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THE QUEST OF THE HISTORICAL MOHAMMED*

In 1906 there appeared in Germany an epoch marking work on the life of Christ, entitled "Von Reimarus zu Wrede," by a young and till then almost unknown scholar, Albert Schweitzer, which in 1910 was translated into English by Montgomery under the title "The Quest of the Historical Jesus." Schweitzer's book was a very brilliant survey of the various types of "Lives of Christ," which had been produced by various schools of theological thought in Europe, ranging from the pious, orthodox, uncritical type, to the wildest excesses of eschatological and even mythical interpretation. His aim was to survey the various attempts that had been made to interpret the life of our Lord, and, if one may use the phrase, make an actuarial investigation of the position of scholarship on this question, and assess the value of the years of patient, critical research that had been devoted to its problems.

Quite recently it was suggested that the time was ripe for a similar survey on the life of the Arabian Prophet, that we may take stock of the work that has been done, gather up the assured results that have been won, and note the trends of critical scholarship indicating the lines of investigation that the future will have to follow. We

*The author prefers the spelling "Muslim, Muhammad and Qu'ran" but our Quarterly has followed our usual form of "Moslem, Mohammed and Koran," except in quotations.

may have long to wait for the rise of an Islamic scholar with the genius and scholarly preparation of a Schweitzer, to undertake this task, but we may endeavor with more or less success to briefly sketch the outlines of such an investigation.

SOURCES

Our first consideration is that of sources, and naturally we look to the Moslem literature, for Moslems themselves are likely to have been the first to write lives of their own Prophet. Here at first glance the student's heart might almost fail him before the bewildering array of Moslem lives of the Prophet, for there are literally hundreds of them in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay and even in Chinese and lesser Eastern languages. The briefest investigation, however, suffices to reveal that the problem of sources is relatively simple, for all these hundreds of volumes represent but workings over with fabulous and irrelevant additions and modifications of perhaps half a dozen Arabic texts of primary importance.

The earliest Life of Mohammed of which we have any trace was written by Mohammed Ibn Ishāq, who died in 768 A. D., i. e., one hundred and thirty years after the death of the Prophet. The book of Ibn Ishāq, however, has perished, and all we know of it is what is quoted from it (and these quotations are fortunately considerable) in the works of later writers, particularly Ibn Hishām and Tabarī. This work of Ibn Ishāq, in addition to being the earliest known attempt at biography, has a further importance in that, whether because the writer was somewhat of a free thinker, or because he had not come under the influence of later idealizing tendencies, his work contains very much information of a character that is distinctly unfavorable to the Prophet. To quote Dr. Margoliouth:

"The character attributed to Mohammed in the biography of Ibn Ishāq is exceedingly unfavorable. In order to gain his ends he recoils from no expedient, and he approves of similar unscrupulousness on the part of his adherents, when exercised in his interest. He profits to the

utmost from the chivalry of the Meccans, but rarely requites it with the like. He organizes assassinations and wholesale massacres. His career as tyrant of Medina is that of a robber chief, whose political economy consists in securing and dividing plunder, the distribution of the latter being at times carried out on principles which fail to satisfy his followers's ideas of justice. He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever he does he is prepared to plead the express authorization of the deity. It is, however, impossible to find any doctrine which he is not prepared to abandon in order to secure a political end. At different points in his career he abandons the unity of God and his claim to the title of Prophet. This is a disagreeable picture for the founder of a religion, and it cannot be pleaded that it is a picture drawn by an enemy: and though Ibn Ishāq's name was for some reason held in low esteem by the classical traditionalists of the third Islamic century, they make no attempt to discredit those portions of the biography which bear hardest on the character of their Prophet." (*ERE.* viii, 878.)

Margoliouth also makes it a point in favor of this biography that it rarely has recourse to the supernatural, and even when the supernatural is introduced it does not appear to affect the causation.

The first important source that has actually come down to us, therefore, is Waqidi's "Kitab al-Maghazi," or "Book of the Wars." Waqidi died 822 A. D., and his book may best be consulted in the translation of the important parts of it given in Wellhausen's "Muhammed in Medina" (Berlin, 1882). Waqidi's work, however, has the serious limitation that it deals only with Mohammed's campaigns. A little later are Ibn Hisham's "Sirat un-Nabi" (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1859, and translated into crabbed German by Weil, "Das Leben Mohammeds," 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1864), and Ibn Sa'd's "Kitab ul-Tabaqat ul-Kabir" (ed. by Edward Sachau, with the assistance of numerous other scholars, in nine volumes published between 1904-1921 at Leiden). Ibn Hisham died in 833 A. D., and Ibn Sa'd in 844 A. D. Later Arabic lives are of very secondary value as compared with these.

These works, however, are not primary sources, and are themselves based on two sources, Tradition and the Koran. The most important collections of Tradition are those of Bukhari (who died in 870 A. D.), and Muslim

(who died in 874 A. D.). What value can be placed on Tradition will be seen later; the important thing now to note is the dates of the collections, which are even later than those of the lives. The Koran, which was written down in approximately the form in which we have it within a generation of the death of Mohammed, will thus be seen to be our only primary source for the life of the Prophet. It will, of course, be evident to any one who has read the Koran, how very meagre is the material it contains of a biographical nature. The importance of the evidence from this source was first worked out by Nöldeke in the first edition (1860) of his "Geschichte des Qorans," and may be studied in simple form in the summary made of it by Canon Sell in his "Historical Development of the Koran" (Madras, 1909) from a manuscript translation of Nöldeke's book made for him in India.

An excellent summary on the question of sources will be found in an article by Sachau given as Introduction to the third volume of the Leiden edition of Ibn Sa'd, or the older summary in the Introduction to Sir Wm. Muir's "Life of Mahomet."

Early Christian Accounts

The earliest reference to Mohammed in Christian literature is apparently that in the Armenian "Chronicle of Sebeos," written in the seventh century, and which says little more than that he was an Ishmaelite, who claimed to be a Prophet and taught his fellow countrymen to return to the religion of Abraham. In the Byzantine writers we have little of any value, though it must be admitted that this source has not been thoroughly examined by Islamic scholars. Nicetas, of Byzantium, wrote a "Refutatio Mohammedis" (Migne *P. G.* cv), and Bartholomew, of Edessa, a treatise "Contra Mohammedem" (Migne *P. G.* civ), which may be taken as samples of this work, which grew out of the contact with Islamic power in the wars that robbed the Byzantine Empire of one after another of its fair Eastern Provinces.

The Latin writers of the Middle Ages got their information from two sources, from the Byzantine accounts and from the personal contact with Islam during the Crusades. It would be an interesting study to follow the development of the wild fables that spread abroad in Europe during this period, in which Mohammed comes to be one of the three great idols, Apollin, Tergavan and Mahon, popularly supposed to be worshipped by Moslems. These legends crossed to England, and in the language of our forefathers the name Mohammed, in its corrupt form "mawmet," became the regular word for "idol." Thus in the "Legend of St. Andrew," we read:

> Wharto cums thou unto me
> Bot thou wald trow in Jesu fre,
> And leve thi *mawmetes* more and les
> And pray to Jesu of forgifnes.

And again in the "Life of Saint Juliana," written about 1200 A. D., we are told of the Emperor Maximinius of Rome that he was—*"heinde and heriende hedhene mawmets with unmedh muchel hird and unduhti duhedhe."* Among the ecclesiastical writers of the period, however, Mohammed was looked on as the arch heretic, a second Arius, worse than the first; and his legend was moulded on that of the great legendary heretics, Simon Magus and the Deacon Nicholas. Renan points to the reason in his article in the *Atti della Academia dei Lincei,* for 1889, where he writes: *"Dans les écrits populaires, il s'y joint d'atroces calomnies, destinées à couvrir d'ignominie l'auteur du grand mal que la chrétienté voulait à tout prix supprimer."* That there were noble exceptions, however, to this almost universal ignorance and misrepresentation can be seen from the cases of such men as Petrus Venerabilis, who died in 1157, and the fragments of whose polemic have been published by Thomä ("Zwei Bücher gegen den Muhammedanismus," Leipzig, 1896), and the Dominican monk Ricoldus, who died in 1320, and whose "Confutatio Alcorani," which so impressed Martin Lu-

ther, shows an unusually accurate acquaintance with the subject.

Pre-Critical Period

After the Renaissance we find the question again attracting attention. Such works as Raleigh's "Life and Death of Mohamet" (London, 1637), and Prideaux' "Vie de Mahomet, ou l'on découvre amplement la verité de l'imposture" (Amsterdam, 1698), are based on the Arabic material now being made available in Latin translation, but Hottinger's account of Mohammed's teaching in his "Historia Orientalis" (Zurich, 1651), and Marraccio's strictures which run through his "Refutatio" (Padua, 1698) commence the tradition of relying on the original sources themselves. Most of this early work is bitterly hostile and prejudiced, though Hottinger had endeavored to give an impartial judgment. It is with the Dutch scholar Reyland, however, that we enter on a new treatment of the subject. In his "de Religione Mahommedica" (Utrecht, 1704), he seeks to break away from the hostile attitude to Mohammed, and strive for a just appreciation of his historical significance. His work, however, had the misfortune to be followed by H. de Boulainvilliers' "Vie de Mahomed" (London, 1730), which was a bombastic laudation of Mohammed in the interests of belittling Christianity. Hurgronje calls it "an anti-clerical romance, the material of which was supplied by a superficial knowledge of Islam drawn from secondary sources." A little of the tar from Boulainvilliers' brush can be detected in Gibbon's account of Mohammed in his "Decline and Fall" (London, 1776). It was in order to combat the distinctly wrong impression produced by Boulainvilliers' work that Gagnier wrote his "Vie de Mahomet" (Amsterdam, 1748), which strove to take the middle course between Boulainvilliers on the one hand and Prideaux on the other. It was not possible, however, to make further progress until more work was done at the Arabic sources.

Beginnings of Criticism

It was the awakening of interest in Oriental studies at the beginning of the nineteenth century that made possible a new departure in an attempt to do justice to the problem. The new period may be said to have begun with the work of Gustav Weil, whose "Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre" (Stuttgart, 1843) first applied in any real sense the historico-critical method to the problem of the life of Mohammed. Weil may not have got very far in this investigation, for his resources were still limited, but he found and applied the method, and in his translation of Ibn Hisham, in 1864, made yet a further great advance. Caussin de Perceval's "Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes," 3 vols. (Paris, 1847), was apparently written quite independently of Weil, and contains an account of the life and work of Mohammed, which while not of any great value in itself, yet is of real importance for the mass of material from Arabic sources that it brings together. Wüstenfeld is another scholar in this period whose great contribution was not in his "Das Leben Mohammed's" (3 vols. Göttingen, 1857-1859), but in his excellent editions of early Arabic texts, and his masterly studies, such as his "Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stamme und Familien" (Göttingen, 1852-53), "Chroniken der Stadt Mekka" (4 vols. Leipzig, 1861), "Das Gebiet von Medina" (Göttingen, 1873), "Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und Ihre Werke" (Göttingen, 1882), which have illumined so much of the early history. Much more important, however, is the work of Sprenger, Nöldeke and Muir.

Sprenger's work will come under consideration in another section; we need only mention here that in addition to his very important "Leben Muhammads," he also, like Wüstenfeld, made important contributions to the study of the background of the Prophet's life in his two studies "Die Post und Reiserouten des Orients" (Leipzig, 1864), and "Die Alte Geographie Arabiens" (Bern, 1875). Nöldeke's great contribution was his essay "Geschichte

des Qorans" (Göttingen, 1860), which really falls outside the scope of this essay, but which was the first critical attempt to evaluate the most important source for our reconstruction of the life of Mohammed. Nöldeke is by far the keenest and most cautious critic of this early period, and in general is very careful in his historical judgment. His "Das Leben Muhammads nach den Quellen populär dargestellt" (Hanover, 1863), is a much slighter and more popular work, which has now become almost forgotten. Muir's "Life of Mahomet," which appeared in London in four volumes, between the years 1856-61, is the crowning work of this first period of criticism. Sir William Muir had been long in the civil service in India, had an extensive acquaintance with Mohammedan literature in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and possessed a magnificent Oriental library. His work is based on a careful study of the best material available at the time, and is a very full and lucidly written account, remarkably free from prejudice on either side. In his introduction he gives a statement of the principles of criticism of the sources, which still repays reading, a subject which he again elaborates in an essay on "The Value of Early Mahometan Historical Sources," printed in his book "The Mohammedan Controversy" (London, 1897). Muir's work has been through many editions, the latest and most convenient being the one volume edition, edited by T. H. Weir (Edinburgh, 1912).

A number of smaller, popular works are largely based on the work of this period of the beginnings of criticism. Best known among such are Johnstone, "Mohammed and His Power" (Edinburgh, 1901), Sell, "Life of Mohammed" (Madras 1913): Wollaston, "Mohammed, His Life and Doctrines" (London, 1904): St. Hilaire, "Mohamet et le Coran" (Paris, 1865): Scholl, "L'Islam et son Fondateur: étude morale" (Paris, 1874): Delaporte, "Vie de Mahomet" (Paris, 1874): Albert Fua, "La Vie et la Morale de Mahomet" (Paris, 1912): Reiner, "Muhammad und der Islam" (Leipzig, 1905): Reckendorf,

"Mohammed und die Seinen" (Leipzig, 1907): Krehl, "Das Leben des Muhammad" (Leipzig, 1884).

The Pathological Lives

European investigators could not fail to be struck with the statements found in the sources about the strange fits to which Mohammed was subject, especially at the time of his revelations.

> "The notion . . . that he was subject to epilepsy finds curious confirmation in the notices recorded of his experiences during the process of revelation—the importance of which is not lessened by the probability that the symptoms were often artificially produced. That process was attended by a fit of unconsciousness, accompanied (or preceded) at times by the sound of bells in the ears or the belief that someone was present: by a sense of fright, such as to make the patient burst out into perspiration: by the turning of the head to one side: by foaming at the mouth: by the reddening or whitening of the face: by a sense of headache." (Margoliouth, "Mohammed," p. 46).

Not much has been made of these facts by Oriental writers, but Sprenger, who was a Doctor of Medicine of sorts, fastened on these evidences of epilepsy as the key to the solution of Mohammed's personality. He worked at this first in his Indian book, "Life of Mohammed from Original Sources" (Allahabad, 1851), which is a meagre sketch, stopping short at the Flight from Mecca, later in his monumental treatise, "Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammeds" (3 vols. Berlin, 1861-65), and finally in "Mohammed und der Koran: eine Psychologische Studie" (Hamburg, 1889).

Sprenger's work in this direction is interesting rather than convincing, and has come in for much sharp criticism. Sir William Muir in an essay in the *Calcutta Review* for 1868 characterizes his work as "marked by a love of paradox and a tendency to strike out theories based on but slender grounds." Hirschfeld remarks, "He is surely mistaken in attributing a larger share in the creation of Islam to the state of his (Mohammed's) nerves than was really due to them. Hallucinations and hysterical frenzy are not factors strong enough to produce so general an upheaval as was caused by this new faith" ("New Researches," p. 20), and Hurgronje characterizes it as "an

exaggerated display of certainty based upon his former medical studies" ("Mohammedanism," p. 42). He found followers, however, chief among whom is the veteran Semitic scholar of Copenhagen, Dr. Franz Buhl, who in his "Muhammed's Liv" (Copenhagen, 1903) puts forward a modified form of the same theory. Buhl makes much of the fact that it has been observed that hysterical natures find unusual difficulty and often complete inability to distinguish the false from the true. Such people, governed by compelling ideas, find it impossible to view things in their true light, and this he thinks is the safest way to interpret the strange inconsistencies in the life of the Prophet. A curious statement of this pathological view may also be found in the second essay "On the Hallucination of Mohammed," in a little work by one Wm. Ireland, "The Clot on the Brain: Studies in History and Psychology" (New York, 1886).

A further development of this particular viewpoint is the psycho-analytic theory advocated by Dr. Macdonald, of Hartford, in his "Aspects of Islam" (New York, 1911), where he tells us that he looks for the future fruitful investigation of the Prophet's life to proceed upon the assumption that he was fundamentally a pathological case, and that "how he passed over at last into that turpitude is a problem again for those who have made a study of how the most honest trance-mediums may at any time begin to cheat" (*op. cit.*, p. 74).

A word further, before leaving this section, should be said about Sprenger's main work, the "Leben Mohammeds." Impatience with the theory should not lead the student to neglect this work, for it is one of the most stimulating of all the works we have on the life of Mohammed, and is a mine of material, gathered with great diligence and excellently set forth.

The Political and Economic Lives

Quite a different starting point has been suggested to other scholars by the political and social conditions of Arabia in Mohammed's day. The social and political

conditions of Arabia at the time of Mohammed's early manhood were bad. Arabia is none too fertile at the best of times, and just at this period practically all its fertile fringe was under domination of foreign powers—Byzantine, Persian and Abyssinian—who were ever driving the Arab tribes further into their deserts. The contact with the civilization of these more progressive peoples had not been without its effect in making the needy Arabs turn longing eyes to the better things they had hitherto hardly dreamed of. The tribes themselves were restless and discontented, economic conditions were bad, and they were ready to rally round any banner that would give them the hope of national deliverance. It was Mohammed who held out the banner, and labored to weld them into a mighty national force that would secure Arabia for the Arabs.

Dr. Margoliouth's "Mohammed and the Rise of Islam" (London, 1905), probably the most brilliant study of the life of Mohammed that has yet appeared, is representative of this view, which may also be seen in the same author's articles on "Mohammed" in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (11th ed.) and the "Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics," Vol. viii. According to this interpretation, Mohammed was a patriot, keenly alive to the opportunities of the time, who evolved a method of uniting the Arabs to face the common danger and utilize the golden opportunities of the age.

