850.

RECENT ARABIC LITERATURE ON ARABISM. Nicola A. Ziadeh. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1952. pp. 468-473).

Discusses the work of eighteen authors writing from 1913 to 1953.

SEEKING THE TEMPLE OF SIN, MOON-GOD OF HARRAN. Seton Lloyd. (In *The Illustrated London News*, London. February 21, 1953. pp. 286-289).

Throws light on the Sabian sect through work done at Sultantepe.

UNCOVERING A LOST CITY OF THE SAHARA. Marguerite Van Berchem. (In *The Illustrated London News*, London. January 31, 1953. pp. 165-167).

Many illustrations round out an account of Sedrata, the thousand-year-old capital of the Ibadites, Islamic schismatics of Southern Algeria.

### II. ARABIA

THE EXCAVATION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE MOON AT MARIB. Frank P. Albright. (In *The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Baltimore. December, 1952. pp. 25-38).

Describes interesting finds in the Yemen.

LES RECHERCHES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES AU YEMEN. Kamel Ayyad. (In *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, Paris. 1951. pp. 76-94).

Tells of explorations and finds in the area.

## III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE JUDEO-TATS IN THE CAUCASUS. Rudolf Loewenthal. (In *Historia Judaica*, New York. April, 1952. pp. 61-82).

Data on a dwindling Iranian-speaking community.

PROBLEMS IN THE INTEGRATION OF THE AFGHAN NATION. Vladimir Cervin. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1952. pp. 400-416).

In Afghanistan, composed of a diverse population, the Government is striving to establish a stable organization through the dissolution of the tribes and through gaining the cooperation of the financial and religious groups.

VON DEN KARLUK ZU DEN KARACHANIDEN. Omeljan Pritsak. (In *Seitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1951. pp. 270-300).

Presents the history of the Turkic peoples and describes their contacts with the Chinese in the seventh and eighth centuries.

## IV. QUR'AN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

## V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST. A. N. Poliak. (In *Middle East Affairs*, New York. June-July, 1952. pp. 165-170).

Discusses how neglected land may be improved for cultivation and how the poor, backward, discouraged peasant masses may become efficient farmers.

AN ARAB-EGYPTIAN FAMILY. Ilse Lichtenstadter. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1952. pp. 379-399).

An intimate picture of the life, thought, and customs observed in a village home not far from Cairo.

THE ARAB REFUGEES. Owen Tweedy. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1952. pp. 338-343).

After an investigation in the troubled area, the author suggests various helpful compromises.

THE ASWAN DAM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT. Leon Feiner. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1952. pp. 464-467).

Describes the plans for a hydroelectric power station at Aswan, which will in turn develop a steel mill and a fertilizer plant.

BOOM TIME IN KUWAIT. Paul E. Case and George Rodger. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. December, 1952. pp. 783-802).

The great wealth accumulating from the rich oil deposits is revolutionizing this formerly quiet country and Shaikh 'Abdul-lāh al Sālīm al Subāh is aiding his people through schools, roads, hospitals and—above all—with a project to obtain ample water through distillation.

INDONESIAN CHARACTER AND LIFE. H. Rofé (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. January, 1953. pp. 14-16).

The author shows that the Western veneer acquired from the

Dutch is momentarily hiding the truly Eastern nature of this far-flung race.

NATIONALISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS IN FRENCH NORTH AFRICA.

R. F. (In *The World To-day*, London. June, 1952. pp. 249-257).

The influence of labor, especially powerful in Tunis, will undoubtedly affect all Islamic countries and spur the nationalistic spirit.

L'OEUVRE DE L'ACADÉMIE ARABE DE DAMAS. Henri Laoust and Sami Dahan. (In *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, Damascus. 1949-1951. pp. 161-219).

Covers the years 1921 to 1950, giving history, activities, membership and publications.

RELIGIOUS OPPOSITION TO NATIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

Emile Marmorstein. (In *International Affairs*, London. July, 1952. pp. 344-359).

Discusses the influence of the Tijāniyya in Turkey and the Guardians of the City in Jerusalem.

A TRANS-ISRAEL CANAL AS ALTERNATIVE TO SUEZ, Lord Strabolgi. (In *New Commonwealth*, London. June 23, 1952. pp. 601-602).

Presents two plans—Gaza to 'Aqaba or the Mediterranean via the Galilee or Dead Seas to 'Aqaba.

