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EDITORIAL

NOT FOR BUT WITH ORIENTAL CHRISTIANS

A century ago the first missionaries to the Near East were sent out for the distinct purpose of proclaiming the Gospel to the Moslems. Upon their arrival they found themselves face to face with ancient Christian churches—Greek, Armenian, Coptic, which for five centuries had been under the restraining and heart-breaking domination of Islam.

Those five centuries of Moslem over-lordship had wrought havoc in these churches. The illiteracy, the stagnation, the intolerance of Islam had sifted through in a thousand places into the Christian communities. The devitalizing of spiritual religion to a nationalistic cult, where State and Church are one, where nationality and religion are confused, as in Islam, had laid hold of the Christian churches in the Near East.

In spite of all the deadening influences, the Gospel was still read, though often in an unknown tongue; the Cross remained the symbol of a life laid down for the sins of the world, even when the spiritual depths of its message were lost on many; the name of Jesus was to be heard on the lips of children, even though they knew little of His wondrous life.

Toward these Christian communities the early missionaries felt a special responsibility. They followed

the admonition of St. Paul to "Remember especially the household of faith." "Love the brethren." So they gave themselves first of all to their Christian brothers. Instantly there was a ready response. New light broke into the darkness. The Gospel was proclaimed from the church altars, interest in Bible study revived, prayer was heard in the home, but persecution followed. Gospel preaching was forbidden. Bible study was frowned upon, private prayer spoken against. Those were hard times.

Out of the trial brought upon the more spiritual souls by a leadership which cared more for its own glory than for the glory of God, there came forth the Protestant churches of the Near East. They were formed by men and women driven out of the old churches by persecution and excommunication. These were men and women who, like our own Pilgrim Fathers, for conscience sake faced the loss of all things that they might worship God according to the dictates of their hearts and pray together for the triumph of Christ's kingdom.

Thank God those hard days are over. Little by little a change has come into the old churches of the Near East. The mission schools, the friendships formed, as time went by, between the missionaries and members of the old churches, the growth of tolerance in the old communions, have all contributed to this end. And in these latter days in Turkey, Gregorian and Protestant, Greek Orthodox and Greek Evangelical have faced persecution and death together for the faith that is in Christ. A new spirit of cooperation is felt throughout the Christian forces of the Near East today.

There are many links that should bind us even closer. We have, after all, the same Gospel in our churches, we repeat the same great general confession of our faith in "God the Father Almighty and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord." Together we hold to the "Communion of Saints," and look together for the Resurrection morning. And when the hour of persecution comes, it is often

the brother of the old church who suffers the most for his allegiance to Christ.

There is a hand held out today by these historic churches. We should grasp that hand with all the warmth that Christian brotherhood demands. How well I remember the Christmas morning when I preached for the first time in a great Gregorian church in Asia Minor. I had been most cordially invited by the local bishop and the Armenian Committee. Four years before I had stood in the streets of that city while these same friends were being driven out to exile and death. Only one-third of those who went out on that terrible day came back. Their bones whiten the sands of the desert, but they died as Christians. And on that early Christmas morning, amid the light of hundreds of candles, I tried to bring to those who were left, who had survived those years of horror, the message of the Christ-Child. Since then I have spoken in both Armenian and Greek churches. In fact throughout the length and breadth of the Near East today the old churches are reaching out hands of brotherhood to us. When Sherwood Eddy made his recent tour of this part of the world, he was given freedom to speak in the pulpits of the largest and most important churches of the Near East. The bishops and clergy everywhere gave their unstinted friendship to Mr. Eddy's mission.

On my way to the great Conference of the World's Christian Student Federation in Peking, I am bearing a message of brotherly love from the Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church of Asia Minor. In his greeting to the Christians gathering at that Conference he writes: "Though I am absent in the body from your midst I am present in spirit, and pray with all my soul for the success of the work of this apostolic convention, whose fruits will be tasted by those near and those far off. Convey, I beg you, the greetings of the Church in Smyrna, and of all the churches of the Seven Candles of the Apocalypse, to all the delegates."

Today throughout the Near East missionaries are preaching in the old churches, and the leaders of these churches share in our services. In many college chapels, in student conferences, and in other services they are glad to share. In the Coptic Church in Egypt there is a society known as the Friends of the Bible, composed of young men. This society was formed to awaken a deeper interest in Bible study among the men of the Coptic Church. In Asia Minor there is a strong group of young men in the Greek Church who do lay-preaching in the churches and in halls. They have a preaching service every Sunday afternoon in a large hall in Smyrna. Among the student volunteers in the volunteer bands in the colleges the most earnest and active of the members have been and are from the old churches.

In this new day, then, what a challenge presents itself to us all who love the name of Jesus to join in closer fellowship and to set our faces with new determination to the great task of winning the Near East to Jesus Christ. These early churches burned once with the missionary passion, again may that spirit of devotion to spread the Gospel tidings to those who know not the love of God as it is in Jesus Christ be fanned to flame. Then together let us go forward to this most difficult of all the tasks which confront the Church today, that of winning the Moslem world to the Redeemer.

Smyrna, Asia Minor.

S. RALPH HARLOW.

THE ARAB MIND AND THE GOSPEL

The Arab has a religious mind, far more religious on the average than has the American. To him there are no secondary causes. It rains because God sends the rain, and when drought devastates the country, and animals die and men go hungry, it is because God withholds the rain. This conception of the omnipotence of God, including everything, directing everything, silent, inscrutable, and overwhelming, is a magnificent thing. We of the West may well study it, and learn from it.

Further, God is not simply omnipotent, He is immediately present. He sees what is done, and His hand shapes the circumstances of the day for good or for ill. It is His favor that gives a speedy journey, and His will that brings delays and annoyances. It is not a light profanity that puts the name of God into the mouth of the Arab continually. To have the name of God on his lips, and the thought of God in his heart, is to the Arab a very great virtue, and who is there who will call him mistaken?

Moreover it is a mistake to say that the Arab expects to purchase an entrance into Heaven by means of his good works. Good works are important, and the grade of his reward is supposed to depend on them, but Salvation is another matter. I once listened with great interest to a sermonette by Bin Saoud, the religious and political head of the "Ikhwan." Quoting some ancient authority to the effect that the greater part of those entering Heaven enter it because of their bad deeds, and the greater part of those in hell suffer there because of their good deeds, he proceeded to explain. Good deeds are good things, but a man habitually performing them usually falls a victim to pride toward the end of his life, and on account of this pride he goes to hell, whereas the man who has done bad deeds all his life is likely toward its close to realize his wickedness,

and repent, and humbly ask God for mercy, and because of his humility he goes to Heaven.

The Arab has a religious mind, and there are beautiful things in it, but any one who supposes that he is therefore knocking eagerly at the door of the Kingdom of God is vastly mistaken. An impenetrable wall of pride and self-satisfaction seems to surround him on every side. The Kingdom of God he cannot see, and he would not want it if he could. Half of the appeal of his religion lies in the pride and self-satisfaction it stimulates as he thinks of the wretched infidels that constitute the rest of the world, and rejoices in his infinite superiority over them. Their property is his, and even their lives, if he is strong enough to take them, and this spoliation is a righteous act of justice because of their hard-hearted persistence in mistaken beliefs. This cruelty and pride increase with the fervency of religious life, and the possibilities of such a development quite surpass the imagination of an ordinary humane and tolerant Westerner.

What is the reaction of such an individual to the Gospel? Philosophically he regards it as blasphemous and silly. So foolish indeed, that for any sane man, to state it is to refute it. The idea that the great omnipotent God incarnated Himself in human flesh, and suffered the disgrace and uncleanness of human birth; that he lived the life of a common man on earth, and finally suffered the death of a criminal at the hands of his enemies; all this is too foolish to need refutation.

This Gospel too, is vague and nebulous in its demands. Who ever heard of a religion whose devotees could eat what they wished, and fast whenever they pleased, if indeed they cared to do so at all. A religion that allows a man to pray whenever he feels like it, and in any place where he may happen to be, is no religion at all. The Arab wants to have the smallest detail of his religious practice stipulated. He is told just how to pray and when, and what is allowed and what is forbidden in food. He

rejects with some levity a religion which leaves all these and a multitude of other important ceremonial matters to the whim of the individual, as matters of no importance.

Bewildered by the vague and nebulous character of the ceremonial demands of the Gospel, the Arab resents its ethical demands. Its teachings as to the duties of a man to his brother man he accepts only in his relations to fellow believers. The unbelieving outside world is his legitimate prey. Christ's teaching as to the relationship between men and women he utterly repudiates. In the landscape of the Arab's mind perhaps ninety per cent of everything pleasurable lies in this territory. Monogamy with no divorce he regards as reducing life to a level where it is scarcely worth living. Nor does he regard the attitude of heart that Christ exemplified as what he wants. Turning the other cheek is not an easy doctrine for any part of the world, and it is doubly hard in Arabia. The pride of heart that Islam develops in its adherents is perhaps its most astonishing achievement, and Christ's ideal of humility and self-sacrifice is rejected with scorn.

Thus it is that the Arab turns away from the Gospel, partly in disgust, and partly in bewilderment, and partly in sharp resentment. He turns away, that is, from its spoken and written presentation. Incarnated in the lives of men and women, however, he does not turn away. He finds these infidel missionaries friendly people, whose sincerity and helpfulness none can deny. The day may come when the spoken and written word will be the chief means of evangelizing the Arab. Now the one thing that reaches his heart is acquaintance and friendship with Christians. Medical and educational institutions both are effective means of work, but much more important than either is simple acquaintance and association with the friendly Christian missionary. The Arab responds very quickly and very deeply to simple unaffected democratic friendliness. Even the fanatical "Ikhwan" melt under that treatment. They come in large numbers to the Christian doc-

tor, and none are more friendly and appreciative, once they become acquainted. Perhaps the most effective means of presenting Christ of all is the visiting of the missionary women in the Arab homes. There seems to be no Arab community so fanatical that such visits are not welcome, and especially in the early days of the occupation of a new station it is probably the most important means that we have of bringing the Arab into contact with Christ and His teachings.

The above description of the mind of the Arab and its reaction to the Gospel is more historical than actual in some parts of Arabia. Along the coast and in the Mesopotamian cities he is thinking new thoughts. It is a day of scientific investigation, of universal criticism, and of doubt, the world over. However imperfectly the actual results of science and criticism may be understood, their spirit has penetrated, with the result that old religious sanctions have largely disappeared, and little or nothing has taken their place. Hair-splitting arguments over some point of Moslem theology no longer interest the rising generation. Rather the question is whether there is a God, whether there is any Divine revelation.

Associated with this, and often so emphasized as to dominate the whole situation, is a growing nationalistic aspiration, which seems to command all the attention and the devotion that religion once did. It is useless for us to urge that a separate national existence would be to no one's advantage; that tutelage for a time by some of the Western powers will be to the interest of every sort of sound progress, and that the vast majority of the people are still utterly illiterate and quite unready for self-government. The world over, the current is setting in one direction, and the growth of national consciousness is one of the most striking phenomena of recent times.

How do such men react to the Gospel message? It must be admitted that they regard it as one more means for their denationalization. Their own religion they defend

fanatically against all attacks, because they see in it perhaps the strongest existing bond of national solidarity. It is not our function to criticize their idea of religion thus reduced to a mere political convenience. While they do not know it, the question thus raised is a far more serious one for us than it is for them. If we are presenting a Gospel message that has as one of its effects the denationalization of the convert, and his transformation into a sort of hybrid half Easterner and half Westerner, it is high time that we corrected our message. The Church has many difficult tasks before her, few of them perhaps more difficult, and at the same time more important, than this very one of dewesternizing the Gospel for Eastern peoples. It is perhaps more a question of personal attitude than of our message. The ardent nationalist ought to find in the missionary his most sympathetic listener and adviser. As a nation we have passed through many of the same difficulties and discouragements that he faces. From the vantage point of a sincere and appreciated sympathy the missionary may even be able to give some valuable advice as to the desirable speed in social transformations, and the solidity of the foundations that are necessary, if independent national existence is to be a blessing. In any case the fear that the Christian Gospel is only one more means of completing and making permanent the domination of the Westerner, would disappear.

Any survey of the mind of the Arab in its relation to the Gospel is somewhat discouraging. It is important to present the Gospel to the Arab in every way that we can devise, and to present it freed from Western adulteration, but the winning of Arabs to Christ depends on the work of the Spirit of God, and it is to prayer perhaps even more than to increased effort, that we should address ourselves, in our desire to bring the glory and the honor of the Arab into the City of God.

Bahrein, Arabia.

PAUL W. HARRISON.

ECLECTICISM IN ISLAM

Eclecticism has been a fairly frequent phenomenon in the history both of Philosophy and of Religion. We can almost regard it as an inevitable stage in the history of every movement of thought which loses contact with the vital impulse which gave it birth. In some cases it has been due to the process of exhaustion; the thought movement finding no further source of life and power in itself seeks to supply the deficiency by drawing upon outside sources. In other cases it is due to disconnection; the movement, being cut off from contact with its own source of life, seeks to fasten itself upon others. In either case the stage of Eclecticism is only one stage from death.

Historically the most famous case of Eclecticism is that in Greek philosophy, when after the waning of the post-Aristotelian systems, such a movement appeared and reigned till, after the final flicker of Neo-platonism, Greek Philosophy went out in the dark night of Scholasticism. In this case it was due to exhaustion. Three hundred years of intense and abundantly fruitful thinking in Greece, culminated in the system of Aristotle. That was its maturity, and we can watch the life force declining though the systems of subjectivism known as Stoicism, Epicureanism, Scepticism, till in the Eclectic period we find that the disputes of Academic and Peripatetic, Stoic and Epicurean, Pyrrhonist and the leaders of the New Academy, resulted in their agreements being made prominent and their differences softened, and the reigning philosophy became a patchwork of them all. "As intellectual vigour wanes," writes Stace,¹ "there is always the tendency to forget differences, to rest, as the Orientals do, in the goodnatured and comfortable delusion that all religions and all philosophies really mean much the same

¹*A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*, 1920, p. 369.

thing. Hence Eclecticism became characteristic of the schools."

This spirit was greatly stimulated by the Romans, for they had had no share in the real life that gave birth to Greek Philosophy, and their practical nature made them impatient of the subtle metaphysical distinctions of the schools. We are told that the hard-headed pro-consul Gellius was so assured that their trifling disputes could be easily settled by a little tactful management, that, though no philosopher himself, he urged the Athenian philosophers to come to a compromise, and offered to mediate between them himself.

But even the compromises of the schools were insufficient to restore the decaying vitality of Greek philosophy, and new life was sought by incorporating Oriental elements. The old religion of the Græco-Roman world was practically dead; the old philosophy had sought, in the post-Aristotelian systems, to become a religion, but had not succeeded, so a flood of Eastern cults was allowed to flow in.² The Egyptian faith of Isis; the Thraco-Phrygian cult of Attis, of Sabazius, of Cybelle; the Persian religion of Mithra, all had their following, and as Glover says,³ "it was not merely Gods that came from the East, but a new series of religious ideas. . . . They orientalized every religion of the West and developed every superstitious and romantic tendency. In the long run, they brought philosophy to its knees, abasing it to be the apologist of everything they taught and did, and dignifying themselves by giving a philosophic colouring to their mysticism."⁴

That there was a new source of life here, Neo-platonism is a witness,⁵ but though it gave a brilliant flash in Plotinus, and showed a dim glow in Proclus and Por-

²See Erwin Rohde. *Psyche*, ii, 397.

³*Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire*, p. 24.

⁴Kalthoff holds that these Oriental religious ideas were the vehicle of the socialistic and communistic tendencies of the time. See his book *Die Entstehung des Christentums*, 1904, chap. ii.

⁵Dean Inge, in his *Philosophy of Plotinus*, protests against this, but the facts seem against him. Even though the Philosophy of Plotinus may be a development of Platonism, it gains its life from Oriental mysticism.

phyry, it quickly died away in the astrology and magic of Iamblicus. This was necessarily so, for the future belonged to Christianity which had come with a new source of life and power which the dying Paganism refused to consider.

In Jewish thought we have a similar period of Eclecticism, almost contemporary with that of Greek Philosophy, and largely indebted thereto. The solitary figure representing it is the Alexandrian Jew, Philo. In the cosmopolitan city of Alexandria, cut off from the old associations of Palestine, and in touch with the great movements of Gentile thought, Judaism began to lose its distinctiveness and thereby its vitality, and Philo's attempt to infuse energy was by an Eclecticism wherein he sought to blend Plato and Moses, crude Hebrew theology and subtle Greek metaphysics. The system was still-born.

We meet with the same phenomenon in Buddhism. The origin of the two great Schools is wrapped in obscurity, but it is perfectly clear that by the time the Indian monk Padmasambhava migrated to Tibet in the reign of Sron de Tsan, the Mahayana School had exhausted the primitive force of the movement, and was living by the incorporation of external religious forces. The Southern School, the Hinayana, has kept fairly close to the agnostic philosophy of the Buddha himself, and still preserves a more or less moribund existence, but the flourishing school is the Northern, which has been able to flourish because it has drawn into its system numerous practices of primitive animism, and borrowed largely from Hinduism, and later from Christianity.⁶ So much is this so, that in modern Mahayana Buddhism it is often difficult to find where the peculiarly Buddhist elements are. Writing of the Buddhism of Tibet, popularly known as Lamaism, Waddell says,⁷ "Primitive Lamaism may therefore be defined as a priestly mixture of Sivaite mysticism, magic and

⁶See Waddell's *Lamaism, or the Buddhism of Tibet*, 1895. The Christian borrowings were from Nestorian Missions.

⁷Op cit. p. 30. See also Grünwedel's *Der Lamaismus in Kultur der Gegenwart* I, iii, 1906, and Pozdnejev's *Skizzen aus dem lamaistischen Klosterleben in der Mongolei*, 1887.

Indo-Tibetan demonolatry, overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism, and to the present day Lamaism still retains this character." The same may be said of popular Buddhism in China and Japan, and though there has been a big infusion of Hinayana Buddhism, the same holds good of it in modern Burma.⁸ It is obvious that this eclectic stage is only one remove from the death of Buddhism altogether in the Northern School.

Early Gnosticism was an attempt at an eclectic movement in Christianity, made by men who had realized the epoch-making nature of the new faith but had not entered into its spirit and knew nothing of its experiences.⁹ But Gnosticism had a short history.¹⁰ "The first attempt," says Windelband,¹¹ "which the Gnostics made to create an adequate view of the world for the new religion, proceeded from the excited phantasies of a Syrian mingling of religions, and, in spite of the employment of Hellenistic philosophemes, led to such grotesque constructions, that the Church as it grew stronger and more definitive, was obliged to reject them." The most striking eclectic movement in Christian history, however, is the modern movement called Theosophy, a weird conglomeration of Hinduism, Buddhism, Neo-platonism, Gnostic speculation, magic and psychism, with a faint odour of Christianity about the whole.¹²

This movement was begun and is mostly carried on by

⁸For interesting evidence of the composite nature of Burmese Buddhism see J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 40 ff. in the *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*

⁹See H. Ritter, *Histoire de la Philosophie Chrétienne*, vol. i, p. 101, (traduction de J. Trullard). It is interesting that the traditional "father of all Gnostics" is Simon Magus, vide, Dr. Salmon's article on him in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. iv, p. 681 ff.

¹⁰"Docetism, with its phantom Christ, and Gnosticism with its antithesis of the just God and the good God, were not likely to satisfy mankind. Simple people felt that these things struck at their life, and they rejected them." Glover's *Conflict of Religions*, p. 263.

¹¹*History of Philosophy*, 1914, p. 214.

¹²In this connection it is most interesting to read in René Guénon's recent book, *Le Théosophisme. Histoire d'une pseudo-Religion*, 1921, p. 274—"Il nous paraît hors de doute que ces tendances soient le monopole exclusif du Protestantisme; mais c'est là qu'elles que nous avons qualifiées de 'moralistes' portent le marque de l'esprit protestant, et plus spécialement, de l'esprit du Protestantisme anglo-saxon. Nous ne voulons pas dire, certes, que ces tendances soient le monopole exclusif du Protestantisme; mais c'est là qu'elles sont prépondérantes, et c'est de là qu'elles se sont répandues plus ou moins largement dans la monde moderne. Du reste, nous trouvons encore une analogie entre le théosophisme et les courants actuels du Protestantisme (surtout le 'Protestantisme libéral,' qui en est la forme extrême, et d'ailleurs l'aboutissement logique) dans le fait de substituer une religiosité vague à la religion proprement dite, en faisant prédominer les éléments sentimentaux sur l'intellectualité, au point d'en arriver à éliminer celle-ci à peu près entièrement." Both chapters, xxvii "Le Moralisme Théosophiste" and xxviii "Théosophisme et Protestantisme," should be consulted in this connection.

people who had lost touch with Christianity as a personal religious experience, and failing to find life in the external forms, sought religious satisfaction in a gorgeous patchwork of many faiths in which each adherent lays the emphasis where he will.¹³ How little of genuine Christianity remains in it is evident from a perusal of Mrs. Besant's "Esoteric Christianity," or Mr. Leadbeater's "The Christian Creed," and his recent articles in "The Theosophist."

The corresponding movement in Hinduism is the Brahma Samaj, which Dr. Farquhar considers the most influential of all the religious movements of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Its founder, Ram Mohan Ray, though a Brahman by birth, was profoundly influenced by Sufism, and later by the Christian missionaries at Serampore, but the fully eclectic nature of the movement is best seen in the third and greater leader, Keshab Chandra Sen, whose Service Book for Samaj meetings, the *Slokasangraha*, was a collection of texts from Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Mohammedan and Chinese scriptures.¹⁵ It was a movement brought to birth by the conflict of East with West in the realm of intellect, and still is an attempt of educated Hindus to find relief from the impossibilities of the faith of their childhood, but how little of Hinduism there really is in it is evident from a perusal of S. Sastri's "History of the Brahma Samaj,"¹⁶ and how little real religious spirit remains in it, is seen from the activities of its present day champions.¹⁷ But eclecticism is not only characteristic of the Brahma Samaj, it is equally so of all the modern reform movements which attempt to stay the spiritual decay within Hinduism. We have only space here to refer to the work of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who taught that all religions were simply various paths

¹³Easily the best account in English of the Theosophical Society is that by Dr. J. N. Farquhar in his Hartford-Lamson Lectures on *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 1918, pp. 208-291, where *inter alia*, he shows that the teaching of Madame Blavatsky's writings, said to have been revealed to her by Mahatmas in Tibet, is mostly plagiarized from English and French writers.

¹⁴Op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁵Farquhar, p. 46. See also W. Geden's *Studies in the Religions of the East*, 1913, p. 417. The *Slokasangraha* was published in Calcutta in 1904 by K. G. Nath.

¹⁶Two vols. Calcutta 1911-1912.

¹⁷E.g. Thakur Kahan Chandra Varma, author of *A New Discovery; Christ a Myth*, 1918.

leading to the same goal.¹⁸ Dr. Farquhar reproduces a picture caused to be painted by him,¹⁹ which has for background three buildings, a Christian Church, a Mohammedan Mosque and a Hindu Temple, while in the foreground we see Christ dancing with Chaitanya before a group of religious devotees, Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, Parsee, a Chinese Confucian and an Anglican Curate, and to the left we find Ramakrishna himself pointing out the group to Keshab Chandra Sen and explaining to him the Unity of Religions.

When we turn to Islam, the question at once arises as to whether Islam as a whole is not an eclectic system. Arnold's words are well known—"Islam was born in the desert, with Arab Sabeanism for its mother, and Judaism for its father; its foster nurse was Eastern Christianity," and the investigations of European scholars since then have only served to make this clearer. One rises from the perusal of Geiger's "Judaism and Islam,"²⁰ and St. Clair Tisdall's "Original Sources of the Qur'an,"²¹ feeling the full justice of Dr. Zwemer's conclusion, that Islam "is not an invention, but a concoction; there is nothing novel about it except the genius of Mohammed in mixing old ingredients in a new panacea for human ills and forcing it down by means of the sword."²²

But was this a real eclecticism? It is undoubtedly true that Mohammed carried over into his system numerous beliefs and practices of the Pagan Arabs, e. g., the reverence for the Black Stone and the ceremonies of the Pilgrimage to Mecca. It is true also that for most of his eschatology he was indebted to Sabaeism and Zoroast-

¹⁸In a full account of this interesting Reformer, see Max Muller's *Ramakrishna, His Life and Sayings*, 1910.

¹⁹*Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 198.

²⁰Rabbi Abraham Geiger's work *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, first appeared as a Prize Essay at Bonn in 1833. It was translated by an English lady and published under the title *Judaism and Islam*, by the S. P. C. K., Madras in 1898.

²¹S. P. C. K. 1911. An English edition, revised and enlarged, from a Persian work of the author entitled, *Yanabi' ul Islam* (1900), but unfortunately not reproducing the texts quoted in the original tongues, which were given in the Persian work.

²²*Arabia the Cradle of Islam*, 1912, p. 170. An Analytical Table of the borrowed elements of Islam is given on p. 178 of the same work.

rianism,²³ and that he borrowed many legends from the Jewish Talmud and Christian Apocryphal Gospels. We may even go so far as to say that if we cut out what he borrowed from the "People of the Book" there is little left of Islam save its faults; but even so, was there not a great original force in Islam which was independent of, though it made use of these elements? There can be no doubt that this is so. Whether we agree with Becker and Caetani, that the life-force of the movement was political and economic rather than religious, or with Macdonald agree that it was definitely religious, there is no doubt that there was a considerable living force there which was original and not dependent on the elements taken up into it.

It is not strange that this living force of Islam took up elements from the religious life of its day. Christianity did exactly the same thing. The man who takes up the Greek Gospels after a period of close and exclusive study of the Hebrew Scriptures and the Rabbinical writings, has no hesitation in declaring that Christianity is no mere offshoot of Judaism. Here is an entirely new irruption of religious life, and yet the amount of Jewish religious thought taken up into it is obvious to the most casual reader. Outside the New Testament, Greek influence is as obvious in the formulation of the theology of the growing Church as Roman influence is on the development of its organization,²⁴ and it is Dr. Clemen's thesis in his "Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources,"²⁵

²³E.g. His astrology is Sabaeen, and the Jinn and Houris and bridge Sirat are Zoroastrian, but quite a large amount of the eschatology is Jewish. See also two interesting articles which appeared in *Der Islam*, one by Dr. Wensinck, "Animismus und Damonenglaube im Untergrunde des jüdischen und islamischen rituellen Gebete" in iv, pp. 219-235; and the other by Dr. Georg Jacob, "Fortleben von antiken Mysterien und Alt-Christlichem im Islam," in ii, pp. 232-234. The full history of Islamic Eschatology has yet to be written.

²⁴"Christ was born amid the clash of East and West, historical Christianity is the product of many movements with intense differences, local and racial. From the Jew, the Greek and the Roman the new faith received elements, differing according to the genius of the different races, yet all of value in building up the City of God. For the Jew, the Greek, and the Roman on entering the Church did not lose their racial idiosyncracies or abandon their distinctive tempers and modes of thought. The Jew came to the New Testament through the Old; the Greek, even if he entered the Church through the synagogue, yet brought with him his philosophy; while the Roman construed all in terms of his polity."—H. B. Workman, *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, 1911, p. 2.

²⁵English translation, 1912, of Dr. Clemen's thesis *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments*, 1908. Clemen is often extreme, but not so extreme as Bolland, who in his *De Theosophie in Christendom en Judentom*, 1910, and earlier works, seeks to derive Christianity from the thought of the Alexandrian Schools, or the wild theories of Lublinski in his *Die Entstehung des Christentums aus der antiken Kultur*, 1910, which remind one of the Christ Myth delusions of Drews, Smith and J. M. Robertson.

that "like the Israelitish and Jewish religion, whose influence is self-evident, other religions have also left their mark on the oldest form of Christianity, even when it felt itself in the keenest antagonism to them." It is no wonder that Christianity should take over pagan festivals such as Christmas and Easter, and Christianize them, or that it should accept Greek thought and Roman organization and adapt them to her ends, for as Dr. Angus says—²⁶

"Christianity brought a harmony for the burdensome antinomies of that age. Revelation confirmed the truth of natural religion and reason, and added something indispensable. Christianity was the synthesis of and the authority for the truths proclaimed by all systems. It elevated the abstract monotheism of Greece, the henotheistic monotheism of oriental cults, the deistic monotheism of Judaism into a universal spiritual Fatherhood; it corrected abstract monotheism by the truth of polytheism that the Godhead is not simple and jejune, but has in itself a rich and manifold life; it blended the immanence of pantheism with the transcendence of scepticism, mysticism and Hebrew thought; it glorified the human sympathy of Oriental cults through the historic life and death of a Man of Sorrows."

Yet Christianity was not an eclecticism, for as Angus immediately goes on to say—"Christianity gave what the world most needed—the driving power of personality," and it was this spiritual driving power that took and used the elements it found around it, though it was ever free and independent of them.