"A man who can organize an armed force and lead it to victory may rise from obscurity to autocracy anywhere. Probably every century of Islam had its tale of such personages. The 'Abbasid, Fatimid, Buwaihid, Seljuk, and Ottoman dynasties all arose in this way: and in most of these the religious appeal played an important part. The success of the founders was clearly due not to the objective truth of the doctrines with which they were associated, but to their skill as organizers and military leaders. . . . His (Mohammed's) ability to gauge the capacities of others was abnormal: hence in the choice of subordinates he seems to have made no mistakes. In the second place, he was thoroughly familiar with the foibles of the Arabs, and utilized them to the utmost advantage. The stories of his successes, as told by Ibn Ishaq, indicate a complete absence of moral scruple; but they also show a combination of patience, courage and caution; ability to seize opportunities, and distrust of loyalty when not backed by interest, which fully explain the certainty with which results were won." (ERE. viii, 873.)

At Medina, he was what one might justly call a robber chief, just as David, King of Israel, was in his early days. When he entered Mecca he entered it as a political leader rather than as a religious prophet, and was recognized by the Meccans as such. His dealings with Jews and Christians were largely dictated by political considerations: he dealt with the pagan tribes as a sovereign, and his whole attitude to the surrounding empires was that of a statesman. "The fact of primary importance in the rise of Islam is that the movement became considerable only when its originator was able to draw the sword and handle it successfully." So in endeavoring to estimate the significance of Mohammed, we must not judge him as a mystic or religious reformer, though he may have had elements of both, but rather as a statesman faced with peculiar pressing political problems among a somewhat barbarous people and at a critical moment in history.

A similar view is held by the Italian scholar Leone Caetani, though we are unfortunate in not having in our hands his complete picture of the Prophet. In the first and second volumes of his monumental "Annali dell' Islam" (Milan, 1905-07), and in the third volume of his "Studi di Storia Orientale" (Milan, 1914), we have, however, the outlines of his treatment. Caetani holds that the great outburst, which sent Arab armies out in conquest of the surrounding fertile lands, is only the latest of a series of similar outbursts of Semitic peoples which in historical times have been disgorged by Arabia, due to the economic stress consequent on the gradual desiccation of Arabia. Mohammed thus becomes the leader of this movement, religious, if you will, according to the ideas of religion in Arabia at that time, but above all a politician and an opportunist.

"Si fatto carattere impulsivo associato con esimie qualita politiche di uomo di stato e di pastore di popoli rese Maometto uomo eminentemente opportunista, il quale animato da una cieca, immensa fiducia in se, si getto alla cieca nelle piu ardite imprese e si trascino appresso tutti i seguaci, inebbriati e sedotti dalla superiorita morale del Maestro." Annali, I. 205.

This view is also that of another great scholar, Dr. K. H. Becker, sometime editor of *Der Islam,* who writes in his "Islam and Christianity" (London, 1909, p. 29):

"The Mohammedan fanatics of the wars of conquest, whose reputation was famous among later generations, felt but a very scanty interest in religion, and occasionally displayed an ignorance of its fundamental tenets which we can hardly exaggerate. The fact is fully consistent with the impulses to which the Arab migrations were due. These impulses were economic, and the new religion was nothing more than a party cry of unifying power, though there is no reason to suppose that it was not a real moral force in the life of Mohammed and his immediate contemporaries."

A curious development under this section is the economic theory of Prof. Hubert Grimme. This writer has produced two interesting works on Mohammed. The first is his "Mohammed" (Munster, 1892), in which he seeks to explain the development of Islam as a socialistic phenomenon. After considering and rejecting Sprenger's theory that Hanifism was the original source of Islam, he points out that Islam can be more simply explained as a socialistic than as a religious system.

"The conditions under which we are accustomed, in history, to see socialistic movements appear, were existent in Mecca at the time of Mohammed. Conditions of opposition in the social organism had matured to that point where a rupture was imminent. A wealthy class, who had all the power in their hands, stood over against a numerous propertyless class who were suffering the pressure of a merciless usurious administration. Against the former class the Koran hurls its richly deserved accusations of the unhealthiness of their great possessions, their deceit, use of false weights and measures, foolish waste of their substance on the one hand, and continuous niggardly accumulation on the other, and lastly their discontent even in the face of their abundance. On the other hand, it is painfully evident how the needy hunger, the beggar is refused alms, orphans are kept out of their inheritance, and slaves strive in vain for liberty and manumission. It was in order to put an end to such adverse conditions that, under the aspect of compensatory justice, Mohammed, who in his youth had himself tasted the bitter loss of poor orphans (though later he became one of the propertied class), laid down strict legislation that every man should pay a settled assessment for the support of the needy. In this way an equality would be established in a peaceful way, wholly different from all other socialistic endeavors of antiquity, which always manifested a strong tendency to forcible alterations of social relationships."

Such a venturesome thesis was hardly likely to find acceptation, and on its appearance was keenly criticized, particularly by Prof. Snouck Hurgronje in *Revue de*

l'Historie des Religions, xxx, 48 ff. who remarks both on the inaccuracy of Grimme's work, showing the limitations of his scholarship, and also on the uncertainty of the foundations on which his theory is built. Prof. Grimme, unfortunately, has a reputation for wild theories, as witness his recent identification of certain weather markings (as Petrie calls them) on some stones from Sinai, as the very handwriting of Moses; and even if his theory had a sounder basis, it is hardly likely that the socialistic motive could be an explanation of all the facts to be considered.

Advanced Criticism

We have already had occasion to notice that besides the Koran and the early "Lives" of Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Hisham, etc., an important source for the life of Mohammed is Tradition. In fact we find that the early "Lives" are themselves largely based on Tradition, and in the period from Weil to Muir European writers went on the assumption that if a certain amount of careful sifting were done, a considerable body of reliable Tradition could be found on which reliance could be placed for biographical purposes. It was Ignaz Goldziher in his "Muhammedanische Studien" (Halle, 1889, 1890), especially the second volume, who gave the first rude shock to this assumption. Even after the most careful sifting we find that the oldest traditions only take us back to the first century after Mohammed, and very much of this oldest tradition is of very uncertain character, having been colored by theological bias, mixed with legendary material, and warped to favor the interests of certain families and political parties.

It might have been thought that careful criticism could still manage to find some sure basis, but the development of Goldziher's work at the hands of Caetani, and Henri Lammens would seem to force us to the conclusion that—

"Even the data which had been pretty generally regarded as objective, rest chiefly upon tendentious fiction. The generations that worked at the biography of the Prophet were too far removed from his time to have

true data or notions; and, moreover, it was not their aim to know the past as it was, but to construct a picture of it as it ought to have been, according to their opinion. Upon the bare canvas of verses of the Koran that need explanation, the traditionists have embroidered with great boldness scenes suitable to the desires or ideals of their particular group: or to use a favorite metaphor of Lammens, they fill the empty spaces by a process of stereotyping which permits the critical observer to recognize the origin of each picture" (Hurgronje, "Mohammedanism," pp. 23, 24).

Caetani's work we have already referred to. Lammens has not yet given us his "Life," which should be epoch-making when it appears. He has contented himself so far with publishing a number of preliminary studies, which he calls "Sira-studies," working out his method, sifting his material, and as one might say, clearing the ground on which he is to build. *"Notre procédé,"* he writes, *"sera donc plus monographique que biographique. L'ensemble—si nous devons en voir la fin—formera une nouvelle Vie de Mahomet"* ("Le Berceau de l'Islam," p. vi). Perhaps the best introduction to his work is his essay "Koran et Tradition: comment fut composée la vie de Mahomet" (Paris, 1910), where he shows how over and over again the traditions are simply elaborations of some phrase or word in the Koran and have no independent authority, and, of course, cannot be used as indedependent sources for biographical purposes. In 1911 appeared a further study, "L'Age de Mahomet et la Chronologie de la Sira," in the *Journal Asiatique,* and the following year the very important study, "Fatima et les Filles de Mahomet" (Rome, 1912). In this work he takes up the legend of Fatima in the Moslem writings, and shows in detail how out of the family conflicts and jealousies and the conflicting movements of opinion in early Islam there gradually evolved this detailed biography of Fatima, which is a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements mostly apocryphal and frequently contradictory. But this is only the stepping stone to a further conclusion:

"The same method and analogous principles governed the secular elaboration of the Sira. Around a nucleus, provided by interpretation of the Koran, have come to be superimposed inconsistent political theories with theocratic dreams, opinions of schools of theology and law, with the tendencies of ascetic circles and the aspirations of Sufiism."

So that as Goldziher observed ("Vorlesungen," p. 20): "It is not the historical picture whose influence the Faithful feel. In its place was early substituted pious legend, with its ideal Mohammed."

Further important studies of Lammens are "Mahomet fut il sincère?" (Paris, 1914): "La République marchandise de la Mecque vers l'an 600 de notre ère" (Alexandria, 1910); "Le Triumvirat Abou Bakr, Omar et Abou 'Obaida" (Beirut, 1909); "Le Califat de Yezid I" (Beirut, 1921); and "La cité arabe de Tāif" (Beirut, 1922). The student should also consult an article by Dr. Becker in *Der Islam,* iv, 263-269 on "Prinzipielles zu Lammens' Sirastudien."

The dominant note in this advanced criticism is "back to the Koran." As a basis for critical biography the Traditions are practically worthless (Hurgronje, *op cit,* pp. 25, 26: Goldziher in "Kultur der Gegenwart" I. iii, p. 100 *seq:* and ZDMG, 1907: Caetani, I, 197: Lammens, "Berceau," p. vi: "Fatima," p. 139: Nöldeke, ZDMG, vol. lii, WZKM, xxi, p. 298); in the Koran alone can we be said to have firm ground under our feet. As Snouck Hurgronje, who takes his stand with these advanced critics, puts it ("Mohammedanism," p. 24):

> "While it may be true that the latest judges have here and there examined the Mohammedan traditions too sceptically and too suspiciously: nevertheless it remains certain that in the light of their research, the method of examination cannot remain unchanged. We must endeavor to make our explanations of the Koran independent of tradition, and in respect to portions where this is impossible, we must be suspicious of explanations, however plausible."

If the Koran is to be our primary foundation, the next question is to ascertain how firm ground it provides. It has usually been assumed that we were safe here at least, but recent work, such as that of Casanova and Mingana, has raised serious doubts as to the trustworthiness of even this source, but that is too big a question to enter upon at present.

Mythology

It has already been noticed how soon the picture of the

historical Mohammed was replaced by an ideal and legendary picture. Samples of such exalted pictures of Mohammed can be seen in the "Hyat ul-Qulub" (tr. Merrick, Boston, 1850), and in the "Borda du Cheikh el Bousiri, poème en l'honneur du Mahomet" (tr. by Basset, with Commentary. Paris, 1894). It is curious to note that Christian influence was apparently at the root of this legendary development (Becker "Christianity and Islam," p. 62), and it was natural that scholars should seek to trace the process of the development of this picture, which is the only one known to the vast majority of Moslems at the present day. Koelle, in the second part of his "Mohammed and Mohammedanism" (London, 1889), gave a popular account of the main lines of legendary development, but for a critical study of the problem the student needs to commence with an essay by Mez on "Die Geschichte der Wunder Muhammeds" in the *Verhandlungen* of the second Congress on the History of Religion (Basle, 1905), and one by Horovitz "Zur Muhammadlegende," in *Der Islam,* vol. iv. The great work on this phase of the subject, however, is that of Tor Andrae, "Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben Seines Gemeinde" (Stockholm, 1918). An outline of his method was given in his essay "Die Legenden von der Berufung Mohammeds," in *Le Monde Orientale,* vol. vi, but in the larger book he works out in detail the development and ramifications of the Prophet-legend, and shows its parallels in the divine-man conceptions of Zoroastrian and Hellenistic religious thought.

Eschatological Lives

It has frequently been pointed out that eschatology forms perhaps the dominating interest in the Koran. One cannot read many pages without coming upon something referring to the future joys of believers in Paradise or the sufferings of unbelievers in Hell, or threats of the awful judgment of God to be meted out to unbelievers. The thing seems to have been an obsession with Mohammed. Dr. Macdonald points out:

"The conception haunted Mohammed, that there was coming a Day of Doom when all must be judged, and that at that Day of Doom there would rule and judge—Allah. Few would be saved then."

"For Mohammed, then, this sense of evil was overwhelming. The invisible world, the awful thing lying behind this world that we look out upon, which conditions it and works in and through it, was dreadfully near. At every turn he felt what has been so well put as 'a sense of the wrath to come.'" (*Aspects,* pp. 70, 62.)

Certain modern writers, e. g., Casanova and Horovitz, have seen in this the key to the problem of Mohammed's personality. No actual Life of Mohammed has been written from this point of view, but it has been used to attack many individual problems, particularly those arising in attempts at Koranic exegesis. The position is set forth by Casanova in his study "Mohammed et la Fin du Monde" (Paris, 1911-21). The secret of Mohammed's mission he claims is found in the fact that his fundamental doctrine was that "the times announced by Daniel and Jesus had arrived: Mohammed was the last Prophet chosen by God to preside, conjointly with the Messiah who was to return to earth for this purpose, at the end of the world and the final judgment" (*Op. cit.* p. 8). He firmly believed and taught that his coming, and the end of the world were causally connected and he must see the final dissolution before he died. When death overtook him, and he felt himself passing away, he was in dreadful distress, and it is well known that his more immediate followers refused at first to believe the news of his death. Casanova thinks that some of the curious phenomena of the Koran can be explained by the fact that the revelations had to be re-edited to square with the fact that he had died, and that many things in early Islamic development theologically and otherwise go back to this same point.

Apologetic Lives

We have already noticed that quite early in the revival of interest in Oriental studies, Boulainvilliers wrote a laudatory account of Mohammed, which was later used by Gibbon. His work was not based on any accurate first-

hand study of the sources, and the same is true of two other famous apologies, namely, those of Carlyle, in his essay, "The Hero as Prophet," in "Heroes and Hero-Worship," and Bosworth Smith, "Mohammed and Mohammedanism" (London, 1873, 3rd ed. revised and enlarged, 1889). Carlyle's essay is reprinted and widely circulated by the modern Moslem school in India, as representing England's best thought on Mohammed, but they forget to mention that Carlyle takes back practically all his fine words in the essay on "The Hero as Poet."

It was to be expected that the leaders of the English-educated modernist school in Islam would be diligent in producing such apologies. Both leaders of the Aligarh school in India have written apologetic lives from their peculiar point of view. Syed Ahmad Khan in his "Essays on the Life of Mohammed and Subjects Subsidiary Thereto" (Aligarh, 1870), and Syed Ameer Ali in his "Life and Teachings of Mohammed," which was first issued in 1873, and later as the first part of his "Spirit of Islam" (last edition, London, 1923). Dr. Margoliouth's judgment on this school applies with particular aptness to Ameer Ali's work:

> "These apologists endeavor to discredit the biography of Ibn Ishaq where it shocks the European reader, and where this cannot easily be done, they suggest honorable motives, or suppose the course followed by the Prophet to have been the least objectionable of those that were open to him at the time. Thus his toleration of polygamy is declared to have been a limitation with the view of ultimate suppression, and his attitude toward slavery is regarded as similarly intended to lead to its abolition. He has even been made to set an example of monogamy, but the ingenuity required for this is so great that the result is unconvincing" (ERE. viii, 878).

An example of an attempt emanating from a different school will be found in M. H. Kidwai's "The Miracle of Mohammed, preceded by an Outline of Mohammed's Life" (London, 1906); but far more interesting is a more recent work from yet another modernist group, in the sumptuous volume produced by the Paris Book Club, limited to one thousand sets, 125 on Imperial Japanese Vellum at £18 per copy, and 875 on handmade paper at £8

per copy. This work is in large quarto with thirty-five magnificent colored plates and numerous ornamental decorations, and is entitled "The Life of Mohammed, the Prophet of Allah" (Paris, 1920). It is the joint production of the French artist, E. Dinet, and one Sliman ben Ibrahim, and is intended as a "counterblast to the many slanderous, vituperative lives of Mohammed that have appeared in European lands during the course of centuries." The same authors have produced also a little brochure "L'Orient vu de l'Occident" (Paris, 1921), indulging in vigorous but quite harmless criticism of the work of Lammens, Casanova, Hurgronje and other scholars of the advanced critical school.

Mysticism

A more recent attempt to work out a new principle of interpretation for the life of Mohammed is that of Professor J. C. Archer in a monograph published in the Yale Oriental Series, and entitled, "Mystical Elements in Mohammed" (New Haven, 1924). This writer commences by a vigorous criticism of the pathological theory, and while admitting that there may have been pathological elements in his life, insists that the essential thing in his experience was that he was a mystic, so his book is to prove that "Mohammed the mystic is a greater figure than we had dreamed." "Mohammed," he claims, "was a mystic in the technical sense, and that, too, not merely in mental attitude, but in habitual practice." But when we look for his evidence for this amazing statement, all we find is a very strained interpretation of a very few Koranic texts, most of which are unfortunately suspect, and a very precarious theory of the influence of Christian ascetics on the early life of the Prophet. The theory is based almost entirely on the Koran, and modern research ought surely to have made clear that the Koran can hardly be taken at face value for attempts at psychological interpretation. Moreover, as Massignon has pointed out (*R. M. M.* lix, 337)—"*on peut affirmer que plusieurs des*

versets qui ont une portée mystique pour certains lecteurs, ont pu n'avoir pour Mohammed que l'academisme d'une citation."