UNITY AND DISUNITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST. J. C. Hurewitz. (In *International Conciliation*, New York. May, 1952. pp. 197-250).

The need for stability and the pressure for economic and technical improvements cause conflict.

## VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

BRITAIN AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Sir Reader Bullard. (In *The Yale Review*, New Haven. Summer, 1952. pp. 539-549).

The increasing evidences of intense nationalism and the ever-present threat of Soviet expansion make Britain's position critical and difficult.

DOING BUSINESS THE IRAQI WAY. C. Berkeley Cooke, Jr. (In *Commentary*, New York. January, 1953. pp. 46-52).

An intimate and revealing account of dealings with the Iraqis while the author was settling the affairs of a bank owned by a Jew.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Peter G. Franck. (In *The Middle East Journal*, Washington, D. C. Autumn, 1952. pp. 429-454).

A thought-provoking article on the aim of Middle East governments to develop their national resources with the least possible foreign aid and on the need for the United States and Europe to show enough disinterestness in such operations to calm Eastern suspicions of Western imperialism.

EGYPT'S "BLESSED" REVOLUTION. Leigh White. (In *Harper's*, New York. January, 1953. pp. 83-90).

An on-the-spot description of the overthrow of Farūq—what led to it, who managed it and what has been accomplished so far by the Naguib regime.

FRENCH MOROCCO. Alice Taylor. (In *Focus*, London, April, 1952. pp. 1-5).

The author gives background material, geographic interpretation and the place of Morocco in the world of to-day.

HAS FRANCE A CASE IN TUNISIA? Elizabeth Monroe. (In *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, Charlottesville. February, 1953).

An analysis of the current situation with future possibilities.

PILGRIMS FOLLOW THE CHRISTMAS STAR. Maynard Owen Williams. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, D. C. December, 1952. pp. 841-856).

A beautifully illustrated journey but showing the chaos caused by the Palestine-Jordan partition where, for instance, the Trappist Monastery at Latrun has its monastic buildings in Jordan but its fruitful land in Israel where it can not be cultivated.

MIDDLE EASTERN BATTLEGROUND. Mark Alexander. (In *The Twentieth Century*, London. March, 1953. pp. 203-209).

The Cold War in the Arab countries shows competition to win support from the intellectuals and the middle class and the West should avoid any form of appeasement but should be firm and fair.

MOROCCO GROWS RESTIVE. Marc T. Greene. (In *The Fortnightly*, London. July, 1952. pp. 24-29).

Tells of irritations caused by the American military construction operations.

PERSIA BETWEEN FEUDALISM AND TERROR. A. J. Fischer. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. August, 1952. pp. 74-80).

A gloomy picture of chaotic conditions in this problematic country.

RECENT CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SUDAN. R. C. Mayall. (In *International Affairs*, New York. July, 1952. pp. 310-321).

Describes the process of government since 1899 and presents in detail the Constitution of 1948, the Commission of thirteen Sudanese set up in 1951 and the preparations for self-government.

## VII. MISSIONS TO MUSLIMS

THE ARAB WORLD AND THE CHRISTIAN DEBT. Kenneth Cragg. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1953. pp. 151-161).

The greater the unrest disturbing and undermining the security of the Near East, the more consecrated must be the efforts of Christians and the Christian Church.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN NON-COMMUNIST MUSLIM ASIA. Hendrik Kraemer. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1953. pp. 144-150).

Although the position of the Church in the Near and Middle East is precarious and methods and approaches must be reshaped, Pakistan and Indonesia offer encouraging opportunities.

THE KANSAS-SUDAN MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE Y.M.C.A., 1889-1891. C. Howard Hopkins. (In *Church History*, Chicago. December, 1952. pp. 314-322).

The account of a frustrating clash between a Y.M.C.A. project and the orthodox missionary policy of that time.

UNITED STATES COLLEGE IN THE NEAR EAST. (In *Life*, New York. March 23, 1953. pp. 134-141).

Describes the work of the American University of Beirut, established in 1866 as the Syrian Protestant College, and illustrates its many activities with fine photographs.

WITH METHODISM FROM TUNIS TO ALGIERS. E. F. F. Bishop. (In *The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1953. pp. 162-171).

Gives a stirring picture of a tour through lands rich in Christian memories and in deep need of Christian missionary effort to-day.