It is so in Islam. The original force, whether political or religious, was the driving power of a personality; as it happens, it expressed itself in terms of what it could draw from its environment, but its source was not there, and had they been absent it would have expressed itself in other terms. In its origin it is not an eclecticism, in our sense of that term.

But unlike that of Christianity, the driving power of Islam has never been very enduring. Backed up by political or other aspirations, it has at various times spurted forth anew and continued vigorously for a while, but as a purely religious force it was soon spent. Among the Arabs themselves, with whom it had its birth, as a religion

²⁶*The Environment of Early Christianity*, 1914, pp. 225-6.

it exercised very little influence. Sir Richard Burton, who knew the Bedouin well, writes—²⁷

“Mohammed and his followers conquered only the more civilized Bedawin; and there is even to this day little or no religion among the wild people, except those on the coast or in the vicinity of cities. The faith of the Badawi comes from Al-Islam, whose hold is weak. But his customs and institutions, the growth of his climate, his nature and his wants, are still those of his ancestors, cherished ere Meccah had sent forth a Prophet, and likely to survive the day when every vestige of the Ka‘abah shall have disappeared.”

And his testimony could be paralleled by that of others who knew them as well, or even better, and from writers on the state of Islam among non-Arab peoples.²⁸ As a religion, even since the first outburst, Islam has had to gain its renewal of strength by eclecticism. Only a few examples of this are possible within the limits of this article, but they are important and typical.

Let us first take the Pythagoreans of Islam,²⁹ the politico-philosophico-religious body founded by Abdallah ibn Maimun, and known in the tenth century as the Faithful Brethren of Basra. This curious School was obviously an attempt to find some real religious satisfaction which was not to be found in orthodox Islam. Theirs was a religion of consolation and redemption in which they aimed at the assimilation of the soul to God, so far as this is possible for man, and orthodox Islam could not, as ordinarily interpreted, help them to this. Their object then, as de Boer points out,³⁰ was to reach another interpretation—

“No doubt Christianity and the Zoroastrian faith appeared to the Brethren to be more perfect religious revelations. ‘Our Prophet, Mo-

²⁷*Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al Madinah and Meccah*, Popular edition, 1919, vol. II, p. 109.

²⁸For instance on Chinese Mohammedanism Dr. Sell's judgment is “Islam has had its day of opportunity in China and has failed” (*Moslems in China*, 1913, p. 10) and there is abundant evidence in the works of Marshall Broomhall, Dabry de Thiersant, and D'Ollone as to how little, religiously, Islam means to them. As to Islam in India, the witness of Moslems themselves who have been awakened by Western culture is sufficient. Many are the pamphlets in which they bewail the lack of religion among their fellow Moslems and the low state to which they are reduced. See for example the testimony of Ahmed Batcha, B. A. (Madras) in No. 1 of *Ishait-i-Islam Tract Series*.

²⁹There are curious points of similarity between these Brethren and the Pythagoreans. Both were religious associations with a strong leaning towards occultism. Both indulged in political intrigues, and came to trouble thereby. Both formed a kind of monastic fraternity with grades of progression. Both based their philosophy upon Natural Science, the Brethren on the teaching of the Natural Philosophers and the Pythagoreans on Medicine and Mathematics. Both laid claim to secret wisdom, and both made a compendium of learning, and Encyclopedia.

³⁰*History of Philosophy in Islam*, 1903, pp. 93-4. An English translation of T. J. de Boer's *Geschichte der Philosophie im Islam*, 1901. See also his article “Moslem Philosophy” in Hasting's “*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.”

ammed,' they said, 'was sent to an uncivilized people, composed of dwellers in the desert, who neither possessed a proper conception of the beauty of this world, nor of the spiritual character of the world beyond. The crude expressions of the Koran, which are adapted to the understanding of that people, must be understood in a spiritual sense by those who are more cultured.'"

This new interpretation which should give them the "proper conception of the beauty of this world" and "the spiritual character of the world beyond," was necessarily sought in other religions with which they were acquainted, and resulted in an eclectic system. As de Boer says—³¹

"The Brethren themselves avow their eclecticism. They wish to collect the wisdom of all nations and religions. Noah and Abraham, Socrates and Plato, Zoroaster and Jesus, Mohammed and 'Ali are all Prophets of theirs.' Socrates, and Jesus and his Apostles, no less than the children of 'Ali, are honoured as early martyrs of their rational faith.'³² The religious law in its literal sense is pronounced good for the ordinary man,—a medicine for weak and ailing souls; the deeper philosophic insight is for strong intelligences. Though the body is devoted to death, dying means arising again to the pure life of the Spirit, for those who during their earthly existence have been awakened by means of philosophic considerations out of careless slumber and foolish sleep. This is impressed with endless repetition, by means of legends and myths of later-Greek, Judæo-Christian, Persian or Indian origin. Every transitory thing is here turned into an emblem. On the ruins of positive religion and unsophisticated opinion a spiritualistic philosophy is built up, embracing all the knowledge and endeavour of human kind, so far as these came within the Brethren's field of view."

Their ethical system too was eclectic. Like Aristotle, they set up the picture of an Ideal Man, but instead of being the expression of the result of a long philosophical discussion on ethical principles, he was like Aaron Mathew's ideal missionary, a composite figure whose features were borrowed from the characteristics of various people. "The ideal, and morally perfect man," they said, "should be of East-Persian derivation, Arabic in faith, of *Irak* (i. e. Babylonian) education, a Hebrew in astuteness, a disciple of Christ in conduct, as pious as a Syrian monk,

³¹Op. cit., pp. 84, 85.

³²In this respect there is a curious approximation of the views of the Brethren to those of Comte in the formulation of his Positivist Religion. They shared also somewhat of his critical attitude to the social life and organized religions of the time. Their name, however, does not necessarily imply any definitely organized Brotherhood such as we know among the Pythagoreans, Goldziher has shown in his *Muhammedanische Studien I*, p. 9, n. 1. that the name *Ikhwan as-Safa*, or Brethren of Purity, according to Arabic idiom means nothing more than that they were sincere or pure. See further his note "Über die Benennung der 'Ikhwan as-Safa,'" in *Der Islam*, Vol. I, p. 22 ff.

a Greek in the individual sciences, an Indian in the interpretation of all mysteries, but lastly and especially, a Sufi in his whole spiritualistic life."³³ Necessarily such a system held no promise of life, and though the teachings of their *Encyclopaedia* are still canvassed, their religious movement died with themselves.

Turning now to a better-known and more justly famous movement, Sufism, we find the same eclecticism. Its origin, also, was in an intellectual reaction from the barrenness of Islamic orthodoxy, and a spiritual thirst which was not there satisfied. "From the earliest times," says Macdonald, "there has been an element in the Moslem Church which was repelled equally by traditional teaching and by intellectual reasoning. It felt that the essence of religion lay elsewhere; that the seal and organ of religion was in the heart."³⁴ Or as Hughes puts it in his *Dictionary of Islam*,—³⁵

"Sufism has arisen from the bosom of Mohammedanism as a vague protest of the human soul, in its intense longing after a purer creed. On certain tenets of the Koran the Sufis have erected their own system, professing indeed to reverence its authority as a divine revelation, but in reality substituting for it the oral voice of the Teacher, or the secret dreams of the Mystic. Dissatisfied with the barren letter of the Koran, Sufism appeals to human consciousness, and from our nature's felt wants, seeks to set before us nobler hopes than a gross Mohammedan Paradise can fulfil."

The critical history of Sufism has yet to be written. When it is it will settle for us the vexed question of its origin,³⁶ but whether it arose from a spontaneous upspringing of esoteric life in Islam, or was a Persian reaction against Arabism, or came from the Vedanta Philosophy of India, or as the present writer is inclined to think, was of Neo-platonic origin,³⁷ there can be no doubt what-

³³de Boer, op. cit., p. 95.

³⁴D. B. Macdonald's *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, 1909, p. 159. See also the fourth Essay in Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 1910.

³⁵Edition of 1896, p. 620, col. 2, quoting from E. B. Cowell's *Oxford Essays for 1855*.

³⁶See the discussion of the various theories of its origin as given in the first volume of Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, 1902, Vol. I, p. 416 ff.

³⁷On this see particularly Dr. Nicholson's Article in *J. R. A. S.* for 1906, and later in his *Literary History of the Arabs*, 1907. The older theory was in favour of an Indian origin: so Hughes, op. cit., p. 609, says—"Sufism is but a Moslem adaptation of the Vedanta school of Hindu Philosophers." On the whole question of Sufism, Goldziher's article, *Materialien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Sufismus*, in the thirteenth volume of *Vienna Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1899, is most important: likewise Nicholson's *Mystics of Islam*, 1914.

ever that it has had to draw largely from non-Islamic sources, finding its real life in them, and only giving the whole system a colouring drawn from Islam. The Pantheism of the Sufi poets is not the rigid Monotheism of Islam, it is Vedantic; the Sufi rapture of the Union of the Lover with the Beloved, is not the orthodox relation of Allah with His creature, it is the ecstatic rapture of Plotinus and his school; and there are elements of the Sufi teaching that seem traceable to survivals of the old Zoroastrian creed. In such an eclectic system, it was not wonderful that many adherents found it difficult not to treat Sufism as a system in contrast with Islam, and that there should have been, as Gardner points out,³⁸ a tendency on the part of Moslem Sufis to break away from formal Islam as soon as they had reached a certain stage in their Sufi life." The source of life, that is, was non-Islamic,³⁹ and when the cloak of Islam was no longer useful, it was dropped.

This same non-Islamic character of Moslem mysticism is seen in the religious orders of Islam, with their course of mystical development, submission to the Master, ecstatic practices, such as the *Zikr*, and pantheistic philosophy.

Another outstanding case of Eclecticism in Islam is in the religion of the Bab, and its more modern form, Bahatism. Its origin also was a spiritual hunger, which could find no satisfaction in Islam as taught by the orthodox. "It betrays," says Canon Sell,⁴⁰ "a longing for a real living, loving, personal guide, the revealer of God to man, which can best be met by the acceptance of the Eternal Word." In its rise it was closely connected with the mystical Imamate doctrine of the Shias,⁴¹ and with the

³⁸W. R. W. Gardner's *Al-Ghazali*, 1919, p. 66. It is worthy of note that Ghazali's own system was strongly eclectic.

³⁹The Sufis themselves claim that their system was in the world before the Mission of Mohammed, and an examination of its characteristics, shows it to be in harmony with the mythical tradition which is common to all the world. See Underhill's *Mysticism*, 1918, pp. 114-115.

⁴⁰*Faith of Islam*, 4th edition, 1920, n. 209

⁴¹This doctrine of the Imamate itself, was almost certainly derived from a Greek source. The whole question of "der hellenistische gottmensch und der imam-begriff der Shi'a," is dealt with by Tor Andrae in his work, *Die Person Muhammeds in lehre und glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm, 1918.

system of the Sufis. Thus from its very origin it was infected with the eclectic spirit of Sufi mysticism, and in its growth this has been intensified rather than diminished. It is curious that from some source or other it has drawn in a form of the quaint number mysticism of the Qabalah, particularly in connection with the number 19, the number of chapters in the *Bayan*, and in the earlier form made much of the doctrine of metempsychosis. The system has drawn freely on the stores that have been gathered by students of Comparative Religion, and in its later form it has become so far eclectic as to claim to be to a Christian, Christianity; to a Buddhist, the real teaching of Buddha; to a Sufi, the final revelation of the mystic way and the ideal man; to a Moslem, the appearance of the Mahdi. So far has this gone that Dr. Sell says: "It is not strictly correct to call them a Moslem sect, for they practically discard the Koran, and supersede Mohammed," thus following the tendency of all truly eclectic systems, and in spite of some enthusiasm roused for the movement in America and England,⁴² as a spiritual force today it has practically exhausted itself.

The last of these eclectic movements in Islam that we have space to mention, is the modern Indian sect of the Ahmadiyyas, founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Khan in 1888, and now mainly championed by Khwajah Kamalud-Din, the leader of the Ahmadiyya Mission to England. The whole story of the movement has been written by the late H. A. Walter,⁴³ we are only concerned here to point out how truly eclectic it is. It is obvious at the outset that the origin of the Ahmadiyya movement was in the need felt by intelligent Moslems, who had had their minds opened to Western knowledge and felt the force of Western criticism of Islam,⁴⁴ for some interpretation of

⁴²Which in his last years even caught the Hebrew scholar T. K. Cheyne.

⁴³*The Ahmadiyya Movement*, 1918. See also his article "Qadiani," in Hastings E. R. E., Vol. x; the last study in Goldziher's *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 1910, and Dr. Griswold's *Mirza Ghulam Ahmad*, 1902.

⁴⁴Dr. Farquhar (*Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 137) says it arose "largely as a reaction from the striking success of a Christian Mission in the Central Punjab, and from the fierce onslaught of Dyananda and his Samaj."

Islam which should be more in accordance with modern knowledge, and provide a religious satisfaction which was not to be found in the Islam of the orthodox schools. Ahmad himself had much contact with Christian missionaries during the formative years of his life, and Khwajah Kamal-ud-Din, we are told, was educated in a mission college. Both, moreover, read widely in Comparative Religion, as witness the pages of *The Review of Religions*.⁴⁵

A reform of Islam being essential, and the Rationalistic School of Aligarh⁴⁶ not finding favour, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad revived the Mahdi idea, and claimed that he was in himself the promised Mahdi, the descendant of the Prophet and the last of the Imams, who should make Islam prevail throughout the whole world. But as there was little inspiration in this, he also claimed to be the promised Messiah of the Jews and Christians, and later on in life, in another attempt to gain strength, proclaimed himself the latest avatar of Krishna. Since his death, further claims have been made for him. Mr. Walter quotes the following from a letter-head of Ahmadiyya correspondence paper—⁴⁷

“Praised be Allah, the Almighty, the Gracious, the Merciful, one worshipable God, Sustainer of all; who through his kindness raised a Prophet in these days like unto the prophets of old days, *viz.* Ahmad, the promised Messiah, the Mohammedan Mahdi, the Krishna, the latter day Reformer of the Parsees, the Hope of all the nations of the day—Champion of Islam, Reformer of Christianity, Avatar of Hinduism, Buddha of East,—blessed are they who believe in him, and take shelter under his peaceful banner.”

But not only is there a synthesis of religions on the person of Ahmad, there is one also in the beliefs held by his followers and taught by himself. For example, his conception of the Mahdi is composite. The orthodox expectation of the Mahdi is that he is to be a man of blood, who will lead the last great *jihad* against the Unbeliev-

⁴⁵Orthodox Hinduism, the Arya Samaj, the Brahma Samaj, and Theosophy; Sikhism, Buddhism, Jainism and Zoroastrianism, Bahaism, Christian Science and Christianity have all received attention, as well as Islam in all its ramifications, both ancient and modern, such as Shi'ites, Ahl-i-Hadis, Kharijites, Sufis, and such representative exponents of modern tendencies as Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Syed Amir Ali." Walter, *op. cit.* p. 17.

⁴⁶That of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and Syed Amir Ali.

⁴⁷*The Ahmadiya Movement*, pp. 51-52.

ers.⁴⁸ But Ahmad was a man of peace, and while retaining the conception of the Mahdi as the leader of a great Islamic Crusade, he tried to combine it with the preaching of peace which was characteristic of the preaching of Jesus. It is true that he claimed to be uncompromisingly orthodox, but as one reads the pages of his journal and pamphlets,⁴⁹ it is abundantly evident that his interpretations, and particularly his eschatology, is shot through and through with Sufi and Christian influences.⁵⁰

The same is true of the writings of his followers. The most famous of the English converts of the Ahmadiyya movement is Lord Headley. In 1915 he produced a little book entitled "A Western Awakening to Islam,"⁵¹ which is such a weird mixture of Christianity and Islam that one wonders what would be the answer of an orthodox Doctor of the Faith, if it were presented to him as an exposition of Islam.

This unorthodox eclecticism is very evident too in their new English version of the Koran with Commentary,⁵² and of the writings and speeches of the present main pillar, Khwajah Kamal-ud-Din. During his recent visit to Madras he is reported to have said in the course of a lecture,—

"The Hindus and the Mohammedans could easily come together in a bond of union if they recognized each other's prophets. There was no harm for Mohammedans in considering the Hindu prophets as their prophets, and vice versa. . . . He would ask them whether it would not be possible to create a sort of league, the very first declaration of which would be that the signatory would accept Moses, Jesus, Ramachandra, Krishna, Buddha and Mohammed as the true prophets and messengers of God, would accept all the great books of religion as books of God, that the Koran was the final revelation of the Divine will, and that he would refrain from speaking ill of other religions."⁵³

⁴⁸This character has been fully sustained by most modern pretenders to Mahdship. See Darmsteter's *Le Mahdi depuis l'origine de l'Islam jusqu'à nos jours*, 1885.

⁴⁹*The Review of Religions*, and particularly his pamphlet, *The Teachings of Islam*, 1910.

⁵⁰Mr. Walter gives numerous illustrative quotations in chapter III of his work above mentioned.

⁵¹London, J. S. Phillips. On reading it through one does not know whether to wonder most at the author's ignorance of Islam, or his ignorance of Christianity.

⁵²In the fourth edition of his *Faith of Islam* (1920) Canon Sell refers to this Commentary as "remarkable chiefly by its lack of sound scholarship, its divergence from accepted Moslem beliefs, its ignorant dogmatism, and bitter hatred of Christianity." p. 226.

⁵³See report in *Moslem World*, XI. pp. 87-88.

Yet a further interesting proof of the need Islam has found all through its history of drawing in outside sources for the religious inspiration and life which it failed to find in itself, is found in the study of some of the minor offshoots of Islam. For example, the creed of those interesting and little-known people, the Yezidis, the devil worshipers of Islam, is a fully fledged syncretism. Dr. Isya Joseph writes of them,—

“In the early history of the sect. . . many Christians, Persians and Moslems united with it; and that large survivals or absorptions of pagan beliefs or customs are to be found in modern Yezidism. In other words, the actual religion of the Yezidis is syncretism, in which it is easy to recognize Yezidi, Christian, Moslem (especially Sufistic) and pagan elements.”⁵⁴

The same is true of the various branches of the Ismailians. For instance the doctrine of the Shungnani Ismailians, who dwell in the Russian and Bokharian provinces of Turkestan, is described by Semonoff in an article in Part IV of the first volume of “Mir Islama,” as a curious mixture of Islam, Christianity and ideas of metempsychosis probably derived from Buddhist sources. Among them it is noticeable that while the form of religion is Mohammedan, the driving force is the metempsychosis belief. Not only so, but the whole larger movement of the Ismailians was profoundly influenced by Greek philosophy,⁵⁵ which lay at the root of its missionary zeal, and very much like the modern Ahmadiyya movement they were prepared to adopt any religious ideas and take on the colouring of any religious environment in order to accomplish their ends. As Arnold confesses,—

⁵⁴*Devil Worship*. 1919. See also J. Menant, *Les Yezidis. Les Adorateurs du Diable*, 1892.

⁵⁵De Lacy writes in his recent work *Arabic Thought and its Place in History*, 1922, p. 169.—“From first to last, the whole of the Isma’ilian movement was connected with the intellectual revival due to the reproduction of Greek philosophy in Arabic form, less so, of course, when the Isma’ilian converts were drawn from the illiterate classes, as was the case with the Qarmatians, and when the attention of the members was engrossed with political ambitions, as was the case with the Fatimids whilst they were building up their power in Africa before the invasion of Egypt. But even under the most unfavourable conditions it seems that the *da’is* or missionaries regarded the spread of science and philosophy as a leading part of their duties, quite as much so as the preaching of the Alid Claims of the Fatimite Khalif.” See similar testimony in Goldziher’s *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, 1910. p. 248.

“They captivated the ignorant multitude by the performance of marvels that were taken for miracles, and by mysterious utterances that excited their curiosity. To the devout they appeared as models of virtue and religious zeal; to the mystics they revealed the hidden meaning of popular teachings, and initiated them into various grades of occultism according to their capacity. Taking advantage of the eager looking-forward to a deliverance that was common to so many faiths of the time, they declared to the Musulmans the approaching advent of the Imam Mahdi, to the Jews that of the Messiah, and to the Christians that of the Comforter, but taught that the aspirations of each could alone be realized in the coming of ‘Ali as the great deliverer.’”⁵⁶

Further testimony to the same effect could be supplied in abundance if necessary, but the evidence gathered above is sufficient to demonstrate that even though in its origin and early growth Islam had an original life-force of its own, that life-force was not sufficient to carry it very far, without the incorporation of new sources of life from outside. Wherever Islam has gone as a conquering force, it has soon exhausted its original store of religious energy and life force, as the spiritual and intellectual conditions of Moslem lands in all periods of history bear witness. All its revivals of life and movements of missionary zeal have been due to the drawing in of fresh sources of life,⁵⁷ and this naturally suggests the question of the ultimate end of the process. One fact is certain, and that is that it must ultimately result in the passing away of Islam as Islam. As a spiritual life Islam is no longer able to vivify the body of the Mohammedan world, and the forces which do vivify it must inevitably change its character into their likeness. And therein lies the great hope of Christian missions among Moslems. In recent eclectic movements in Islam, Christian thinking has had a very strong influence,⁵⁸ and if Christian missions in Moslem lands can increasingly leaven the thinking of the people,

⁵⁶*The Preaching of Islam*, 2nd edition, 1913, pp. 211, 212. Further down on the same page he says—“Similarly the Isma‘ilian missionaries who made their way into India endeavoured to make their doctrines acceptable to the Hindus, by representing ‘Ali as the promised tenth Avatar of Vishnu, who was to come from the West, i. e., (they asserted) from Alamut. They also wrote a Mahdi Purana and composed hymns in imitation of those of the Vamacarins or left-hand Saktas, whose mysticism already predisposed their minds to the acceptance of the esoteric doctrines of the Isma‘ilians.” His reference is to *Khaja Vrittant* by Sahebdina Nanjien, 1897, pp. 1-118.

⁵⁷This is interestingly brought out by Dr. T. W. Arnold in his *Preaching of Islam* in an incidental manner, though his book is rather in the nature of an apology for Islam.

⁵⁸Particularly in Bahaimism and the Ahmadiyya Movement.

particularly the more educated people, with Christian ideals and the Christian spirit, then inevitably the life-force of Christianity working among them must transform them into its image. It does not follow from this that the Moslem world will bodily enter the fold of organized Christianity as we know it in our Western Churches; the more natural result would be that inside the Moslem world there should grow up a Christian Church, expressing its spiritual life in forms which may differ widely from those known in our organized Church life,⁵⁹ but be none the less a genuine interpretation of the "life more abundant" which comes to men in and through our Lord and Master Jesus Christ.

Cairo, Egypt.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

⁵⁹As is apparently happening in India in the case of Sadhu Sundar Singh and the Secret Sannyasi Movement.

COMMUNITY LIFE AND CEREMONIES OF THE PEASANT TURK

The ears of the nations are still disturbed by the sounds of war from Asia Minor, where the Turk and the Greek continue to clash in battle. This terrible struggle in which centuries of hatred and religious fanaticism lie behind the war of modern guns and the steel of bayonet charges, has been brought on largely because the selfish policy which Europe has sustained in her attitude toward the peoples of the Near East continues to be a predominating factor in the situation.

Behind the Turkish line lie countless villages, drained of their manhood by twelve years of continuous war, while Greece has been under arms since 1912.

It is not war alone that makes the life of the Turkish peasant hard and uninteresting. Life in the average Turkish village is built up of days of ceaseless monotony, the corner stones of which are ignorance and poverty. The low-lying mud dwellings, the filthy streets, devoid of trees, and with the sewerage system exposed to view in the centre of the narrow thoroughfare, barking dogs, and only the thin, white spire of a dilapidated mosque to break the wearisome sky line, form the background for the peasant's life. Many Turkish villages have the advantage of being located on naturally beautiful sites, often surrounded by snow-clad mountains or rolling hills.

Although more than a million dollars in "road taxes" were collected from the peasants yearly before the war, the roads are invariably wretched, and in the mud of winter or early spring almost impassable. Bridges are often in a decadent condition, and the whole country reflects an elemental conception of what country and village life ought to be.

Social life can hardly be said to exist in a Moslem peasant community. The exclusion of the women, the profound mental ignorance of the community, the lack of playgrounds or parks of any kind, destitute of libraries, music halls, clubs or even the moving picture show which has invaded the community life of most lands, all of this poverty of social centers is universal wherever Turkish rule extends and Moslem social customs prevail.

The passing through an interior village of a stranger, more especially if he be a foreigner, the visit of a brigand band upon some wealthy neighbor, the weekly market day in the larger town, a wedding or a funeral, a birth or a death, these remain the chief sources of distraction from the monotonous daily routine.

Guests are almost universally welcome in the peasant village. If there is no village *khann* with its *oda* or guest room, then the chief man of the place generally has an *oda* in his home in which strangers are welcome. Your arrival in such a village will attract around you the greater part of the male population, while their women-folk peer out from behind lattice windows or standing far off pull their veils aside for a moment's gaze at the foreigner. The Turk is very sparse in his words, and long periods of silence are very customary. After depositing your bedding in the *oda*, taking care to place your rain-coat under it as a protection against flees and other vermin, which hold high carnival in houses of this land, the men of the village will file in and sit silently in a circle. Coffee is soon brought, and a question or two asked. But the burden of stirring up conversation rests upon your tongue. In the remotest town of Anatolia the idea that a stranger is a guest, and must be treated as such, is held by most of the people, savage or semi-civilized.

I recall one trying incident in a large peasant town where the feeling against Christians was particularly strong at the time, for the army of the Sultan had been thrown back in utter confusion from Kirk Killisse, and

the Bulgarian guns were thundering at the gates of Constantinople. My wife and I were taking a walk with the Armenian pastor of the little Protestant community, when we were attacked by a group of a dozen village boys and girls who hurled stones at us and called out the vilest names, with the continually repeated "*Giours*"—"infidels," which was applied by Mohammed to idolaters, but is now applied universally throughout Islam to all non-Moslems. Our Armenian friend turned and walked towards the children, who stopped in curiosity to see what he would do or say. He was a grey-headed man of noble bearing, who for twenty-five years had walked their streets and rendered aid to many a Moslem. He asked the children if it was not a custom of their race to treat guests kindly, was it not even the custom to offer them coffee and sweets, would they not do that for us should we enter their homes; to all of these questions these little street urchins gave their assent. Then he turned upon them with a scorn touched with a humor beyond their comprehension as he pointed out that we were strangers from America, guests of their city; what impression would we carry away with us? "Shame on you, shame on you," he cried, "you have disgraced your noble race, you have broken your customs." With marked signs of shame the boys dropped the stones and slunk away down the hillside, remarking, "*Dourou dir*," "It is true."

Sir William Ramsay gives us an interesting description of his reception in an Anatolian village. In his "Impressions of Turkey" he writes,

"I happened once, to come to a village late in the afternoon, after a fatiguing and disappointing day. I was making an experimental journey, accompanied by a single Turkish servant, and a led horse to carry our belongings. The experiment was an utter failure. Being in a dull and languid humour, I was disinclined for the strain of talking to and amusing the usual assemblage of gazers at the *oda*; and thought the procedure might be profitably varied by trying how long they would remain silent. Except for a few words and questions on the part of my man, Murad, when he wanted water, chopped straw for the horses, and our other simple requirements, no one spoke. I worked languidly at my route survey. Murad was even more sick of this one-horse style of

travelling than I was, and was probably affected by my dulness, for in general he was good company. He looked after the horses, cooked our dinner of *bulgur-pilaff*, of which I ate a little, while the circle gazed and meditated.

Muckle we looked, and muckle we thoct,
But word we ne'er spak' nane.

"Then Murad got out my blankets, and found in the *oda* a very old and thin mattress, which served to keep the hard floor from my bones, while a waterproof spread over it prevented its inhabitants from reaching my skin. It was now about three hours since we entered the village, and about two and a half since any one had spoken. I made my preparations for the night, disrobed myself, performed my simple ablutions, and got in between my blankets. Everybody gazed, and admired, and wondered what should come next. A lighted lamp hung from the roof. I sat up and blew it out. Then, at last the leading magnate of the village remarked, '*Shimdi gidelim*' (Now let us go). Thus they left me alone. I think they were a little chilled and depressed, for, next morning, hardly one came to see us at breakfast.

"At another time returning to camp after being detained from it by distance the preceding night, I was seized with fever, when there was still two hours' journey before us. As we were near a village we went into it, and as the *oda* was not fit to use, from some cause or other, I lay down on the shady side of a wall, while my servant put up my horse, and then rode off to camp with orders to bring me a kettle, some tea and some quinine. I waited alone; a score of villagers came and sat round in a semi-circle; I doubt if any of us moved a muscle till the medicines arrived, two or three hours later." (C. 23)

The life of the Christian villager is broken into continuously by feasts and saints' days, at which there is often folk-dancing and a general good time. There is little of this folk-dancing among the Turks. At weddings the men sometimes dance something similar to the highland fling, and the women dance individually and in pairs, but never in the presence of the opposite sex.