The most recent attempt at providing us with a point of view for the interpretation of Mohammed's life and teaching is that in Richard Bell's Gunning Lectures before the University of Edinburgh, "The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment," (London, 1926). Bell's work is only a preliminary study; he bases himself entirely on the Koran, taking no account of Tradition or Sīra, and he thinks that from the Koran itself we can find the main principles which will later guide us through the maze of Tradition. Bell thinks the clue to the problem is in the fact that a little before the coming of Mohammed Arabia had become permeated with new ideas of religion, partly from Jewish, but mostly from Christian sources, working into Arabia from three directions, downward from Syria to the northwest from Mesopotamia to the northeast and upwards from Abyssinia through South Arabia. One proof of this is that almost all his religious vocabulary is borrowed from either Ethiopic or Syriac, even Jewish terms and practically all Persian religious terms coming through the Syriac. Thus Allah, Koran, Furqān, Ṣalawāt, Jahannam, Janna, Firdaus, Zakāt, Dīn, etc., are all words of this origin, and the great figures that move through the Koran—Ibrahīm, Jūnus, Mūsa, 'Isa, Idrīs are all of Syriac origin.

Mohammed was in contact with this new world of religious ideas, at first only in so far as it had become Arabicised before his time, but later with Jewish and Christian sources themselves, and Bell claims that in the Koran itself we can see him gradually acquiring more and more information about these religions, particularly about Christianity, and developing his own teaching *pari passu* with his increasing knowledge. Thus in the early Sūras we find his religious vocabulary confined to that which can be illustrated from the early poets; words, i. e.,

that had been naturalized in Arabic before he came. In this early period we find very little about the Prophets or the cult of the great religions. Later he learns and uses new religious terms borrowed from Christian and Jewish sources, and begins to talk about the Prophets. At this time he apparently did not know that Jews and Christians were not one people. Later he does find this out and his language changes immediately. So Bell would interpret him not as a mystic, nor an apoplectic, nor a pathological case of any kind. A politician, yes, but of a religious nature, who was grieved at the lack of religion among his people, and conceived his mission to be to give to the Arabs such a message as the Prophets had given to the great nations surrounding them.

This certainly provides us with a promising starting point, one that seems better than any so far suggested to fit the facts that appear from the Koran, and it may be that the application of Bell's suggestion may provide us with the clue for getting back, at least as far as we can expect, in our quest for the historical Mohammed.

The conclusion from this brief survey would seem to be that we have perhaps yet to wait for further research to be done among the early sources and for further discussion to allow a certain crystallizing of opinion as to where sound foundations can be laid, before anything much can be attempted further at biographical reconstruction. It is worthy of note, however, that the scholars who are most familiar with Arabic sources and have got closest to an understanding of the life of the period, scholars such as Margoliouth, Hurgronje, Lammens, Caetani, are the most decisive against the prophetic claims of Mohammed; and one must confess that the further one goes in one's own study of the sources the more difficult it becomes in one's own thinking to escape the conclusions of these scholars.

Cairo, ARTHUR JEFFERY.

THE NEW AFGHANISTAN.

Afghanistan was, like Tibet, a closed land, little known, and maintained no diplomatic representative abroad until after the third Afghan war, in 1919, when she freed herself from Great Britain's fifty-year protectorate. By treaty she secured for herself external as well as internal freedom.

The new Afghanistan dates from this war, although the actual beginning of a new policy came with the ascension to the throne of the present ruler, Ameer Amanallah, after the murder of his father, Habibullah, in February of the same year. This new Ameer of Afghanistan is progressive, modern. He hopes to lead Afghanistan into a recognized place among the nations, as Japan was led in the last century, or Turkey in this. He has had a certain degree of success. The country is no longer hermetically sealed to foreigners; compulsory schooling has been decreed; students proving worthy are sent to the great seats of learning in Europe and America to imbibe Occidental knowledge; trade agents are attached to the several legations in foreign countries to study the possibilities for the various kinds of commerce; the military forces are being trained by foreigners, and are expanding to include all the modern paraphernalia of war; the beggar question (so troublesome also in India) has been handled with Western methods: the beggar must work if he can, or else be supported by the Government; and all civil offices are filled with men who agree with the Ameer in his policy of modernization.

But the fundamental difference in the modernization of Turkey or Japan, and that of Afghanistan lies in this: in the latter the new policy has been subordinated to the condition that the introduction of Westernism shall not

weaken the militant spirit of Islam or endanger the religious unity of the country. In fact, after signing the treaty with England, the Ameer made this statement: "You must not think that I am unaware of happenings in the Moslem world, or careless of Moslem feeling. Do not think even for a single moment that you can cause harm to the Moslem kingdom and retain the friendship of Afghanistan, or that Afghanistan will remain unmoved if you act against the sacred law of Islam." One might be inclined to wink at such a statement from so modern a ruler, and consider it a blind for the eyes of the orthodox. But whether it was intended for such or not, the orthodox have been remarkably successful in making His Majesty act according to his statement. The Ameer is an autocrat. True; a constitution has been promulgated, and a Council of State appointed; yet absolutism survives, and the government remains as autocratic as ever. The Ameer is his own Prime Minister, and holds the legislative and executive authority in his own hands; only a few administrative functions have been delegated to ministerial control. In spite of all this, however, one false move by that autocrat in a matter of religion would cost him his throne, and persistence in it, his head. For example, although public execution has been abolished in theory, yet when a certain mullah was convicted of preaching the "Qadian heresy" in the streets of Kabul, the Ameer ordered that he should be stoned to death. So also the girls' school, so highly favored in the upper and ruling circles, was declared unlawful by the mullahs and grey-beards; His Majesty had to close it. As for tolerating people of other faiths—it is a thing not even seen in their dreams. Christians may not gather for public worship. Of course, the Oriental nominal Christians, the Sikhs, and the Hindus are tolerated grudgingly; for what more could be expected of the accursed than that they should be alienated from the true Faith? But any attempt of a Christian to proselyte—no matter how secretly—would bring down the wrath of the whole

nation on his head, and that wrath is not bridled by governmental reins. This shows what a strangle hold the clergy of Islam has on this autocrat in his own autocratic government.

So far then, it takes the brightest optimism or the most colossal faith to hope for the propagation of the Gospel in Afghanistan in the near future. However, for those who believe in the efficacy of indirect missionary work, hope is built—possibly—on more solid ground. A Danish lady, after visiting Kabul, wrote in regard to missionary work there: "I believe that Afghanistan is one of those countries where the seed to start with will not be the Word of God, but the children of God. It is the exemplified teaching that the wild yet childlike Afghan needs. It is the Gospel in human form that he will be able to understand, and it is Christian friends and fellow-workers the young civilisation-loving Afghan needs." The reason for believing that the Christian professional and philanthropist will soon find an opening lies in the fact that the Government of Afghanistan has not created a spirit of confidence toward those foreigners whom it employs, and of whose service it is in such sore need. These foreigners in government employ speak with dissatisfaction, and often disgust, about reckless projects, lack of money, corruption, superciliousness, and suspicion on the part of government officials, and that annoying intense hatred of "infidels" on the part of the common people. To continue under such harrassing conditions takes more than the ordinary man can give—be he ever so great an idealist and honest in his purpose. So the present method of modernization seems to be running amuck. And with the withdrawal of foreigners the reforms now being instituted will end in cataclysmic failure. Then it is possible—no, probable—that the Ameer will invite anyone willing to come. This will give the Christian who does all things for the glory of God a chance to be "the Gospel in human form, that they will be able to understand."

But we are not to suppose that this state of affairs has yet been reached. American missionaries have, through the American Consul in Karachi, been trying for more than a year to get medical work started in Kandahar. The correspondence drags on, while nothing comes of it. Some English nurses have answered advertisements from Kabul, stating their profession and religion; a courteous answer telling them the matter was under consideration ended it all. Excepting the one short medical visit from the Persian side to Herat, the Christian propagandist—whether missionary, philanthropical or professional—still stands outside knocking at the door.

That amusing story about the foreigner who, while dilating on the glories of Paris, London and Berlin to a group of Afghans, was suddenly interrupted by an old grey-beard with, "Say, have you ever seen Kabul?" clearly depicts the attitude of the passing generation toward the outside world. Fortunately this traditional isolation policy is passing with that generation. And herein lies a question and a hope: is there enough vitality in Christianity now to cause its propagation by merchants and travellers as in the early years of the Christian era? If so, opportunities are beginning to present themselves. First of all in transportation facilities. The motorcycle and automobile are no longer considered evil spirits manipulated by the demon possessed. Roads are being constructed between the larger cities, replacing camel tracks. The two hundred mile road between Peshawar and Kabul is at present metalled only as far as the border, making rapid transit difficult. Now a survey has been completed, and the road is to be metalled through to Kabul. As yet the two Governments have not been able to agree regarding the cost of the road and the labor to be employed, but undoubtedly these minor points will be settled to the satisfaction of all concerned. The people of Kabul used to cover that two hundred miles on foot; now those who can afford it ride in a lorry, and with the com-

pletion of the road walking will be unnecessary and travelling encouraged.

Then the Khyber Railroad, completed last year and operating now as far as Landi Khana (the border-town), may in all probability be carried on into Afghanistan as far as Decca, the first big town on the road to Kabul. Water lines are being laid, and material gathered for this purpose. Down in Charman, on the Baluchistan side, there is also enough material to push that railroad into Kandahar. It is obvious that the British are anxious, and not necessarily for philanthropic reasons, to open Afghanistan to commerce and travel. Can we hope for the same results in Afghanistan that followed the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry in 1854?

As the facilities of transportation are developing, so also the vehicle of thought—language—is in a period of renaissance. Translating from a Pushtu magazine we read: "Originally Pushtu was the secret language in the time of Solomon (on whom be peace) by which the leaders of the government would send secrets to each other, because there were many matters which had to be kept in their hearts. The secret transactions of the kingdom and the affairs of government were carried on in this language by officers and leaders. For a long time it was a proverb that a person who wrote Pushtu would always be poor. That is, the writing of Pushtu was so great a transgression, that though people transgressed in every other way, they were never guilty of this transgression. May God give Husan Khan Memnuda all seven Paradises because he it was who began to write Pushtu very thoughtfully and carefully."

After this amusing introduction the writer goes on to encourage the use of their mother tongue in reading and writing. This is the self-assumed task of most of the literates now. The Afghan Government, having established its political independence, is not striving to overcome the more entrenched difficulties in establishing its cultural freedom. Persian is to be replaced by Pushtu,

if possible even as court language. The Kandahar dialect has been chosen, a primary course has been prepared, and is to be taught in the compulsory educational scheme. Some of the newspapers now print a few pages of Pushtu also, with their main news in Persian. The authority of the written word is now reaching the masses, who before, not understanding the language of books, had to rely on the spoken word. Of course this change cannot be radical, but must be gradual, for there are whole provinces on the Persian side which know little of Pushtu and speak less in it.

Couple this with the efforts being made in the Frontier Province, and we see a mighty move is being made toward the exchange of thoughts between the masses inside of Afghanistan and those outside; such a move will invariably lead to the breaking down of the wild fanaticism and thoughtless arrogance of the Afghan proper, and there is little doubt that the Ameer is waiting for the day when the people at large will support him rather than the Islamic priesthood.

Will nationalism, in time, open the country, but make it as difficult a field as Turkey is today? Or will the Afghans follow in the footsteps of their near neighbors, the Indians? The attitude of Christian nations, of Christian people, and of missionary effort will play a large part in determining this.

Let us turn now to the Indo-Afghan border. The remarkable thing about these border peoples is that although they have the advantages of direct contact with the more civilized institutions of India, they invariably look back to Kabul for their lead in everything. In fact many of the Pathans domiciled in India proper (of which there are two large tribes and a few lesser ones) also look to Kabul rather than to Delhi. Not that they are rebellious, but they adhere slavishly to the Afghan ideals rather than to the Indian. The Ameer is to them the ideal Moslem ruler, the man who forms all things according to the sacred law of Islam. This is doubtless why the

reforms adopted in the rest of India have not been extended to the North-west Frontier Province. In a recent session of the Assembly, where the extension of the reforms to this province was discussed, the home member, Sir Alexander Muddiman, is reported to have said in his speech that he was not a Frontier officer, but he had visited the Frontier, and, being a man of peace, had observed with some horror the levity with which lethal weapons were produced there. Firearms lay about in most unexpected places. "It is a country where life and death are very close together," he went on to say, "and, whatever advances may be given in future to the Frontier Province, we in the heart of the country owe a debt of gratitude to the faithful band of officers, civil and military, British and Indian, who often lay down their lives, and, what may even be worse for some, spend their long lives in the protection of those marches of which they are such faithful wardens."

The relationship of the Frontier Province to the rest of India was stated clearly in a farewell speech which His Excellency, the retiring Viceroy, made at Peshawar recently. In this connection he said: "This province has an intimate connection with the Viceroy and the Governor-General. Its situation on the Northwest Frontier creates a special relation to the safety of India, for which he and his Government are primarily responsible. It is directly controlled in all its activities by the Central Government, of which he is the head. Its administration is the concern of a department of his Government of which the portfolio is retained in his own hands. For this reason I have kept in closest touch with all the affairs of this province, and its welfare and progress have been the subject of my continuous care and solicitude. Conditions affecting peace on its borders in tribal territory have constantly engaged my attention, and the policy to be pursued has been under the earnest consideration of my Government on numerous occasions. I am happy to say that the measures adopted have begun to bear fruit, and I am grati-

fied that at the moment relations with tribes across the administrative border are more satisfactory, and there is hope of more stable conditions in the future."

His Excellency the Viceroy had good grounds for the gratification expressed. In a recent official chart setting forth the comparative conditions of the border in the last six years, we find that whereas in 1919-20 there were 611 raids, in 1924-25 there were but 54; 198 killed as compared with 23; and the value of the loot in 1919-20 was 21 *lakhs* of rupees, whereas in 1924-25 it amounted only to R.15,557.

With the completion of the Khyber Railroad, a full council of Afridis was interviewed in Peshawar, and rewards were liberally distributed to them for the aid given in the construction of the railroad—possibly with a tinge of fear that the tribesmen, now without work, might resume their old style of getting a livelihood, that is systematic raiding. However, as yet there is no open reason for suspicion. As one missionary put it, who is in close touch with the Afridis: "I shouldn't say 'restless' was the word to apply to them; perhaps 'dissatisfied' or 'ambitious.'"

From all this it can be clearly understood that missionaries cannot go about as freely as in other parts of India, and preach here, there, or anywhere. However, the person who can go about his business in an unobtrusive way, not seeking popularity or fame, has unlimited opportunities among the Pathans; and reckoning with the improbability that the present-day developments will be abortive, will soon have an opportunity to influence the life of the Afghan proper, if he continues in that same way.

Compared, as a whole, with what conditions in Afghanistan were when missionary work was started, we have much to be thankful for; compared with what they will have to be before we can propagate the Gospel without hindrance, we have much to pray for.

Mardan, N.W.F.P. JENS CHRISTENSEN.

ROMAN CATHOLIC LITERATURE IN ARABIC ON ISLAM

(Publications of the Jesuit Press in Beirut)

This material falls naturally into three groups: (I) Historical and literary studies having a bearing on the sources of Islam. (II) Apologetic treatises and discussions of Eastern theologians after the Islamic conquest. (III) New apologetic and controversial literature.

I: In the first group Père Cheikho has done scholarly work of great value to students of Islamic history. His dissertation on Biblical and Christian allusions in pre-Islamic poetry[1] was a pathfinder for his exhaustive history in three fascicules of Christianity and Christian literature in Arabia before Islam,[2] and his work in six fascicules on pre-Islamic Christian Arabic poets.[3]

The general effect of these works is to emphasize the debt which Islam and Arabic culture owe to Christian ideas and practices.

II: In the second group the literature which I have examined consists of:

(A) A treatise by Theodore Abu-Qurra, bishop of Harran (740-820) on the existence of God and the true religion.[4]

(B) A letter written by a Patriarch of the Greek Melchite church to one of the Egyptian Ulama answering eighteen questions on Christian beliefs and their meaning.[5]

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[1] Les Récits Bibliques et les Allusions Chrétiennes dans la poésie pré-Islamique, (1904). (We give all the titles of the Arabic in French as on the various title pages).

[2] La Christianisme et la Littérature Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam—1ère partie—l'Historie du Christianisme dans l'Arabie Pré-Islamique (1912.) 2e partie (1er Fascicule) —La Litérature Chrétienne dans l'Arabie pré-Islamique (1919.) 3e partie (Dernier Fascicule) avec Tables (1923).

[3] Les poètes Arabes Chrétiens, avant l'Islam.

[4] Traité Inédit de Théodore Abou-Qurra (Abucara) évêque Melchite de Harran sur l'existence de Dieu et la vraie Religion (1912).

[5] Solutions de quelques difficultés proposées par un savant Musulman sur la Religion Chrétienne.

(C) Twenty articles by Arabic Christian writers of the 9th to the 13th centuries.[6]

(D) Three ancient treatises on Christian theology.[7]

The publication of these manuscripts is a great service to religious history. Heretofore the apology of Al-Kindy has been the only well known Arabic Christian book produced in the heyday of the Moslem empire, and it has almost been forgotten that other Arabic Christian apologists were busy during these centuries, some of them more prolific than Al-Kindy, and rivaling him in their interest to Christian missionaries today. It is to be hoped that other manuscripts of this kind which have not yet been published may be made available as rapidly as possible.

These writings are not of equal value. I shall confine myself to those which seem most distinctive and most worth studying.

Abu-Qurra is represented not only by Treatise A, but by two dissertations in collection C. One of these is on the truth of the Christian religion, and the other on the incarnation. Though Abu-Qurra was a prolific writer, almost nothing is known about him personally. Even the authenticity of his being a Melchite bishop of Harran is doubted by some. Nicholson gives credit to his "hair-splitting Byzantine theology" in influencing Moslem thought in the Moslem sects of the *Murjites* and *Mu'tazilites*. His writings are of little interest today except to the student of Oriental thought.