At times the village men will gather around a fire in the evening, and there will be singing and dancing of folk-lore style. Miss De Bunsen gives a most interesting account of such an experience. She writes:

"Round the great fire on the shore the whole village is gathered, men, boys, and children squatting on the ground in a circle, and huddled in their sheepskins; for the air is chill. We joined the circle too, a quiet and sober one. There is always a hush before the dance. At length the sheikh rises, signs to the *zaptieh* to join him, and together, hand in hand, they begin slowly a stately, simple dance, advancing to the fire and retiring beyond the circle again. One by one the rest of the company arises and join him, Hassan and we, too, take our part. Two long lines are formed; and the dance becomes more rapid. The sheikh begins

to shout at stated moments; and then they all join in a conventional chant marked by loud war cries and shouts of '*Mashallah*,' at intervals. Excitement is gradually worked up, the leaders flourish their crooked swords, the step changes to a more complicated reel, the lines lurch forward, groaning and hissing at the end of each short figure. Finally it becomes a wild career, frantic and fast, war-cries and yells of battle rend the air, the children drop out. It is a scene of wildest frenzy. The dark figures in the long white shirts, their knives gleaming, some with a sheepskin still clinging to their arms, the sword brandished in the air, their black hair tossing on their shoulders, the yells and the shouts, and the leaps in the strong firelight—a scene never to be forgotten. At the pitch of the excitement, I feel Hassan's hand on my arm. He has dropped out of his place, and he bids me sit down. '*Yetir, yetir, Pasha*' ('Enough, enough'), I hear his voice behind me; and in a moment a dozen men are raking up the fire and heaping up a comfortable litter of sheepskins to rest upon. One puts his own cloak round my shoulders, and we all squat down together. Then, soon the silence comes back. These men are never noisy for long together." (K-117)

The Turks have two religious bairams, or feasts. The *kuchuck* bairam or little feast, which is also known as the *sheker* bairam or feast of sweets on account of the custom of making presents of sweetmeats at that time, is the festival on the breaking of the long month of fast—the month of Ramazan. This bairam lasts three days, and is a time of great merriment for the Moslems in the village. The children all wear their best clothes and are taken riding by their fathers.

The *buyouk* bairam is also known as the feast of *Courban*, or Sacrifice, and lasts four days. This bairam is very similar to the Jewish passover feast. For days previously brightly tinted lambs are sold in the streets of the cities and villages, and poor indeed is the peasant whose children has no lamb. On the first day of the bairam the lamb is killed as a sacrifice for sin, the village *imam* performing the ceremony and the family eating the lamb after it has been killed. The members of the family are supposed to wear new clothes at this bairam, and the children parade the streets in their new attire.

Turkish villages are devoid of playgrounds, and it is only during the past few years that any athletic sports were seen in them. The American schools have introduced association football, and it has become very popu-

lar wherever it has gone. I have watched a crowd of Turkish boys in an interior town kicking a ball up and down a field outside the village and was told that they spent whole afternoons at this sport. The game had been introduced by one of the village boys coming to our college and learning the game. He had taken a football back with him and initiated a few of the boys into the rudiments of the game.

Wrestling and quoit throwing are popular among the peasants, but organized athletics would do much for the youth of this land; a land whose climate is wonderfully adapted to outdoor sports.

Just as the *hammam* or bath is the social center for the women of the village, so the coffeehouse is the men's club. Only the smallest and poorest villages have no coffeehouses. The coffeehouse is to the villager of Anatolia what the post office was to the New England farmer before the Rural Free Delivery system was put into operation. The men assemble in the coffeehouse to learn the news of some learned man of the village who is able to read the week-old newspaper from the capital. In the absence of exact information with reference to current events, the wildest theories are started, discussed and circulated. Hither, also, come story-tellers, and hours are passed in the excitement of such games as dominoes and backgammon. There is little gambling among the Turks, it being forbidden by their religion.

The business of the peasant Turk consists in doing as little work as possible, and letting his wife do as much of that as he is able to get out of her. Before the war all the skilled labour in Turkey was in Christian hands. Even the houses in which the better class live were built by Christians. The village fountain, and all the more majestic of the mosques and public buildings are the products of Christian workmanship.

Practically all the trade of Asia Minor, especially the carrying and retail trade, has been in Christian hands.

The Turks of the peasant type are mule drivers, camel drivers, porters, hewers of wood and drawers of water, cultivators of the soil. The great bulk of them are farmers. Formerly every village had its own common, where the villagers could pasture their cattle and a forest where they could cut wood. Or, where this land was large enough, they rented part of it. The nomadic shepherds and herdsmen were the ones to whom the lands were rented as a rule, but with the introduction of the vilayet system this method of renting land has changed.

The forests and public lands were taken over by the central government, and though laws good enough for themselves were enacted for the administration of this land for the peasants, the injustice and abuse of office, with which the whole Turkish officialdom has been honey-combed, have proved very bad for the rural populations. Tithe and tax collectors have kept them in continual servitude to poverty. The taxes on agricultural produce are so heavy in themselves, and so iniquitously increased by local extortioners, that often the farmer leaves part of his ground uncultivated. The small agriculturist is undoubtedly the heaviest taxed individual in the world.

Let me illustrate what a peasant villager has often had to pay taxes on to get an egg to market. He must pay, of course, tax on his land, he must often pay a tax on each hen, on the food he feeds his hen, on the cart he carries his eggs in, on his horse or mule if he has one, for in war times the government has undoubtedly seized it, and given him a worthless piece of paper in exchange, and, lastly, he must pay a tax on every egg and everything else he takes into the city. He must pay a road tax every year, which is not used on the roads, and at times he must pay a "locust tax," which will never be used to fight locusts with. Generally he can get out of paying very much in some of these cases by paying a bribe to the collector who makes out the rate of his tax. I know of two cases, near our campus, where the amount of bribe paid was larger than the

amount of the rightful tax, but the payers were powerless before the exactor. Taxation is not on the basis of what the peasant is able to pay justly, and how much he ought to pay for what he gets out of his taxes, it is merely on the basis of how much can be squeezed out of him.

I have been speaking of the so-called "free villages," where every peasant farmer is supposed to "own" his little farm under the tender care of the government's supervision. But thousands of peasants live in *yeradji* villages where the land is owned by some rich proprietor, who is absent most of the time. The landlord pays for the seed corn when the land is first cultivated, but the peasant must find his own plough, his own oxen and everything else necessary for the harvesting of the corn. He must also do the work. At the end of the season he must lay aside enough seed for the next year, deduct the tithe for the owner, and more for the government, and if there is any left, why, maybe he can have that if there is no war going on, when he is likely to have it all confiscated. Where might makes right as it does here in Turkey, or let us hopefully add, *has* in the past, many troubles beset the path of the *yeradji* peasant. For example, when he has cut his harvest, he cannot put it in the barn till the tithe collector of the government chooses to come and inspect the crop and determine the government's share. If bad weather threatens, a bribe may hasten the inspection. Moreover, the government chooses its tithe from the fat ears, as does the landlord's representative, leaving the lean to the peasant. For every head of cattle the peasant owns, the town bailiff must receive a certain amount of wheat and barley. Not infrequently soldiers and police are quartered in the peasant's home, and must be fed without charge, while if he cannot pay his "road tax," he is dragged off for several weeks each year to work on the roads, though the tax is preferred by the officials.

Military service visits upon the agricultural village a heavy blow, and during such times as these, through

which we are now passing, the farms are stripped of all their able-bodied men from 19 to 50 years of age.

The Agrarian Bank which was founded in 1889, and has its headquarters in Constantinople, with branches in the chief towns of the agricultural districts, would help the farmers a great deal if its money were rightfully appropriated. But wherever the government chooses it directs the money into other channels. Abdul Hamid dipped his greedy hand into this bank, as he did into all public money, and took more than half this Bank's income for his own personal use. But since its origin this Bank has made advances to nearly two million peasant farmers and to the amount of twelve millions of pounds, of which seven and a half millions have been repaid. The Bank loans money to cultivators only for a term of three months to a year, when the capital and interest are repayable when due, or the whole sum repayable by installments annually from one to fifteen years. The borrowers give mortgages on their farms as security, or find guarantees for repayment. These figures include both Moslem and Christian peasants, for it was impossible to get statistics of each class, though it is well to add that by far the greater percentage of those who take advantage of this method of lifting themselves in the social scale are Christians. The Moslem farmer is content if he gets enough to subsist on, and to subsist on in the same way that his father and grandfather lived.

Each district has a market day, held in the largest towns, to which the villagers go with their donkeys laden with the products of their farms and hands. A Turkish market place on market day is a strange and interesting mixture of color, movement, sound and smell. As there are no stores in the peasant village, the villager goes to market to make his weekly purchases, as well as to sell his stock.

Carpet making is an industry which has given employment to as many as 40,000 in Turkey. Thousands of these

are peasant Turks, but the work is carried on in the houses rather than in the factories, industry in factories having been killed and held back by the stupidity and ignorance of the government. Sir Humphrey Layard says that in political economy the Turks are like children. But for their laziness many of the peasants could make fair wages. The Oriental Carpet Company has established branches all over Anatolia and gives out work to the villagers. I have visited in the homes of two of the managers of interior branches of this Company. The stories they told were identical. The Company gave a loom and pattern and all the material to the family for making a rug, and paid them by the yard. An industrious family could easily finish a good sized rug in less than a year, whereas most of the peasants took five years to finish a rug. They would finish a fourth of a rug, receive their pay for that much work, and then loaf till hunger and need set them to work again.

The silk industry is carried on in much the same way as the rug industry, and in Broussa, the head of the largest silk industry in Turkey, they told me the same story. The peasants would work for a while, and then loaf till the money was used up. It is not that the village peasant Turk is not a hard worker, for he is capable of splendid work, but the heavy taxation, the general low moral standards, the contempt for improvement, the ignorance and the generally accepted spirit of *kismet* has sapped the energy and initiative out of the vast majority of the peasant class.

GOVERNMENT OF THE VILLAGE.

The government of the peasant village is very simple and yet in the large town takes on magnificent importance in the eyes of the officials. The head man in the village is known as the *Khodja bashi*, and he settles petty disputes, and is responsible to the authorities higher up for the good behaviour of his village. When strangers come to

the village, he assumes the duties of host, if the village cannot boast an inn.

Whenever officials or soldiers are in the town he must see that they are quartered.

The *imam* of the village is the religious leader, and is generally the best, if not the only educated person in the community, having probably received his education in the *medressah*, a sort of theological seminary. He probably has no idea that America is larger than Anatolia, and that San Francisco is a city and not a country or state. It is he who climbs the minaret five times a day to sound abroad the call to prayer, while he is essential in marriage and funeral ceremonies.

In the larger towns the *Khodja bashi* forms the center of a little group of notables. Since the constitution—when “liberty, equality, justice and fraternity” were made the bulwarks of the State, these little groups have been largely made up of young men, while in the past only old men belonged among the notables. Each town has its *cloob* as it is pronounced. On a visit to the interior I visited one of these “*cloobs*”. There the town fathers gathered, the great man with his frock coat seated furthest from the door, and the minor officials seated according to rank—the *imam* next to the *Khodja bashi*, the head of the town police next, down to the janitor of the *cloob* who squats next to the door, glad to be permitted even this lowly place in the charmed circle. Here the problems of the universe are thrashed out and settled, not once but many times.

BRIGANDS.

Possibly the most romantic phase of peasant life in Anatolia has to do with brigands. For the peasant the brigand is what Robin Hood was to the villagers of England centuries ago. With them the peasant has shared a common hatred of the local government officials and tax collectors, the rich land owners and the military. As a

rule the brigands are very kind to all peasants who are friendly.

During the past twenty years the most famous brigand of Anatolia has been Chuckagee, whose headquarters were in the mountains above Eodemish, and who had gathered around him a large band of kindred spirits of which he was the head and chief. Chuckagee was adored by the peasants, but was the terror of the wealthy official class. He would ride into a village with his men, demand food of the peasants, and often leave ten times the price of the food in gold. For several summers a number of our American missionaries in Smyrna went to Boz Dagh, one of the mountain towns near Chuckagee's headquarters. Each summer the famous brigand made several visits to the Americans with whom he was always on terms of friendship. He was kind to the children, and very courteous, but he would never permit any camera around while he was present, and he and his men were always fully armed. At one time he gave a great feast and invited the missionaries to be present. Lambs were roasted whole on huge spits, and everything was carried out on a large scale. One summer the government officials of Smyrna sent word to the missionaries, that it was not safe for them to go to Boz Dagh that summer, as Chuckagee and his band were in bad spirit and had killed several people. Chuckagee learned that his friends had been told not to come, and he sent down personal word that they would be protected by his men if they came, but it was deemed wise to follow the government's advice. His deeds of daring were told and retold throughout the countryside; once in a while a member of his band would be captured and then there was a hanging. At one time the government learned that his band was in a certain village, and dispatched a special train with 200 soldiers to the scene. The peasants learned of this action on the part of the government, and sent word to the brigand. He came down to that railway station with his band the evening the train was due, seized all the

officials, and as the train pulled in his band opened fire. Not a single soldier escaped unwounded and many were killed. Chuckagee had two wives who lived in the village on the mountain, and he wanted his children to have a good education.

Kind as these brigands are to the peasants, it goes hard with the wealthy Turk or Greek who falls into their clutches, and they have even taken Europeans from their own gardens within less than two miles of Smyrna. Their captives are held for ransom, unless it be some official who has had a member of the band strung up, and then he pays for it with his blood.

As a rule the brigands are very superstitious, and before they start out on any important undertaking they generally sacrifice a sheep in the presence of the entire band, and a careful examination is made of the entrails. Another favorite form of divination is to scrape the shoulder-blade of a sheep or lamb. The thin bone is then held up to the light, and the lights and shades exhibited on its surface indicate whether the fates are with them or not. Made up, as the bands mostly are, of ignorant peasants, such superstitions have a powerful hold on their minds, and if the signs are not propitious the hardiest will abandon the undertaking. Each member of the band takes a solemn oath on the Koran, and sometimes on a sword or gem, to obey the chief, and be faithful to his comrades. In some bands a pill is made from flour and the outlaws' blood, which is swallowed when the oath is taken. The war has seen an increase in brigandage. Chuckagee met the fate of many a brigand, being killed by a member of his own band.

Woe to the village that informs on a band, or proves traitor to them in any way, though this is practically unknown, as the brigands are from the peasant class themselves, and often render great service to the villages. I know of an instance where the government sent soldiers to beat certain villages, but at the right moment the brigands

came down and beat the soldiers. At one place Chuckagee discovered that the government officials had ordered the peasants to build a bridge over a river near their village, just at the time when they were in the field reaping their harvest. To leave their crops standing would mean ruin. Year after year this trick had been kept up, and each year the peasants had escaped by paying large bribes to the officials. At the close of a certain harvest season, after all the crops were in, Chuckagee and his band descended upon that town, seized the officials and ordered that the bridge be built at once and that the officials pay for all the material and labor and pay well. After that there was no more bribing needed in that town.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

When a Moslem peasant draws near to death, his relatives assemble, and if he is still conscious he asks forgiveness of them all. This is called *helal*. Immediately after death the body is washed by the *imam*, if the deceased is a man, or by women, if the dead be a woman. It is a rigid custom among Moslems of Turkey, that after death no man may look upon a woman's corpse, nor a woman upon a man's corpse.

After the washing of the body, it is wrapped in a shroud and placed on a bier called the *rahat yatak*, or couch of repose. On the same day the body is placed in an open coffin, and carried to the door of the mosque. In front of every mosque is a large flat stone on which the body is placed. Here a prayer is offered by the *imam*, and the mourners join in the responses. Only men attend the funeral service and go to the grave. From the door of the mosque the body is borne on the shoulders of friends to the cemetery. The places of the bearers are often changed and taken by others, for it is considered an act of merit to help carry a body to its last resting place. On a man's bier is his fez, on a woman's, her head covering is placed.

At the graveyard the body is taken from the coffin and

placed in the grave, the custom generally being to lay it on its right side and facing Mecca. The grave is then filled and all depart save the *imam*, who remains to say a few prayers.

In some communities it is the custom to plant twigs of cypress along the side of the grave. If those on the right side grow, the deceased is enjoying the delights of Paradise, otherwise he is among the lost.

The soul is supposed to remain in the body for some hours after death, possibly for days. Two angels are said to enter the grave with the departed. These angels, Munkar and Nakir ask questions of the soul, to which the soul must give correct answers. Among the answers must be the repeating of the Moslem creed,

"I believe in one God and in Mohammed his prophet, and the Ka'aba is my kibra."

If a soul answers the questions correctly, all is well; but woe to the soul which hesitates or is unable to reply, for the angels fall upon him with iron maces and torture him. This idea is founded on a passage in the Koran:

"How, therefore, will it be with them (the unbelievers) when the angels shall cause them to die, and shall strike their faces and their backs?"

There is little outward mourning shown among the Moslems, though three days after the funeral sweets or food are sent to some neighboring poor family.

The village graveyard is almost always a most neglected spot, where old, broken-down stones and weeds block every path. Donkeys and goats wander among the graves, while here and there a cypress tree rears its melancholy grandeur. The tombstones of men are surmounted with a carved fez. No care is taken to keep the cemetery in order, or even in a state of respectability, and often it is a dumping place for old cans and refuse. In fact, it sums up as completely as any other feature of the average Moslem village the condition, intellectually, morally and spiritually of the community.

Smyrna.

S. RALPH HARLOW.

THE SO-CALLED HADITH QUDSI.

Professor Goldziher has shown in his studies of Islam,¹ that Islam from the earliest century regarded Christianity as a religion from which something could be learned, and did not therefore disdain to borrow from it. This is acknowledged by the Mohammedan theologians themselves.² The early traditions of Islam indeed offer a wealth of examples showing how readily and greedily the founders of Islam borrowed from Christian sources. The miracles recorded in the Gospels were transferred to the realms of Islam, and what Jesus did became the act of Mohammed; for example, the miraculous supply of food or water, and the healing of the sick. Goldziher also enumerates a number of the didactic statements from the Gospels which are incorporated into the Hadith. The most remarkable example he gives is that of the Lord's Prayer: "It is related by Abu Dardai that the Prophet said: 'If any one suffers or his brother suffers, he should say: "Our Lord God, which art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom (here apparently the words "come; Thy will be done," are left out) is in heaven and on earth; as Thy mercy is in Heaven, so show Thy mercy on earth; forgive us our debts and our sins (*haubana wa khatayana*). Thou art the Lord of the good; send down mercy from Thy mercy, and healing from Thy healing on this pain, that it may be healed."³ ' ' "

All these, however, belong to what Moslems call *Hadith Nabawi* (Traditions of the Prophet) although they are evidently borrowed from other sources. The *Hadith Nabawi* are distinguished in Islam from another species of tradition called *Hadith Qudsi*. This

¹Vol. ii, *The Hadith and the New Testament*.

²Ibn Hajar, vol. i, p. 372.

³Abu Daud, vol. i, p. 101, quoted in "The Hadith and N. T." English Translation S. P. C. K. London 1902 p. 18.

distinction arose from the fact that the former were attributed to Mohammed as the speaker and consisted either of his sayings, his doings or acts which he permitted. These were severally handed down—so it was believed—from the lips of those who heard the words or were witnesses of the acts in question. But in some cases the form of a tradition showed that it contained the actual word of God, and not the word of the prophet merely. Such traditions were designated as *Hadith Qudsi* (holy), or *Hadith Ilahi* (Divine Tradition).

Both kinds of *Hadith* were held in great reverence from the earliest days of Islam throughout the whole Mohammedan world. The scruples which existed originally against the dissemination and recording of Mohammed's words in writing were soon overcome. The six standard collections of Mohammedan Tradition, so well known, contained not only the sayings of the Prophet and his *sunna*, i. e. the record of his conduct, but also direct revelations of God to former Prophets, and also to Mohammed himself. Even in the smaller collections of traditions, such as the 'Arabain of *An-Nawawi*, *Hadith Qudsi* are found.

The only striking difference is that the *Hadith Qudsi* at first sight do not seem to have so complete a series of narrators (*asnad*) attached as do the other traditions. They were doubtless delivered orally by the teacher to the pupil, and there is no record, as far as we can learn, of the date when they were first collected in the form in which they now appear. In fact the whole subject of these *Hadith Qudsi* requires further investigation. The Encyclopædia of Islam in the learned article on *Hadith* by T. W. Juynboll gives very meagre information.⁴ Hughes' Dictionary of Islam gives nothing. There is scarcely a reference to the subject in the standard Moslem writers on tradition, as far as these have come to our no-

⁴Eight lines only, ending with the statement that the Leiden MS No. 1526, Cat. IV: 98. gives a list of them.

tice. In this outline study we have made use, however, of three standard books. One is the only separately printed collection of *Hadith Qudsi* namely the "Athafat-as-Siniya" by al-Madani (Hyderabad 1323); the second a manuscript by al-Manawi, which we were fortunately able to purchase in Cairo. Brockelmann says (vol. ii, p. 306) that only two copies of this manuscript exist, viz., Leiden No. 1761 and Cairo I. 258.

Finally we consulted a third volume on *Hadith Qudsi* of which a manuscript copy is found in the Sultanieh Library at Cairo. It is entitled *Mi'at Hadith wa Wahid Qudsiya* by Mohammed Abu Ali ibn Mohammed ibn al-Arabi. He was born 560 A. H. at Mursia, and taught at Seville, afterwards traveling to the Hedjaz, Baghdad and Mosul. He died in Damascus 638 A. H. Al-Arabi is known as one of the greatest mystics in Islam, and was a most voluminous writer. Brockelmann gives a list of his books to the number of one hundred and fifty.⁵

In his introduction Ibn al-Arabi states the origin of his collection of *Hadith Qudsi* was as follows: "When I came across the saying of Mohammed the Prophet, 'Whosoever commits to memory for my people forty Traditions from my lips I will cause him to enter the ranks of those for whom I intercede in the day of Judgment,' and also the statement of the Prophet, 'Whosoever commits to memory for my people forty Traditions that are necessary to them I will record his name as a juriscult and learned man,' in obedience to this statement I have taken pains to collect while at Mecca forty Traditions during the months of the year 599 A. H. and I made it a condition that the first forty of my collection should be directly ascribed to God Himself as the speaker; the second forty through Mohammed as the narrator,—some of which are also narrated by his Companions; and I finally completed the collection, making it up to the number of 101 by adding twenty-one Traditions of a similar character. The whole

⁵Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur. Vol. I, p. 441.

collection consists therefore of 101 Divine Traditions (*Hadith Ilahi*).” This manuscript is dated 1139 A. H.

Our manuscript of Al-Manawi measures six by eight and a half inches, and is on good parchment paper in black ink with red ink headings for each tradition. It consists of sixty-four folios clearly written text in the ordinary Egyptian hand. The one who copied the manuscript calls himself Ibrahim Suweif as-Shafa‘i. The manuscript is dated 1122 A. H. It consists of two parts, the first part, folio 1 to 38, contains 273 traditions, each of which begins with the words: “*Qal Allah*” (God said). The various traditions beginning with this formula are nevertheless arranged alphabetically according to the particular statement that follows. The second part—folio 38 to 65—consists of ninety-five traditions, some of considerable length, arranged alphabetically, but none of which begin with the usual formula. The printed collection by Al Madani referred to consists of 239 pages and contains 856 numbered *Hadith Qudsi*. Of these 164 belong to the first part, each of them beginning “*Qal Allah*” (God said). Ninety belong to the second part—pages 30 to 46—and begin with the words “*Yaqul Allah*” (God says). The third part, from page 46 to the end contains 603 traditions, these are all arranged in alphabetical order.

By comparing the third part with the similar arrangement in al-Manawi it is evident that although *some* of the traditions in al-Manawi are evidently the same as those in the al-Madani collection, the text is quite uncertain, and there are many verbal variations. This, however, is not important, as we shall see from the definition given of *Hadith Qudsi* by Moslems, and the distinction made between these divine sayings and the unchangeable words of Allah as found in the Koran. It is not surprising that the title *Hadith Qudsi* seemed attractive enough to be used for other collections which are *not* authentic. One of them is entitled *Akhbar Qudsiya*, by Abdul Majid Ali, Cairo, 1324 A. H. This book contains no actual sayings

ascribed to God, but only stories about Mohammed, mostly puerile and of doubtful origin, or evidently recently fabricated. Other similar popular collections exist and have a considerable sale, but they must be carefully distinguished from real *Hadith Qudsi*. As regards the author of the manuscript collection above mentioned, Abd ar-Ra'af Mohammed bin Taj al-'Arifin Ali bin Zain al-Abadin Zain ad-Din al-Hadadi al-Manawi was of the Shafa'i sect, and was born in Cairo 952 A. H. He busied himself from his youth in theological studies. For a short time he was a Qadi, but soon retired to private life, and studied until he was called to teach in the Madrassa as-Sakahiya.

His success and reputation awakened enmity and envy, and he died from poisoning after a long and suffering illness, 1031 A. H. (1622 A. D.). Nineteen of his writings are catalogued by Brockelmann (vol. ii, p. 306). The most important is called *Kunuz al-Haqd'iq fi 'l-Hadith*, and consists of 10,000 traditions alphabetically arranged, and quoted from no less than forty-four other works on tradition. In addition to his work on the *Hadith Qudsi*, he wrote a supplement to it on *Sufic* prayers and traditions called *al-Matalib*, also many other books, of which a list is found in Brockelmann: they deal with botany, zoology, mineralogy and various other sciences.

For a definition of the term *Qudsi* we turn to the appendix of the work by al-Madani. Referring to the dictionary, al-Misbah, he says that the term is derived from the *Holy* land of Jerusalem, *al-Quds* quoting also the curious opinion expressed, on the authority of al-Jalabi, that all the traditions called *Hadith Qudsi* were revealed to Mohammed at the time of his ascent (*Mi'raj*) to heaven, and that for this reason they are called *Qudsi*, because he ascended from a "pure place," namely *Bait al-Maqdis* (Jerusalem).

This derivation is, however, evidently incorrect; although based on another tradition that Mohammed re-

ceived all of the *Hadith Qudsi* at the time of his ascent to heaven from the Holy City of Jerusalem. For in another place al-Madani refers to the dictionary, al-Misbah, and says that the term is applied to the Holy Land of Jerusalem, and that God Himself is called *Qudus* because the word signifies *pure or purified*.

He then goes on: "As for Traditions being called holy (*qudsi*), it is because they are related to God as regards the substance and not the form of the narrative. The Noble Koran, on the other hand, came down from God not only in substance but in the very form of its syllables by inspiration to the Prophet Mohammed. Moreover, 'Ali al-Qari, our teacher, said, the *Hadith Qudsi* is that which the Master of all Narrators and the Full Moon of Authorities (i. e. Mohammed) received from God sometimes by inspiration and again by dream or revelation, leaving him free to express it in words as he pleased. It differs from the Koran in this respect, because the latter only descended from the Preserved Tablet by means of the favour of the Angel Gabriel, accurate in every syllable. Moreover, its transmission was undoubtedly entire, unchanged from age to age. The Koran and the *Hadith Qudsi* also differ in many other points, among which the learned have enumerated the following:

(1) The *Hadith Qudsi* may not be used in the repetition of the ritual prayers.

(2) The written *Hadith Qudsi* is not forbidden to the touch of him or her who is ceremonially unclean. (The text here gives detail in Moslem phraseology.)

(3) The *Hadith Qudsi* is not inimitable, in the miraculous sense, as is the Koran. ('Ijaz)

(4) He who denies the authority or truth of a holy tradition (*Hadith Qudsi*) is not thereby considered an unbeliever (Kafir) as is the case of one who denies the Koran."

Our author then goes on to give his authorities for these various distinctions, and adds other information. He quotes al-Karmani in his book on *Fasting* as saying that whatever words have come down to Mohammed without the instrumentality of Gabriel, and without having the

inimitable form of the Koran, are termed *Hadith Qudsi*. He says there are also two other terms used: *Ilahi* (divine) or *Rabbani* (lordly).

At-Taibi says that the Koran consists of the exact words spoken by Gabriel to the Prophet, while the *Hadith Qudsi* consists of information of which the significance was given to Mohammed sometimes by revelation and sometimes by dream. This information is quoted from the book *al-Fawa'id* by Hafid at-Taftazani.

So much for the significance of the term used. The sources of the *Hadith Qudsi*, as we shall see from the text later, includes Old and New Testament fragments, often torn out of their connection, stray verses from other Apocryphal writers, and (what is most remarkable) *abrogated* verses of the Koran, which are preserved only in these collections. In some cases a whole Surah apparently, as the Tradition numbered eighty-two in al-Madani's printed text.⁶ This both in its form and contents is so like the Koran that in reading it aloud to well-read Moslems they affirmed to me it was in the Koran, until shown their mistake.