The letter of the Patriarch Maximus Mazloum (B) is the most recent of this group of writings. On a visit to Egypt in 1837 the Patriarch received a list of eighteen questions from a learned Moslem, whose name is not given. The questions and answers were mainly metaphysical, and their chief interest is in the clever answers to such questions as these:

"If the Son is equal to the Father, how can He be His son? (Question 6).

"Is not the equality of the three persons of the Trinity destroyed by

[6] Vingt Traités Théologiques d'auteurs Arabes Chrétiens (Ixe-xiiie Siècles) (1920).
[7] Trois Traités Anciens de Polémique et de Théologie Chrétiennes (1923).

giving them rank? (i.e. first person of the Trinity, second person, third person.) (Question 8).

"If one of the inseparable attributes of God is His omnipresence, how can He confine Himself within the limits of a human body? Does not the statement that 'He descended' indicate that He was limited in space?" (Question 11).

In explaining the Trinity, the Patriarch uses an analogy which is repeatedly used by other writers of this group: The Father is compared with the orb of the sun, the Son with its light, and the Holy Spirit with its heat. Each, he says, is distinct from the others, and yet none can be conceived as existing apart from the others; and all are included in the one word, "Sun."

Collection C comprises a variety of material of varying value. The first ten articles are by Boulus Ar-Rahib, Bishop of Sidon (thirteenth century.) The first has an interesting title, "Christian Doctrine," comprising "an exposition of the circumstances which obliged the Gentiles of diverse tongues and vast dominions voluntarily to embrace with the Jews the Christian Religion." It is in the form of a dialogue between the Gentiles and the Apostles, in which the latter are interrogated about their mission and its implications. The result is that the Gentiles are constrained to embrace with joy the Christian faith.

Of all the articles in this collection the most curious is a letter written by Boulus Ar-Rahib to a Moslem friend in Sidon. The bishop has returned from a visit to Rome and other parts of Europe, and his friend has asked what the cultured class of Europe think about Mohammed. So the bishop imagines himself questioning a group of Europeans, with this result:

(1) Evidence is adduced from the Koran itself that Mohammed and the Koran were sent only to the Arabs, and are of no significance to those who do not speak Arabic.

(2) The Koran exalts Christ and the *Injil,* but some parts of it have been altered by Moslems to weaken this testimony. For instance, the three mystic letters *alif,*

lam, mim, at the beginning of Surat *il-Baqara* are the first three letters of *al-Masih* (Christ)! The last three letters have been deleted by the Moslems, the sentence which follows ("There is no doubt about this book") refers to the Gospels and not to the Koran!

(3) The Koran even proves the Trinity and the divinity of Christ. The verse which seems to deny the crucifixion ("Yet they slew Him not, and they crucified Him not, but they had only His likeness," iv. 156) really means that the Son of God was not crucified, but only the man Jesus.

The other articles by Boulus Ar-Rahib are mainly theological and philosophical. These are followed by several doctrinal treatises by various authors, written largely to oppose schismatic Christian sects.

Collection D contains three articles, of which the first two are of great importance.

The first is a colloquy between the caliph al-Mahdi (775-785 A.D.) and Timotheus, who was for forty-three years Catholicus of the Nestorian Church. In the course of a discussion on the nature of God, the caliph began to upbraid the Catholicus: "It is unbecoming for a learned man like you to say that God the Exalted took a wife and begot of her a son."

The Catholicus answered with spirit, "Who is guilty of such a blasphemy against God, the mighty and sublime?"

"What do you say, then, about Christ? Who is He?

"Christ is the Word of God, who appeared in the flesh for the salvation of the world."

"But do you not believe that Christ is the Son of God?"

"Certainly we believe it, because we have so learned from Christ himself."

The discussion which followed is faithfully reported by the Catholicus in a letter to one of his friends. It is worthy of a careful study, as showing how an earnest Nestorian of the eighth century answered the usual Moslem arguments against Christianity. Timeotheus was

more resourceful than most Christian writers in finding analogies between natural phenomena and theological doctrines. He made much of the parallel between the Trinity and the sun, already mentioned. Another striking analogy which he uses is this:

"As scent and taste both proceed from the apple,—not scent from one part and taste from another, but the two emanating from the whole apple,—and the taste is not the scent not the scent the taste; so the Son is begotten of the Father and the Spirit proceeds from Him."

One of the best things is this colloquy is the rebuttal of the Caliph's statement that Mohammed was the promised paraclete; unfortunately it is too long to be reproduced here. The best spirit prevailed throughout the colloquy. The Caliph commended the Catholicus for his arguments, and expressed the wish that he would only accept Mohammed among the prophets, and hoped they might discuss the same subject at another sitting.

Of all the literature of this type the most interesting and valuable is "The Colloquies of Elia, Bishop of Nisibin."[8] Elia, known variously as Ibn Shina, Barshinai, and Ibn Sinni, was a prolific writer in both Arabic and Syriac in the first half of the eleventh century. In a letter to his brother, a physician, he narrates in detail seven colloquies which he had with the Wazir Abu 'l-Kasam. In his prefatory note and in numerous footnotes the editor, Père Cheikho, calls attention to certain heretical ideas expressed by the bishop, due to his Nestorian connection.

The colloquies occurred during a visit of the *Wazir* to Nisibin. The bishop called to pay his respects, and was detained by the *Wazir,* who said he had been looking forward for a long time to this visit. On one of his journeys he had been taken seriously ill. When be became so weak that he could travel no further, he took refuge in a monastery which happened to be on his road. He was at the point of death, but the monks cared for him, and by a miracle, he believed, his health was restored. This experience had caused him to doubt the charge of

[8] Majālis Eliya Matrān Nisibīn.

his Moslem friends that Christians are infidels and polytheists. On the other hand there were some things which seemed to give a basis to this charge, and he wanted to talk the matter over.

The bishop replied that if this request was prompted by a fondness for controversy he begged to be excused, but if the *Wazir* had a sincere desire to learn more about the Christian faith, he was willing to help.

The *Wazir* protested his sincerity, and the bishop began a carefully stated exposition of the Christian idea of God. In the first colloquy there is much close reasoning, sometimes abstract, but the logical development of the argument is interesting and compelling. If the interview is correctly reported, one is astonished by the remarkable familiarity of the bishop with the Koran, and of the *Wazir* with the Nicene Creed. Each makes verbatim quotations, the correctness of which is attested by the other.

Other points are taken up in the succeeding colloquies. The bishop reveals a fairness and a conciliatory spirit not shown by some other Christian apologists. He admits that many Christians have laid themselves open to criticism by not understanding their own religion. The Koran, he says, sometimes calls Christians polytheists and sometimes monotheists and it is correct in both; but Christianity should not be judged by the Marcionites and the Desanians (followers of Bardesanes) and the Manichæans, and the Tritheists. He shows his skill as a debater when the *Wazir* states that a certain verse from the Koran has been abrogated, by replying that abrogation can hardly be applied to statements of fact.

The *Wazir* finally concedes that Christians are sincere believers in the unity of God, and that all that divides them is the question of the apostolic office of Mohammed. The bishop agrees that Christians and Moslems have more points of agreement than of disagreement, and there is more to bind them together into brotherly fellowship than in any other two religions.

The *Wazir* then requests the bishop for the prayers of the monks in all the monasteries under his direction.

The bishop replies: "The monks do not pray on behalf of anyone for long life or wealth or posterity, but only for such things as it is good for them to have.....If it is for these things that you wish our prayers, I am willing to give instructions to the monks."

The *Wazir* replies that he is fond of wealth and power and not inclined to asceticism; yet he wishes them to pray for what is good for him, even if that good is the opposite of what he has been seeking. And so in all the monasteries under the bishop's care prayers were offered up for the Moslem *Wazir*.

These colloquies are remarkable for the spirit of goodwill and friendship shown by both sides.

III: Turning now to the third group of material—new apologetic and controversial literature of use to workers among Moslems—we find only two publications. The first is a critical study of the authenticity of the Gospels, intended especially to refute the charge that the New Testament has been altered or corrupted.[9] While this work is not designed especially for Moslem readers, it contains valuable material for those who doubt the historicity of the gospel narratives, especially those who already know something of the attack on the gospel story by such writers as Renan and Strauss—whose views are given and refuted. It does not touch those subjects on which Protestants and Catholics differ.

More directly for Moslem consumption is the second of those two works, an argument for the divinity of Christ.[10] This pamphlet is an answer to a bitter attack on Christianity by a writer in the *Manar* (a Moslem review published in Cairo) and a number of other anti-Christian publications which are mentioned in the preface. Père Cheikho undertakes not to answer all

[9] Les Saints Evangiles—Etude critique—Authenticité, Integrité, Veracité. Par le P. A. Rabbath, S. J. 1912.

[10] La divinité de Jésus-Christ, Réponse à la Revue Musulmane al-Manâr, par le p. Louis Cheikho, S. J. Deuzième Edition, 1914.

points mentioned by these writers, but to discuss the most important, the Divinity of Christ.

The author takes for granted the authenticity of the Bible, which he considers proved by other publications, especially the one mentioned above. He also avoids any discussion of the Trinity and the doctrines of the Church. His proofs of the divinity of Christ are based largely on the miraculous and the unusual; but there is a good section on Christ's humility, on his life as a perfect example of what man's life ought to be. Full use is also made of the spiritual and ethical quality of Jesus' teaching.

The two last chapters show the divinity of Christ in His death and resurrection. In his delineation of the personality of Jesus, Père Cheikho writes with a powerful pen:

"Such is the example which the disciples imitated when they traversed the world and encountered every danger in proclaiming His cause, such is the example uplifted before the eyes of millions of ascetics in the wastes and wildernesses, who have abandoned wealth and pleasure to live a heavenly life in their fleshly bodies; such is the example which stayed the martyrs as they gave to Christ the testimony of blood in every corner of the earth, approaching death as if they were approaching the most delicious of feasts and the most enticing pleasures; such is the example which brought down kings from their thrones to give themselves to acts of piety; such is the example which inspires an untold multitude of monks and nuns to lose themselves in relieving human sorrows, treating such diseases as tuberculosis and leprosy and insanity, helping the infirm, caring for foundlings, bringing up orphans, and educating the rising generation."

Beirut, Syria. W. G. GREENSLADE.

A MOHAMMEDAN VIEW OF ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY.

[The following article by an Indian Moslem is extremely interesting as indicating the point of view of a Mohammedan who accepts the historical investigations of European scholars, and even admits that the Koran contains stories which are "anything but correctly recounted." —EDITOR.]

Closely related, as they are, Islam and Christianity should be carefully studied, not to accentuate differences, but to emphasise the points on which they agree; for on their mutual goodwill in large measure depends the future of Asia, if not of the whole world. On the whole happy and harmonious until about 1000 A. D., their relations were then affected by mutual suspicion; the seeds were then sown of a hostility which has not yet quite ceased to bear poisonous fruit. We will not pause to inquire here into the nature of those suspicions, which were partly political, partly religious. The spirit of hostility which marked the writings of early European scholars curiously continued in all its fanatical fervour till 1829, the date of the appearance of "Mahometanism Unveiled," by Charles Foster.

But things are changing today, and, happily, for the better. Mohammed is no longer deemed an impostor, but a reformer of world-wide importance; Islam is no longer regarded merely as a religion propagated at the point of the sword; Islamic culture is no longer considered a curse, but a stage in human progress for a great portion of the human race. This change is very gratifying, welcome, and reassuring. And, indeed, when we consider the many similarities subsisting between true Islam and true Christianity, we fail to see (now that "Arabism" is of the past) why there should be any hostility, or even estrangement, between the two cults.

For what else is Islam but a revised edition of Judaism

and Christianity? Mohammed never claimed originality. He insisted, he emphasised, in season and out, that his mission was but to rid Judaism and Christianity of what he regarded as life-destroying accretions—to proclaim their pristine purity—to enthrone in the hearts of men the *din* of Abraham, in its undimmed excellence! Did it not set itself against paganism, with its gross fetishism, hideous morality, narrow outlook, cruelty, barbarism, the cult of the family and the tribe? Eclectic was Mohammed's religion. He took from all, and freely—from Judaism, Christianity, Farsiism.

It was not first-hand information that Mohammed had, either of Judaism or of Christianity. The stories told by him are anything but correctly recounted. They abundantly prove that they were drawn from traditions and hearsay and little talks with men at home and abroad. The Koran teems with such stories; and Moslem religious institutions, too, are full of such extraneous influences. A mere glance will suffice. In Islam, by far the most important biblical character is Abraham. Mohammed makes him the builder of the Kaaba, and therefore the founder of Mecca, and sees in him his predecessor and model. As regards New Testament characters, Mohammed seems to have had some acquaintance with the history of John the Baptist, and the life of Jesus. John, we are told, is a prophet, and like the prophets, receives a book, i. e., Revelation. Zachariah, his father, is also once mentioned in the list of prophets. Elsewhere he comes in incidentally in connection with the birth of his son. Zachariah's prayer and his answer are related at some length, following, in the main, the narrative of Luke. As for Jesus, he is always mentioned in connection with Mary, in fact, there is a tendency to exalt Mary as the chief character. Nor is this altogether surprising, for in Arabia the Collyridians invested her with the name and honours of a goddess. But, quite in keeping with his views regarding Mary, is Mohammed's idea of the Trinity. It is made up, according to him, of Father, Son and Mary. No less

in contrast with the Christian record is his version of the Crucifixion and the Redemption through the cross. Mohammed rejects them both. He denies the crucifixion of the Christ, and teaches that Judas was substituted for him and nailed to the cross, while the Christ himself ascended direct to heaven.

But, whatever the divergences, Islam and Christianity are akin in their veneration for Jesus. Mohammed acknowledges him as a prophet, and the Moslems never mention his name without the formula "Peace be on him!" Indian *Shias* believe in the reappearance of Christ simultaneously with the last of their twelve *Imams,* and look forward to the amalgamation of the two creeds.

And what is the attitude which the Koran takes up? "Dispute not against those who have received the Scriptures, that is, Jews and Christians, except with gentleness; but say unto them, 'We believe in the revelation which hath been sent down to us, and also in that which hath been sent down to you; and our God and your God is one.' " And again in another place: "Verily the Believers, and those who are Jews, those who are Christians and Sabeans, whoever believeth in God, and the last day, and doeth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord, there shall come no fear upon them, neither shall they be grieved." And a still more striking passage: "Unto every one have we given a law and a way. Now, if God had pleased, He would surely have made you one people; but He hath made you differ, that He might try you in that which He hath given to each; therefore strive to excel each other in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and He will tell you that concerning which you have disagreed." Such is the spirit of the Koran—the Bible of Islam!

If the influence of Christianity is profound, no less profound too is the influence of Judaism and Farsiism and Hellenism on Islam. Nowhere was the unity of God so emphatically insisted upon, at the time of the Prophet, as in Judaism, and it is therefore impossible to hold that

this fundamental doctrine of Islam came from any other source. Equally striking are other importations from Judaism, but it would take us far afield to deal with them all. Jewish ideas penetrated into Islam in two ways: directly, and through the channel of Christianity. The spirit of Judaism is present, says Becker, either directly or working through Christianity, as an influence, wherever Islam accommodated itself to the new intellectual and spiritual life it had encountered.

But traces of Greek and Persian culture too are discernible in the infant Islam. Whence come they? Through the Semitic dialect known as Aramaic, of course. The Greek and Persian cultures were transmitted to the Arabs through this medium even before the rise of Islam, and the history of Islam shows how potent was this influence about this time.

Islam freely accepted light from many quarters. It modelled its faith on what had gone before it. We find in Islam precisely the same framework as in Judaism and Christianity: prayer, purification, solemn festivals, scriptures, and prophets. The idea of the Sabbath was accepted in principle, but, instead of Sunday, Friday was chosen. Here palpable is the Farsi influence, which robs the Sabbath of its character as a day of rest. From Farsiism Islam has taken both directly and indirectly. A number of obviously Farsi ideas have passed into Islam through the channel of Jewish books, notably the Talmud. The fast of Ramadhan seems to be an imitation of the Christian Lent; while prostration is apparently an importation from a Judaeo-Christian sect. *Sujud* (prostration) was never in vogue among the Arabs.

The process of borrowing continued after the death of the Prophet, and, indeed, on a much grander scale. This was only to be expected. Persia, Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor became provinces of the Moslem Empire, with the result that the entire culture of the subject-races lay before the Moslems to absorb and make their own. In Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Persian garbs we encounter a

definite intellectual movement, which perhaps we may best designate Christo-Hellenism. Decisive, alike for Islam and Hellenism, was the incorporation of this culture into the youthful Arab Empire. The Hellenistic culture was revived, reanimated by changed circumstances, by contact with Arabism, by an intellectual clash with a new religion—akin in thought and tendencies. Islam and Arabism, on the other hand, after a century of wrestling and combat, were taken captive by the superior culture of the conquered races. To Hellenism, Arabism furnished its language, and supplied opportunities for wide diffusion; whereas Hellenism repaid its debt to Islam with its wealth of science and art. The clash of mind with mind—the impact of a superior foreign culture—the resulting scepticism and free-thinking, and, consequent upon it, a broad and broadening spirit of toleration—these led to a peaceful exchange of ideas between Moslems and Christians, to the advantage of both.

At Damascus, through one portal, both Moslems and Christians passed to perform their devotions. Christians had not merely free entry at the court of the Caliph, but were entrusted with the most important posts of confidence. Sergius, the father of John of Damascus, enjoyed at the court of Abdul Malik the place of first councillor, and after his death his son was given the same position. A Christian—Al-akhtal—was even the official court-poet of the Omayyads. So favorable, indeed, was the position of the Christians, that they were even allowed to enter the mosques unmolested, and go about in public adorned with the golden cross. The toleration accorded to the Christians by the Caliphs must, of necessity, have encouraged frequent intercourse with Moslems.

By associating with Greek theologians, disciplined in the art of dialectics, the Arabs first learnt philosophical reasoning, which later on they prized so highly. It was from the Greeks again that they received their first lesson in dogmatic subtleties—an art in which Byzantine scholarship revelled. Foremost is the inquiry into the essence

and attributes of God, which fills the first place in the writings both of the Greek Fathers and of the oldest Arab theologians. The oldest Moslem theologians, just as much as the Fathers of the Greek Church, busy themselves with discussions about fate and free-will. In opposition to the Western Church, the Fathers of the Greek Church declare themselves against the "eternity of the punishment of hell," and the very same view was taken by the oldest theological school of Islam, known as the Murjiah. Nor is the Christian idea of penance absent in Islamism. The more we carefully examine this subject, the more we find the pervading influence of Christianity on Islam. Its founder freely made use of Christianity, and the example set by him was followed by his votaries.

Amazing is the influence which the didactic utterances to be met with in the Gospels exercised on the development of Moslem precepts as unfolded in the literature connected with the *Hadīth* (the body of traditions relating to Mohammed). Among those whom God will protect with His shadow on the day of judgment is mentioned "The man who does good but keeps it a secret, so that his left hand knows not what his right hand has done." We also come across, in the Moslem tradition, a paraphrase of the saying "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's." The passages in the New Testament relating to the beatitude of the poor and their advantage over the rich, and the obstacles of the latter to entering the kingdom of heaven, an idea quite opposed to the Arab conception of life, find continual echo in the speeches of Mohammed and those of the oldest Moslem theologians. "I stood (said the Prophet) at the gate of paradise, and observed that the majority of those who found admission there were poor; while the people of wealth were kept away from it."

Handhalah-al-Abshami relates: "Never a company meets, and mentions the name of God, but a voice from heaven calls out to it: 'Rise, for I have forgiven you and converted your evil into good deeds.'" We cannot fail to

notice the influence of Matthew ix: 2-7 on this saying. Similarly the glorification of the "poor in spirit" (Matthem v: 3) is found in the Moslem saying "the simple (the innocent) will form the largest portion of the inhabitants of paradise." In close relation to Matthew x: 16 stands the saying reported by the companions of the Prophet, "Be innocent like doves." Of obvious and unmistakably biblical origin is the use which is made in the *Hadīth* of the Paternoster. The Prophet is reported by Abu Darda the first *Kadi* of Damascus, to have said: "If anybody suffers, or if anyone's brother suffers, let him say 'Our Lord God who art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom is in Heaven and on Earth; just as thy mercy reigns in Heaven, so show thy mercy on Earth; forgive us our faults and our sins. Thou art the God of the virtuous. Send down (a portion) of thy mercy and thy healing power on this pain, so that it may be healed.' "

Not only the ideas, but even instances of New Testament phraseology, are to be found in the religious language of the Moslems. Very early did the expression occurring in Matthew vii: 5, "mote and beam," pass into Moslem literature. Even Matthew v: 13 passed in an apocryphal tradition as a saying of the Prophet about his companions: "My companions bear the same relation to my community as salt does to food, for without salt food is no good." Similarly, Matthew vii: 6 is echoed in the saying, "He who wastes learning upon people who are unworthy of it resembles one who casts pearls before swine."

Though Islam resisted the creation of a priesthood, yet to Christian influence we must ascribe the gradual growth and establishment of a sacerdotal class in Islam—the exponents of moral principles and legal theories. In course of time they assumed an importance not unlike the scribes under Judaism or the clergy in the Christian Church. They professed themselves the custodians of religion and censors of thought. The *Sunna*—obedience—the imitation of Mohammed—the desire to emulate him in the

smallest details of life, reproduces in Islam the Christian practice of gaining eternal life by following Christ. Nor does the parallel break down in the sphere of politics. According to an Arab proverb: religion and kingship are twin-born. This feature of the Islamic state, Ibn Khaldun, the great Arab historian, emphasises by saying that the spiritual and temporal power, here, are one and indivisible. The idea of a divine polity is thus an idea at once common to Islam and Christianity. Both of these religions disapproved of a state independent of religion, both sought to effect the union of the two, with enormous differences.

We must now pass on to the influence of Islam upon Christendom. Very early, says Haines, did Spain "gain a reputation for introducing innovations into the doctrines and practices of the true faith, and even of priding itself on its ingenuity in this way, 'Let us, now take the several heresies which bear traces of Islam.' " During the eighth century a heresy is said to have arisen in Septimania (Gothic Gaul) which denied the need of confession to a priest, on the ground that men ought to confess to God alone. This heresy is clearly traceable to Islamic ideas, which the Christians of Septimania could not have escaped. Islam admits no priest, and hence no confession, save to God. But this heresy is small and negligible compared to the view of the Trinity held by Migetus (*circa* 750), who denied the divinity of the Word—thereby making an approach to Islam. But both these are cast into the shade by the adoptionist heresy, in which the influence of Islam is not only obvious but is even acknowledged by eminent writers on church history. Mariana, the Spanish historian, and Baronius, the apologist of the Roman Church, held that the object of the new heresiarchs was "by lowering the character of Christ, to pave the way for a union between Christians and Mohammedans." Nor can the Iconoclastic movement, fraught as it was with ominous consequences to the Byzantine Empire, be said to have been free from Islamic influences. To mention

but one fact—Claudius, the Bishop of Turin (appointed in 828), who set to work to deface, burn or destroy all images and crosses in his bishopric, was born and bred in Moslem Spain. This Claudius—so his opponents tell us—saw much in Islam and the Moslems to appreciate and admire. Their verdict is: "The Jews praised him and called him the wisest among the Christians, and he, on his part, highly commended them and the Saracens."

Islam is said by some to be hidebound, narrow, averse from advancing with the times. No charge could be less in accord with the judgment of history. It is not only now that Islam has been accommodating itself to the needs of the times. There has been age-long war between the party of acceleration and the reactionaries—the party calling for the brake. But the liberal exponents—throughout Islamic history—have invariably won the day! Islam as understood and interpreted by its liberal exponents, has never stood in the way of necessary changes to meet changed conditions. In the course of centuries, like other religions, Islam has yielded to the pressure of progressive ideas. But, in effecting these changes, Islam adopted a method which was exclusively its own.

The old Arabs had a body of inherited views and practices which were the universally accepted standard of good or evil. Conformity to them was a duty; deviation from them a crime. We can imagine what hold such a heritage had on the Arab mind by the incontestable fact that the main ground of opposition to the Prophet's teachings was that he defied inherited views and challenged established practices. His teachings were not condemned on their merits. With the triumph of Islam the old *Sunna* of the Arabs was changed for the new *Sunna* of the conquering faith. This new *Sunna*—though widely differing from its predecessor—was like it in one respect—its universally binding force. The ideals and usages of the Prophet and his companions henceforward became the standard of excellence, the rule of conduct, the kindly light of guidance. The result was that all views and practices not strictly in

accordance with the *Sunna* were regarded as *Bida'*—innovation—and, as such, were to be ruled out by the faithful. This rigid principle—so fatal to progress—could not long endure unbroken; and, as a matter of fact, it was broken in upon at an early date.

After the victories of Islam and the establishment of the Moslem Empire, new needs arose, new problems called for solution, fresh administrative measures forced themselves upon the attention of the conquerors. All had to be faced and met. The *Sunna,* as it lay to hand, forged amid simple conditions of life, could not, in the nature of things, deal with the complex situation that had now arisen. The difficulty was solved in a practical way. Moslem jurists and statesmen—always fertile in resources to meet the exigencies of the times—put forward the theory that, in certain circumstances, *Bida'* was permissible. This opened the door for reform—this led to the path of progress. The rigidity of orthodoxy could always be softened, or even, as was actually the case, circumvented, by this all-powerful theory, sanctioning innovation in certain circumstances. The channel through which it was effected was *Ijma'*—consensus of opinion. It was laid down that long-standing usage legalised a practice, though not in conformity with, nay, even in opposition to, the practices of an earlier age. To such a practice *Ijma'* gave a prescriptive title, an authority, a binding force, which could not be assailed or called in question.

The necessity for conforming to altered conditions became clearer and clearer and more and more insistent as the years went by, until popular opinion accepted the view that departures from *Sunna*—to suit the needs of the times—were in no way inconsistent with Islam. This was a long step forward. In one of the four orthodox sects, the one linked with the name of Malik Ibn Anas, the *Maslaha, utilitas publica,* or the common interest, was recognised as the normal point of view in the application of law. It was permitted to deviate from the normal law if it could be shown that the interest of the community

demanded a different decision from that given in the law, corresponding to the principle of *corrigere jus propter utilitatem publicam* in Roman Law. This liberty, to be sure, is restricted to each case as it arises, and does not carry with it a definite setting aside of the law. But the principle involved is, in itself, an indication of willingness to make concessions within the law.

But the modern world has witnessed, and is actually witnessing today, most amazing developments in Islam. Western influences have powerfully leavened Moslem thought—just as Christian thought influenced Islam at its birth and during its adolescence. This for two reasons: Western influences do not, in any way, affect the central unity of Moslem thought; and, again, in Islam there is no opposing force, such as an œcumenical council, to combat or thwart such influences. The unity of Moslem thought consists in the belief that there is one God, and that Mohammed is His apostle. The rest does not count, or counts very little. Coupled with this is the absence of any recognised ecclesiastical authority, to call a halt to the advance of modernism, or to punish departures from the path of strict orthodoxy. The cries of "Heresy"—not infrequently heard—soon die away. The heretic of one age is the apostle of the next. Was not Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh such a one? Western civilization has shaken Moslems out of their slumber. Everywhere—in India, in Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey—wheresoever we turn, Moslems are pulsing with new life, viewing problems from the modern standpoint, forging fresh rules of religious interpretation, reconciling the needs of the hour with their allegiance to the past, justifying modern institutions by appeals to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet, striving to close the breach between the two great sects which divide the Islamic world.

Tremendous changes are being introduced into Islam. Basing themselves on an independent interpretation of the Koran, eminent Moslem scholars are making strenuous efforts to liberate Islam from the fetters of authority,

from the dead hand of past ages. Concession to the demands of the times being admitted, these concessions are justified by appeals to the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet. Whether the appeal be real or illusory, the fact of the appeal is one more instance of the utility of legal fiction in the history of human development.

By a special Fatwa, the Egyptian *Mufti,* Shaikh Mohammed Abduh (d. 1905), sanctioned the establishment of savings banks and the distribution of dividends; and by a similar process, his colleagues in Constantinople enabled the Ottoman Government to issue interest-bearing state bonds. Of a piece with these is the legalization of insurance policies, which the ancient Moslem law, if interpreted strictly, does not appear to permit.

Like the demands for the futherance of cultural and economic progress, those for modern forms of government are similarly supported through the Koran and the traditions. In politics, too, the justification for parliamentary government is found in the Koran, and the Shi'ite mullahs base the claims of the revolutionists on the doctrine of the hidden Imam. But yet wider movements are the flower and fruit of Western culture in Eastern lands.

Look at the Babi movement in Persia! What else is that but a war-cry against the petrified theology and outworn legal conceptions of the mullahs? What else but an attack upon their hypocrisy and worldliness? What else but an attempt to establish a more equitable social order? The founder of Babiism combines Pythagorean subtleties with a distinctly modern point of view.

Bahaism—an offshoot of Babiism—takes us a step further on the path of liberalism. "While Bab, at bottom," says Goldziher, "was only a reformer of Islam, Baha advanced to the larger conception of a world-religion which was to unite all mankind in a religious brotherhood. As, in his political teachings, he professes cosmopolitanism—emphasising that there is no preference to be given to him who loves his country, over him who

loves humanity—his religion in this matter was stripped of all narrow sectarianism."

Nor is India behindhand. Here, too, Mirza Gholam Ahmad of Qadian, has inaugurated a religious movement of tremendous force and potency. He condemns fanaticism, advocates peace and tolerance; seeks to create an atmosphere favorable to culture; and stresses the necessity of the ethical virtues for Moslems. It were idle to deny the great gifts made to the East by Christendom. As a civilization, it has permeated Eastern life through and through in all its phases and aspects—social, intellectual, economic, religious. It has taught the spirit of compromise, and the necessity for concession to modern thought. It has weakened the force of merely inherited ideas and customs. It has slackened the hold of unreasoning orthodoxy, and driven home the need for a critical differentiation between fundamental principles and mere fleeting accretions. It has helped the faithful to realize that their paradise can be found as assuredly on this earth as it is said to await them in the life beyond the grave.

True Islam and true Christianity are akin; the mission of each is fundamentally identical. Let, then, Islam and Christianity be henceforward faithful allies in the liberation of humanity.

Calcutta, India S. KHUDA BUKHSH

WHAT THE SHIAHS TEACH THEIR CHILDREN*

Book I

On the Fundamentals of Faith and Practice

The fundamentals of Faith and Practice. The fundamentals of Moslem faith are those things to which every Moslem subscribes, and without which he is not a Moslem. They are three in number: (1) Unity, (2) Prophecy, (3) Resurrection.

The fundamentals of practice are those things by virtue of which a Moslem is known as a Shi'ite. They are two in number: (1) Justice, (2) Belief in the Imams.

Thus it is evident that the fundamentals of faith and practice are five in number: (1) Unity, (2) Justice, (3) Prophecy, (4) Belief in the Imams, (5) Resurrection.

Proof of a Creator. This world has a creator, whom we call God, since it is evident that whatever is in the world does not of itself have existence, else it would not be subject to change; hence our minds decree that there is a creator who has created the world out of nothing.

By *Unity* we mean that God is one, and that there is no equal or like to Him.

The Positive Attributes. The most important positive attributes of God are eight in number: (1) God is wise, he knows; (2) He is powerful, able; (3) He is living; (4) He is desirous, purposeful; (5) He comprehends, understands; (6) He is from the beginning unto everlasting, he always has been and always will be;

* This is a translation of a Collection of Laws, for the third and fourth classes of primary schools in accordance with the program of 1338 A.H. and in compliance with instructions of the illustrious Ministry of Education and Charitable Bequests, compiled by the honorable and gracious Sir Aqa Sheikh Mohammad Ali Teherani, Fourth Edition. Copyrighted by the Courtesy Book Shop, Teheran.

(7) He speaks, but not with a tongue; (8) He is sincere and speaks the truth.

"Powerful, knowing and living is He, purposeful and understanding,
Also ancient and everlasting is the One, speaking and sincere."

The Negative Attributes. The most important negative attributes are seven in number: (1) God is not composite; (2) He is not of physical form; (3) He is invisible; (4) He does not occupy or dwell in any physical body; (5) He has no companion; (6) His attributes are not opposed to his nature; (7) He is not dependent upon others.

"He is not composite, not flesh; invisible and without location,
Without companion or helper, know thy Creator to be independent."

Prophecy. It is necessary, in order to guide mankind, that God send messengers to tell the people what is right and what is wrong, and these messengers should also work miracles. Our prophet, Mohammed, son of Abdullah, may God be propitious to him and to his family, came from God to direct mankind and to invite them to follow the divine law of Islam, and he was more excellent and higher and better than any of the prophets, the first of whom was Adam; and after him there shall be no other prophet, and his religion is everlasting and abrogates all other religions.

Belief in Imams, i.e., it is necessary that every messenger have a successor to guard and keep the laws of that prophet and to teach them to the people. There are twelve successors to the prophet: (1) Ali ibn Abi Talib, (2) Imam Hassan Mojtaba, (3) Imam Hosein, (4) Imam Zein ul Abidin, (5) Imam Mohammad Baqir, (6) Imam Ja'far Sadiq, (7) Imam Musa Kazim, (8) Imam Reza, (9) Imam Mohammad Taqi, (10) Imam Ali en Naqi, (11) Imam Hasan Asgari, (12) Imam Mohammad Mehdi, Lord of the Age, may God hasten his return, who is now living, and we receive grace through him although he is absent, and after his return he will fill the earth with righteousness; and these

twelve together with the Prophet and Fatimah are considered sinless.

Specific Attributes of Prophets and Imams. There are two important specific attributes of prophets and imams; (1) sinlessness, i.e., they are guilty of no sin or transgression; (2) they immediately understand whatever they may wish to know.

Judgment, i.e., all mankind after death will again be raised to life and receive recompense for their deeds, both good and bad.

Book II

The Branches of Religion

The Branches of Religion are of four kinds: (1) worship, (2) agreements or obligations; (3) announcements; (4) commands.

Worship is an act, like prayer, which is not acceptable without the purpose of communion.

Agreements or obligations are acts in which two parties are involved, such as buying and selling, and marriage.

Announcement is an act which depends only on the word of one party such as divorce.

Commands, i.e., laws or statutes which are not dependent on the word of an individual, such as inheritance and compensation for murder.

Kinds of Worship. There are eight kinds of worship: (1) purification; (2) prayer; (3) fasting; (4) tithing; (5) pilgrimage; (6) holy war; (7) the fifth; (8) advocating what is right and discouraging evil.

The laws of religious obligations are of five kinds: obligatory, forbidden, desirable, undesirable, neutral.

Obligatory is that which is incumbent, like prayer.

Forbidden is that which must not be done by anyone, as taking what is not yours without just legal compensation.

Desirable, or meritorious, is that which is in itself good, as giving the call to prayer.

Undesirable is that which it is better not to do, as money changing or banking.

Neutral, is that in which the good and the bad are equally balanced, as sitting or standing.

Chapter I

Purification.

Water is of two kinds: with condition and without condition. Water without condition is that about which there is no question: while water with condition is the opposite, as soup (water of meat) or rose water.

Kinds of unconditioned water. These are five: water to the amount of *'Kor',* running water, rain water, well water, water in small amounts. The first four kinds do not become unclean (ceremonially), unless by contact with uncleanness either the taste or color becomes changed. Water in small amounts becomes unclean by contact with uncleanness and remains unclean.