In this connection we must remember, as remarked by Margoliouth,⁷ that "there was no check on the sources of Moslem Tradition. Everything depended on the memory, recollection and often the imagination of the narrator. Sometimes the ascription of a saying could be put right. Abu Talib points out that one which was ordinarily ascribed to the Prophet really belonged to the Sufi Saha at-Tustari of the third century. Some of the Prophet's sayings were referred to earlier revelations, and can indeed be identified in the Bible or Apocrypha. The principle of jurisprudence whereby in civil suits the plaintiff must produce evidence, whereas all that can be demanded of the defendant is an oath, is sometimes referred to Omar,

⁶ p. 15. It reads in part as follows: "Then we caused them to inherit the Book, those namely whom we chose from our servants.....and they entered Paradise without giving account.....verily your Lord is the Forgiver, the Grateful Rewarder, who permitted them to enter the abode of eternity by His graciousness, in which no evil shall touch them nor impure speech harm them.

⁷Early Development of Mohammedanism, p. 90.

at other times to the Prophet, whereas it really comes from the Jewish Mishna."

This looseness of the whole fabric of tradition is abundantly illustrated by many of the *Hadith Qudsi*. We can easily understand how these collections of pious sayings were made, and how all sorts of statements which had no authority, save in the fertile brain of those who uttered them, were finally recorded as divine traditions. To quote again from Margoliouth:⁸ "One method of dealing with the discrepancies between the Biblical narratives and the Koran was to supply the original Bible which the Jews and Christians had been supposed to corrupt. Copies of such works are occasionally found; they are close imitations in style of the Koran, and therefore take the form of addresses by the Divine Being to the Prophets to whom they are supposed to have been revealed. Apparently Sprenger was misled into supposing that a book of this kind bearing the name of Abraham, was the Roll of Abraham to whom some early Surahs of the Koran refer. The Sufi, Abu Talib al-Makki, makes tolerably frequent use of a collection which he calls "The Israelite Traditions," some of which are evidently based on narratives actually found in the Bible. Thus he tells a story of the Temple of Jeroboam, and the adventures of the Prophet who announced its fall, with very fair accuracy: proper names are indeed omitted, and the whole story is a sort of replica of the Mosque of *Dirar* or "nonconformity," which was built by some of the disaffected near the end of the Prophet's career, and of which the Prophet ordered the destruction; only the prophet who disobeyed the order is shown by a special revelation to have been eaten by the lion not as a punishment, but as an honour. One Khaithamah declared that the Gospel contained a statement about the keys of Korah's treasure-house, which according to the Koran were a load for several persons; the Gospel gave the exact weight."⁹

⁸Early Development of Mohammedanism, pp. 233-234.

⁹Tabari, Comm. xx. 63-68.

Koelle in his "Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered" devotes the second part of his book to the close parallel between the apocryphal accounts of Mohammed's life in later tradition and the Gospel record of our Saviour Jesus Christ.¹⁰ This is "the mythical Mohammed as he was portrayed by the vivid imagination of his uncritical admirers." "What was known of the lives of previous prophets (or of their sayings) was exaggerated to suit the conception of the chief and seal of all the prophets, such as Mohammed claimed to be, and was most unscrupulously applied to him."¹¹

The system of pious frauds revealed in these collections of *Hadith Qudsi* is not abhorrent to the Moslem mind. According to their teaching, deception is allowable in such cases. On what occasion would it be more justifiable—not to say meritorious—than in furthering the interests of Islam, and adding glory to the character of Mohammed by supplementing his divine revelation in this way.¹²

We will now let the *Hadith Qudsi* speak for themselves. The collection does not merit entire translation, it will suffice to show from a number of instances the character and sources of some of these Divine sayings, and allow the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The following are examples of some of the more striking *Hadith Qudsi* translated from al-Madani's collection, chosen because this is the only printed collection of *Hadith Qudsi*, and its traditions are all carefully numbered. In one or two cases there are repetitions, but I have given some of these in order to show the variations in the text.

"God said: I am in a great difficulty regarding both men and Jinn: I created them, yet they worship others beside Me; I provide them with food, and then they return thanks to others than Myself." (No. 5.)

"God said: Whosoever has not blessed My judgment, when disaster overtakes him let him seek another Lord than Me." (No. 6.)

"God said: If anyone lose his two eyes in My service, I will restore them in Paradise." (No. 14.)

¹⁰pp. 240-446.

¹¹Idem, p. 245.

¹²Cf. the remarks of Muir in his *Life of Mohammed* vol. 1, p. LXXIV to LXXIX.

"God said: I have prepared for My servants who are pious, that which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor that which has entered into the heart of any man." (This tradition is related on the authority of Bukhari and Muslim, who have it from Abu Hurairi!) (No. 17.)

"God said: My mercy overtakes My wrath." (No. 24.)

"When My servant draws near to Me a handsbreadth, I draw near to him an armslength; if he draws near to Me an armslength, I draw near to him a fathom; if he approaches Me walking, I approach him running." (No. 28.)

"God said: Pride is My greatness, and majesty My cloak; whosoever deprives Me of either of them, I will make him taste the torture of the fire." (Repeated 177.) (No. 34.)

"God said: God loves best those who hasten to worship." (No. 37.)

"God said: If any of My servants suffer evil in body, or children, or property and bears it with patience, I will reward him on the Day of Judgment by making his account easy." (No. 46.)

"God said: There is no god but God; this is My word and I am He (it). Whosoever, therefore, says this creed enters into My safekeeping and whosoever enters My safekeeping is free from My punishment." (No. 49.)

"God said: I am the Lord, and have predestined good and evil; woe, therefore, to him at whose hands I have predestined evil, and blessed is he at whose hands I have predestined good." (No. 50.)

"God said: There are servants of Mine who before men wear sheep's clothing, but their hearts are more bitter than gall, and their tongues are sweeter than honey. They deceive Me." (No. 56.)

"God said: Whenever My servant thinks of Me I am present in his thoughts; therefore let him think concerning Me as he pleases." (No. 58.)

This tradition repeats No. 28 in other words, both reminding us of the Prodigal's return in Luke, 15th Chapter. (No. 61.)

"God said: There are three things which if man observe he will be My friend, and if he neglect them My enemy: Prayer, Fasting and Ritual Purification." (No. 74.)

"God said: Whosoever remembers Me in meditation, I will remember him before multitudes of My angels; whosoever remembers Me in the public assembly, I will remember him before the highest Companionship" (?). (Ar-Rafiq al-'Aali.) (No. 77.)

"God said: My servant who believes in Me is more precious to Me than some of My angels." (No. 80.)

(No. 82 is an imitation, both in form and matter, of a Koran Verse, and might be read without distinguishing the difference; one wonders why it was not collected with the other chapters and verses.)

"God said: Whoever is engaged in praying to Me or asking Me a favour, freely I will give it to him before he asks." (No. 86.)

"God said: Whosoever visits me in Mekka, or at the Mosque of my Apostle in Medina, or at Jerusalem, and dies so doing, will die a martyr." (No. 88.)

"God said: I make a covenant with my servant that if he observes the prayers at the appointed time, I will not punish him, but cause him to enter Paradise without giving account." (No. 93.)

“God said: My servants cannot array themselves in more proper dress than asceticism.” (No. 96.)

(No. 149 seems to be a recollection from the Psalter and reads:—“David said: when speaking to God; ‘O Lord, which of thy servants is most precious to Thee, so that I may love him with Thy love?’ God replied to David: ‘The most beloved of My servants to Me is he who is pure in heart and intent; who does not do evil to anyone, nor walk after back-biting. The mountains may depart, but he who loves Me will abide, and I will love him.’ Then David said: ‘O Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee, and love those that love Thee; how shall I show my love to Thee to Thy servants?’ He said: ‘Remember them in their troubles and in their need, for verily there is no one who assists the oppressed, or walks with him in his affliction, that I will not establish his goodness in the Day when men’s footsteps slip.’”

“God said: ‘Pride is My cloak and Majesty is My mantle, and whosoever deprives Me of either of them I will cast him into hell.’” (No. 177.)

(No. 354 is remarkable because according to the authority of as-Suyuti in the *Itqan* (vol. ii, p. 25, these very words came down to Mohammed as part of the Koran, but were afterwards abrogated. The abrogated verses were preserved in the *Hadith Qudsi*) “God said: ‘Verily we have given men health, that they may perform the prayer and give alms. If a son of Adam had a parcel of land, he would wish for twain: had he twain, he would love to have a third added: nothing will satisfy the desires of man and fill his belly except the dust. After that God will be merciful to him to whom he will show mercy.’” (No. 354.)

So far the selections from al-Madani.

The following are taken from the collection by al-Manawi. They differ in no important respect from those by al-Madani, but the following examples are noteworthy.

“Said the Apostle of God: It is written in the Torah, O Son of Man, I have created thee and provided for thee, yet dost thou worship other than Myself.” (Folio 1, No. 2 of the mss.)

“Those whom I love most among my worshippers are the ones that hasten to break the fast.” (Folio 2, No. 6.)

“God said: If any of my servants purposes to do evil, but does it not, I will consider it to his merit and not to his discredit.” (Folio 5, No. 1.)

“God said: There are some of those who profess to believe in Me, but in the same breath deny Me. For example, those who say, ‘Rain has come down upon us, and we have received our food by the mercy of God, and His bounty.’ These are true believers in Me, and do not believe in the influence of the stars. But whosoever says ‘A certain star has brought us rain or good fortune,’ he is an unbeliever.” (Folio 6, No. 1.)

(This gives in almost exact form the text of Isaiah 64: 4 and 1 Cor. 2: 9) “God said: I have prepared for my servants who believe in Me that which eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and that which has not occurred to the heart of man.” The *asnad* or list of narrators for this *Hadith* is given as follows:—“Ibn Jarir received this from al-Hassan by word of mouth.” Other *asnad* are equally scanty. (Folio 6, No. 3.)

"God said: The heavens and the earth would not be able to contain Me, yet I dwell in the heart of the true believer." (Folio 6, No. 7.)

"God said to Mohammed: Verily thy people will not cease asking foolish questions, until they say, Behold God has created the creation, but who created God?" (Folio 7, No. 4.)

"God said: I have made a covenant with My servant that if he observes the stated prayers I will not enter into judgment with him, but cause him to enter the Garden without giving account." (Folio 8, No. 7.)

"God said: I am present when My servant thinks of Me, and where-soever He remembers Me there I am." (This Tradition is given in various forms on the same page.) (Folio 13, No. 6.)

"Said God: The evil eye is a passing-arrow of Satan. Whosoever abandons belief in it because he fears Me, I will give him faith in the place of it, by which he will praise Me in his heart." (Folio 17, No. 5.)

"God said: As you judge you shall be judged, and with the measure by which you mete it it shall be measured to you again." (The complete *asnad* is given of this Gospel passage, but it is not stated to be from the Injil. Folio 21, No. 2.)

This gives a long tradition in which God says that only their prayers are answered who have fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and shewn mercy to those in trouble, and visited the stranger. (This is evidently taken from Matthew 25: 31.) (Folio 22, No. 7.)

"Whosoever remembers Me rather than begs in prayer, I will give him his request before he asks." (Another form of the scripture statement: "Before they call I will answer.") (Folio 26, No. 6.)

"God said: There is no god but God. *This is My word and I am It.* And whosoever pronounces it, I will cause him to enter my safe-keeping, and he will suffer no punishment." (Perhaps an echo of John 1: 1. "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God and the Word was God.") (Folio 29, No. 8.)

"God said: O Jesus, I will send after thee a people who when they accept good at My hands will return praise and thanksgiving, and if they receive that which they dislike, they will still be content and patient." (Evidently a prophecy of the glory of Islam over Christianity.) (Folio 36, No. 2.)

"God said: O Moses, thou son of Amram! Show mercy and you will receive mercy." (This is a gospel beatitude torn out of its connection, and preserved as a Divine word to Moses.) (Folio 37, No. 5.)

"God spoke to Jesus the Son of Mary: Instruct thyself by My wisdom, and if you receive benefit, then teach men; and if not, then fear Me." (Folio 45, No. 3.)

"God revealed to Jesus that He would move about from place to place, so that none could recognize Him and do Him harm. Then God swore by His greatness and His glory that He would marry Him to two thousand houris, and give Him a vision in Paradise for four hundred years." (Again a caricature of the gospel; many such occur in both collections.) (Folio 45, No. 8.)

The above selections are typical, and although taken somewhat at random represent the contents of the collection fairly well.

The questions raised in the investigation of this subject are many, both from the standpoint of orthodox Islam and that of the Orientalist and student of Comparative Religion. If these *Hadith Qudsi* are Divine traditions and portions of God's revelation to man, why are they not mentioned in the Koran? If they *are* referred to in the Koran, are they the books that came down to Adam, Seth and other prophets? But these books are supposed to have been lost. How then did these fragments remain? What relation has the *Hadith Qudsi* to the canonical Gospels or to apocryphal writings? Why did the collectors of Tradition make no distinction between the words of Mohammed, who is, after all, human, and the words which are put into the mouth of God? Why was there never an authentic collection made without variation of the text? What is the relation and the authority of these sayings to the Koran text itself, which is, to the Moslem, the Word of God? What shall we say of the abrogated verse of the Koran, which appears in this collection? Are the other sayings also perhaps portions of the Koran which were abrogated? Or must we conclude, from the standpoint of criticism, that the *Hadith Qudsi* emphasizes the utterly untrustworthy character of all these collections as regards both the text (*matn*) and the narrators (*asnad*)?

One is reminded of the *Hadith* preserved by ad-Darimi, and well known (*mashhur*) to all Moslems: "*Inna 'l-hadith qadhin 'ala 'l-Koran wa laisa al-Koran qadhin 'alaihi fi ba'adh al-umur.*" ("Verily, Tradition determines the significance of the Koran and not the Koran Tradition in certain matters.") One of these matters surely is the conception of inspiration and revelation in the Moslem sense.

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THE IBADHITES

(*El-Ibadhiya* or *el-Abadhiya*.)*

This article contains nothing new in the way of research. Although I have had considerable intercourse with different Beni M'zab, the chief representatives of the Ibadhiya sect in Algeria, I have found it difficult to get anything from them but vague generalities. I have tried to unite in one view information drawn from many sources, (see Bibliography), often using the very words or textual translations of the sources I have drawn from. To treat the subject fully would be impossible within the limits of one article, while fuller details might prove wearisome or too technical to the general reader. Those wishing to study the matter further can do so by consulting the works mentioned in the Bibliography.

To understand the doctrines of the Ibadhite communities, and their attitude towards the other divisions of Islam, it is necessary to look back to the origin of the Kharijite movement in the time of the Caliph Ali. The following details are founded on Sir W. Muir's account of the movement in his "Annals of the Early Caliphate."

The battle of Siffin between the armies of Ali and Mua'wia was ended by an agreement to decide between their rival claims on the judgment of the Koran. The two parties mutually bound themselves "to follow the judgment of the Koran, and where the Koran was silent, the acknowledged precedents of Islam." The Arab tribes

*M. René Basset in the *Journal Asiatique* 1899 on "Les sanctuaires de Djebel Nefousa," says "In spite of Ibn Khallikan, El-Beladzori, etc., who have adopted the reading Ibadh, I have preferred to hold to that reading which tradition has conserved among the Kharedjites up to our day and which is confirmed by a passage of El-Berrâdi (one of their own writers) in *Kitab el Djaouahar*, p. 155:—*Abd Allah-ibn Abadh * * * * en-nasbah ileihi Abadhi bifath' el-hamza*." He refers to Motylinski—"Guerara depuis sa fondation." French writers generally follow this usage, but a former Cadi of the sect whom I knew intimately, had the inscription above his Mah'kama with *Ibadhiya* and always pronounced it so himself. The pronunciation of *Abadh* would correspond to *Anârah* for *Imârah*, but this does not touch the testimony of El-Berrâdi.

In the "Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine" 1885 Facs. I et II, pp. 149, 151, M. Basset has spelt "Ibadhite." The present Mah'kama at Constantine, Algeria, has *Ibadiya*, and the members of the community here, pronounce it so. (P. S.)

who had opposed Othman had the claims of neither Ali nor Mua'wia at heart. Their quarrel was with the pretensions of the Koraish, but this decision appeared to favour their theocratic and democratic contention that no oath of allegiance ought to be sworn but to the Lord alone (*la hukm illa lillah* the rule belongs to Allah alone). Believers being absolutely equal, there should be no Caliph, nor oath of allegiance sworn to any man, but the government should be in the hands of a Council elected by the people. The first sign of an open separatist movement was the withdrawing of twelve thousand men from Ali's army after the ruse of Mua'wia's umpire. Though the defection seemed overcome, it broke out openly when Ali began to march on Syria against Mua'wia. A great number of the rebels were slain at Nahrawan, and also many of the "companions of the prophet." (38 A. H., 658 A. D.) The remnant continued their agitation.

The final coming to terms of Ali and Mua'wia did not satisfy the theocratic Kharijites. Their hopes of the overthrow of the ungodly kingdoms of the world (including the aristocratic claims of the Koraish) and the establishment of the reign of righteousness seemed further off than ever. At last three of them determined to kill Ali, Mua'wia and his lieutenant Amru. The latter escaped. Mua'wia was wounded, but Ali succumbed.

According to the *Kitab el-Jawahir el-muntaqât* of El-Berrâdi (prob. IX Cent. A. H.), and the *Kitab es Siar* of Shemâkhi (died 928 A. H.), both of them Ibadhite historians of North African origin, the Ibadhites date the origin of their sect from the Caliphate of Othman, and give as justification of their separation, the acts of Othman, such as the deposing of governors in favor of his own relatives, the Omayyads, who according to Nöldeke were able men for the most part, but of an *intensely worldly* disposition; the scandal of el-Walid presiding at public prayer in a state of drunkenness; and various innovations (*ahdath*) of Othman, contrary to the law, his violence

with regard to Abou D'err el-Ghefari which led to the murder of Othman. Their feeling with regard to Ali has been already mentioned, and will be referred to again. On the occasion of the separation caused by the question of arbitration between Ali and Mua'wia, they appointed a temporary *Imam* for the emergency (*fi maslak id-defa'a*), Abdullah ibn er-Rasibi, who was killed at Nahr-awan.

The Khawârij, in their fanatical zeal for a theocracy—no rule but Allah's alone—had no worldly views. Nöl-deke says of them that they “certainly had hold of a fundamental idea of Moslems (the awarding of the Imamate ‘to the best,’ though he were an Abyssinian slave). This idea they developed to the utmost; they were in a certain sense right, but on such principles as theirs it would be impossible to establish any State. They were fanatics, who sought to carry out their ideas with the wildest energy and the most desperate bravery, and to a certain extent they maintained a loyalty to conviction worthy of all admiration; but they only caused a great deal of suffering, and produced nothing.” They fought with equal bravery whatever their chances of success, but in their zeal they exercised savage cruelties on those whom they regarded as enemies of the Lord, believing that in annihilating them they did Him service. They preserved the primitive spirit of Islam, and were ardent disciples of the Koran and the traditions. It is related that one of their leaders, taken in a revolt against the Caliph Hisham, was burnt to death with a number of his followers. He died repeating the Koranic verse, “Say, the fire of Hell is fiercer in its heat, if they but know it” (Sur. IX. 82).

Sir William Muir characterizes the Khawârij as Puritan Covenanters of Islam. The Soffarides or Sofrites—a branch of Kharijism, arose in North Africa about 116 A. H. These with the Ibadhiya exercised great power, recognizing neither the claim of the Hashimites nor of any other to the Caliphate. They were democratic theo-

crats, and represented the Berber democratic spirit arrayed against the domination of the foreign invader, as well as the protestation of a persecuted sect, which claimed to represent the true spirit of Islam. In the time of the Abbaside Caliphs the Ibadiya under the leadership of Abu-l-Khattab, one of the five missionaries whom they call the "bearers of science," resisted the Orthodox armies. He was proclaimed *Imam* in 140 A. H. at Siad, west of Tripoli, and was killed in battle against the Abbaside forces in 144 with twelve or fourteen thousand of his followers. After him Abu Hatim was elevated to the *Imamate*, with title of "*Imam of Defence*," in 156 A. H. He was killed in battle against the Abbaside forces, with thirty thousand of his followers. An Ibadhite dynasty, the Rostemide imams, held power at Tahert (Tiharet or Tagdemt) for more than 130 years, and only disappeared when the Fatimides founded their empire in the Maghrib, (909 A. D.). Since that time they have been a minority without any political power, but as a sect they still exist, and hold strongly to their opinions. Although hated and despised by the other Moslems, they still continue to call themselves "the people of the Truth," and cherish the hope that their doctrine will triumph yet before the time of the end. In North Africa they are found in compact groups in the Jebel Nefousa (Tripoli), the island of Jerba (Tunisia), and in Algeria in the Confederation of the Beni M'zab, at Wargla and the Wad-Rir'. They are all of Berber origin.

Their name "*Ibadhiya*" comes from Abdullah ben Ibadh et-Temimy, who was chosen *Imam* in Arabia by the Khawarij during the reign of the Caliph Marwan (127 to 132 A. H.=744-749 A. D.).

These original Ibadhiya disallowed the claim of the Baghdad Caliph, as well in civil as in religious matters, and set up their own *Imam*, invested with corresponding powers in both capacities. Their *Imams* were elected for personal merit or popularity for nine hundred years, until 1624 A. D. The centre of their power was in Oman.

From 1624, although elected, the preference was for one of the ruling family. The sons of the *Imam* were called *Sayyid* and the daughters *Sayyida*. Since 1804 the rulers of Oman have never taken the title of *Imam*, but only that of *Sayyid*. After his election, the first duty of the *Imam* was to lead in the Friday prayer. Sayyid Said, who ruled from 1804 to 1856, had as successor at Muscat his son Sayyid Thowani, while a younger son reigned at Zanzibar, thus dividing the former Sultanate of Oman and Zanzibar. The Ibadhiya of Oman, Zanzibar and the North African communities mentioned above sum up the adherents of the sect, with the exception of some small isolated groups. At present those of Oman and Zanzibar are practically under British control, those of Jebel Nefousa under Italy, and the rest under the French government.

Ibn Batuta gives an account of his visit to Oman. He says, "We entered the capital of the country, which is the town of Nazoua. Its inhabitants are accustomed to take their meals in the courts of the mosques, each one bringing what he has provided. They eat thus all together, and travelers are admitted to eat with them. They are strong and brave, always at war among themselves. They are of the Ibadhite sect, and go through the Friday noon-day prayers four times, after which the *Imam* reads verses of the Koran, and gives a sermon in the *Khotba* style in which he supplicates the favor of God upon Abu Bakr and Omar, but passes over in silence Othman and Ali. When they wish to mention Ali they refer to him as 'the man,' saying 'It is said concerning the man' or 'the man said—'. They implore the divine favor upon that criminal, the accursed Ibn Moljam (the murderer of Ali), calling him 'the pious servant of God, the suppressor of sedition.' "

On the Ibadhiya of Oman one can consult the "History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman," an English translation by Badger of an Arabic work by Salil ibn-Razik. The translator added three Appendices: (A) On

the title Imam. (B) On the Ibadhiya. (C) On the murder of Ali. Badger refers to the account given by Lieutenant Wellsted on the Ibadhiya of Oman in his "Travels in Arabia" (1838). Wellsted drew his information as to the tenets of the sect from a manuscript in his possession as well as from personal observation. Badger expresses his regret that Wellsted was not able to make better use of his document, saying that the specific information which it probably contained is for the most part so abridged and mixed up with extraneous generalities that it is difficult to discriminate between them. Yet the account given by Wellsted, while not pretending to give a reasoned exposition of their doctrines, agrees fairly well with the special tenets of the North African Ibadhiya, who sum up their differences from the orthodox Sunnis under six heads. Badger gives an extract of an account furnished him by Mr. Frederick Ayrton, and taken from the *Kitab el Milal wa 'n-Nahal* by Mohammed ibn Abd el-Kerim esh-Shahristani. This account enters into theological disquisitions on predestination, etc., but does not mention the special points of difference between them and the orthodox Sunnis. One point there mentioned, however, is very distinctive of their doctrine, namely, that "the sinner of a great sin may be an attester of the Unity of God, but not a true believer, inasmuch as *acts enter into faith*," also "that he who commits the great sin of denying God's grace (i. e. a Moslem denier) is an unbeliever." Badger's account is based, not so much on Ibadhite writers, as on Orthodox Sunni sources.

Wellsted's account of the Ibadhiya of Oman is very interesting, even if fragmentary. He says, "The Khawarijites highly value themselves on being followers of the pure tenets of the prophet, unalloyed by any intermixture with the heresies which at different periods have sprung up in the Mohammedan world. As regards the ceremonial portion of the faith professed by this class their practice seems distinguished by a much greater simplicity than

belongs to most other Mohammedan sectaries—circumcision without any other ceremony, funerals conducted with little external display. They jealously disclaim connection with any of the numerous other sects of Islam—“We approximate,” says the writer of the manuscript that Wellsted quoted from, “not to any sect, nor does any sect approximate to us. How can we be in alliance with those innovators who oppose God’s religion? We conclude such to be devoted to ruin; enemies of God; infidels whose portion hereafter shall be in Gehenna forever. *They* deny the eternity of future punishments; *they* diminish the enormity of sin; *we* enhance it. The portion of the wicked surely will be for ever, for God is great.” They apply to themselves the tradition in which Mohammed is reported to have said, “My people shall be divided into seventy-three divisions; all of them shall be in the fire (of Gehenna), except one.” They claim to be the *saved fraction* (*al-farqa en-najia*). The eternity of future punishment, even for ungodly Moslems, is one of their distinctive doctrines. Another is on the question as to whether Mohammed actually saw God (*ru’yat al-Bari’*). The other Sunnis maintain that he did, the Ibadhiya deny it, asserting that such an opinion is in fact *Kufr* (infidelity) and “to say that God can be seen, being to limit and circumscribe the illimitable and incomprehensible is therefore absurd” (Wellsted’s manuscript). They say that when Moses is said to have seen God, the meaning is that he witnessed the effects of his power and majesty, not that he viewed Him face to face. Believers in heaven will not actually see God. This principle of interpretation they apply respecting the *Scales* of the day of judgment, in which all men are to be weighed, and also the bridge, *es-Sirat*, leading over Hell to the gates of Paradise. The former, say they, is merely a metaphorical expression, and the latter means nothing more than the narrow path of truth, so difficult to follow that it is comparable to the edge of a sword. The *istiwa* (session) of God upon His

throne is also in their view, metaphorical. The other Sunnis divide the wicked into two classes, infidels and pagans in the first, and reprobates and apostates in the second, but they refuse to style the latter infidels, however unworthy as Moslems they may happen to be. The Ibadhiya, more strict and conscientious, consider all who have once renounced their faith to be unbelievers, distinguishing, however, the *infidelity of grace* from the *infidelity of reprobacy*, and look upon all pagans, including Jews and Christians, as coming under this latter class. Further, the orthodox Sunnis assert the infallibility and divine authority of the prophet's companions, saying it is a sin to disobey their concurring determination, and that they inherited the right of true judgment. This the Khawarij deny, on the plea that the son of Noah, the child of a prophet, did wrong, so might a prophet's follower. They accuse both the Sunnis and the Shi'as of error, in making certain texts of the Koran to apply only to the Prophet's descendants, while according to *their* interpretation they have reference to the faithful of every rank and station. They deny that the authority of the first four Imams is to be implicitly followed. Their doctrine on this point is regulated by the principle of the "*manifest way*" (*maslak ed-dhohour.*) ("See Aqida of the Ibadhites." Arabic text and translation into French by A. de C. Motylinski, mentioned in the Bibliography). In a note based on Ibadhite commentaries, he says, "The manifest way is the way of principle, that which is obligatory when all the conditions required for the constitution of the Imamate are united. Mohammed was in this state at the moment of his death. It was also in such conditions that Abu Bakr and Omar exercised the supreme power over all the Moslem community. They consider the princes of Oman possessed the supreme pontificate, *manifestly* as also Abu-l-Khattab el-Maaferi, their first Imam in the Maghrib proclaimed at Tripoli by the Nefousa, and also Abd er-Rahman ibn Rostem and his successors. They regard Ali to have for-

feited his right to the Imamate by accepting arbitration. They claim that rebels and sinners against God were not fit judges of the Imamate. They reproach Ali with the slaughter of many of their sect, and that he died without repentance, since he exhibited none of the evidences which are considered necessary corroborations of such a state, viz., restitution and reparation.

In the Aqida above mentioned it is said:—The ways of religion are four:—(1) *The manifest way*, mentioned above; (2) *The way of defence (maslak ed-defa'a)*, as when the Moslems, in case of danger, appoint a temporary Imam in order to defend the rights of God in fighting against His enemies. Such a case arose at the time of the separation caused by the question of arbitration between Ali and Mua'wia, when Abdullah ibn Wahb er-Rasibi was appointed Imam by the adversaries of the arbitration, the partizans of the “sole judgment of God—*la hukm illa lillah.*” (3) *The way of sacrifice (Shirâ)* that is to be followed in desperation by the faithful servants of God, in fighting for the faith to the death. The faithful when their number reach forty at least, make the supreme sacrifice of their lives for the triumph of their religion, *purchasing* from God Paradise in this way *in exchange* for their life. They cannot return to their homes till their number is reduced to three. Nöldeke says on this point (see Bibliography), “one of the chief watch-words of the old death-defying Kharijites was the koranic verse, ‘God has *bought* from the faithful their life and their goods *with this price*—that Paradise is to be their portion, and they are to fight, slay and be slain in the path of God,’ and so on (Sura IX, 112). In accordance with this word ‘*bought*,’ the Kharijites called themselves by preference ‘*sellers*’ (or buyers) Shurat; “*for heaven as their price they gave God their souls.*” (4) *The way of secrecy (ketman)*, when it is impossible for the faithful to triumph over their enemies and to con-

stitute a state governed by a legitimate chief of their choice.

It is also said:—Three things concur to complete Islam:—*Revelation, Sunna* and *Rai*. Under *Rai* comes the question of the Imamate. The Imamate becomes obligatory upon a people when they possess in men, arms, horses, provisions, etc., a quantity equal to the half of what the enemy possesses. But the Imam must also have sufficient Knowledge (science). It is not necessary that he should be a Korashite. It is sufficient that he be virtuous and pious, and rule in conformity with the Koran and the Sunna. If he deviate from that he should be deposed.

They hold it to be the duty of each believer to enjoin the good and reprove the evil. It is only possible to do this fully when the sovereign power is established openly, for then only can the penalties prescribed in the Koran and Sunna be applied. Thus the prescription which enjoins the good and reproves or represses the evil can only receive its perfect application by the constitution of the Imamate. In this case evil is fully repressed by the *hand*, the learned repress it with the *tongue* (or by writing), the people by the *heart*.

They are opposed to the doctrine that the Koran is uncreated. In the *Aqida* mentioned above it is said, "He is not of us who says that the names of God are created, (the *vocables* are created but the *ideas* they represent, the *attributes of God*, are uncreated, being of the essence of God); neither is he that says the Koran is uncreated. El-Berrâdi in his Catalogue of the books of the sect, (See Books of the Ibadhite sect in Bibliography) mentions a work by Abu Ibrahim el-Ghadamesi, in which are refuted the arguments in favor of the Koran being uncreated. In the *Djawahir* of Berrâdi there is a *Risala* of the Rostemide Imam Aflah ibn Abd el-Wahab on the subject.

M. A. de C. Motylinski sums up their chief distinctive

doctrines in the Encyclopedia of Islam (Article Abadhite) as follows:—

(1) The Koran is the word of God, created by him. (2) God cannot be seen in Paradise. (3) Recompenses and punishments in the other world are both eternal, (even for professing Moslems if they get there). Hell will not be destroyed any more than will Paradise. (4) God pardons venial sin; but grievous sin (*kabâir*) cannot be pardoned, unless they are blotted out by repentance. (5) It is the duty of every Moslem to enjoin the good and reprove the evil as far as he is able. (6) All Moslems are strictly compelled to acknowledge their solidarity, which they express by word and action, but the individual who acts contrary to the prescriptions of the religious law loses all claim on the friendship of his coreligionists, and should be treated as an enemy, until he performs the act of repentance. There is a kind of religious excommunication which has grave religious and civil consequences." (Under this head comes all that is included in the doctrine and practice of *Walaya* and *Barâa*).

"The Ibadhites of Algeria affect a great austerity of morals, at least in the K'sur of the M'zab. Here the religious chiefs exercised a veritable tyranny before the annexation by the French Government, and in purely religious matters they still exercise a tyrannical supervision. In the towns of the Algerian Tell, where they congregate for the purpose of commerce, the practice is not always in accordance with the theory. It must, however, be admitted that generally they keep their beliefs very jealously. Except for the exigencies of their very brisk commerce, they do not mix with orthodox Moslems; marriages with the latter are rare exceptions, and are reprobated by the whole community. This puritanism has formed them into a homogenous and compact group, clearly distinguishable by their behaviour, character and

tendencies amidst the orthodox Arabs or Berbers of North Africa."

The Ibadhiya give themselves the name of *ahl el-haqq* (the people of the truth), *ahl ed-d'awa*, *ashab ed-d'awa* (the people of the doctrine, possessors, or companions, of the doctrine) *ahl el-wifaq* (the people of conformity, conformists); they call their sect *ed-d'awa* (the doctrine), *madhab el-haqq* (the sect of truth); *el-farqa el-muhiqqa* (the true fraction), *el-farqa en-najia* (the saved fraction). Those who do not belong to their sect are called *mukhâlifuna* (opposers, non-conformists), *ahl el-khilaf* (the people of the opposition, of dissent).

Besides "selling their lives to God in exchange for Paradise" the Ibadhiya have waged war with the pen, both to justify their obstinate resistance to the official rites, and to maintain intact in their communities the principles of their faith. They have a considerable religious literature, as well as historical writings, which are of value to check the accounts given by orthodox writers on events in the maze of Moslem North African history. The following Bibliography will enable those who have the time, opportunity and desire, to study this movement more thoroughly. Those first mentioned and marked with an asterisk have been used for the purposes of this article, in many places textually, which I have not been able always to acknowledge in the text.

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"Les livres de la secte Abadhite" by M. A. de C. Motylinski,—Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine. 1885, pp. 15 ff. This contains a list of Ibadhite works given by Abu 'l-Qasem ibn Ibrahim el-Berrâdi, also author of the "*Jawahir el-Muntaqat*," dealing with the history of the sect. There is another historical work—*Kitab es-Siar*, by Esh-Shemakhi. The first of these published in Cairo 1301, A. H. the other in 1302, A. H.

"L'Aqida des Abadhites," by M. de C. Motylinski, published in the Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publié en l'honneur du XIV Congrès des Orientalistes. (Algiers 1905.) There is a short introduction. The Arabic text is given, which was itself a translation of a composition in the Berber dialect of the Ibadhites of the Sahara region, made by Abu Hafs 'Amr ibn Djami'a Nefousi. It is a sort of catechism, summarizing

the beliefs and duties of the Ibadhite Moslem. In reading it, the style reminded me of the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." There are a good number of notes to the French translation, taken from Ibadhite commentaries and translated into French. In the Appendix there is a list of their chief religious works.

Ibn Batuta's account of his visit to Oman. Edition of the Société Asiatique, vol. ii, p. 227.

Mr. Percy Badger's translation of the "History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman," with Appendices.

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"Les Sanctuaires de Djebel Nefousa," by M. René Basset. *Journé Asiatique*, 1899.

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"Encyclopedia of Islam." Article "Abadhites" by M. de C. Motylinski. Algiers 1885.

"Islam et la Politique des Allies." By Mr. Insabato. French translation from Italian.

It may be interesting to note, from a missionary and Christian point of view, the remark made by M. René Basset in his study on "Les Sanctuaries de Djebel Nefousa." This work is in the form of annotation and commentary to an appendix found at the end of the "Siar" of Shemakhi, mentioned above, which M. de C. Motylinski considers to be not by that author. M. Basset says, "It will be noticed that in this enumeration, a certain number of places still bear the name of *Church* (*kenisa*); they are evidently ancient churches transformed into mosques. Here archæological exploration would probably make some interesting discoveries. Tradition reports, that the Nefousa were Christians, and helped in the defence of Tripoli against the Moslem invasion." In one of the places enumerated we find the name of "Church of Temezda."

When will Churches of Christ be found again in these countries and gather these hardy sectaries for the worship of God and the service of his Christ?

PERCY SMITH.

Constantine, Algeria.

OFF THE BEATEN TRACK

The little mission station that forms the subject of this article is off the beaten track in more than one sense. Although situated in the heart of the much frequented land of Egypt, it is far from the route of tourists, two miles from a main route, and four from a railway station. A wheeled vehicle is rarely seen, all transport being by means of camels and donkeys. Most of the inhabitants of the village have never seen the desert, which is far beyond the horizon, to which the great fields of cotton, maize, and cloves, stretch in every direction. The shops are of the tiniest description, like cupboards, in which the owner sits, with his goods on shelves over his head, and the supply is quite uncertain. No one is a grocer, or baker, or fruiterer; each just sells what he happens to have, and when none has the thing desired, the customer goes without it. A few men do building or rough carpentering, but apart from these necessary things there are no industries other than land cultivation, so that it would be correct to describe nearly the whole population as farmers and farm laborers.

The second point in which Shubra Zanga is unusual is that it is entirely Mohammedan. Most mission stations in Egypt are either in cities or large country towns, and in these there is always some proportion, however small, of Christians, and often a sprinkling of foreigners. But Shubra Zanga is only a moderate sized village of 5,000 inhabitants and till two women missionaries took up their residence there in the year 1910 there was not a single Christian in the place. The work commenced on ordinary lines, though from the beginning it quite refused to be of an ordinary character. The missionaries themselves wished to do direct evangelization by means of visiting and meetings, but it was thought necessary to have some-

thing that would seem like a reason for settling in the place, and a girls' school was decided upon as most suitable. A young Egyptian woman was engaged as teacher, and notice given of the opening of the school. The idea seemed to be taken up warmly by the well-to-do landowners, there were many enquiries as to what would be taught, and what the fee would be. So it was settled to charge one pound a month, and the school commenced with a few scholars, and soon increased. All went well till the end of the first month; but when the time came for the second payment every child was absent. It was soon evident that no one would pay for the education of girls, and that the school must either be free or close. So the former course was adopted, and the scholars came back, but the attendance was most uncertain. Anything served as an excuse for staying away; regular classes were impossible, and most parents only wanted the girls to learn needle work, and had no patience to wait for them to learn that properly.

The school led an uncertain existence for over two years, and then was brought to an end in a time of persecution, the children being threatened and struck. The cause of this persecution was not connected with the school, but with the missionaries' household. Village youths had been taken to be trained as servants, and from the very first a Bible lesson had been given to them daily. Before long one of them declared his belief in Christ, and asked for baptism. He was only about seventeen years of age, and though poor was connected with important people, including the head-man of the village, and several sheikhs. His relations were furious at the idea of one of their name becoming a Christian, and set to work to prevent his doing so by every means in their power. The young fellow was taken out of the missionaries' service, kicked, beaten and spit upon, and when none of these things moved him from his purpose, thrown into prison; he was released for want of any proof against him; for

though there were about forty witnesses, their witness agreed not together. He went to Cairo for a time, and then came home, and his father asked the missionaries to take him back into their house. They consented, on condition that his father would let him be free in respect of religion. This, however, did not please the other relations, and one of them, a middle-aged man of very bad character, led the way in making fresh trouble.

The closing of the school had made it necessary to decide on some other line of work, and clear guidance had been given in that respect. Children had so often come to school suffering from sore eyes and slight illness, that it was found well to have always on hand some eyedrops and simple medicines, by which many were cured. When the mothers heard of this, they came begging for treatment for themselves and their babies, and before long there was a daily gathering for a Bible lesson, and medical treatment with simple remedies—Epsom salts and olive oil.

Getting girls to school was difficult, but it was plain that not only they but the grown up women would come of their own accord to a dispensary. So it was arranged that the younger missionary should take three months' training at Old Cairo Hospital, while the older held the fort with the help of a friend, who came to stay with her just when the opposition, and the determination to get the young convert into trouble, was at its height. Efforts were made to boycott the missionaries, the bad man already mentioned placing watchers near their door to frighten any who wished to get in, a beautiful donkey was cruelly poisoned, and the crash of falling glass was heard night after night as stones or clods of earth were thrown through the windows. At last it became necessary to inform the police in the nearest town and an official came to make enquiry, but that very night the two ladies were poisoned by the supper that they ate at home. The plot was soon evident. The candidate for baptism had cooked

the supper, and the poor lad, who was much attached to his mistress, found himself arrested on the charge of attempting to murder her. Although everyone was practically certain who had committed the crime, the real criminal was never brought to justice, while the innocent youth was kept in prison for two months, tried, dismissed, arrested, and tried a second time, and when finally discharged, banished from the district by the order of a local official. He found work in Cairo, and after two years was conscripted, and put into the guards, where he made a splendid Christian stand, besides showing himself a fine soldier. He might have remained in the army for life, but his baptism proved a bar to promotion, and he is now at work in a large garage in Cairo. After the poisoning, the mission house was closed for six months, the ladies not being allowed to stay there while the investigations were going on, and the one who had been poisoned being unfit for work. When they came back after their long absence they found a great change of feeling. The crime that had been committed had disgusted people who might have been glad to get rid of the Christians by any reasonable means; others were anxious to show that they had no connection with the affair, and some were truly friendly, and rejoiced that the evil attempt had failed. So there was welcome on all sides, and God turned the evil to good to such an extent that the work recommenced under new and favorable conditions.

It would take too long to give any particular account of the succeeding years, so it will be best to pass over them entirely, and look at the present state of their little mission station. The dispensary for women and children, open three times a week, is an established institution, and draws patients from several villages within a radius of a few miles, and a large visiting connection has thus been made. The method of work is certainly off the beaten track, indeed the name dispensary is a misnomer, for nothing is dispensed at all. No medicines are taken away.

Doses are administered on the spot, sores of all kinds treated, and bad burns and scalds receive careful attention. No charge is made. This way of working insures very frequent attendance on the part of many, and the hearing of a far greater number of Bible lessons than would be heard by patients attending a dispensary carried on on ordinary lines. The name of Christ is now quite familiar, and numbers of women show an intelligent interest in the teaching. The servants' Bible class has become a regular meeting, commencing each evening throughout the winter, a quarter of an hour after sunset, and attended by from thirty to fifty boys and young men, ages often varying from six to twenty-six years. Lantern meetings are held weekly; the slides on the birth of Christ being shown in Christmas week, and the course ending with the pictures of the resurrection and ascension. At these meetings the room is often too small for the would-be hearers.

The first convert has long been a baptized Christian, and although this is known to the whole village, he comes from time to time for a holiday, and does not experience any danger of bodily harm, though the relations try to bribe him to return to the Mohammedan religion. He no longer stands alone; two other young men have been admitted as candidates for baptism and others are likely to follow very soon. The tone of the village has ceased to be entirely Mohammedan, and some of the people themselves have been heard to say that a change for the better has taken place since the missionaries came.

In conclusion we would draw attention to some special advantages in a small station such as that described. First, there is the intimate connection with the villagers about ordinary affairs of daily life. The missionaries do not live in a large institution; their house is only superior to those of the better class farmers in its more comfortable arrangements and greater cleanliness, and in many ways their interests are the same as those of their neighbors.

Interviews about common matters give opportunity for moral and even spiritual teaching.

Secondly, the work is general. Although carried on by only two ladies, and no missionary paid assistants other than servants, it reaches men, women and children. Thirdly, no highly trained specialists are needed. A little knowledge of medicine, teaching, experience in visiting, can all be used to good purpose, and the work can be developed along the lines for which the workers are most fitted.

Lastly, a station of this kind is one of the cheapest forms of missionary effort. Given a couple of little houses, or one good sized house, with rooms set apart for schools, dispensary and meetings, and the living allowance of two missionaries, the expenses are small, very small if the variety of work be taken into consideration.

When village stations are dotted all over the Delta, a great step will have been made in the evangelization of Egypt, and it will be reasonable to look for a mass movement toward Christianity.

Shubra Zanga, Egypt.

M. CAY.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

The Policy of Assimilation in French Colonies

According to *The United Empire*, France has adopted a new policy in regard to her North African possessions: "In Indo-China as in West Africa France looks for big things, ethnical, economic, and political, but her principal effort as colonizer and civilizer is in Northern Africa, as every one knows who has had the opportunity of studying her enterprise overseas. One of the chief problems of her administration in Algeria is the 'assimilation' of the native Arab and Berber populations within the circle of French civilization. A very vigorous attack upon the policy of 'assimilation' has been made by Professor Louis Vignon, who is strongly opposed to the recent large extension of municipal franchise in Algeria, and as strongly in favour of the policy of 'protection' as practiced in the British Colonies, and in certain French possessions other than Algeria. The problem at present is essentially one connected with that country, because both Tunisia and Morocco are under a different system of administration, and the policy of 'assimilation' has not been carried so far. The latest manifestation of this policy is the formation of a society, called *Le Comité Bugeaud*, after the well-known Governor of that name. The main object of the society is to increase the French population of Northern Africa by the continuous introduction of new colonists, and in this manner to hasten the completion of the policy of 'assimilation,' by which the preponderating native element is gradually to be Gallicised and brought entirely under the social and educative influence of the French."

Old Intolerance Toward Christian and Jew

We are often assured by educated Moslems of the present day, that the treatment of Christian and Jew in Turkey for all these centuries was one of tolerance, and that the minorities lived in peace with their Moslem neighbours. *The Near East* for November 24th produces some evidence to the contrary based on an historical document.

"In what the Turks no doubt regard as the happier days of a century ago non-Moslem subjects of the Sultan met with scant respect from the Faithful during their lives; and when they were unfortunate—or fortunate!—enough to shuffle off this mortal coil, Moslem scorn still pursued them. When such an one died it was necessary to obtain special authorization to bury him in Turkish soil; and this had to be procured by the Church, or head of the religion to which he had belonged. It would be thought that such permission would be accorded in terms free from offense, but in point of fact the representatives of the Padishah seem to have gone out of their way in order to make them as brutal as possible. Below we give specimens of such authorizations, translated from the Turkish of three actual letters issued by the authorities, sanctioning the burial of an Orthodox Christian, of an Armenian, and of a Jew, respectively. These were discovered by a correspondent, among some treasured souvenirs of an old Constantinople family. They contain expressions which are highly objectionable; but we reproduce them, in

order that our readers may be able to estimate more correctly the spirit which actuated the 'Proud Osmanlee' of those days, and which is doubtless responsible for much of the hatred felt for him to-day by the peoples who were formerly under his rule.

"It will be observed that the date of the Letter of Authority to the Armenian Priest is missing; but our correspondent informs us that the letter may be regarded as having been written at about the same time as the other two, or between the years in the Turkish Calendar 1223-1239 (A. D. 1808-1824).

"The following are translations from the three letters:

"To the Greek Priest.—Oh! Thou, whose cloak is as black as the devil, and whose garment is the colour of tar, detestable monk, fat, filthy, and crafty priest, who art deprived of the grace of the Holy Jesus Christ, take notice:

"Authorization has been accorded to dig a grave and to hurl inside, the repulsive putrid flesh (which even the earth shrinks from) of the infidel Constantin, who belonged to thy race and has just died.—Le 21 Chaban 1223.

"To the Armenian Priest.—Thou who wearest the crown of the devil, who art clothed with a garment of the colour of tar, fat, cunning, and filthy priest, and deprived of the divine pardon, here is the object of our present communication:

"The infidel, Kirkor, who belonged to the detestable herd that constitutes thy filthy race, has just died. It is true that the earth does not wish to have this pig's carcase; but in order to prevent its stink from infesting the Mussulman quarter, I order thee to dig a grave immediately, to throw it inside, and to beat down, without ceasing, the earth with which thou shalt cover up this blasphemous pig's hole.

"To the Jews.—O thou, Rabbi of the traitorous nation, which denies the coming of Jesus Christ, and does not recognize Holy Moses, take notice:

"One of the individuals of the encumbering herd of thy community established at Salonika has just rendered his soul to the pitiless devil, and thus plunged it into the flames of Hell.

"The venerable Chéry authorizes thee, traitorous Rabbi, to find, somewhere, a latrine, which you will fill by throwing into it his stinking carcase.—Le 15 Redjeb, 1239."

The Influence of the Open Bible.

Ahmet is an educated young Turk about thirty years of age, who formerly served as a sub-lieutenant in the Turkish Army. Today he is a Christian, and he owes his conversion under God's mercy to the Turkish editions of the Scriptures exhibited in the window of our Society's depot at Athens.

While serving in the Turkish Army in Asia Minor he had been for years an unwilling witness of many atrocities on Armenians. The barbarities committed by Turkish officers, he says, were terrible: many of their commands he could not bring himself to carry out, and he was able to save not a few Armenians from death. Finally he deserted, and reached Smyrna, then occupied by Greek troops. It was considered unsafe for him to remain there, so the Greek Governor sent him to Athens, where he obtained a temporary position in the police force.

About six months later he chanced one day to pass the Bible Society's depot, and became arrested by the Turkish editions displayed in its window. He went inside and bought an *Injil* (Gospel), and after reading it came back for a New Testament. This he read carefully, and brought many questions for Mr. Sirinides, our depositary, to answer. Then he purchased a Turkish Bible. Finally he told Mr. Sirinides that the Bible, like a mirror, had shown him what he was—a miserable sinner. Although he had taken no part in the atrocities, he had committed many sins. He had been a gambler and a drunkard. Three times he had attempted suicide, but each time was miraculously saved. Now he had found Him Who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

For awhile Ahmet held a post on the staff of Venizelos; but when the change of Government took place at Athens he was thrown into prison by the victorious political party. He had with him, however, his Bible, and he read to his fellow-prisoners stories of other captives—of Peter and Paul and Silas. Before long he was released from prison, but without being allowed entire freedom; at this time, moreover, he was quite without means of support.

When his father heard of Ahmet's interest in Christianity, he refused to have anything further to do with his son. This gave great sorrow to Ahmet. However, he was strong in faith and rejoiced to have found the way of salvation. In January, 1921, he made a good confession and was baptized at Athens in the Greek Presbyterian Church. Soon after this he accepted a position in an American school, where he is now teaching Turkish. His great desire and hope is to take a theological course and preach the Gospel to his own race. In a recent letter to Mr. Sirinides he blesses the day when he saw the Word of God in our depot window.—*Bible Society Report.*

The Bible in Persia

The following paragraphs are taken from colporteurs' reports and show how the Bible is winning its way in Persia: "A young Persian made the following statements when our colporteur offered him our editions: 'I have the Gospel of St. Luke, which I have read several times, and it has so disturbed my mind that I have decided not to read it again. I am sure that if I continue to read it I shall leave my religion and become a Christian.' An elderly *sayid*, i. e. a descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, invited a colporteur into his shop, and after examining his books bought five portions of the Old and New Testaments. Another Moslem expressed surprise that a *sayid* should buy Christian books; but the *sayid* reproved him, saying: 'You know not what treasure the books contain. For a long time I have desired to get them, and I must not miss this chance.' When the colporteur spoke to him of Christ, he gave an attentive ear. At Teheran, near to the Shah's palace, I offered my books to a man who was standing in front of a tea shop. For reply, I received a hard blow in the face. The people in the tea shop expected me to return the blow, but to their surprise they saw a smile on my face instead. Thereupon some of them came to me, and brought me into the tea shop to ask the reason of my unnatural behaviour. I said that it was an honour to be persecuted for my Master's sake, and I went on to tell them about the nature of our mission. They appeared impressed, and bought six copies of the Gospel.

"Three *mullahs* were sitting together in a tea shop when I showed them my books. One of them had a Koran in his hand and said that the *Injeel* had been taken up into heaven, and that the Gospel we now had was not the genuine *Injeel*. 'On what authority do you say this?' I asked. 'On the authority of the Koran,' replied the *mullah*. 'But there is nothing in the Koran that corresponds with your statement,' I said. 'Well, if I can prove it to you, you must become a Moslem; and if I fail, I will become a true Christian,' suggested the *mullah*. Thereupon he began to turn the pages of his Koran, stopping here and there to read some passage which he thought might support his assertion. But after a time, as he failed to find anything to the point, I asked him to turn to the *Suras* (i. e. sections) 'El Bakara' and 'El Maida,' and to read certain verses therein, which state that the Koran confirms and safeguards the Scriptures. The *mullahs* were surprised that I should know anything of their book. After the *mullah* had altogether failed to produce his promised text from the Koran, I asked him if he would become a Christian—but he bent his head and remained silent."

"The Moslem Sunrise"—at Detroit

The first magazine published by Moslems in the English language to enlighten the spiritual darkness of those who dwell in the Middle West, bears the title of *The Moslem Sunrise*. This quarterly represents the Ahmadiya Movement, and is edited by Dr. Mufti Mohammed Sadiq. The January number contains a new year greeting, and prayer for all its readers, followed by a transliteration and translation of Sura 31, vs. 13-20. These thirteen Commandments of Luqman to his son are supposed to be the high-water-mark of ethics. There follow some sayings of the Master-Prophet Mohammed, some of which are apocryphal, or at least require an explanatory note; e. g. "That which is lawful but most detested by God is Divorce." An Australian Moslem, who has resided in the United States, tells how "prohibition is prohibited" in the United States and in the course of his article Jesus Christ is spoken of not only as a "wine-drinker," but a "wine-maker":

"The Gospels represent Jesus *not* only as using wine but also as making it (in this all the brewers are more Christ-like than is credited to them). And this is the supreme difficulty which the Christians have to contend with in all attempts to uproot the evil. *This is perhaps the reason that all efforts in this direction have signally failed.* The difficulty would not have been so great if the Christian Scriptures had assumed silence on this question."

What interests us most is the account given of active propagandism. We read of large meetings addressed by Moslem leaders, subscriptions to the funds of the Movement, reports of circular letters sent to all the universities and colleges, and a list of converts who have changed their good American names, and embraced Islam. A "Rainbow Club" has been organized, to introduce people of different nationalities to this Movement and to each other. A young Moslem lady in England writes:

"I should so love to communicate with either a brother or sister of Islam in America, as I think this is one way of keeping the Brother and Sisterhood of Islam together."

The Moon and Its Cleavage

The well-known obscure verse concerning the cleaving of the moon in the Koran, which is perhaps a quotation from the pre-Islamic poet *Imr al-Qais*, has served its purpose for many centuries as an evidence of Mohammed's miraculous power. His great miracle given in the Koran was that of splitting the moon. It remained for Dr. Khalifa Rashid-ud-Din, L. M. S., retired Civil Asst. Surgeon, to discover a scientific proof of this miracle, and lay it before the readers of the *Review of Religions* (November, 1921). We quote: "In a recent photo of the moon I noticed marks of a great cleavage in its body which seems to have occurred some centuries before. It is in the form of a groove or fissure near the volcano named Plato by the astronomers. Dr. Ivin Sickles explains it by supposing that it may have been produced by the surface of the moon being cleft through by a huge aerolite passing over it during its transit through space, but others think it to have been made by an earthquake, *i. e.*, a moonquake.

"In this religious paper I do not like to go minutely into the intricacies of the sciences of geology and astronomy. It is a common knowledge that the moon was a very hot body in the first instance and that its crust or surface has cooled down very rapidly on a hot interior causing much shrinkage of the surface. This resulted in the great volcanoes whose craters are plainly visible by means of a telescope. It is also well known that the volcanic neighbourhood is a constant scene of earthquakes, as we know is generally the case with Japan, Java and Italy to a lesser extent. It cannot be doubted then that similar phenomena may have occurred in the moon and caused this cleavage. In the Holy Koran there is a mention of such an occurrence in the time of the Holy Prophet of Arabia (peace be on him). The verse wherein this fact is mentioned runs thus: 'the precise hour has approached and the moon has cleft asunder.' The observation of the above is also recorded in the tradition which gives even the names of the persons who in conjunction with the prophet (peace be on him) happened to observe this wonderful happening.

"That such occurrences do take place and are a regular feature of these heavenly bodies nobody can deny. The activities of radium are now being discovered and there is no doubt that radium has very much to do with these occurrences. In the island of Kishan near Bundar Abbas in the Persian Gulf in 1898 I observed deep and long rents after a very severe earthquake. There was a great devastation in the island, big houses and mansion being levelled to the ground and the inhabitants rendered homeless."

Idealising Islam

In the bi-monthly organ published by the Bureau d'Information Islamique at Paris, (24 Rue Taitbout,) and entitled *Echos de l'Islam*, we find not only political news and propagandism in favour of Pan-Islam, but special pleading regarding the character of Mohammedanism. In the number for December last, for example, Alfred Jacques writes that Islam is the doctrine of peace and love for the whole world. The leaders of Islam, he says, are nothing else than an incarnation of holy teaching that has passed from the early centuries to the present. Angora has become the symbol of a revived Islam, and Mustafa Kemal is its chief apostle. France is vitally interested in the development of all

Islamic movements. French diplomacy should seek to win the confidence of Moslems, and he concludes his article as follows:

“Il est passé le temps des vastes croisades, le temps des hérésies et des propagandes haineuses et exclusives; il est passé le temps des inquisitions. Qu'on ne commence pas contre l'Islam une ère d'intolérance!