The weight and measure of 'Kor'. The weight of a *Kor* of water is 128 *mans* Tabriz (c. 820 lbs.), and the cubical content is an amount equivalent to 42⅞ cubic-spans, i.e., 3½ spans cube.

Means of Purification. These are of twelve kinds. (1) Water purifies everything that has become impure, after the removal of the impure agent. (2) Earth purifies the bottoms of the feet and shoes and the bottom of a cane, when the impure agent has been removed. (3) The sun purifies earth, matting, carpets and everything that cannot be moved. (4) Islam purifies unbelievers from the impurity of their unbelief. (5) Fire cleanses and purifies whatever it converts into ashes. (6) A change of state purifies, as blood being changed into milk. (7) A change of place purifies, as human blood passing into the stomach of a fly. (8) Changing from one thing into another, so that the name is changed, as wine becoming vinegar. (9) Removal of the impure agent, as when some part of a clean animal, or the inside of the mouth or nose of man, become pure by the removal of the impure agent.

(10) Touching for cleansing, i.e., by the use of three clean stones or clods of earth, or the like, the anus may be cleansed, provided the impurity has not extended beyond its proper area or no other impurity entered there. (11) Diminution purifies, e.g., boiling down grape juice until only one third of the original amount remains. (12) Nature purifies, as the one who boils down grape juice, and the implements used in the process become purified in consequence of the grape juice becoming purified.

Impurities. These are of eleven kinds: (1 and 2), the urine and offal of warm blooded animals whose flesh is forbidden for food; (3 and 4) the dog and the wild boar; (5, 6 and 7), blood, semen, the dead bodies of warm blooded animals; (8) unbelievers; (9 and 10) everything that causes intoxication, as wine and beer; (11) Grape juice before two-thirds of it has been boiled down.

Duties of the Privy. [This paragraph is omitted as it is not fit for publication.—ED.]

Purification is of three kinds, minor, major and with earth; and the performance of these is required in three instances, required prayer, apart from prayer for the dead, circumambulation of the Kaaba, and third, before touching the Koran, or repeating the name of God, the prophet or an imam.

Things that make void the Minor Ablution are six in number, (1) passing of wind, offal or urine; (2) sleep; (3) intoxication; (4) fainting; (5) slight issue of blood; (6) anything requiring the greater ablution.

Requisites for the Minor Ablution are twelve in number: (1) ceremonially pure water; (2) the water must not be stolen; (3) statement of purpose as follows, "I make my minor ablution for prayer for approach to God"; (4) persistence in the purpose to the end of the ablution; (5) washing the face from the edge of the hair to the chin the length of the face in such a manner that the whole face will be passed over between the thumb and middle finger; (6) washing the right hand from the elbow to the

finger tips; (7) washing the left hand in the same manner; (8) touching the head and hair with the moisture of the hand; (9) touching the right foot from the toes to the ankle with the moist hand: (10) repeating the same on the left foot; (11) order, i.e., not to depart from the order mentioned; (12) continuity, i.e., carrying out all the requirements without interruption.

Things necessitating the Great Ablution are six in number; (1) loss of semen, (2) menstruation; (3) childbirth; (4) issue of blood, medium or great; (5) touching a corpse; (6) death.

Ablution for touching a corpse is required if any part of the body of a person touches any part of a corpse that has become cold and has not yet been washed, providing that two parts of the living person shall come in contact, and that the dead person be not a martyr.

Kinds of Greater Ablution and their manner. There are two kinds, regular and submerging. The regular ablution consists in, having cleansed the body, a statement of purpose is made as follows: "I fulfill the regular greater ablution in approach to God," and then the head and neck, and first the right half and then the left half of the body are washed.

The submersion ablution consists in, having washed the body and expressed the purpose, the entire body is plunged under the water so as to be entirely under water at one time.

Laws concerning the dead include five things: approaching death, ablution, grave-clothes, burial, prayer.

At the approach of death the person is to be placed on his back with his feet toward Mecca.

Every Mussulman shall, after death, be given three ablutions, with *sidr* water,* with camphor water, and with clear water, after which the seven spots which touch the ground in prayer shall be rubbed with camphor.

After the ablution, the corpse shall be clad in a towel

* Leaves of the lotus tree.

about the waist, a shirt, and a winding sheet from head to foot.

The prayer for the dead is required in the case of all Moslems over six years of age. Ceremonial cleanness, the *roku'* and prostrations are not required. It is said after the corpse has been washed and dressed in grave clothes, the person saying the prayers stands facing Mecca in such a manner that the head of the corpse is at his right. Five *takbirs* and four *zikrs* are said as follows: "God is great. I witness that there is no God but God, He is one and has no partner, and I witness that Mohammed is His servant and His prophet. God is great. Oh God, be propitious to Mohammed and his family. God is great. Oh God, send forgiveness upon him. God is great."

Burial. After being placed in grave-clothes and the prayers said, the body is to be buried in the ground in such a manner as will protect it from insects and worms, and so that the odor of disintegration shall not escape. The body shall be so placed that the head shall be to the west, the feet to the east and the face toward Mecca.

Indications for purification with earth are two: (1) in case there is not available water sufficient for the major or minor ablutions, or (2) when the use of water entails danger, purification with earth, gravel, stove, dust or mud is to be employed, but minerals are not permissible, except plaster or lime before it is fired.

Kinds and manner of purification with earth. (1) in place of the minor ablution, and (2) in place of the major ablution. In place of the minor ablution it is as follows: first there must be the expression of purpose that the purification is being made in place of the minor ablution in approach to God. Then both hands are placed on the ground at the same time, and from the roots of the hair to the nose the forehead is rubbed with the palms of the hands. Then the back of the left hand is rubbed with the palm of the right hand and the back of the right hand with the palm of the left hand. In place of the

major ablution it is like that for the minor ablution, except that before rubbing the backs of the hands, the palms of the hands must again be placed on the ground.

Matters connected with purification. Purification, the ablutions and purification with earth cannot be accomplished with water or earth that is stolen, unclean or that appears unclean. Everything that prevents perfect purification should be removed, such as moving rings, etc., in the case of the major and minor ablution, or entirely removing them in case of purification with earth. No form of purification can be accomplished in a place wrongly appropriated. In case of certainty as to defilement, or doubt as to purification, it is necessary to perform ablution, otherwise it is not necessary.

Note:—In all forms of worship, purpose and determination and continuance in the same without wavering throughout the entire exercise, is essential.

Chapter II

Prayer is of two kinds, required and optional. Required prayers are eight in number: daily prayers, Friday prayers, prayers on the feasts of *Fitr* and *Qurban,* prayer at the time of natural phenomena, prayer at the circumambulation of the Kaaba, prayer for the dead, prayer attending vows, and prayer at the death of one's father.

Daily prayers consist of seventeen prostrations: two at early morning prayers, four at noon, four in the afternoon, three at twilight, and four at night. For travelers only eleven prostrations are enjoined, two being omitted from each of the noon, afternoon and night prayers.

Preparation for prayers includes eight points: purification, removal of uncleanness from the body and clothing, covering of the private parts of men and the whole body of women except that the face, the two hands and the two feet need not be covered, recognition of the prayer hour, recognition of the direction of Mecca, the clothing or the place of prayer shall not be misappropriated,

the clothing of the worshiper shall not be of the skins of unclean animals, except beaver and squirrel skin, and a man may not be unclean with communicable impurity: but the place of prostration must be absolutely pure ceremonially.

The time for prayers. With the exception of morning prayers, daily prayers have two periods, specific and common, or shared. At the specific time other prayers may not be said.

The time for morning prayers is from the first dawn until sunrise. The specific time for noon prayers is from high noon until a period required for four prostrations. The specific time for afternoon prayer is from a time before sunset sufficient to make four prostrations until the end of twilight. Between these two periods is common to noon and afternoon prayers. The specific time for evening prayers is from the end of twilight, i.e., from the time that the red leaves the sky until a period required for making three prostrations. The time for the night prayer is from the time necessary to make four prostrations before midnight, until midnight: and the time between these two latter prayers is common to both.

The Qibleh, or point toward which prayers are to be said, for those that are near it, is the house of the Kaaba; and for those far away, it is a point in place of the Kaaba to indicate the direction in which prayers are to be said. The *qibleh* is determined by the prayer niche in the mosques, by the graves of Moslems, from the owner of a house if he be a Moslem, and by the testimony of one trustworthy person.

The Call to Prayer and the Aqameh. It is meritorious, before commencing prayers, to give the call to prayers, which is as follows: four times, God is great; twice, I testify that there is no God but God; twice, I testify that Mohammed is the prophet of God; twice, come to prayer; twice, come to happiness; twice, come to good works; twice, God is great; twice, there is no God but God. At the *Aqameh,* in place of saying, God is great,

four times, it is said twice, and after, Come to good works, Rise to prayers, is said; and at the end, There is no God but God is repeated only once. It is also praiseworthy after the two testimonies to say, I witness that Ali is the commander of the faithful and vice-regent of God.

Requirements and numbers of prayers. The requirements are eight: purpose, repeating the *takbir,* standing, repeating the prayer, inclination, prostration, testimony, submission. Four of these are fixed, and increasing or diminishing them either purposely or by mistake makes the prayer void, i.e., the repetition of the *takbir,* standing at the time of the *takbir* or inclination, the inclination, and the prostrations. The remainder are not fixed and the prayer is not made void by increasing or diminishing them.

Purpose in prayer is expressed as follows: I accomplish four noon prayers in approach to God.

Takbir is the repetition of "God is great" after the expression of purpose.

Qiam is standing erect at the time of expression of purpose, *takbir,* and recitation, if at all possible.

Recitation is the repetition of praise and the *sureh* in the two prayer worship and in the first prayer of the three and four prayer worship, and repeating one praise or the fourfold praise, "Praise be to God, Thanks be to God, There is no God but God, God is great," in the remaining prayers of the threefold and fourfold prayers. It is meritorious after completing the second prostration to repeat a *qunut* (a prayer while standing), or better to repeat the *faraj,* which is as follows: "There is no God but God, the wise, the merciful; there is no God but God, the highly exalted; praise to the God of the seven heavens and Lord of the seven expanses of land and what is in them and between them; Lord of the high throne, and praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds."

Roku' is a forward inclination made after the recitation in such a manner and extent that the hands rest upon the knees, and while in this position to repeat, "Praise

be to the exalted Lord and thanks to Him," or three times to repeat "Praise be to God," and after this to stand erect. It is meritorious after the recitation, at the time of the *roku'* to repeat "God is great," and after the *roku'* while standing to say, "God hears the one praising Him," and then to prostrate oneself.

Prostration is required twice in every prayer, and is made in such a manner that seven points, i.e., the forehead, the palms of both hands, both knees and both great toes shall be on the ground, and while in this position to repeat, "Praise be to the exalted Lord and thanks to Him," once, or "Praise be to God," three times, and after this to sit and then again to prostrate oneself. It is meritorious at the time of rising from the prostration to repeat, "God is great," and likewise at the time of making the prostration.

Tashahhod or testimony is required once in every worship of two prayers; and in a three or four prayer worship two testimonies are required, one after the first two prayers and one after the second two; after two prostrations the worshiper is to sit and repeat the testimony as follows; "I testify that there is no God but God; He is one; He has no companion; and I testify that Mohammed is His servant and His prophet; may God be propitious to Mohammed and the family of Mohammed." It is meritorious at the time of standing after the two prostrations and after the testimony to say, "By the power of God and by his strength I stand and sit."

Salaam. In devotions, after the last testimony it is necessary to give a salaam, as follows: "Peace be upon us and the true worshipers of God," or, "Peace be upon you and the mercy of God and His blessings."

Friday Worship consists of two prayers like the morning devotions and takes the place of the noon devotions. It is required under four conditions: (1) the presence of the leader or his deputy; (2) the presence of at least five persons including the leader; (3) the reading of two sermons of praise and thanksgiving to God and supplica-

tions for forgiveness upon Mohammed and the family of Mohammed, and blessings upon the preaching and the reading of the small surehs of the Koran before the prayer; (4) that a distance of not less than four miles separate two places of Friday Worship. Under these conditions it is incumbent upon every free male, being of age, free from illness, blindness, deafness, lameness, and not bedridden, provided that he is not more than eight miles away from the place of Friday Worship; and if the leader or his deputy are present, attendance is specially incumbent. The time for Friday Worship is from noon until the shadow of any object is equal to its length.

Feast Prayers are two: the feast of *Ramazan (Fitr),* and the feast of *Qurban.* These prayers are incumbent if the Imam is present, but in his absence they are meritorious, and the time for them is from the rising of the sun on the day of the feast, until noon. It consists of two prayers, and in the first prayer after the recitation, the *takbir* is repeated five times, and after each *takbir* a *qunut* is repeated, and in the second prayer the *takbir* is repeated in like manner; and after devotions two sermons should be preached.

Prayers at the times of natural phenomena. Phenomena are eclipses of the sun and moon, earthquakes, destructive and withering winds, and every sign in the skies which causes great fear among men. This prayer is incumbent upon every adult and consists of two prayers like the morning prayer, as follows: after expression of purpose and repetition of the *takbir,* the praise and the sureh, the *roku'* is made; after this the erect position is assumed, and the praise and the sureh, and again the *roku'* is made. This is repeated five times, and after the fifth *roku'* the erect position is assumed, and from that the prostration is made, and having again assumed the erect position, the second prayer is made as the first, and the worship completed. It is permitted in the first and second prayer after the repetition of the praise, having divided a sureh into five parts, to repeat the first part after the

praise preceding the first *roku'*, and standing erect the second part is repeated, and thus to the end of the five sections, and if this is done, it is necessary to repeat the praise.

The time for the prayer of phenomena, for eclipses is at their beginning and their close, and for the rest at the time of their occurrence.

The prayer of circumambulation is like the morning prayer, and is said after the circumambulation of the Kaaba, and before entering upon the exertion.

Prayer for the dead is described under the laws regarding the dead.

Prayer at the time of vows are incumbent, provided they are not contrary to the regulations for prayers, and the vows themselves are not contrary to the ceremonial regulations, and are said at such times as are stipulated in the vows, otherwise at all times in life.

Prayers at the time of the death of a father. If any prayers have been left unsaid by a father during his last illness, it is incumbent upon the oldest son to say these prayers, unless the father has willed that such prayers shall be said by someone else.

Doubts as to prayers are of three kinds; doubts of no moment, unreal, and real. Doubts of no moment are of five kinds: (1) questions after prayers as to the place in which said; (2) doubts as to the prayers themselves; (3) doubt as to the time; (4) doubt as to the doubt. These four are of no account and do not nullify prayers. (5) Doubt as to the leader and the led: in this case direction must be sought from others.

Unreal doubts are of three kinds: (1) doubt as to the number of prayers, i.e., two or three: (2) doubt as to one or two prayers before the two prostrations or more and in the four prayer worship: (3) doubt as to the number of the prayer, i.e., not knowing which prayer is being said.

Real doubts are eight in number: (1) doubt between two and three prayers after following the completion of

two prostrations: (2) doubt between three and four: (3) doubt between two and four after the two prostrations: (4) doubt between two and three and four after the two prostrations: (5) doubt between three and five: (6) doubt between four and five: (7) doubt between three, four and five: (8) doubt between five and six. In prayers of circumspection, statement of purpose, repetition of the *takbir,* the praise, the *roku',* the prostration, the testimony and the *salaam* are necessary, but not the reciting of the *sureh;* and it is especially necessary to state in the declaration of purpose that it is a prayer of circumspection.

Prostration for error becomes necessary whenever a salaam, a word, a rising or a sitting is forgotten or done out of place in anything except the *roku',* in doubt between four and five, and is as follows: after declaration of purpose the prostration is performed and the following repeated: "In the name of God and by God, and may God be propitious to Mohammed and the family of Mohammed." After the prostration the worshiper must rise and sit and again prostrate himself and repeat the above words: he then sits and repeats: "I testify that there is no God but God and I testify that Mohammed is the prophet of God: may God be propitious to Mohammed and the family of Mohammed: peace be upon you and the mercy of God and His blessing."

Things that nullify prayer are of two kinds: (A) Those which through purpose or by accident annul prayers, as the necessity for the greater or lesser ablutions, increasing and diminishing the *roku',* and many other things. (B) Those things which through purpose and not by accident annul prayers; and are of five kinds: (1) speaking two or more words other than prayer or the Koran; (2) eating, drinking, loud laughing or long silence; (3) crying over some worldly matter; (4) praying with hands crossed; (5) omitting or increasing one of the requirements, with the exception of the *roku'.*

Travelers' prayers. On a journey, the noon, evening

and night worship is reduced from four to two prayers each on the following five conditions: (1) Intention of taking a journey that is at least twenty-four miles, or twelve miles going and returning the same day: (2) arriving at a distance so far from his abode that the sound of the prayer call does not reach his ear: (3) he must not be continually engaged in traveling, as a *charvadar,* a sailor, a postman: (4) that the journey be not a sinful mission: (5) that he does not plan to remain more than ten days in one place, or is not going to a place where he owns property and has remained there for six months, or is going to his own country.

Note. Fear is also a reason for reducing the number of prayers, whether on a journey or in one's regular place of abode.

Prayer in place of omitted prayers. It is incumbent on any adult to make up in kind any required prayers that have been omitted; if short prayers, short prayers are to be said, and if they be full prayers, then full prayers are to be said, whether he be on a journey or at home; and the time for such prayers is any time during one's life, except that the requisite prayers for any day must be said prior to the omitted prayers.

Public prayers are of three kinds: required, forbidden and meritorious. Public prayers on the occasion of Friday worship are always meritorious: prayers on the two feasts if they are required, are required, otherwise they are meritorious; and in all daily prayers, prayers at times of phenomena and prayers for the dead, prayers are meritorious: but in the case of meritorious prayers, public prayers are forbidden, with the exception of prayers on the two feasts and prayers for rain.