“L'Islam a doté le monde de quelques-uns de ses plus beaux joyaux; le Coran malgré les exagérations que certains ont bon droit de critiquer, reste un des livres les plus sains, les plus substantiels et les plus attrayants.

“Qu'on regarde l'Alcazar de Séville, les minarets de Stamboul, et qu'on vienne dire que l'Islam n'a rien créé, n'a rien produit! Qu'on étudie l'activité des peuples méditerranéens, la civilisation des peuples de l'Orient et qu'on vienne affirmer que les musulmans sont passifs et stériles!

“Qu'on approfondisse la foi en elle-même objectivement! Qu'on la repousse si l'on veut, car on n'a pas le droit d'imposer une foi à quelqu'un, mais qu'on ait l'élémentaire bonne foi d'en reconnaître l'élévation et la pureté.

“La base même de l'Islam est une base d'amour. Et ce qui est basé sur l'amour est indestructible et vivace!”

Hodeida Before and After the War

Lieut.-Commander C. Crawford, R.N., who had full opportunity of studying conditions during and since the war, sends some interesting notes on Hodeida to the *Monthly Record* of the Geographical Society:

“The place has, he says, changed greatly since it passed out of Turkish hands as a result of the war. Although mentioned as a port in the old Arab histories, Hodeida was probably little more in those days than a fishing village, and no traces of an old town remain on the present site. Possibly the ancient Hodeida lay some twenty miles further south near the outlet of the Wadi Saham and near the Khor Ghuleifaka, which would afford shelter for dhows, and was a flourishing harbour in still earlier Arab history. The present town was founded by the Turks, with no thought of its suitability or otherwise as a harbour. It lies near the centre of a small bay, an open roadstead fouled with submerged coral reefs, and unprotected from the strong southerly gales of the prevailing wind. From northerly winds it is fairly well protected by Ras Zedia, a coral spit which terminates in Ras el Khetib. In spite of its disadvantages, Hodeida under the Turks became a flourishing little port serving as the main outlet for the richest province of Southern Arabia. To the north lay palm groves and gardens, while level sandy roads—all that was required for camel transport—ran out some thirty miles to the north and northeast, and to the ancient Zebid in the south. A few rulers have motor cars and some of the municipalities own a few dust-carts and water-carts, mostly camel-drawn. In the desire to move with the times the Turks consulted with European advisers, who pointed to the advantages of Ras el Khetib as a port and the possibility of connecting it with Hodeida by a railway. This idea soon developed into the more ambitious scheme for a line into the interior which should eventually reach Sanaa by the cool highlands of Menakha. Such a line was actually begun, but shared the fate of many other Turkish undertakings. Funds ran short, labour was not available to unload the cargoes of rails (some of which were therefore dumped into the sea), and, to provide the pay

for the Turkish troops guarding the line from raiders, the sleepers were torn up and sold for building material or firewood. During the war Hodeida suffered many light bombardments from British war vessels and one severe punishment, which was borne with true Turkish stoicism. The place has since passed into the hands of the Seyidt Idrissi, one of the most enlightened rulers of the whole peninsula, and under beneficent Arab control is rapidly recovering from the ravages of war. Barbed wire fencing has been erected (sufficient to discourage Bedouin raiders) with three gates provided with customs stations. That on the north commands the caravan route from the Wadi Bajil; another, on the east, that which brings down the produce of Wadi Buraa and Jebel Roma; and a third, on the south, that from the Wadi Saham and the rich El Absiya country. Already the bazaars are refilling, traders are returning, and when the world's shipping recovers its forces, the place will be found ready for overseas trade. It is a charming Eastern town, full of quaint byways, but in its present condition answers little to pre-war descriptions. Owing to the spread of Idrissi influence it is at present incorrect to assign the place to Yemen. Commander Crawford is at present the only European resident in Asir, an interior district north of Hodeida."

The Position in Armenia

Emily J. Robinson writing in the *Christian East* makes a strong plea on behalf of the Armenians in view of their present plight. In spite of all the promises made by the British Government since the fall of Baghdad, the condition of the Armenians has gone from bad to worse.

Armenians staked their all in the war when they threw in their lot with the Allies. Two hundred and seventy thousand Armenian troops fought on the various fronts; of these, 60,000 have been killed or maimed for life. Several thousand prisoners of war were killed by the Turks. Over a million helpless Armenians were killed by order of their Turkish rulers, while 500,000 were deported to desert regions, also by order. Every war-stricken country in Europe is enable to work at the reconstruction of its homes and economic life. Armenia *alone* remains in the throes of starvation, distress, and epidemics, and still suffers the horrors of war *because of her loyalty to the cause of the Entente*.

In less than five months the Government of Eriwan has fallen five times, and there is nothing to prevent this from going on indefinitely, or so long as Soviet Russia persists in thrusting a form of government on the Armenian Republic which is distasteful to her people. The economic state of the country could hardly be worse. Owing to the lack of oil and other fuel there are no means of transport. Industry of every kind is at a standstill, as there are no materials, no machinery, no credit to purchase any. There is no postal communication with the world outside. Food is at famine prices—only the comparatively rich ever get enough; deaths from starvation and exposure have occurred by the thousand; clothing is unprocurable, save the small quantity which has been sent by foreign relief agencies.

More than two and a half years after the Armistice, over a quarter of a million Armenians, who fled from their homes in Turkish Armenia in 1914-15 to save their lives, who have been forced ever since to dwell on overcrowded, insanitary areas, wanting every necessary of life, harried from one spot to another by the terrors of Turkish invasions, are still unable to return to their homes, these being in the possession of Turks.

There can be no peace till Armenia's boundaries are fixed. After referring the matter of an Armenian mandate to the League of Nations and then setting the League's authority at naught, the Supreme Council asked Mr. Wilson, ex-President of the United States, to delineate the boundaries of Armenia. Provision was made in the Peace Treaty by which all contracting parties agreed to accept President Wilson's decision as binding. When, after careful study of the problem, Mr. Wilson traced the boundaries of Armenia in accordance with the ethnographic, national, and economic requirements of the new Armenian State, the Supreme Council threw his decision to the winds as "unpractical," and referred the matter back to the League of Nations, which is evidently under the control of the Supreme Council and has no authority of its own! How much longer will the victorious Powers continue to voice the reply of Cain as regards Armenia: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

We are often reminded that England is a great Mohammedan Power, but England was a great *Christian* Power long before she had any Mohammedan subjects. The latter have no cause for complaint, nor would any self-respecting Moslem in India or elsewhere dream of protesting against the redemption of Armenians from their age-long persecutors. It is not by deserting the cause of her Christian Allies, whom she is pledged to protect, that England will gain the confidence of anyone in the East or West either.

Opium in Egypt

Not only is the cultivation of opium steadily increasing in Upper Egypt, but its use has developed to startling proportions. The *Egyptian Gazette* speaks of a sensational drug traffic, and the facts disclosed by the custom-house reports of last year are ominous. During January-November, 1920, 441,857 grammes of opium, valued at LE.2,393 were imported into Egypt; during the same period in 1921 the total had grown to 6,352,725 grammes, valued at LE.28,338. Such conditions call for reform, and we hope that not only the Egyptian press but the British government at home will protest against an evil which has reached such alarming proportions. As the *Egyptian Gazette* remarks, the fate of the nation is being undermined in the insidious traffic of this unhealthy drug, and unless some stern repressive measures are decided upon and put into execution, the country will be ruined.

Superstition Regarding Child-Birth in Egypt

A correspondent in the Cairo press speaks of the following superstition current in the Delta:

"Volumes might be filled with customs which are commonly practiced today by the Egyptian fellaheen, and by others who, if education is to count, should be wiser than the simpler folk who can know no better.

"A Protestant Evangelist was one morning shaving in a room where his wife was lying nursing a new-born babe. A Moslem lady friend came into the room and was fearfully concerned when she saw what he was doing. She declared that as a result of his action his wife would bear no more children to him. He laughed and said he was prepared to face the consequences. Not many days later the child died. Two years or so passed away and although he and his wife both hoped for children they were distressed by their non-arrival. Another Moslem woman in answer to

the Evangelist's wife's account of her disappointment said it was perhaps because the first baby had been buried upside down, meaning that it had been laid in the grave on its face, a sure and certain sign that its mother would bear no more children. When listening to his wife's complaint afterwards the Evangelist assured her that he had seen the babe laid in the tomb the right way up!

"It is also believed that if a man goes from a barber's shop where he has just had his hair cut into the presence of a woman who is nursing a baby under seven days old, the mother will be rendered barren. The same evil results from taking meat fresh from the market into the presence of a mother with her newly born babe. Jewels of gold, too, have the same ill effect.

"Cures for sterility are as grotesque as the possible causes. Although in many of these causes we can see indications of a wisdom which exists to guard the mother against forms of mischief against which she is helpless in her delicate condition. After the interval of seven days after childbirth she is supposed to be immune from all such evils. A very common custom against sterility is to take the unhappy woman out very early in the morning when the dew is on the fields, and make her walk over growing crops. Some years ago a report in these columns stated that two women had gone to a slaughterhouse in order to step over freshly shed blood because they believed that this would enable them to bear children. The power of blood is shown in many other magical customs.

"Women fearing divorce because of their inability to present their husbands with offspring often go secretly to the tombs and step over the bones or bodies that lie there. Sometimes they will travel seven times across a canal or the river in a boat for the same purpose. Others prefer to ascend a Minaret carrying in their right hand an egg. They then walk seven times around the balcony whence the Muezzin calls the Faithful to prayer, and on completion of the seventh circuit, throw the egg violently to the ground."

The Institut Musulman de Paris

We glean the following facts from the *Afrique Française*, regarding a project the French Government has in hand of starting a Moslem college and mosque as well as a hostel, with the purpose of providing a "home from home" for Moslems residing or passing through the capital, as a mark of her esteem and good fellowship. The idea, we are informed, was first launched in 1895 by a committee including Prince d'Arenberg, Messrs. Jules Cambon, Percher and others, but only materialized in August last, when the government passed a bill for 500,000 francs towards the project. The *Société des Habous des Lieux Saints de l'Islam* has been appointed to carry out the project, under the direction of a strong committee, under the presidency of M. Herriot, Mayor of Lyon, Mr. Rober-Raynaud (ex-minister) Secretary. Messrs. Deville, Municipal Councillor, Lucien Hubert, Senator, Maurice Raynaud, Deputy, and Beaumarchais, Director of the Foreign Office, were nominated vice presidents. Other names are also mentioned. Algeria, Tunis and Rabat have contributed largely to the support of this project, and the site chosen is that of the old Hôpital de Pitié, which, we are informed, is within the vicinity of the "quartier des Écoles" in Paris. St. Kaddour ben Ghabbrit gives a long account of the aims and objects of

the Institute, which promises to provide its library with the "most precious books of Islam as well as the masterpieces of occidental literature." To the artists of France she will offer the art of the Arabs, the Turks and the Persians in carpets, leather and brass work, and the wonderful furnishing of the mosque proposed, for which last purpose the committee intends to search among the treasures of Fez, Tunis, Damascus and Anatolia. With regard to the architecture he says: "Il représentera, dans la pierre, l'édifice durable de l'amitié de la France pour l'Islam, et dira qu'au delà des religions différentes et trop longtemps opposées, le libéralisme français a permis aux mahometans de l'Afrique comme à ceux de l'Orient de venir librement prendre place au foyer protecteur. Et pour l'Islam il dira sa fidélité, son attachment."

Islam and Civilization

The Orientalist Professor Flinders Petrie, writing in the *Yale Review* on "The Outlook for Civilization," speaks of Islam as follows:

"Recently there have been many shuddering glances at the possible rivalry of the black races with Europe, or of Islam. There may be risks of destruction by violence from those sources, if Europe is foolish enough to wreck itself internally; but it does not seem likely that either of those groups could beat the brain power of Europe.

"Islam, at least in its present form, has too great a drain on its growth of mind in the memorizing of the Koran mechanically. This atrophies the reasoning power; and the type of this sacred book does not favour clear or logical thinking. Of the principal sacred books the Koran is below others in its lack of system, its wandering, casual changes of subject, and its sameness of ideas. It is the product of a people shifting about continually in an arid country.

"The Mahabharata, for example, is far above it in vigour of thought, continuity, and development of character in its persons. It is most nearly on the level of the Iliad in its structure. Many passages of the Vedas show even more moral beauty and delicate perception. The sacred books of China may rank higher in thought, and the logical basis of principles with which to fortify the resolutions; but to other races more personality would appeal more strongly.

"The Jew has transcended them all in the Bible, whether in simple magnificence of narrative, vigour of composition, the moral earnestness of the Prophets, or the spiritual vision of the Apostles. Where we western gentiles stand in the production of religious literature it is hard to see, for we have done nothing but copy. The type of ideals shown by what is revered suggests that Islam will never surpass the activities of India, China, or Jewry. The great intolerance of Mohammedanism, and the lower position accorded in law and practice to women, will always be a bar to its surpassing in civilization the races of other creeds that have been named."

A Martyred Translator

The Kurds, who are believed to number about 3,000,000 souls, dwell mainly in Kurdistan, a region which stretches from Kharput in Asia Minor to Kermanshah in Persia. The Kurdish language, which descends from an old Persian vernacular, has several modern dialects. Kurmanji, the most important dialect, is spoken by some 2,000,000 peo-

ple in the northern districts of Kurdistan. In 1856-7 our Society printed in Armenian character a version of the four Gospels in this Kurmanji dialect as spoken in and round Kharput. In 1872 the American Bible Society issued at Constantinople the complete New Testament in the same form of Kurdish. In 1911 the A. B. S. issued a revised Kurmanji translation of the four Gospels and Acts, the books being printed in Armenian character.

Acting on the suggestion of the American missionaries at Urumia, our Society in 1917 set aside £150 towards the expense of preparing a revised New Testament in Kurmanji. For this purpose the missionaries enlisted the services of a learned Kurd, named Mirza Mullah Sayid, who belonged to Nochea, in the centre of the Kurmanji country, but was then living as a refugee at Urumia. He took as the basis of his revision a Kurmanji version of the New Testament, which had been originally prepared by Dr. Alexander Yohanna, and afterwards purchased in manuscript by the A. B. S.

The American missionaries esteemed Mirza Mullah Sayid as a very able scholar, with a good knowledge of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, as well as Kurdish. A Moslem by birth, he was led to embrace the Christian faith as a result of the close study of the Gospels which his task demanded. In the early summer of 1918 he had completed the Gospels and Acts; but his further progress became delayed, because he was compelled to act as interpreter to a body of Armenian troops. When the Christians fled from Urumia on July 31, 1918, Mirza Mullah Sayid and all his family were killed by the Moslems, on account of his having become a Christian. The manuscript of his revision of the Gospels and Acts had been entrusted to the care of Dr. Packard of the American Mission. After surviving more than one outbreak of disorder, this manuscript finally disappeared on May 24, 1919, when the missionaries' houses at Urumia were looted, and there appears to be no hope of its recovery. Dr. Packard states that Mirza Mullah Sayid possessed exceptional qualities as a translator, and the work he had done in revising the New Testament was spoken of in the highest terms by those capable of judging it. Today his manuscript has perished, and his efforts to present the Gospel more clearly to his fellow Kurds seem like water spilt upon the ground; but he wins this shining testimony, that he has witnessed a good confession and has entered the ranks of the noble army of martyrs.—*The Bible in the World.*

India Asked to Help Morocco

The following item appeared in the *Moslem Standard* of London appealing for urgent medical relief on behalf of the Moroccan tribes who are fighting for their independence:

Mr. M. H. Ispahani, in the course of a letter he addressed to Mr. Chotani, President of the All-India Central Khilafat Committee, says he has been greatly impressed with the great necessity that there is of doctors and dressers to attend to the Moroccan Moslems, who are fighting for their independence against Spanish aggression. "I strongly urge you to call for volunteers from our brethren in India," says Mr. Ispahani. "We do not want a hundred; two doctors and two dressers will be quite enough. A certain quantity of dressing material and necessary medical stores will also be required. I can do the needful here with a few hun-

dred pounds and arrange for them to be delivered. You, of course, realize that the Arabs of Morocco lead a rough-and-tumble life. They have not hospitals in the accepted European sense. Our friends will therefore have to make up their minds to put up with a certain amount of inconvenience for the sake of their religious convictions and also for the sake of a nation that is struggling for its existence."

A Hindu Writer on the Khilafat

A sensible view of the present situation in India is that given by a Hindu writer. We quote these paragraphs from *The Servant of India*:

The simple fact of the matter is that in a modern State there is no room for any theocratic power such as the Khilafat stands for. In a modern State such as India is today, and will be even more so tomorrow, the right of every citizen to the free exercise of every religion, is one of the fundamentals guaranteed by the State—a guarantee in the maintenance of which every citizen, 'qua' citizen, is interested. If there are outrages committed in Malabar today, the participants are being apprehended by the forces of the Crown, by a State which is neutral in religion, which does not care two straws about any religion as such, but which cares very much about the mutilation of persons and the destruction of property. The Dorset Regiment was not called in because they are Christians, but because they are Crown forces. The abominable treatment meted out by some of these Moplahs to Hindus is not being punished by an army of Hindus who as Hindus rush to the defense of their co-religionists. If every aggrieved Moslem, instead of whistling for a constable, can call in his Khalifa, every Hindu would certainly be entitled to call in a special Hindu Defense Corps, the Christian his crusading Knights, and we suppose now-a-days there would even have to be a flying squadron of Zionist braves, ready at a moment's notice, to go to the succour of any victim of an anti-semitic press attack. Really the idea would be farcical, if it were not so grave. Mr. Gandhi and his Moslem friends really must be made to realize that we are no longer living in the Middle Ages. Feudal barons no longer keep their own armed guards for swagger and protection, but have to go to common law for their rights. Feudalism has gone; theocracy has gone. We believe it still exists today in the one solitary case of Tibet: but India emphatically refuses to take that country for its model.

The only possibility remaining is that Khilafat means the power of Turkey to defend Islam in its own borders. If that is all it means, everybody will accept it, only why should it be called Khilafat, seeing that the right to his religion is the civic right of the citizen in every modern country, and not in Turkey alone? If Mr. Gandhi and his friends had called upon Indians to protest against the carving up of another Asiatic Power, Turkey, to provide a holiday for western patrioteers and profiteers against the breaking of solemn pledges; against the over-reaching of western Imperialism gone mad in its endeavour to swallow the whole East—would not every Indian have been able to join him heartily in this protest, even today? But if any Indian so joined him yesterday, believing that Khilafat meant nothing more, he certainly can no longer do so today. The practical interpretation which some Moplahs today have put on Khilafat has made that no longer possible. No Indian can now afford to go on toying with the Khilafat. If

it has any meaning, it is one that is incompatible with any modern State; if it has no meaning—well, no need to preserve so misleading a label. In either case let us be quite clear that India will have no more of it.

Hindu-Moslem friendship cannot be erected on the basis of making Hindus adopt a Moslem religious tenet such as the Khilafat, any more than on that of making Moslems adopt a Hindu religious tenet such as reverence for the cow. Such friendship can only be brought about if Hindus and Moslems meet, not on the religious but on the civic basis of a common citizenship in a common motherland. It may have seemed a politically clever move to exploit a common hatred by harnessing a religious enthusiasm to it, we know now that the latter is as likely to turn against its ally as against its foe. Let us all realize that it has been the greatest blunder ever made by an Indian statesman to re-admit religion into politics under the cry of a Khilafat wrong.—*The Servant of India*.

An Indian Moslem on Britain and the Khalifat

Sheikh M. H. Kidwai of Gadia, Bara Banki, India, writes in *The Manchester Guardian* explaining the reason why India has taken up the boycott of Lancashire goods. He says, the Indians have two grievances. They are said to form part of the British Empire, but they find that their united voice in Imperial matters, which are of vital and sacred interest to them, is ignored, while full weight is given to that of the Colonies. They received a shocking instance of this in the peace settlement after the World War.

While the Indians did all they could to discharge their duties when the war was on, and poured out their blood and money to obtain victory for England, when the time of settling the peace came, they were altogether ignored, and the British Ministers preferred to satisfy the self-aggrandizing desires of the Greeks, than the legitimate and selfless demands of Indians. India is much more interested in Turkey than Russia was in Serbia, England in Belgium, or the British Colonies are in the Anglo-Japanese treaty. The internal peace of India and its immunity from external trouble depend upon the friendship of India with Turkey, i. e., Islam. It is the religious obligation of seventy-two millions of India's children to see to it that the Moslem Khalifa remains an independent and powerful sovereign so as to be fit for the honour of being the Defender of their Faith, that his temporal position and kingdom is preserved. At the time of the crisis, the Viceroy in India and the Ministers in England assured Moslems by solemn proclamations that "no question of religion was involved in the war," that Moslem "Holy places will be free from attack and molestation" and that the Khalifa "will continue to remain an independent sovereign, free from all non-Moslem influences and control." In January, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George definitely and after consulting with the Dominions and the different parties gave out a solemn pledge that the war was "not" fought "to deprive the Turks of their capital in Constantinople or of the rich and renowned lands of Thrace and Asia Minor." When the war ended these pledges and proclamations were completely dishonoured and the most cherished feelings of the Indian were wounded. Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs, moderaters, extremists, loyalists, persons of different races, creeds and parties all unitedly submitted memorial after memorial to the British Prime Minister not to dishonour his own words, not to disregard the Moslem sacred

sentiments, not to prefer the interests of Greece to the interests of the British Empire. They spent thousands of pounds in sending deputations. But not only a deaf ear was turned to that, England played the most prominent part in tearing up the Turkish Empire to pieces and in depriving the Turks of even Thrace and Smyrna, their acknowledged "homelands." While France and Italy were ready to restore those homelands, England took upon herself to support the ambitions of Greece. England further undertook to impose the rule of Zionists in Palestine and of her own vassal in Mesopotamia. When Indians saw no other way to have their grievances redressed they took to the movement called the noncooperation movement. One stage of that is the boycott of British goods. British authorities did not ignore and defy Indians in the Muslim settlement alone. They inflicted most humiliating indignities, and allowed the perpetration of most heinous cruelties on Indians themselves in their own country. The Punjab atrocities are well known now all the world over and need not be described here. Those barbarities have cut deep into the national honour of India, and they will never be healed or forgiven until steps are taken to prevent them from occurring again and until those responsible for them are dismissed from the service of India and deprived of their pensions from the Indian exchequer. Indians so far have failed to have the Punjab grievance redressed and now the Hindus and Moslems have entered into a mutual compact that neither will give up their agitation until both their grievances have been satisfactorily removed.

The boycott of Lancashire goods has therefore been taken up by the Hindus and Moslems of India to put pressure upon the British Ministers and Government through the Lancashire voters to induce them to mete out justice to India and satisfy the Indian demands. All the agitation in India, which is becoming more and more serious, is due to the indifference of the British Cabinet to the demands of India, and can be settled in a day. Once the honour and position of India are reestablished, tariff questions will not take long to be settled between Lancashire and India to mutual advantage through reciprocal goodwill. But time is of great value and immediate steps are necessary otherwise India will become another Ireland.

Christ's Challenge to the Moslem Truthseeker

The Rev. N. L. Rockey, contributes the following on dealing with Moslems:

If he is a truth-seeker, he is honest and from his reverence for his own religion will revere Christ and seek to weigh any testimony about Him, for he already believes the "Son of Mary" to be one of the greatest of the Prophets.

If he is a truth seeker,—and such are legion,—he rather believes; that the Gospel is a corrupted story of Jesus and His wonderful works. But yet! since he can produce no better authenticated copy of the Injil (gospel) he will be ready to test this for all it may be worth. If you can get him to read the gospel with an inquiring mind, you are pretty sure to win him for Christ,—but, mind you, HE MUST HAVE HELP IN READING AT THE FIRST. Matthew or Luke are best for him to begin on—and then follow with the Acts. Leave John and Mark and the Epistles for later reading. Be sure to have your Bible with you while you work

with him and handle it as a holy thing,—with something of the reverence which the Moslem shows for the *Koran*,—an object that he will never pound or use carelessly.

But what of the challenge? Use your Bible with the inquirer and get him first to mark and digest to a certain extent Christ's own words. I suggest the following verses to inculcate reverence and desire for more knowledge of Christ. Their challenge to the TRUTH-SEEKER is unanswerable.

PRELIMINARY: get into the spirit of worship: John 4: 23-24; Matt. 5: 8; 1 Cor. 2: 14-16; next examine

CHRIST'S OWN WORDS: John 7 17; Rev. 3: 20; Matt. 11: 28-30; John 15: 7; John 7: 37-39; compare John 20: 22 with 15: 26 and 16: 13, 15.

In other words, make it plain that he who approaches God in a devotional spirit seeking to know the truth about Christ, will certainly find Him and His peace. James 1: 5-6a.

The greatest care is needed in dealing with honest Moslem inquirers. Their difficulties must be met but no Scripture should ever be offensively applied to them. The following are several of their chief errors to which the Scriptures noted may be cautiously applied.

I. MOSLEMS DENY THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST, BUT YET REVERENCE HIM AS A GREAT PROPHET:—God has given many revelations. There must be one greatest; Heb. 1: 1-2, an honest doubter does not cut away the ground from beneath him by denying the fundamental proposition. He accepts the theorem in Euclid to be true because others say that they have proved it true; then he under the teacher seeks to reason up to proving it for himself. As in Euclid so in religion: 1 John 4: 23, 13-15. Note: John evidently knew—had proved, what he wrote about, *e.g.*, 2 John 7; 1 John 2: 22-23. Paul, a credible witness, spoke very positively: 2 Tim. 1: 12; also 3: 1-5; Gal. 1: 6-8; Read also Rev. 22: 18-19; John 5: 43-47; John 10: 30-38; Mark 15: 39; compare Matt. 16: 16; 17: 5; 2 Pet. 1: 17-18. See also Luke 4: 41; John 7: 46; Mark 14: 61-62. Note the occasion and consequences of this confession and testimony.

II. MOSLEMS HONOR TRADITION OVERMUCH: Matt. 15: 2-3, 8-9; Mark 7: 8-13; Ps. 119: 100; Job 15: 10; 32: 6-9.

III. MOSLEMS HONOR GRAVES AND RELICS ALMOST TO THE POINT OF IDOLATRY: Matt. 23: 29; Compare Josh. 4: 20-24 with Hos. 12: 11 and Amos 4: 4 viz., that Israel let their reverence for places grow into idolatry. Also compare Numbers 21: 6-9 with II Kings 18: 4 where they let a sacred relic become an idol. They were punished when they let the Ark become a charm, a talisman, an object of confidence; 1 Sam. 4: 3, 11. God hid Moses' grave that they might not reverence it, and make it a place of pilgrimage, miracles, etc.: Deut. 34: 6. God took Elijah for the same reason: II Kings 2: 15-18. Even the places of the crucifixion, etc., are not known probably for the same reason.

IV. MOSLEMS RESPECT MAULVIS AND FATHERS ALMOST TO THE POINT OF WORSHIP: God forbids this: Num. 22: 5-7; Mark 7: 8-9; John 4: 12, 20; Acts 10: 25-26; Acts 14: 8-18; Gal. 2: 18; Matt. 4: 10; Rev. 19: 10; 22: 8-9. The story of the context of these texts should be briefly given, always emphasizing this point "the entrance of thy word gives light," but it gives understanding only "to the simple," i.e. the man of humble and contrite heart.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Persia. By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, in two volumes with maps and illustrations. Second edition, Macmillan & Co., Ltd. London. 1921. £3.10.0.