Conditions for public prayers are seven: (1) the leader must be of age, just, of legitimate birth and a male: (2) the place of the leader must not be more than one step higher than the led: (3) the led must follow one person: (4) the led must stand either beside or behind the leader at such a distance as is customary: (5) there

shall be no obstacle between the leader and the led except the rows of worshipers, except where the worshipers are women and the leader a man: (6) the prayers of the leader and the worshipers shall not be in conflict, as daily prayers and prayers for phenomena: (7) a worshiper who is able to pronounce the words of the prayer properly may not follow a leader who is not able so to do.

Regulations of public worship. (1) A worshiper follows the leader from the time that he finishes the *takbir:* (2) the worshiper repeats everything except the praise and the sureh.

Chapter III.

Tithing. Tithing is setting apart a portion of one's possessions, and is of two kinds—tithing of possessions and tithing of body. It is incumbent upon every free adult capable of holding property to tithe under certain conditions, in nine particulars: silver and gold, camels, oxen and sheep, wheat, barley, grapes and dates.

Conditions under which tithing is required. (1) In case of a money transaction; (2) when a man has been eleven lunar months on property that should give tithes; (3) that his possessions shall have reached a certain stipulated amount, otherwise tithing is not required.

The tithe on gold is 1/40th. There are two minimum levels: (1) 20 *misqals* (legal), (2) four *misqals* and above. So also silver has two minimum levels: (1) 200 *dirhem* and (2) 40 *dirhem* and above.

Tithe on animals is required under four conditions: (1) they must be in one's possession for eleven lunar months; (2) they must be grazing, (3) oxen and camels must not work during the eleven months, (4) they must be of stipulated numbers. These are twelve for camels: 5, 7, 15, 20, 25, 26, 36, 46, 61, 71, 91, 121. For oxen there are two stipulated numbers, 30 and 40. For sheep there are five stipulated numbers, 40, 121, 201, 301, 400.

The grain tithe is required on two conditions: (1) The person giving the tithe must have planted the grain or

bought it before wheat and barley have formed grains, or the grapes or dates have become yellow or red. (2) The amount of produce must have reached the stipulated amount, i.e., 287 *mans* 27 *sirs* and 3 *misqals* (c. 1750 lbs.) (banker) Tabriz, and what is beyond this amount is tithed. The tithe for these products is one-tenth, in whatever manner it is produced, and the time of giving it is any time after it is matured.

Recipients of the tithe are of eight classes: (1 and 2) religious mendicants and the poor, i.e., those who are not able to supply themselves and family with the necessities of life for the year, even though they may have employment; (3) those designated to gather the tithe and distribute it, (4) unbelievers within the bounds of Mohammedan countries for the purpose of attracting them to Islam: (5) a servant who suffers oppression and persecution in the performance of his master's duties; (6) a debtor who is not able to pay his debts, provided they were not contracted in some forbidden manner; (7) a stranger in need; (8) anything that is of benefit to Moslems, as helping a mosque, a school, building a bridge, helping the army, and assistance in the defense of the borders of the country.

The Fitr tithe. It is incumbent upon every able-bodied man after he has supplied the needs of his household to give, on behalf of himself, his family and guests, an amount of 38 *sirs,* 6¼ *misqals* (c. 6½ lbs.) of the food common in the place of his abode to those who are entitled to receive the tithe, if he is at all able to do so.

Chapter IV.

The Fifth. One-fifth of one's possessions are to be set apart in seven cases. (1) What comes from the mines; (2) treasure other than that comprised of Moslem coins, and in these two cases the fifth applies after all expenses, and in case there is a residue of twenty *misqals* of gold; (3) that which divers get from the sea; (4) legitimate property mixed with illegitimate, where

the owner is not evident and where the amount of legitimate and illegitimate is not apparent; (5) land that an unbelieving subject buys from a Moslem; (6) plunder taken from unbelievers in war; (7) profit from trade, work, or agriculture, over and above what is necessary to maintain an individual in his regular station for a year.

Recipients of the fifth. The fifth is to be divided into six parts: three of these go to the Imam or *Mojtahid,* and the other three parts are for religious mendicants, the poor, orphans, and the needy of the house of Hashim.

Chapter V.

Fasting. Fasting is refraining from food or drink for the purpose of communion, from the break of dawn until the end of twilight. There are four kinds of fasting: required, forbidden, undesirable, meritorious. Required fasting is of five kinds: (1) the fast of Ramazan; (2) fasting for days skipped; (3) fasting for a deceased father, or the fast of a vow; (4) fast of atonement; and (5) fast of retirement. In this brief book we omit the other three kinds of fasting.

The beginning of the month of fasting is determined by seeing the moon, or the transpiring of thirty days of *Sha'ban,* the word of two just witnesses, the announcement that the moon has been seen, and then, before the break of dawn, the statement of purpose to keep the fast must be made.

The fast is required of every able-bodied adult, except women in their courses or during the forty days after child-birth, provided there is no certain harm or danger.

Things that make void the fast are ten: (1 and 2) eating and drinking; (3, 4 and 5) purposely failing to accomplish the necessary requirements after coitus before dawn; (6) vomiting; (7) allowing dust or thick smoke to get into the throat; (8) submerging the entire body at one time in water; (9) ascribing a lie to God or the prophets; (10) to employ an enema.

The first five require both a making up of the fast and

atonement, whereas the last five require only the making up of the fast.

Atonement for the fast of Ramazan and special vows is one of three things: (1) releasing a slave; (2) fasting for sixty successive days; (3) feeding sixty needy people.

Chapter VI.

Pilgrimage. This is visiting the House of God, the proof of Islam, once in one's lifetime. It is incumbent upon every free adult who is financially and physically able to the degree of being able to walk, or having an animal and the necessary supplies for the road in accordance with his station in life, and in addition being able to supply his family with the necessities of life during his absence, providing that disease or unsafety of the roads do not prevent him from arriving at Mecca at the proper time. The pilgrimage is to be accomplished during whatever year it may be possible.

The kinds of pilgrimage are three: (1) the pilgrimage of pleasure *(tamatu')* which is incumbent upon every one who lives more than forty-eight miles from Mecca; (2) the Koran pilgrimage, and (3) individual pilgrimage, both of which are incumbent upon all living in Mecca or within forty-eight miles of Mecca. Every pilgrimage includes also a minor pilgrimage *(omreh),* and for the pilgrimage of pleasure it consists in donning the pilgrim's garb, circumambulating the Kaaba, the prayer connected with it, the exertion between Safa and Merveh, and the offense, i.e., cutting the hair and nails. The pilgrimage of pleasure consists of donning the pilgrim garb, standing at Arafat, standing at Ma'shar, going to Mina, the throwing of stones, the sacrifice, shaving the head or cutting the nails, circumambulation pertaining to the pilgrimage and its accompanying prayers, three nights at Mina at the drying of the flesh, and the casting of stones.

Chapter VII.

Holy War. Attack or offensive war becomes obligatory upon every free adult who is not too old, invalid,

blind, or too weak for war, upon the command of the Imam or his deputy, and is to be waged against three classes: (1) unbelievers of the book, i.e., Jews and Christians and Magians; (2) unbelievers at war, i.e., others than the above; (3) secessionists, i.e., Moslems who have seceded from the Imam. But holy war as a defense is obligatory upon every Moslem man and woman, sick and well, free and slave, whenever unbelievers plan or make an attack upon Moslems or their lands, or when they have taken captive Moslems or carried off their property.

Chapter VIII.

Admonition to what is right, and warning against what is wrong. It is the duty of every Moslem to encourage others in what is right and lawful, and to discourage them from doing what is unlawful or undesirable. This injunction pertains to each set of acts in proportion to the degree of each, i.e., lawful, desirable, neutral, undesirable, and forbidden, and should be carried out wherever there is a possibility that it will be heeded, and where it does not place one in danger. It has four degrees: (1) showing the evil or good of an act; (2) breaking off association; (3) advice; (4) beating to a moderate degree.

Chapter IX.

Trading is of five kinds: (1) enjoined; (2) forbidden; (3) desirable; (4) undesirable; (5) neutral. Such business is enjoined as is required to supply the daily needs of self and family. Such business is forbidden as is indicated in the divine law. Desirable business is such as will improve one's condition of living. Undesirable business is such that not engaging in it is better than engaging in it, as money changing.

Forbidden employments are of six kinds: (1) dealing in intoxicants and things unclean, except hunting and watch dogs; (2) instruments of merrymaking, gambling,

the guitar, playing cards; (3) traffic in things for evil purposes, as selling grapes for making wine; (4) traffic in things that have no profit ceremonially or legally, as dealing in insects; (5) dealing in a forbidden practice, such as singing, except in the case of weddings and that among women; (6) trafficking in a necessary practice, such as ablution or undertaking.

Chapter X.

Inheritance. This is the passing of property from one deceased, to blood relations or relations by marriage, etc. Blood relations are of three degrees: (1) parents and children, whatever their number; (2) brothers and sisters and their children, however many they may be; (3) paternal and maternal uncles and aunts and their children.

Other relations are of four kinds: (1) *Marriage,* except where a marriage is contracted at the time of death, or when the marriage has not been consumated.

Note. Both husband and wife inherit both as blood relations and relatives by marriage.

Kinship by manumission. A man who frees his slave, and at the time of release does not free himself from responsibility for misdemeanors of the freed slave, if the freed slave has no blood relations, his former master becomes his heir.

Kinship through surety for crime. If a person other than an heir goes surety for the crime of another and stipulates that therefore he shall become the heir of the criminal, he shall inherit, provided the man for whom he went surety has no blood relations.

The right of the Imam. In case a person dies without any heir whatsoever, his possessions become the inheritance of the Imam, and should be turned over to the religious judge.

(Translated by) Geo. E. Zoeckler.

Daulatabad, Persia.

WHO IS DHU'L-KIFL?

Dhu'l-Kifl is mentioned twice only in the Koran (Surah xxi, 85; xxxviii, 48). The occurrence of his name in Surah xxi, the so-called Chapter of the Prophets (Surat *al-Anbiya*) seems to entitle him to rank as a prophet. In both places where his name is recorded, it is preceded by that of Ishmael, with the name of *Idris* (Enoch) in the one case, and that of *Elisha* in the other case, inserted between them, e. g., (a) "And Ishmael and *Idris* and *Dhu'l-Kifl* (were) all patient men." (*Min as-sabirina;* xxi, 85.) (b) "And remember Ishmael and *Alisa* (Elisha) and Dhu'l-Kifl; and (they were) all good men." (*Min al-akhyari;* xxxviii, 48.)

There has always been great uncertainty as to the identity of this personage. Arab commentators show by their wild guesses that they are quite ignorant of the true explanation. Various proposals have been to equate the name with such biblical characters as Elijah, Ezekiel, Joshua, Zachariah, etc. Moslem historians (e. g., Tabari, *Annales,* 1,364; *Mudjir-al-Din al-Uns al-Djalil,* p. 68)[1] regard it as an epithet of *Bishr* or *Bashir,* a son of *Aiyub* (Job), who was engaged in a holy war against a certain king in *Sham.* The word is obviously a descriptive or honorific title, like *Dhu'l-Nun* (Jonah) or *Dhu'l-Karnain* (Alexander the Great).

The question of identification is undoubtedly puzzling. Who was in Mohammed's mind when he spoke of Dhu'l-Kifl? The following notes are made in an attempt to lead up to a solution of the problem.

(1) Does it not seem strange that amongst the "patient ones" mentioned in xxi, 85, nothing is said of the Patriarch Job, whose reputation for patience is as wide-

[1] See Goldziher, s.v. in *Encyclopaedia of Islam.*

spread in the East as that of *Hatim* of Tai for generosity? It was not a case of ignorance, for Job is actually referred to by name several times in the Koran, and once at least his patience is expressly mentioned (xxxviii, 43). Or is it possible that *Dhu'l-Kifl* can be none other than Job? We know that it is not at all impossible for a person to be indicated under different names even in the same book. In the Koran itself there is the well-known instance of Jonah, who appears under his own name (Yunus) as well as under his nickname of *Dhu'l-Nun* ("The Man with the Fish").

(2) There are several explanatory legends given of the word *Kifl,* as well as suggested etymologies based on the derivative forms of the verbal root *KFL,* but the ordinary meaning of Arabic yields quite a satisfactory solution. *Kifl* means "double portion." Therefore, *Dhu'l Kifl* would seem to mean something like "the owner of the double requital," or "the man with the double portion." Surely this is a most appropriate term with which to describe Job, who received a *double share* of God's mercy as a result of his piety and patience under great tribulation. The Bible actually states this (Job xlii, 10), "And the Lord gave Job twice as much as he had before."

(3) In each of the two places where *Dhu'l-Kifl* is mentioned, an account of the Patriarch Job actually precedes, and Idris and *Dhu'l-Kifl,* all (are) patient ones." And what he had lost and *as much again* (i. e., twofold) e. g., (xxi, 83-85) "And (remember) Job, when he cried to his Lord, 'Verily evil has smitten me, but Thou art the Most Merciful of those who show mercy.' So we heard him, and lightened the evil that was upon him, and gave him his family and the same again along with them (*mithlahum ma'hum*) through our mercy, and as a memorial to those who are True Worshippers. And Ishmael and Idris and *Dhu'l-Kifl,* all (are) patient ones." And again (xxxviii, 40-42, 43, 48), "And remember our servant Job when he cried to his Lord 'Verily Satan has smit-

ten me with disease and pain.' (We said), Stamp with thy foot [whereupon a fountain miraculously appeared]. This is to wash with; cool, and drinkable. And we gave him his family, and the same again along with them, through our mercy and as a memorial to men of judgment..... verily we found him patient... and remember Ishmael and *Elisha* and *Dhu'l-Kifl,* and (they were) all good men."

The general conclusion to be drawn seems to be that Mohammed referred to Job under his Arabic name of *Aiyub,* and also under the descriptive epithet of *Dhu'l-Kifl* "The Man with the Double Portion."

Alexandria, Egypt. JOHN WALKER.

CURRENT TOPICS

Moslem and Christian Mysticism

In an article on "Missions to Moslems" in the *Indian Witness,* the Rev. Harvey Reeves Calkins calls attention to a distinction not always observed in the discussion of Sufi teaching:

"Evelyn Underhill is widely recognized as a perspicuous writer in the field of Religious Mysticism. She has rare scholarship, and, what is rarer, she possesses a fine faculty of spiritual discernment, the birthright of many others of the Society of Friends.

"Three or four years ago Miss Underhill was invited to lecture before the Faculty of Theology of Oxford University—the first woman to be so honored—and this was her alluring theme: 'The Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today.' The published volume (Dutton and Co., N. Y.) is a rewarding book. I found myself making many marginal notes and raising not a few questions of basic interpretation. But any book which stimulates thought has fulfilled its purpose: for literature, at its best, is implicit conversation in which the author and the reader have an equal share.

"One question which Miss Underhill asks, and seems to answer, will not appeal with equal force to students of mysticism now living in the East. The question is found on page 191: *'Why do the Christian saint, Indian rishi, Buddhist arhat, and Moslem sufi all seem to us at bottom men of one race, living under different sanctions one life, witnessing to one fact?'* The form of the question is most unfortunate. By introducing that rhetorical 'Why' at the beginning of her question Miss Underhill speciously asserts to be a fact—and that without proof or illustration—what many of her readers are bound to question, and what the author herself would have done well to discuss at major length. For right here is the milk of the cocoanut! Eliminate that specious 'Why' and the question is fairly presented to every thoughtful mind as a theme of wide human interest. No longer irritated by the assumption of that initial 'Why,' the mind almost certainly finds itself in the house of Cornelius and is saying with Peter, 'I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted with him.'

"Is it not a capital blunder that 'mysticism' should have been baptized with a Christian name and introduced into Christian theology, so that the word itself has falsely become identified with personal fellowship with God? Mysticism is a Hindu concept. It speaks of the Over-Soul, and dreams of some pervasive Essence that permeates the worlds. It is the negation of personality in God. Out from India, the habitat of ancient mysticism, this subtle influence permeated Persian and Greek philosophy, and persists under Christian nomenclature in Western thinking. It has entered Islam, and, to many, the Moslem sufi seems an embodiment of Christian experience in terms of Islamic culture.

"It would be interesting to know the experience and observation

of missionaries on this particular point. Personally, I have never found that the sufi Moslem is a hopeful 'prospect' for Christian discipleship —and sufism seems to be equally present among Moslems of opposed doctrinal training. The sufi invariably approaches the spiritual and mental type of the Vedantic mystic who seeks by abstraction to throw himself *en rapport* with the 'divine.' The background of his thinking —as the background of all scientific mysticism—is pantheistic. On the other hand, personal fellowship with 'the Supreme Person' is an experience of walking in the light, and touches too nearly the common duties of daily life to make much of an appeal to the mystic wisdom of the sufi.

"In my own experience and observation, up-standing and carnal-minded Sunnis, or even hair-splitting Shias, are open to the human appeal of Christ, whereas philosophic sufism seems wholly sufficient within itself."