The second edition of this important and valuable work is in many respects an improvement upon the first, published some seven years ago. Much has occurred in Persia in the interim. The war has produced many changes in the country, especially because of the part played by England in the improvement of communications, and the establishment, to a great extent, of law and order. The author of this work has himself played no insignificant part in these matters. His journeys through the country enable him to speak from personal knowledge of its geography, flora, and productions generally, and he has spared no pains in performing the task which he has set himself. This new edition gives us full details of all the latest occurrences throughout the country, and thus brings the history completely up to date. Besides all this, the text has been revised, and the early history of Persia has had much light cast upon it by additional study, and as the result of more complete exploration. In fact it may be said that now, for the first time, we have a complete history not only of the Persian Empire but also of its connection and points of contact at various periods with the other nations of the eastern world, in both ancient and modern times. On the whole, it may be safely said that General Sir Percy Sykes has made full use of his twenty-seven years of residence and travel in the Persian Empire, and has thus been enabled to give the world a work which for interest, accuracy of information, and knowledge of the subject dealt with, leaves little to be desired. The maps, so necessary for the student of history, are as complete and perfect as could possibly be expected, and the abundant and accurate illustrations add immensely to the interest of the student. These are taken from the relics of the most ancient period, and include many photographs of Assyrian, Susian, Elamite and ancient Persian monuments, together with those of all periods up to the present. The author gives us a very full sketch of the early history of Elam, Babylonia and Assyria, showing clearly how these countries affected the nascent nation, which was in due course to become the widespread Persian Empire. Having done this, he proceeds, in Chapter VIII, to tell us of the cradle land of the Aryans in general, and in particular of the migration of the part of this widely extended race into the country to which they afterwards gave their name, in its present form Irân. This is followed by a graphic and fairly accurate account of Zoroaster and the religion which he founded, together with its development and gradual corruption. We are then told of the rise of Media and the fall of Assyria. The Persians, at first subdued by the Medes, ultimately gained the supremacy and overcame the Babylonians, becoming the rulers of the known world on the fall of Babylon, and soon after of Egypt, under Cyrus and his son Cambyses. A very full narrative is given of the early Persian kings of the Darius' family, including the tale of the Great War with Greece under Xerxes, so well known from classical historians. In Chapter XIX

we read of the decline of the Persian Empire. Then follows an account of the rise of Macedonia, culminating in Alexander's wonderful career and conquest of the Persian Empire. A detailed history is given of the successors of Alexander the Great and the spread of Hellenic culture and influence in the East. Parthia next comes upon the scene in its conflict with the Romans. Our author states what is known of the customs and religion of the Parthians, the introduction of Mithraism among the soldiers of Rome, though his sketch of the latter religion leaves much to be desired, and in a measure is far from accurate. We then enter upon the history of the Sassanian dynasty and the persecution of the Christians during the war with Rome. Chapter XXXVIII tells of the struggle with the White Huns, which is concluded in the next. In Chapter XL we have the history of Noshîrwan the Just, while the next chapter tells of the organization, language and architecture of Persia under the Sassanides. In Chapter XLIII we read of the overthrow of the empire by the Arabs. This is followed by a full account of the rise and conquests of Islâm, and the history of the first four Khalîfahs. In the 'Abbâside period we learn how Persian ability gained the ascendancy over the Arabs in intellectual matters, though the courage and fanaticism of the latter had overthrown the Persian armies in the field of battle, and largely destroyed their ancient literature and even their language.

The second volume begins with a glowing account of the Golden Age of Islâm, in which the writer does more than full justice to the Arabian learning and civilization, though he fails to dwell upon two important facts:—one the immense debt due to the Syrian, Greek and other Christian subjects of the Arabian dynasty, through whom all translations from the Greek and other ancient literatures were made into Arabic, and the torch of learning thus handed on to posterity; and the other that the transmission of thought and learning within the Mohammedan Empire was possible then only because of the rise of the Mu'tazilah school of philosophy, which was completely opposed to Islâmîc teaching. The latter therefore has no claim to the transient glory of this enlightened age. Indeed it was the restoration of rigid Mohammedan orthodoxy which brought on the intellectual darkness that still hangs over all fully Islâmîc lands. Chapter LI tells of the orthodox reaction which produced such sad results, and records the decay of the Khalîfate, and the revival of Persian independence. Then comes the narrative of the rise and fall of the Seljuk Turks, followed by a sketch of Persian literature before the coming of the Mongols. A graphic picture is drawn of the terrible invasion of the Mongols and the fall of the Khalîfate. Our author enters almost too fully into the woes of Persia under her Tâtâr desolators, such as Tamerlane and his successors. A good account of the Safavi dynasty follows, and of the incessant wars that ensued. We see the first visits of English and other European travelers, and the beginning of western influence in Persia. A graphic sketch is given us of the Afghân invasion of Persia and of its overthrow, of the rise and conquests of Nâdir-Shâh, and of the short lived dynasty that followed. Chapter LXXIV tells of the foundation of the Qâjâr dynasty in Persia, which still holds the throne. The rest of the book may be said to deal with Modern Persia and the vicissitudes through which it has passed and is now passing. A very full account is given us of the events and con-

sequences of the Great War, as far as Persia especially is concerned. The amplitude of detail with which these matters are treated, though entirely out of proportion to the rest of the history, enables the reader to obtain a very exact acquaintance with the present position and future prospects of this ancient land. Sir Percy Sykes' intimate association with these matters, of which he very naturally feels that he may say "*quorum pars magna fui*," renders the narrative of especial value and interest. It would be hard to speak too enthusiastically of the exactness of the excellent maps and the abundance of the illustrations which render this work almost all that could be desired in the way of a History of Persia. The list of authorities appended to the second volume contains nearly all the works which throw light on the subject from the earliest times to the latest. We regret, however, that there sometimes appears in the author's pages a prejudice against the Biblical references to Persia, including Elam, and a decided tendency to accept the *dicta* of the so-called Higher Criticism, oblivious of the fact that its "operose constructions" are already being swept away by the advancing tide of more thorough study of the actual facts revealed by the ancient monuments. The Book of Daniel seems to provoke Sir Percy Sykes' animosity, especially through its accuracy, which occasionally he fails to notice. He therefore attributes to the Prophet mistakes made by others. In spite of this drawback, which must be largely due to the spirit of the age, we are indebted to Sir Percy Sykes for an admirable and most excellent history of Persia, and one which will long hold the field against all possible competitors.

W. ST. CLAIR TISDALL.

Die person Mohammeds in Lehre Und Glauben Seiner Gemeinde,
von Tor Andrae, Stockholm. 1918.

This is a rather belated notice of an academic thesis of a Swedish scholar, published as No. 16 of *Lundell's Archives d'Etudes orientales* which has just reached us.

It is not a life of the Prophet in the ordinary sense, but an attempt to trace the growth of the "Mohammed Myth" (if we may borrow the phrase from Drews) among his followers. Caetani has pointed out how "we see the figure of Mohammed through a thick veil, which distorts all his most essential traits, and we find it embellished with many elements foreign to his true nature, which were arbitrarily added at later periods. In other words, we have the latest edition "*revidierte und verbesserte*" of a work to which the constant solicitude of many generations has contributed. And the researches of Goldziher, Caetani, Lammens, and earlier of Sprenger, have only served to emphasize the fact pointed out by Horovitz that the "Prophet had to enter into the heritage of his predecessors and wrap around him their mantle of saintship. His erstwhile heathen countrymen transferred to him the powers which they had formerly ascribed to their *Kahins*; the new converts from the old civilizations assigned to him the attributes of their former saints."

Tor Andrae approaches the question from the wider angle of Comparative Religion, an indication of which he had already given in an article "Die Legenden von der Berufung Mohammeds" published in the Upsala journal *Le Monde Orientale* for 1912 (Vol. VI). Since the researches of Goldziher we have been familiar with the fact that "old Arabian *motifs*, interpretations of Koranic passages, Jewish tales of godly

men and pious Rabbis, Apocryphal Gospels and legends of Christian Saints, old heathen, Buddhist and Zoroastrian elements, all, even as early as the first century of the Hegira, had to contribute their share towards the embellishing of the picture of the Prophet." (Horovitz.) (See Goldziher's "Religion des Islams" in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, 1906, pp. 100, 101.) But we are none the less grateful to see the material for this judgment brought together and treated in a masterly manner in the monograph before us.

Chapter I deals with the Prophet legend, and critically considers the birth and childhood stories, the Ascension, food and water miracles, miracles of healing, miracles on trees and animals and transformations, the cleaning of the heart, the splitting of the moon, and then considers the later development of the legends.

Chapter II concerns the miracles of the Prophet in theology, particularly with the so-called miracle of the Koran and the controversy over this.

Chapter III is on the infallibility ('*isma*) of the Prophet, and the teaching thereon in the ancient tradition, among the Mu'tazilites, the older Ash'arites and the mystics.

Chapter IV takes up the question of the Person of the Prophet and Sunna, and more particularly with the question of the Prophet as the model of the moral life.

Chapter V. The Koran of the Prophet and Piety. Here starting with the teaching on the mercy of God, he deals with the doctrine of the Prophet as intercessor, Mohammed's superiority over other Prophets, his position as revealer of the Divine mercy, his seat at God's throne, and his life since his death.

Chapter VI takes up the most important consideration of all, viz, the development of the Prophet cultus. Here he lays stress on the connection between the Hellenistic conception of the God-man and the Imam idea of the Shi'as, and traces the influence of this Shi'a belief in Sufism in five directions: (1) the idea of intercession, (2) of pre-existence, (3) of the Logos idea, (4) the superhuman equipment of the Prophet, (5) the mystico-personal relation of the Prophet.

The whole is preceded by an illuminative essay on Mohammed's consciousness of his prophetic vocation, which alone is worthy of the closest consideration of all serious students of the origin of Islam, and the whole treatise, for which the author apologizes in his *Vorwort*, deserves a place alongside Goldziher, Caetani and Lammens, among the most notable contributions of our generation to Islamic origins.

The fact that the book appears under the approbation of such well-known Islamic scholars as Hurgronje, of Leiden, and Ignaz Goldziher, of Budapesth, is a sufficient guarantee of the value of the scholarship in that direction, while the veteran Dr. Nathan Zöderblom gives it his *imprimatur* from the standpoint of the modern science of comparative religion. What better introduction could a book have?

It may be interesting to some to know that it was from Tor Andrae's notes that the late Prof. Goldziher's lectures before the University of Upsala were set up and printed under the title: *Islam fordöm och nu. Studier i Korantolkningens historia*, in 1915.

Cairo.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Barbary: The Romance of the Nearest East. By A. MacCallum Scott, M.P. London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. Pp. 222. 12/6 net.

One of the latest books of travel on Algiers and Tunis. Mr. Scott writes with picturesque pen. He has humour and imaginative charm. In a series of lively chapters we have sketches of scenery, ancient civilization, present day life and wayside adventure. Regarding Islam he says, that this religion produces a painful or humourous impression, according to the temperament of the observer, because of the apparent utter divergence between faith and works on the part of these zealous worshippers. They have a great zeal for prayer, but are lax in their morality.

"Joseph Thomson, the African explorer, who had thought favourably of Mohammedanism before he visited Morocco, wrote: 'It was difficult to grasp the fact. . . . that absolutely the most religious nation on the face of the earth was also the most grossly immoral. In no sect is faith so absolutely paramount, so unweakened by any strain of scepticism, as among the Mohammedans of Morocco. Among no people are prayers so commonly heard or religious duties more rigidly attended to. Yet side by side with it all, rapine and murder, mendacity of the most advanced type, and brutish and nameless vices exist to an extraordinary degree.'"

The last chapter describes the task of France. Fifteen centuries ago all this region was a flourishing Roman province, plains which are now desert were then cultivated. Great cities, with all the luxury and refinement of Rome, existed on the frontiers of the desert, and magnificent roads penetrated everywhere. Here the Christian Church first came to power. It was the land of Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. After the Mohammedan deluge, both Rome and Christianity went under Africa; the Dark Ages fell like a curtain. France has now taken up the task of Rome, and her methods. She has subdued the robber tribes, built roads and railways, irrigated the desert, established schools, post offices, boulevards, newspapers. She has even introduced popular elections. The author draws a somewhat unfair contrast between the results of the British occupation of Egypt and those of France in Barbary. Will France succeed where Rome failed? he asks. "I am not sure. It is too early to venture on prophecy. The great experiment is only at its beginning. There are many factors which require time for development, and whose significance is obscure. France has taken Rome for her model, but France is not Rome, and she has to contend with two factors which were unknown to the Romans—Religion, and the modern theory of Democracy, which has dominated France since the Revolution."

"The Mohammedan religion has a stronger hold on the African population than any of the old pagan cults which existed in the time of the Romans. It is as hard and as self-centered as a diamond. It opposes a blank wall to the most active and stimulating ideas and motive forces of our civilization. It is a spiritual armour against Europeanization. It does not yield. The soul of Africa is still the soul which Mohammed gave it from the Desert."

S. M. ZWEMER.

The Lebanon in Turmoil; Syria and the Powers in 1860. Yale Oriental Series—Researches—Vol. VII. Pp. 203, by J. F. Scheltema, M.A., Ph.D.; Yale University Press.

This volume may be divided into two parts: the first comprises "The Book of the Marvels of the Time Concerning the Massacres in the Arab

Country," by Iskandar Ibn Yakub Abkarius; and the second comprises the "Introduction and the Conclusion" from the pen of Dr. Scheltema, the translator of the first part.

These two parts present a most interesting contrast. The first was written by a Christian who was living in Syria at the time of the events therein recorded, and he gives a graphic description of these massacres which aroused the indignation of Europe and America. With the villages of the Lebanon on fire, and the blood of his fellow Christians flowing freely around him, the author could not possibly see more than one side of the question. The second part, written about half a century later in the light of impartial history thousands of miles from the scene of the disturbances presents the case under a different aspect. Without condoning the atrocities committed, Dr. Scheltema throws light on the causes which led up to them; and if the Druses had not forestalled the Christians they themselves would have been exterminated, being as they were a small minority. It was a death and life struggle to them and naturally they took the view that "all is fair in love and in war."

Dr. Scheltema gives in his "Conclusion" another instance of history repeating itself. The jealousies of the powers after the World War reminded him of the years 1840 and 1860; and the reviewer might add that the ecstasy of the Maronites over the French occupation of 1918 was a repetition of their ecstasy when the troops of Napoleon III landed in Beirut in 1860. Besides, the Zouaves of 1860 (see page 165) find worthy successors in the Colonial troops of the present occupation. The first occupation lasted only ten months, during which the French did not interfere in the government machinery, otherwise the same change of feeling witnessed at present would have shown itself then, and would probably have cured the Maronites and the Roman Catholic sects of that blind love for France, based on that unstable foundation called "Tradition," which to quote the French lexicographer Larousse means "stories true and false transmitted by word of mouth"—perhaps more often false than true.

It would be well if the "Introduction and the Conclusion" were translated into Arabic and circulated widely throughout the East. They are extremely well documented, and will not fail to show Orientals the folly of pulling chestnuts from the fire for the Western Nations, and that it would be in their own interest to follow the old Eastern saying: "Your next door neighbour is more useful to you than your brother who is far away."

The translator states in note eighty-one at the foot of page 65 that Al-Hazmiyah is "known for centuries as the last resting place of the learned Faris ash-Shidyaq." This statement needs some explanation as Faris ash-Shidyaq, known as Ahmed Faris ash-Shidyaq, died as recently as 1887 or 1888.

B.

Een Javaansche Primbon Uit de Zestiende Eeuw. Inleiding, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen. Academisch Proefschrift. Door Hendrik Kraemer. Leiden: Firma P. W. M. Trap. 1921. Pp. 239.

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, of Leiden University—to whom this book is dedicated by his pupil—might well be proud of such evidence of scholarship. The essay deals with a Javanese manuscript of the Sixteenth Century on Islam; apparently a collection of Moslem religious lore from

Arabic sources especially the *Hadith*, Ghazali's *Ihya*, the *Talkhis* of Nawawi and the *Tawhid* of Ali Shakur.

In chapters one and two, we have the text of the manuscript critically considered. The third chapter deals with religious life in North Sumatra in the Sixteenth Century, because the manuscript doubtless had its origin there. Chapter four gives an account of the later religious literature, especially the *Primbons* or collections of a mystical character.

Chapter five gives the outline of Mysticism as taught in Java, and its sources together with the magical practices based upon its teachings. A final chapter shows the effect of this type of literature upon the Javanese Moslem mind.

Pages 136 to 193 give the translation of the manuscript followed by Notes, a Bibliography and a complete Index. In his conclusions the author urges the importance of establishing a school for comparative language study in the East Indies. He has made a special study of Arabic and Islam, also visiting Cairo, and is under appointment as advisor to the Bible Society of the Netherlands.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Arabian Medicine. Being the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in November, 1919, and November, 1920. By Edward G. Browne, M.B., F.R.C.P. Cambridge University Press. 1921. Pp. vii-138. 12s. net.

Except for a German work by Dr. Opitz entitled "Der Medicin im Koran," which strangely is not mentioned by Dr. Browne, this is the first connected account of medical science and literature among Moslems. The importance of the subject is evident when we remember that by Arabian medicine he means "that body of scientific or medical doctrine which is enshrined in books written in the Arabic language, but which is for the most part Greek in its origin, though with Indian, Persian and Syrian accretions, and only in a very small degree the product of the Arabian mind. Its importance, as has long been recognized, lies not in its originality, but in the fact that in the long interval which separated the decay of Greek learning from the Renaissance, it represented the most faithful tradition of ancient wisdom, and was during the Dark Ages the principal source from which Europe derived such philosophical and scientific ideas as she possessed."

The first lecture deals with the periods of Islamic history, the transmission of Greek learning and the contributions made to medical knowledge by Syrians and Persians. In the second lecture the author goes on to trace the history of Arabian medicine proper, mentioning among the great number of writers four who stand out prominently: 'Ali ibn Rabban, Abu Bakr Mohammed ibn Zakariyya ar-Razi, 'Ali ibn 'l-Abbas al-Majusi, Abd 'Ali Husayn ibn Sina (Avicenna). All of these wrote voluminously, especially ar-Razi, some of whose medical tracts were translated into Latin, French, and other languages. In the third lecture we have a recapitulation of Arabian popular medicine and an account of medical practice at the time of the Crusades. Anecdotes are given in some cases of amusing and notable cures as recorded in Arabic and Persian literature. The fourth lecture deals with the contributions made to the science of medicine by the Moors of Spain, especially the school of Toledo.

The author's conclusions are summarized in his statement: "From

the narrowest utilitarian point of view it is not likely that even the profoundest study of the subject will yield any practical results of importance, seeing that the whole system is based on a rudimentary Anatomy, an obsolete Physiology, and a fantastic Pathology." He fails, however, to show that it is this very obsolete and fantastic system which still holds in its grasp the masses in nearly every Moslem land. The reason is evident. Arabian medicine is based upon Moslem tradition. The little handbooks entitled *Tib-an-Nabawi* are universally read and obeyed, because they relate what the Prophet of God said and did in emergencies. The Arabs of the interior of Arabia and the villagers of the Delta still believe that, excluding the rare case of a perfect equilibrium, "every individual will be either of the Bilious Complexion, which is hot and dry; the Atrabilious or Melancholic, which is cold and dry; the Phlegmatic, which is cold and moist; or the Sanguine, which is hot and moist. In treating a hot, cold, dry or moist disease with a food or drug of the opposite quality, regard must be paid to these idiosyncrasies. The Natural Property inherent in each food or drug exists in one of four degrees. Thus, for example, such a substance if hot in the first degree is a food; if hot in the second degree, both a food and a medicine; if hot in the third degree, a medicine not a food; if hot in the fourth degree a poison. Another fourfold division of substances which react on the human body is into those which act beneficially both internally and externally, like wheat, which in the stomach is a food, and externally a poultice to "ripen" wounds or sores; those which are beneficial only internally, but mischievous externally, like garlic, which, taken internally, increases the natural heat, but applied externally acts as a poison; those which are poisons internally but antidotes externally, like Litharge (*murdasang*) and Verdigris or Acetate of Copper (*Zangar*), and lastly those which both externally and internally act as poisons, like Aconite and Ergot."

It is true, as Dr. Browne says (page 65) that these popular superstitions are at present exposed and denounced by the more enlightened and educated classes, but the hold of Tradition is strong, and we regret that an entire lecture was not devoted to Arabian Medicine as given in the Koran and in orthodox collections of Tradition. Are the latter not one of the acknowledged sources of Islam, and as authoritative in most respects as is the Koran itself?

Written in a fascinating style, the book is extraordinarily rich in facts, accurate in detail and fills a distinct gap in Islamic lore.

S. M. Z.

A Short History of the Saracens. Being a concise account of the rise and decline of the Saracenic power and of the economical, social and intellectual development of the Arab nation. By Ameer Ali Syed. London: Macmillan, 1921. Pp. xxi-640. 12/-net.

The first edition of this well-known history of the Saracens appeared in 1899. There have been reprints. The present edition is revised, and comes at an opportune moment, when the whole world is interested in the future of the Near East. Were it not for special pleading on the part of the learned author, especially in the earlier chapters, we would unhesitatingly commend the book as a compendium on the subject. However, the "blind spot" to the facts of early Moslem history appears in such a statement as: "After the death of Khadija, Mohammed, in accordance

with Arab customs and the old patriarchal ways, married several wives, partly with the object of uniting hostile tribes, and partly to provide means of subsistence to helpless women." Or the impression given that Islam only used the sword in self-defense. Compare with this, for example, the statement of al-Baladhuri, in Dr. Hitti's translation of the *Kitab Futuh al Buldan* (page 21), quoting from Mohammed himself: "All districts or cities were conquered by force, except al-Medina, which was conquered by the sword."

In his preface the author points out that "a great Empire which claimed the heritage of the Abbasside Caliphs has practically disappeared; whether it will rise again from its ashes remains to be seen. But the story of the Saracens, like that of the Ottomans, has a moral which will strike every student as one of the lessons of history." Doubtless the reasons for this downfall were similar to those given in the days of Merwan by one of the royal family.

"We gave to pleasure," he said, "the time which it was our duty to devote to public affairs; the heavy burdens we imposed on the people alienated them from our rule; harassed by vexatious imposts and despairing of redress, they prayed for deliverance from us; our domains became uncultivated and our treasuries empty; we trusted our ministers, they sacrificed our interests to their selfish aims and ambitions, and conducted the administration without our participation and our knowledge. The army, whose pay was always in arrear, sided with the enemy in the hour of danger; and our allies failed us when we needed them most. But our ignorance of the public affairs and the events which were passing around us, was one of the principal causes of the fall of our empire."

The maps, charts, illustrations and index are excellent in every way.

Z.

A History of Sinai. By Lina Eckenstein. London: S. P. C. K. 1921. Pp. 202. Price 8/6.

The author has first-hand acquaintance with the country, where she has worked with Professor Flinders Petrie. She traces its history from the earlier records, when Sinai was the mining region of the Egyptian Empire, through the Exodus, and the eras of the Christian monks and the Moslem invasion, down to the present day. She visited Sinai in the winter of 1905-6 and writes of the history of the Peninsula as an early centre of "moon-cult," an Egyptian sanctuary even before the days of Israel. Three chapters deal with the exodus period; then follows the story of the Nabateans, the Hermits of Sinai and the building of the Christian convents, the fortifications of which date to 527 A.D.; the struggle with the Saracens and during the Crusade period brings the narrative to modern times; and the last chapter gives Sinai's history during the Nineteenth Century.

Interesting in every respect, the book is marred by its destructive critical viewpoint, especially in chapters seven and eight. The Burning Bush becomes a desert campfire, Jehovah a tribal god, the Passover a rite against plague, and the Glory of the Lord (Exodus 16: 10) was the new moon! The Israelites fed on manna from the Tamarisk bush, and Moses discovered a water hole instead of smiting the rock.

Z.

A Christian's Appreciation of Other Faiths. A study of the best in the world's greatest religions by the Rev. Gilbert Reid. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Pp. 305. Price \$2.50.

These lectures were delivered in Shanghai, China. They were given under the auspices of the Billings Lectureship, controlled by the Unitarian Association of Boston. The treatment of Islam is full of inaccuracies and misprints. Ishmael is *not* considered "the progenitor of the Mohammedan faith." The Moslems do *not* give reverence in turn to the six greater prophets at the different periods of prayer. Mohammed knew nothing of the Gospel of Barnabas, and could not possibly have used it as his source for his knowledge of Jesus. It is ridiculous to imagine that this late forgery was current in Arabia in the sixth century. Islam did not teach the observance of covenants made with idolators nor even with Christians. The writer truly says that the Unitarian and the Moslem are akin in cardinal religious beliefs. "Between the Unitarian and the Moslem there is a fraternal spirit"; but it is not true that historic Christianity "drinks at the same fountain, though from a different cup," as does Islam. One great lesson from these lectures is, however, important: appreciation of other faiths is desirable and productive of good, provided that it does not lead to blindness and superficiality of judgment.

Z. S. R.

The Faith of Islam. By Rev. Edward Sell, D.D., M.R.A.S. Fourth edition revised and enlarged. Madras. 1920.

This is the latest edition of Canon Sell's work, which first appeared in 1880 as a tall thin volume of xiv, 270 pages, was reissued enlarged in Trübner's Oriental Series in 1896, was again enlarged considerably in a third edition published by the S. P. C. K. in 1907, and now appears again from the S. P. C. K., Madras, in its final form as a substantial volume of xii, 466 pages.

The form of the previous edition has been kept in this one, and the most important additions are the account of Ahmadiyya Sect added to Chapter III, and the substitution of an essay on "The Authenticity of the Traditions," as appendix A, in place of the earlier one on '*Ilmu 't-tajwid*,' though considerable additions have been made in the body of the work, particularly in the matter of quotations from works which have become available to the author since the appearance of the previous edition.

Though not as complete as one would wish, we know no better compendium of the facts concerning the religious life of Islam. Canon Sell has the art of putting concisely and in a readable form matters which from their nature are somewhat dry and abstract, and he is eminently fair in his judgment. A criticism levelled at previous editions, however, also holds for this one, viz, that it is written from the Persian and Indian standpoints, rather than from the Arabic.

The most serious criticism we have to make is that the book takes no account whatever of the mass of work done by modern European scholars for the elucidation of the problems of Islam. In the section on the *Koran* there is no mention of the work of Hirschfeld or Barth, of Paul Casanova's revolutionary theories, or Dr. Alphone Mingoma's important monograph which stirred the Qadianis so considerably; even Nöldeke's

Geschichte des Qorans is still quoted from the old edition of 1861. Again in the appendix on "Authenticity of Traditions" there is no reference to the work of Caetani or Henri Lammens, and Goldziher's epoch-making work seems only to be known through the article of Canon Gairdner in the *Moslem World* for October 1915. On the development of law and practice reference is made to Margoliouth's Hibbert Lectures, but Goldziher's *Vorlesungen* is apparently quite as unknown as the essays of Hurgronje. The note on Moslem philosophy appears to be based on de Boer with occasional reference to Munk and Macdonald, but no notice is taken of the numerous and immensely important works of Horton and Carra de Vaux, and the same omission is noticeable in most sections of the book. This defect is a serious detraction from the value to students of an otherwise excellent compendium.

The printing and binding leave nothing to be desired.

A. J.

The Redemption of Saint Sophia. An historical and political account of the subject by Rev. J. A. Douglas. London: Faith Press. Pp. 79. 2/6d.

This is the second edition of a plea for the restoration of Saint Sophia to Christian worship. It is not an attack on Islam or the Turks, but an appeal to international justice, and especially to Great Britain. The author traces the history of the Church, gives an account of its condition, and summarizes as follows:

"If you could stray unknowingly into Saint Sophia you would not fail to identify it as a church. You would see the consecration crosses on the huge columns. You would read the graven 'I am the Door of the Sheep' on the great bronze door, and would guess the missing words from many a text and prayer. The great green shields which bear the names of Allah and Mohammed and Abu Bakr and Omar and Othman and Ali, the heroes of Islam, look out of place. The building faces to the east where the sun rises to typify the True Light of the world. But the prayer mats are laid in line with the mihrab in the apse, which looks south-east. The whole place seems twisted on its axis, and is askew. More, just as at times, the rays of penitence light up the heart which though stamped for ever with the image of the Living God, has been entered and is possessed of evil spirits, there are days when the sun shines into Saint Sophia, and you can see the outlines of the figure of Christ and His Mother and the Saints under the layers of plaster."

Churches in Making. Annual report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. 1920. London. Ninepence net.

It is a far cry from British Guiana to South Africa, but in both places the influence of Indian Islam is noticeable. In the first place this is due to English trained Doctors and Lawyers, while in the latter its impact results in the degradation of women. Thus Islam's ranks are swelled. The report is a lesson in Christian Geography. B.

Charles de Foucauld, explorateur du Maroc, ermite au Sahara, par René Bazin. Paris: Plon. 1921; pp. 478. 10 francs.

The author compares the life of Charles de Foucauld with that of Francis Assisi. Space does not permit us to give a complete analysis of this interesting biography, which describes his youth, his voyage of ex-

ploration in Morocco, his scientific researches, his conversion, his subsequent obscure and poverty-stricken life, followed by his novitiate at the Beni-Abbes, and his transfer to Hoggar, where he was assassinated by the Senussi in 1916.

That it is possible to reclaim Islam, was his firm conviction; but the Mohammedans must first be "tamed," and the seed sown patiently and unhurriedly. Quoting from de Foucauld, the author says: "Good priests are wanted in sufficiently large numbers; not to preach—such would be received in precisely the same way that our Breton villages would receive the Turks coming to preach Mohammed—but simply to live among them, to make themselves beloved, to inspire esteem, confidence, friendship; there is need of Christians (laymen) both men and women, to come into still closer contact with them, to enter where the priests could not possibly enter, and by their lives to be examples of Christian virtue, of the Christian home, the Christian spirit; good Christian nuns are needed to tend the sick and to educate the children. Let but such a method be adopted, and the conversion of the masses will come, in twenty-five, fifty, a hundred years; but it is bound to come, like the ripening of fruit, in season."

Father de Foucauld laboured under no delusion. He knew that he himself would not see the fruit of his labours, but he carried on silently and determinedly, for, cries his biographer, "It is a terrible thing to have a vocation, when he that is called to it is resolute with a strong will and ready to obey to the death."

"Missionaries so isolated as myself are rare," said de Foucauld, "Their role is to prepare the way so that the missions that come after will find the people friendly and trustful, souls already familiar with Christianity, and a few even ready to be converted." He did not believe in forcing his faith upon them, however, nor in hurrying their conversion. First to study the field, and then to make himself known and loved by them was his programme. "It is frightful to think how ignorant we are of our Africa," says the author. Father de Foucauld knew his own little corner of Touareg well. "He knows our language better than we do," the natives used to say. And it was not only their language, but their soul; and this knowledge he faithfully tried to hand down to those that would come after him. He translated the New Testament into the Touareg language, and wrote a grammar; he compiled a Touareg-French dictionary, and collected and translated some Touareg poems. All of these works are of considerable and authoritative value, but he never consented to have them published in his own name. This shy and retiring trait was characteristic.

trans. from H. C. in *Missions Evangeliques*

Missions et Christianisme Social. Paris, Société des Missions Évangéliques, 102 Boulevard Arago. Pp. 124. 5 francs.

A special number of the *Social Review* of French Protestantism, dealing with missions from the standpoint of the Christian socialist. The subjects range from the abolition of slavery in the Antilles, to Bolshevik propaganda in Indo-China, and all emphasize the dual nature of missionary work—the conversion of the individual and the transformation of Society.

The last paper, by Émile Brès, on Missions in Moslem lands, maintains that since Islam is not only a religion, but a social system affecting

the whole life of the people in the domain, it can only be replaced by a social Christianity which is superior.

The writer describes an interesting work in French territory (North Africa) begun among the young Kabyle soldiers returned from the war. At Il-Maten a school for evangelists and a carpet school are the nucleus from which it is hoped to develop a Christian community centre, including a church, a dispensary, a foyer similar to the Y. M. C. A., with houses for workers and missionaries.

This effort in community service is only part of a vast missionary social scheme already being realized by the Methodist Episcopal Church, which has established foyers in Algiers and Tunis, and is attempting to do the same elsewhere. The aim of the missionary statesmen in charge, is the spiritual and social regeneration of North Africa by the Gospel.

H. C.

Assyrian Church Customs and the Murder of Mar Shimun. By Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun. Faith Press. London. 1920. Pp. 119. 2/6d.

Gives an account of the so-called Assyrian Church and its branches of the Church Catholic, their ecclesiastical customs, festivals, pilgrimages, magic arts, marriages and funerals; the nine degrees of the clergy and the seven Sacraments. One can learn much also of the habits of the people, their handicraft and trade, their relations with the Turks and Kurds before the war. Then came the great tragedy; the nation was almost destroyed, more than 4,000 souls destroyed by murder, famine and pestilence; homes were destroyed, ancient books burnt, their habitation left waste. The author concludes with the earnest prayer to England that she will not abandon those whom she has saved in the past, and whom in the hour of danger she was willing to call Allies.

Z.

Arabic Thought and Its Place in History. By de Lacy O'Leary, D.D. 1922. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Price 10s. 6d.

The reviewer took up this latest volume of Trübner's Oriental Series with great expectations, but laid it down with a keen sense of disappointment. Dr. O'Leary had a wonderful opportunity of writing a critical history of Arabic thought, and setting forth its value as well as its limitations when viewed comparatively, but he has missed it. The very title is a misnomer, for there are whole fields of Arabic thought that he has not touched upon, and much of what he does discuss is not Arabic. This is the less serious, however, as in his Preface, he limits the scope of his book. "It is the effort of the following pages" he says, "to trace the transmission of Hellenistic thought through the medium of Moslem philosophers and Jewish thinkers who lived in Moslem surroundings, to show how this thought, modified as it passed through a period of development in the Moslem community and itself modifying Islamic ideals, was brought to bear upon the culture of medieval Latin Christendom."

Taking the book, however, as a history of Arabian Aristotelianism, for this is practically what Hellenism in Moslem thought amounts to, the author has done nothing more than put into an easily readable form some general information as to the various groups of theological and philosophical writers of the Moslem world. None of the pressing problems in the study of Arabian Aristotelianism are faced, and what is more amazing, no reference whatever is made to the important contributions which have been made in recent years to the solution of this

problem by such scholars as Goldziher and Max Horten. For instance Chapter I deals with the "Syriac version of Hellenism" and Chapter IV, with "The Translators," but no attempt has been made to work out the distortions of Aristotle's thought due to its transmission through poor translation. Again, in his treatment of Sufism, the author follows Prof. Nicholson in holding a Neoplatonic basis, but the thorny question of Vedantic influence, and the equally thorny one of Zoroastrian substratum, have not been ventured on. Moreover even in the treatment of Aristotelianism, where we might have expected a systematic elucidation of the development of the different phases of Aristotle's thought among the Moslems, we have only disconnected hints.

As a popular introduction to Moslem philosophical thinking, however, Dr. O'Leary's book may be of excellent service. He writes easily and simply, and gives abundance of interesting reading on the different thinkers from the Mu'tazilites to Ibn Rushd, touching their lives, their environment, and the general character of their thought. The author is at his best in the Chapter on Sufism, which provides an excellent introduction to this most fascinating phase of Moslem thinking.

Frequently the author speaks with a dogmatism which is hardly warranted by the present state of our knowledge, and sometimes his conclusions and statements are exceedingly doubtful, as the Philonic origin of John's Logos which he asserts on p. 13, his philology on p. 269, the Semitic migrations on p. 63. There are numerous misprints, particularly in the spelling of names, and what is an unpardonable sin in a work of this nature, the book has not even the suggestion of an Index.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Zionism and World Politics. A Study in History and Social Psychology by Horace Meyer Kallen, Ph.D., of the New School for Social Research. London: William Heinemann. pp. xii—345.

The writer in his preface states with truth that there never was a time when the knowledge of the truth about the Jews was so needful as an antidote to prejudice regarding them, both among the Jews themselves and Gentiles. His studies of the subject began in 1915, and some of them appeared in various journals. Tracing the origin and basis of Zionism, he follows out its program and parties with great insight and without prejudice. The chapter which deals with Palestine and the Near East, after the treaties of Versailles and St. Remo, touches on Islam and its relation to the problem, and therefore specially interests the readers of our Quarterly. He shows that the settlement of international relations in the Near East became the usual diplomat's game of grab, in which Turk and Arab began to play their own hands. We quote: "For the Turks the play was desperate. They had been refused all consideration by the Council of Four, in terms as unmistakable as they were stinging. Their state, even such as it had been, was completely ruined, and their pre-war pan-Turanianism was bankrupt. There remained a nationalist eastward propaganda among the more or less Turanian stocks from Anatolia to the Carpathians, and a religious general propaganda among the Moslem faithful. Pan-Turanianism and pan-Moslemism were preached at one and the same time. The nationalist leader, Mustapha Djamil Pasha, produced a reconciling formula for these essentially irreconcilable doctrines. 'I preach,' he declared, 'Islam as a race.' At the same time he made use of Islam to foment and

increase the unrest in Moslem India, Egypt, and Syria. By the Moslems of India, whose nationalist preoccupations would be well served by such an occasion, the Turkish peace and the integrity of the Turkish Empire was converted into a religious question of the Khalifate. In Egypt and Syria the conception of the unity of the Moslem world was made the basis of a bitter anti-European propaganda."

This provoked anti-Semitism also among high officials, and the Balfour Declaration was not always observed. He claims that even missionary interests at times organized anti-Jewish propaganda, but also admits the general stupidity, ignorance and incompetence of Palestinian Jews, and "their unparalleled disunion, their sectarian, national, linguistic, and other quarrels."

Altogether these studies are broad, sane and unpartisan. The book is well written and has an excellent index. Z.

Three Travellers in North Africa. By the Hon. Emily Ward, with photographs and a chapter on Southern Tunisia by Lord Leigh. And a preface by the Hon. Agnes Leigh. John Lane. The Bodley Head. London. pp. 220. Price 6/—net.

A record of a four-months' visit during the winter of 1919-1920 in the more remote districts of Algeria and Tunisia. Three routes were followed: from Algiers southward beyond Laghouat into the country of the Mozabites; again through Bougie south, to the west by the way of Satif and Biskra to Tougourt and Zawia, returning by way of Constantine. The third journey was along the eastern coast of Tunisia, including the island of Djirba. Though sketchy, the information is always interesting, and generally accurate, while the illustrations and map leave nothing to be desired.

Die Stellung Der Frau in Indien (Halat el-Mara fi l-Hind) von Zain el-Abdin. Aus dem Arabischen ins Deutsche ubersetzt von Dr. O. Rescher, Berlin, Der Neue Orient, 1918.

A study of the life of woman in Islam in North India, by the professor of the former German University in Jerusalem. He contrasts the supposed moral evils due to enforced monogamy with the better social system of limited polygamy authorized by Mohammed. The preface is by the German Orientalist, Kampfmeyer. We regret so late a notice of a book that is important because written from the Moslem standpoint.

An Introduction to Missionary Science. Edited by G. A. Gollock and E. K. Hewat, Oxford University Press. pp. 167. Price 3/6d.

A scholarly and up-to-date statement of the Christian message, and its presentation through various forms of mission work. The new problems arising out of social and political unrest throughout the world today are indicated, and there is counsel on personal relationship both inside and outside of missionary circles, and with the church of the land, which every one entering the mission field will find invaluable.

Emphasis is laid on the need of broad and thorough preparation and continuous open-mindedness, plus that vital relationship to Christ, which alone justifies missionary endeavour.

The eleven appendices on the study of religions, languages and other subjects, by such experts as Kenneth Saunders (Buddhism) D. B. Macdonald (Islam), A. E. Garvie and others, provide stimulating suggestions for individual study on the field and during furlough. R. C.

Europe in Asia Minor. The Real Significance of the Near East Question. By Felix Valyi. London: Thomas Murby & Co. pp. 45. Price 1/6d.

This essay on contemporary diplomatic history is an appeal for the political and economic autonomy of Islam. It is Turkophile in its interpretation of the present situation, but deserves attention for that very reason.

The First Crusade. Translated from the Accounts of Eyewitnesses by August C. Krey. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J. pp. 299. Price \$3.00.

Every worker among Moslems needs to know the story of the Crusades. Here we have it from original documents, namely fourteen letters translated from the Latin texts, together with eleven historical documents such as the *Alexiad*, the *Gesta Tancredi*, the *History of Jerusalem*, by Fulcher, etc. The chapters are summaries of these various documents given in actual translation, without comment in most cases, except for an introduction and supplementary notes (pp. 281-299). The seven chapters consist of the following: The Summons, The March to Constantinople, Alexius and the Crusaders, From Nicæa to Antioch, Kerbogha and the Finding of the Lance, Dissension among the Leaders, and Capture of Jerusalem. Nowhere will the reader find a more vivid portraiture of the relations between Christian and Saracen than in these collected annals.

The Turks and Europe. By Gaston Gaillard (Translated from the French). London: Thomas Murby and Co. pp. 408. 1920.

This book adds little to the literature on the subjects covered. The purpose of the author seems to have been to show that France is the real friend of Turkey and to defend the Turk from what he considers injustice by the judgment of civilization. The author is decidedly anti-British, as he finds repeated occasion to attack Great Britain's policy in the Near East and to show how much more considerate of the feelings of the Turks the French have been. The interest of America in the protection of the Christian populations against Turkish atrocities is charged to "a campaign of Protestant propaganda backed by a puritan President," and as such is summarily dismissed.

In spite of its political and religious bias, the author gives much valuable information regarding the history of the Turkish Empire, its relations to the European countries, and its entry into the war. Much of the book is devoted to events connected with the Armistice, negotiations for a settlement between Turkey and the Allies, and subsequent events, including the rise of Mustapha Kemal, and the Mohammedan question growing out of the settlement of the occupation of Constantinople by the Allies, the treaty with Turkey, the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the Moslems in Russia and Turkey, and Turkey and the Slav, each of which is given a separate chapter.

JAMES BARTON.

"Pilgrim Papers" by Robert Keable, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

The letters from which this volume is built, were put into the hands of Mr. Keable by a dying friend, and have been preserved for us as a record of the striving and serving of a sincere shepherd of souls, Francis Thomas Wilfrid, priest.

The pages are warm and vivid, human and beautiful. They contain

etchings of the great "Berg" itself, the folk of "Berg" and veldt, and best of all, of the soul of the "Pilgrim." The "Papers" brings out, with suggestive touch, some vital problems of method and relationship in mission work. But our thanks are due chiefly to the fact that the book quickens mind and heart and spirit to reach out to God and man with sturdier thought, purer devotion, swifter service and more tender longing.

MARY FLEMING LABAREE.

Documents Diplomatiques Concernant l'Égypte de Mehemet-Ali Jusqu'en 1920. Réunis par l'Association Égyptienne de Paris. Ernest Leroux, Paris. 1920. pp. 212.

Except for the introduction, which is written wholly from a partisan standpoint and contains grave errors of fact and judgment, this volume is exceedingly valuable. It gives in a connected series all the declarations of British statesmen from Sir Henry Elliott in 1873 to Lloyd George and Lord Milner's report regarding Egyptian Independence and the vexed question of the Protectorate.

It is perhaps the strongest case the nationalists can present and need not have been marred by partisan statements and a total lack of appreciation of the benefits conferred, e. g. in Egypt under Lord Cromer's administration. The recent disturbances at Alexandria, and the position taken by Zagloul Pasha, are a sad comment on such a paragraph as this from the introduction:

"Tout de suite après l'occupation, les Anglais cherchèrent à cacher leurs appétits sous des dehors de grande moralité.

Comme l'a bien fait remarquer Mohammed Farid bey, le regretté second chef du Parti National Égyptien, les diplomates anglais n'osaient qualifier la situation de l'Angleterre en Égypte que par des périphrases et des métaphores sans fondement juridique. L'Égypte est tantôt "une fleur qui ne saurait se passer de jardinier," "un malade qui a besoin de son médecin," "un pupille que doit guider son tuteur;" "notre tache en Égypte, disait Salisbury. . . . nos devoirs. . . . , nos obligations morales. . . , notre mission. . . . , nos intérêts. . . . ;" "Notre présence disait Milner, dans son *England in Egypt*. . . notre tutelle. . . notre influence. . . notre prédominance. . . un protectorat incomplet et irrégulier. . . un protectorat, mais non un protectorat légal. . . un protectorat déguisé."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY MISS HOLLIS W. HERING, NEW YORK

Missionary Research Library

I. GENERAL.

THE ARAB CASE IN PALESTINE. Shibly Jamal. (*The Living Age*, Boston. April 8, 1922. pp. 77-83.)

Appeared first in the March issue of the *National Review* of London. Attempts to show the responsibility of the British Government to keep Palestine for the Arabs, and not encourage in it the domination of Zionists. Quotes the League of Nations and the utterances of various British statesmen to show the acknowledged support given to the British by the Palestinian Arabs during the war, and their recognized right to self-determination in their own country. Author was secretary of the Palestine Arab Delegation.

ARMENIA, BRITISH PLEDGES, AND THE NEAR EAST. Aneurin Williams. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. April, 1922. pp. 418-425.)

It is indisputable that the Armenians have for generations been intolerably misgoverned; also that during the war British statesmen made to them repeated and public promises of freedom from Turkish misrule. This is a brief statement of the obligations which Britain and her allies incurred towards the Armenians, the manner in which they have failed to meet them, and outlines how, under present circumstances, the obligations can be honorably and justly discharged.

THE HERITAGE OF THE NEAR EAST. W. L. Westermann. (*Asia*, N. Y. April, 1922. pp. 257-265.)

Discusses the geographic heritage, the heritage by blood (giving the characteristics of the many different races in the Near East), the pre-war native movements against Turkish rule, and the Near Eastern interests of Great Britain and France. Beautifully illustrated, with a map of "the peculiarly troublesome and troubled part of the world that contains the shifting frontier of Occidentalism."

THE MOPLAH REBELLION. U. Balakrishna Nair. (*The Indian Review*, Madras. February, 1922. pp. 105-108.)

A parallel between the present Moplah rebellion, the Mysorean conquest of Malabar in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the revolt of the Pyche Rajah at the dawn of the nineteenth. The conversions forced by the Moplah fanatics are dwelt upon as a significant commentary on the much-talked-of Hindu-Moslem unity.

PALESTINE AND ZIONISM. Jacques Calmy. (*The Living Age*, Boston. April 8, 1922. pp. 74-76.)

The summary of an article which appeared in the February 18th issue of *L'Europe Nouvelle*. The favorable attitude towards

Zionism of the various Great Powers has been expressed several times. On the other hand, the relations between Arabs and Jews in Palestine do not improve. The Zionists are endeavoring to solve this problem through increasing the productiveness of the land by intelligent, hard work. Yet it must always be remembered that Zionism is interested primarily in building a strong spiritual center for the Jews, not in any economic or political development of the country.

ZIONISM AND PALESTINE. J. Ramsay MacDonald. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. April, 1922. pp. 434-440.)

Present-day Palestinian problems have as a background the duplicity of European war diplomacy; as a foreground, suspicions and fears, traditional hatreds, and economic conflicts. Government regulation of immigration is called for, propaganda by those of the old order should be controlled; but the questions give promise of solution provided the Arab and Jewish workmen are allowed to work together as one class, uninterfered with by the extremist leaders of either race.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

THE ABBASIDS IN ASIA. S. Khuda Bukhsh. (*The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta. January, 1922. pp. 62-87. February, 1922. pp. 266-276.)

The first two installments of a study made by one of the lecturers at Calcutta University. There are several references to sources in the foot-notes, but they are chiefly to western authorities. To be continued.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

THE QUESTION OF THE CALIPHATE. Kenneth Ledward. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. April, 1922. pp. 661-667.)

Written with the object of showing "thinking Moslems that the interests of Islam do not lie with the falling fortunes of Mustafa Kemal, and that the Osmanlis' title to be 'Commanders' of the Faithful is historically and morally worthless." There is a brief résumé of the history of the Caliphate, showing, among other things, that there never has been a Caliph whom contemporaneous and future Moslems united in acknowledging.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

ARAB LIFE AND CHARACTER. Lord Raglan. (*The Nineteenth Century*, London. April, 1922. pp. 678-688.)

A picture of the Arab, chiefly as met with in Syria. Sections are devoted to the Druzes, Tribal Law, Colonies, Dervishes, the Gypsies, the Baramka, and the business of Bedouin raids.

THE RELIGION OF THE KURDS. G. R. Driver. (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution. vol. II., pt. 2. pp. 197-213.)

There are many varieties of religions among the Kurds, the dominant one being Islam or some corrupted form of it. Here are

discussed only those systems more or less peculiar to the Kurds—the Qizilbâsh, the Bâbî, and, most important of all, the Yazîdî. There is included a translation of the document drawn up in 1872-1873 by the religious leaders of the latter sect and sent to the Ottoman Government as a protest against their conscription for military service.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH CONFLICT OVER TURKEY. Henry Woodhouse. (*Current History*, N. Y. April, 1922. pp. 57-72.)

Annotated text of hitherto unpublished correspondence between the British and French Governments respecting the Franco-Turkish Angora Agreement, in which Great Britain has insisted on a re-adjustment of its terms and proposed a new tripartite intervention in Turkey.

THE ENDING OF THE EGYPTIAN DEADLOCK. Sir Valentine Chirol. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. April, 1922. pp. 543-552.)

An interpretation of the government White Book containing the correspondence between Lord Curzon and Allenby. Step by step the breaking of the three-months' deadlock is traced, ending with a cautiously optimistic prophecy for the future of Egypt as an independent power.

INDIA AND THE MOSLEM AWAKENING. (*Current History*, N. Y. April, 1922. pp. 1-8.)

Quotes Lord Reading's telegram and its insistence on the importance to British rule of a revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, and traces the surge of Mohammedan feeling which caused the Viceroy of India to send it. Shows how the Moslems in India are seeking to force the Allies to give Turkey more territory, and pictures vividly Gandhi's part in the movement.

THE NEAR EAST. (*The Round Table*, London. March, 1922. pp. 319-337.)

The Treaty of Sèvres represented the considered and final decisions of the Supreme Council upon the group of Turkish problems. Yet peace on its basis is an impossibility. Revision at the expense of Greece, and on the terms of the Turkish Nationalists seems to be the only road open, and this is a road opposed to every intention of the Allies in 1920. How did this come about? And what are the underlying causes which have produced such a dark prospect for Greece and the Christian populations of the regions affected? Considered under the headings: The Situation after the Armistice; The Extension of Greece; The Nationalist Movement in Turkey; The Greek Offensive; and The Treaty of Angora.

THE NEAR EASTERN SETTLEMENT; ATTITUDE OF MOSLEM INDIA. Sir Abbas Ali Baig. (*The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1922. pp. 204-208.)

THE NEW TURKEY OF MUSTAPHA KEMEL. Laurence Shaw Moore. (*Asia*, N. Y. April, 1922. pp. 302-310.)

An account of Turkish feeling as encountered on a trip from

Inebolu to Angora, taken in order "to learn at first hand something of the work and aspiration of the Nationalists, (so as to) carry back to America some idea of what was really going on behind the lines in Asia Minor." Includes an interview with the Nationalist leader. Author was teacher at Robert College, and executive secretary of the American Chamber of Commerce for the Levant.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN EGYPT. Sir Rennell Rodd. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. April, 1922. pp. 409-417.)

Written by a member of the Milner Commission, it surveys the anomalous position occupied by England in Egypt, some of the elements which strengthened the national self-consciousness of the Egyptians and their political evolution, and shows how successive opportunities for a settlement have been rejected. Closes with a plea for cordial support to be given to the plans and work of the High Commissioner, Lord Allenby.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AT ANGORA. M. Zekeria. (*Current History*, N. Y. April, 1922. pp. 73-75.)

A review of the character of the new Turkish Nationalist Movement; how it is organized, the rôle it plays in the Orient, its relation to the Sultan, and its attitude toward Islamic nations. Describes the two fundamental acts of the Nationalist Government—the Constitutional Law and the National Pact—and emphasizes the idea that its only ideal is to secure an independent home for Turks.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

DR. HABEEB SALIM, OF NABLOUS. A. J. Mortimore. (*The Church Missionary Review*, London. March, 1922. pp. 64-66.)

A brief sketch of a C. M. S. doctor. A graduate of the Syrian Protestant College, he made a notable record in public service, and as a member of the Palestinian Church Council; while his medical and evangelistic services made him beloved wherever he went.

MISSIONS IN PERSIA; RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT. H. White. (*The C. M. Outlook*, London. April, 1922. pp. 67-69.)

Traces the history of the Church Missionary work in Persia during three periods: from 1869-1892, when the ground was being cleared under the leadership of the Rev. R. Bruce; from 1892 to 1915, a period of building ending in the evacuation of all mission stations on account of the German invasion; and from the re-occupation in 1916 until. . . ?

REACHING THE MOSLEMS OF PALESTINE. Archibald Forder. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, N. Y. March, 1922. pp. 212-213.)

The Moslems of Palestine have become, if anything, more inaccessible than ever to Christianity by the British occupation of the country. The work of the colporteur, however, has greatly increased in importance. The Superintendent of the Jerusalem Branch of the Nile Mission Press here describes the work of the Colportage Department of the Press, with its promising future.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS.

Rev. Dwight M. Donaldson is a member of the American Presbyterian Mission in Persia, and is stationed at Meshed, near the Afghanistan border.

* * *

Miss I. Lilius Trotter is the pioneer leader of the Algerian Mission Band, a woman of faith and prayer, whose artistic skill and ready pen have contributed much to Arabic Christian literature.

* * *

Rev. Dalton Galloway and the *Rev. R. W. Caldwell* are both members of the United Presbyterian Mission, Egypt, and have made special studies of Islamics at Hartford Theological Seminary under Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, D.D.

* * *

Mr. S. A. Morrison, M.A. (Oxon) has been working under the Church Missionary Society among the student class of Cairo. He is organizing secretary of the Egypt Alliance of Honor.

* * *

Archibald Forder, well known as an independent pioneer missionary among the Arabs of Northwestern Arabia, has written two books describing his adventures among them. He is at present in charge of the Nile Mission Press work at Jerusalem.

* * *

Henri Rusillon, of the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, who wrote the notes on "Islam in Madagascar" is a missionary in the Boina Avaratra District, Madagascar.

* * *

Canon W. H. T. Gairdner, B.D., is a missionary of the C. M. S., and is language teacher at the School of Oriental Studies of the American University, Cairo.

* * *

Rev. J. Robertson Buchanan, of Culross, Fifeshire, Scotland, is the author of several books, and was for some years connected with the American University of Beirut, Syria. He has just completed a report on "Moslem Education in Syria."

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A CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF ARABIC LITERATURE

The chart (frontispiece) is an attempt to show the relative time of the leading Arabic writers during the thirteen odd centuries of Islam. The dates given in small figures under the names are the approximate dates of the death of each writer. For a student who wishes to prepare such a chart for his own use, it will be best to use a large sheet of millimeter paper. Many interesting facts can be learned in preparing such a chart. Of course there is considerable difficulty in securing accurate dates.

Note the absence of writers of importance during the past four centuries. Also the early development of poetry in Arabic, as in all literatures, and the contemporary writers of each period.

Note the long period of over two centuries which elapsed before the work of collecting traditions was really begun, also the disappearance of Speculative Philosophy at the end of the sixth century and the consequent rise of the dervish orders under Mysticism.

Note the crystallization of Theology at the end of five centuries leaving no possibility of its development, and how very few Egyptian names appear in the literary annals of Islam.

All dates in this chart are A.H. To covert to A.D. use the following formula:

A.H. less 3% plus 622 equals A.D., also
A.D. less 622 plus 3% equals A.H.

Alexandria, Egypt.

R. W. CALDWELL.

CLASSIFICATION OF ARABIC LITERATURE.

A.H. 500	A.H. 600	A.H. 700	A.H. 800	A.H. 900	A.H. 1000	A.H. 1100	A.H. 1200	A.H. 1300
<i>Al-Hariri</i> 515	<i>Ibn 'l-Fārid</i> 633							
<i>arri</i> 748		<i>Al-Basiri</i> 670						
<i>Zaidān</i> 463								
	<i>Ibn 'l-Arabi</i> 633	<i>Abdu 'l-Fazāq</i> 730						
<i>Qushairi</i> 785	<i>Abu 'l-Hasan Shādhili</i> 634							
<i>Abd al-Qādir al-Jilāni</i> 560	<i>Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī</i> 670					<i>Ah-Sharāfi</i> 897		
<i>Almad ar-Rafā'i</i> 576	<i>Abmad al-Badawi</i> 675	<i>An-Naqshabandi</i> 731						
	<i>Ibrahīm ad-Dasūqī</i> 678(?)							
<i>Ar-Tibrizi</i> 802	<i>Ibn Ya'ish</i> 603							
<i>Al-Maudani</i> 570	<i>Ibn Malik</i> 672	<i>Ibn Aqil</i> 763						
	<i>Ibn Bjurriūm</i> 723	<i>Ibn Hishām</i> 764						
<i>Zamakhshari</i> 587	<i>Ar-Rāzi</i> 606	<i>Al-Bardawi</i> 680						
			<i>(Jalālan) { Al-Mahalli</i> <i>As-Suyūti</i> 710					
<i>Shahrastāni</i> 524	<i>Ibn Khalīkan</i> 680	<i>Abu 'l-Fida</i> 732	<i>Ibn Khaldūn</i> 906			<i>Al-Maqqari</i> 1060		
	<i>Yāqūt</i> 616	<i>Adh-Dhahabi</i> 748	<i>Al-Maqrizi</i> 806		<i>Ibn Iyas</i> 918	<i>Al-Halabi</i> 1046		
	<i>Ibn 'l-Athir</i> 630	<i>Ibn Barūta</i> 777	<i>Abu Mahāsīn</i> 874			<i>Hajji Khalifa</i> 1087		
<i>Al-Baghawi</i> 916	<i>An-Nawawi</i> 676		<i>Ad-Damiri</i> 806					
<i>Harāmāin</i> 470	<i>THE HIDAYA</i> 533		<i>As-Subhi</i> 771					
<i>Abu Shuyūb</i> 506(?)								
<i>Al-Ghazālī</i> 505		<i>Ibn Tawmīya</i> 720						<i>Al-Fadali</i> 1124
<i>Ibn Tūmar</i> 552		<i>Al-Jīfi</i> 766						<i>Al-Bawāri</i> 1277
<i>An-Nasafi</i>								
<i>Ibn Bāuyā</i> 533	<i>Ibn Rushd</i> 595							
	<i>Ibn Ma'mūn</i> 640							

SEE DESCRIPTIVE NOTE ON OPPOSITE PAGE.