The Press in Egypt

Mr. G. Robb writes in *The Egyptian Miscellany* on the press of that country as follows: "The population of Egypt today is roughly 14,000,000 souls, of whom less than a million must be reckoned as literate, whilst the number of registered newspapers and reviews exceeds four hundred. In January, 1925, the actual figures supplied by the Ministry of the Interior, the licensing authority, were as follows:

	Daily	Biweekly	Triweekly	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	Quarterly	Total
1. Newspapers:								
(a) European ...	33	2	..	14	2	1	..	52
(b) Arabic	39	6	5	100	1	5	..	156
Total	72	8	5	114	3	6	..	208
2. Reviews:								
(a) European ...	..	1	..	18	16	21	2	58
(b) Arabic	..	..	2	71	22	43	..	138
Total	..	1	2	89	38	64	2	196
Grand Total ...	72	9	7	203	41	70	2	404

"At first sight these statistics are impressive, for it must be observed that of the four hundred and four publications enumerated two hundred and ninety-four are in Arabic, that is, seventy-three per cent of the whole; but, when it is known that only about a half of the publications authorized are regularly issued, or have even a brief existence, the impression formed is correspondingly diminished. In spite of this, how few of the Europeans residing in Egypt would be likely to guess the journalist output of Egypt, for even on the reduced scale it is much in excess of what the most optimistic inquirer would estimate!

"The geographical distribution of the registered publications is shown in the following table:

	Newspapers		Reviews		Total		
	European	Arabic	European	Arabic	European	Arabic	Grand Total
1. Cairo	26	96	37	116	63	212	275
2. Alexandria	22	25	18	11	40	36	76
3. Port Said	4	..	3	1	7	1	8
4. Tanta	..	7	..	4	..	11	11
5. Minya	..	4	..	..	..	4	4
6. Damanhur	..	4	..	..	..	4	4
7. Asyut	..	3	..	1	..	4	4
8. Mansura	..	3	..	..	..	3	3
9. Beni-Suef	..	2	..	1	..	3	3
10. Fayum	..	3	..	..	..	3	3
11. Suez	..	2	..	..	..	2	2
12. Other Towns (1 each)	..	3	..	8	..	11	11
Total	52	152	58	142	110	294	404

"Cairo and Alexandria naturally take the lead, but although it is surprising to find the provincial towns appearing at all in the list, it must be noted that their publications are of no importance whatever.

"The inner history of the four hundred and four publications would prove extremely interesting: the motives that prompted their owners, and the means by which they exist. Many are still-born; others appear at irregular intervals. The Egyptian press, however, as a whole has made notable advances in all directions since 1882, until which year it was mostly in the hands of Syrians. At that time, when the Arâbi Rebellion took place, Gemal-al-Din, a great Moslem philosopher from Afghanistan, was engaged in rousing Egyptian Moslems to activity in political and religious matters, and it was through his efforts that Egyptians, in considerable numbers, undertook the publication of political journals which, proving ephemeral as they did, disappeared soon after the revolution was quelled.

"The Arabic press today, as represented by the leading newspapers *Al Ahram, Al Muqattam, Al Siyasa, Al Balagh, Al Akhbar,* and *Kaukab al Sharq,* in Cairo, and by *Wadi al Nil,* and *Al Express,* in Alexandria, is doing a great work in raising the standard of Arabic throughout the country. The Arabic used is classical, not colloquial, and approximates closely to the Arabic of the great prose writers of the past. Greater lucidity is obtained by the adoption of a direct style, and the avoidance of words that are known only to pundits. The telegraphic news from Europe is abundant, and the leading papers have their own correspondents in London and Paris who cable copious extracts from English and French papers on topics that are of interest and importance to Egyptian readers. Scientific discoveries and literary movements abroad receive such close attention that an Egyptian reader is kept in close touch with

the progress of the modern world. The press thus wields a great power and is a valuable teacher.

"Just as in England, after the passing of the Elementary Education Act in 1870, there grew up a new type of literature for a new reading public—: *Tit-bits,—Answers,—Boy's Own Paper,* etc.—so in Egypt, with the extension of education and the increase of readers, there has come into being a number of illustrated papers for both children and adults. There is even a *Punch,* in the shape of the weekly *Kashkul* which, with its crude colored cartoons and the explanatory text in colloquial Arabic, is full of wisdom and shrewdness. The articles that appear in the body of the paper are written in more or less classical Arabic, although the standard of attainment in most cases is lower than that of the leading newspapers and reviews. The rapid growth of newspapers and reviews with a high standard of writing deals a death-blow to those Europeans who, like Judge Wilmore and Canon Gairdner —both advanced Arabic scholars,—are of opinion that the language of the people (colloquial Arabic) should become the language of literature. They remember that the language spoken in Italy in the Middle Ages displaced the classical tongue, and that Dante, by utilizing the speech of the people in his writings, ennobled the spoken language and raised it to the proud position of being the literary vehicle of modern Italy. Arguing that the language of the many must ultimately prevail over that of the few, they predict that the day will come in Egypt when the language of the street will dethrone the language of the Koran, the 'tongue of the angels' as it has been proudly styled. They go further in declaring that the Arabic alphabet must yield place to Roman characters and, in consonance with their views, both gentlemen have published excellent text-books on colloquial Arabic in transliterated Roman characters, to which are added conventional signs to indicate Arabic letters of the alphabet that have no equivalent in the Roman alphabet. Were these views shared by the Egyptians themselves, one might expect to find a gradual movement tending to support the opinions of Judge Wilmore and Canon Gairdner, but the situation is exactly the opposite. Hardly an Egyptian of standing gives the least consideration to the matter; religious prejudice against any tampering with the language of the Holy Koran is in itself sufficient to prevent would-be reformers from achieving even a small measure of success. Education has proved a powerful means of raising the standard of both speech and writing amongst the people, with the result that today educated Egyptians speak and write a purer form of Arabic than did their forbears during the past three hundred years. Instead of the common tongue usurping the place of the classical, it is the opposite process that is going on."

Religious Tolerance in Afghanistan

We are glad to quote the following from the *Indian Social Reformer,* indicating a new spirit in Afghanistan: "Afghanistan has been the home of religious intolerance and persecutions. The punishment to which members of the Ahmadiya sect were subjected for holding 'heretic' opinions on religion, is only too well-known. It is, therefore, with much satisfaction that we turn to some observations made by His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan, which show him to be an enlightened and broadminded ruler, free from the sectarian spirit which reigns su-

preme in Afghanistan. A certain Naibul-Hukumat (government official) wanted that he should be permitted to kill persons accused of mischief, (presumably referring to the Ahmadiyas) and to offer rewards for the conversion of Hindus to Islam. To both these requests, the Amir has returned an emphatic 'no.' Referring to the conversion of Hindus to Islam, His Majesty, like a true Moslem, is said to have remarked: 'Conversion to Islam should not be for the sake of money. If any one embraces Islam it should be for the sake of its doctrines and creeds, and no reward is required in this case.' The Amir is also a strong advocate of inter-communal unity. In a speech at Kandahar, he is reported to have said: 'Hitherto schools for traders, Persian-speaking people and Hindus have been separated. This separation causes disunion in the nation. Everyone who lives in the land of Afghanistan is an Afghan, irrespective of the religion he professes or the sect or class to which he belongs, and there is no distinction among Afghans....A separate school should not be maintained for people of various religions and classes or sects.' Although this bold action of the Amir is likely to meet with strong opposition from the die-hard elements, the wisdom of this step in the long run cannot be doubted."

Railways in Persia

The *Daily Telegraph* recently contained an article on the problem of railway communications in Persia, because of the interest of foreign powers. The conclusions were summarized as follows:

"In Persia, as is natural, the railway question is considered from the point of view of Persia's own interests. From that viewpoint it is said, rightly or wrongly, that the first line to be constructed will be one to unite the Persian Gulf with the Caspian. On the Caspian the terminus will be near Asterabad, and on the Persian Gulf the port of Mohammerah. By this line goods discharged at the Gulf port will reach Ispahan and Teheran in a day or two while at present they take about two months to reach the capital from Bushire. The Persian Government seeks to escape from the economic control imposed by its present use of Basra and Bagdad.

"Here Russian interests seem to be in accord with Persian interests. On the one hand, the creation of such a trans-Persian line would be a useful complement to the Trans-Caucasian, the Julfa-Tauris, and the Trans-Caspian systems. On the other hand, the Moscow Government would not like to see a line constructed across Persia from Khanikan to Meshed or Douzbab, since then a considerable part of the traffic between Europe and the Middle and Far East would pass out of its control. The north-south line would meet the peculiar needs of Russo-Persian trade, while the traffic between Asia and Russia or between Asia and Western Europe would have the two lines—in the north the Trans-Siberian, and in the south the Persian addition to the Caucasian and Caspian systems.

"Such a line added to the existing lines would assure Russia a formidable commercial advantage. No doubt the advantage would not be only economic, but the Western Powers might find that the new position presented many inconveniences. All the schemes formulated so far by Britain, France, or Germany agree in this, that they make an East-West line the main line in a Persian system, and they differ only on the points where the line shall enter and leave Persian territory.

"Germany, before the war, had chosen Khanikin as the point of entry, a line between Bagdad and Khanikin linking the Persian system with the Bagdad railway. The war and the occupation of Irak have induced the British first to construct a line from Bagdad to Khanikin, and thus to adopt the old German scheme. The British scheme would make the line pass through Kermanshah and Hamadan, from which a branch line would go to the capital, and then to Koum and Ispahan, and finally to Douzbab, where it would link up with the great Indian system."

A Puritan Islam?

A valuable article is contributed to the *Contemporary Review* upon "Arabia and Islam" by Mr. Kenneth Williams. Though written apparently before the final triumph of the Wahhabi Sultan, Ibn Saoud, its reasoning has been reinforced by the latest developments in Arabia. Much may depend on the Moslem missions, or mission, from Egypt and India which have visited Ibn Saoud to consider the future governance of the Moslem holy places and, probably, of the Caliphate as well. Of this mission Mr. Kenneth Williams writes:

"Very little is known of its term of reference, or of its composition. It may or may not achieve things momentous to the world of Islam. But if it does succeed in imposing upon the Moslem world an authoritative statement upon the question of the Caliphate and upon the future direction of the Holy places, then Ibn Saoud may well go down to history as one of the greatest of all men in Islam. For it is incredible that, if any view should decidedly prevail, his view should not prevail. Commissions in Islamic countries are always unanimous, because if unanimity is not at first secured, it has generally been the practice of the ruler under whose auspices the Commission is sitting, by whatever means he choose, often traditional but sometimes original, to reduce the number of members until unanimity is reached!

" It would be premature to assert that the revival of Moslem Puritanism must share the barren end of its predecessors. And this for more than one reason. First, the Wahhabi revival today is being conducted by a man of quite extraordinary ability, a man who, for all his burning faith and belief in the correctness of strictly Puritan doctrines and practices, has his ear far closer to the ground of Islam than had his illustrious ancestors, who trampled mercilessly and, indeed, contemptuously on the dearest sentiments of other and laxer Moslems. Ibn Saoud knows very well how far he may and how far he may not go in impressing Wahhabi doctrines upon other Moslems, and although it is highly probable that nothing would please his *Ikhwan* better than to swarm into Medina and desecrate what they consider to be the idolatrous tomb of the Prophet, that is not his plan. He has far other aims for the exploitation of his victories: he means to unite Arabia, politically and religiously. In other words, his is a constructive, not, as were the campaigns of his ancestors, merely a wrecking movement. Again, there is not at this time any Moslem leader who could conceivably take up arms against him, as Mohammed Ali took up arms against and defeated his predecessor a century ago. To call on King Fuad of Egypt to rid Arabia of the Wahhabis, as King Ali of Hejaz did a short time ago, is only to emphasize the utter absence in Islam of a military leader who would undertake a campaign against the Wahhabis. Mustapha Kemal

Pasha of Turkey? Riza Khan of Persia? The Ameer Amanullah of Afghanistan? One has but to mention the names of these men, and to recall the tasks that they have in hand, to realize how literally Sultan Ibn Saud is without a peer in Islam. Further, the state of Islam in this twentieth century is a vastly different thing from what it was in the nineteenth century, for now it is divided into two distinct camps: the reactionary and the materialistic. The reactionary has considerable sympathy with the Wahhabis, and no materialistic power is going to waste itself upon the sands of Central Arabia.

"Sultan Ibn Saoud is, therefore, more or less in an unchallengeable position in Arabia to do what he thinks best for Islam. His control of the southern Hejaz is unassailable, his sway from the Persian Gulf to Red Sea still undisputed. He has time on his side, and the practical certainty of non-interference with his schemes. The virtues of Wahhabism, then, apart from their local application in the rigours of the Central Arabian Desert, stand or fall by him: his opportunity is unique. Is there that in Wahhabism which can regenerate Islam, bind again its loosening walls, and redirect its wayward paths? Can those who worship in the barrenness of the Nejd bring to those who more comfortably turn to Mecca from the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges, a revivifying, a reuniting force?

"Immediately another question prefers itself: But is Islam ready to return to first principles? Is not the tendency in Islam, in fact, all the other way? Again generalization is difficult. It may be that Riyadh and the El Azhar University are less powerful than Angora and Cairo; it may be that a real imitation of the West, though seemingly incompatible with the plain dictates of the Koran, is the unswerving aim of the more 'modern' Moslem states. Even so, there are about 250,000,000 Moslems in the world, of whom those residing in 'advanced' countries constitute numerically an insignificant portion. One is apt to regard that Islam which provides good 'copy' for European newspapers as the only, or the real Islam. But apart from those Moslems who every day appear to be discarding some burden that their ancestors bore for centuries, there are, for example, the Javanese, on whom some observers have built hopes of a renascence of Islam; there are the increasing millions between East and West Africa, as yet but little touched by civilization except in so far as Great Britain facilitates their making of the pilgrimage to Mecca; there are the millions of devout Moslems in Chinese and Russian Turkestan—in fact, there are yet millions in Islam almost as unsusceptible to Western influence as are the Wahhabis themselves. In such people it is by no means inconceivable that Ibn Saoud, by giving a Puritan image to the *Haj,* would be able to sow the seeds of a return to the simple faith."

The Egyptian Press on the Caliphate Congress

Maitre Amin el Shahed of the Egyptian Bar, in an article in the *Siyasa* on the Caliphate, states: "The time fixed for the meeting of the Islamic Caliphate Conference is approaching, and it is time for every Moslem to think how matters will develop. There are certain questions which ought to be thoroughly discussed before the meeting takes place. I suggest that the following points should be taken up:

(A)—Is the Caliphate necessary at the present time from the Sheri viewpoint or not?

(B)—If it is, it must be remembered that Islam is professed by peoples in different countries, some enjoying full independence under Moslem rulers, some having nominal independence under foreign influence, and some under direct foreign administration. By the word foreigner, the non-Moslem is here meant. Is it right for Moslems to elect the ruler of one of the above countries as a Caliph without regard to the kind of government existing in that country? If it is right legally, what would be the position of the Caliph under foreign influence and control? Would this not mean that Moslems would bestow the powers of the Caliphate upon the foreigner?

(C)—If the reply to the second question is in the affirmative, would the Caliphate not be only nominal?

(D)—Who is qualified for the position in Moslem countries from the Sheri point of view? Suppose a qualified man were found, how could he act according to the Sheria laws if those of the country were opposed to them?

(E)—Which country is in a position to house the Caliphate under the present circumstances?"

"Very Curious"

Kowkab el Sherk, writing on the same subject, states: "Our Ulemas continue to make energetic preparations for the Caliphate Conference proposed to be held in Cairo, and this is very curious. The Caliphate, as all people know, cannot be placed in its proper position in these days, for according to the rules of Islam, it is a temporal and spiritual power, and no king or prince in Moslem countries is in a position at the present time to spread his sway over all Moslem communities in the world.

"If the Caliphate means Mohammedan rule it should be the duty of the Islamic Government to call people to discuss the question in a conference, and not the Ulemas in Egypt, who have no power to carry out any decision they may make in a question like this .... The holding of the Islamic Conference in Egypt may cause unnecessary troubles to this country: if the King of Egypt were to be elected as a Caliph the appointment would clash with the text of the Egyptian Constitution, which prevents the King from conducting the affairs of any other country, and the Caliphate in that case would be placed in a state under British protection. Besides that, Egypt would take the place of Turkey, exciting the ill-will of the other Powers, which would stand together against it ....

"The call addressed to Moslem countries for holding the Caliphate Conference in Egypt comes at the worst of times, and in circumstances far from being convenient for it ...."

The Other View

The *Ittihad* states: "Both the Zaghlulists and the Constitutional Liberals have started a curious campaign against the Caliphate Conference, and it is difficult for one to understand the real object they have in view. The papers of both parties are well aware that His Majesty the King has no desire of assuming the Caliphate, and he has on two occasions expressed his disagreement with the idea. The *Balagh* (Zaghlulist) itself published an article on December 16 to the same effect .... If this is quite understood by them we cannot see why they

continue to express their fear of the results of holding the Caliphate Conference in Cairo and the selection of His Majesty for the position. The reason for such a campaign would have been better understood if the King had the desire to become a Caliph ....

"In view of this state of things, we make a suggestion of a nature likely to remove their anxiety. It is clear that the Caliphate Conference Committee in Cairo has already sent letters to Moslem communities in different countries calling them to send out delegates to represent them in the intended conference. This committee is unable to abolish the call that has been sent, because the time fixed for the conference is drawing very near, and because the mere abolition of the arrangement will be absurd; so the question should be allowed to proceed in its normal course.....There is no harm in holding an Islamic Conference here; an assembly of Mohammedan delegates from different countries will have many things to say and study. That is our idea, and it is simple and reasonable.....The question of the Caliph may be postponed for another time, and another country may be chosen for the election of a Caliph in future.....

"We submit this suggestion to the Caliphate Committee and hope it will approve of it, and rid us of that false tumult raised by the Zaghlulist and Constitutional Liberal papers...."

Hindu-Moslem Unity?

Heridas Swami writing in *The Crescent,* Colombo, says:

"In Arabia Islam is a history; in India it is an epic. In Arabia the people are proud of the fact that Islam arose there in the caves of Mount Hira; in India Islam came as a conquering race. That was a little time ago. Today the children of Moslem and Hindu play side by side, sing of the same God—by the Hindu name Hari or by the Mohammadan name Allah. The two are often beautifully blended together. When one awakens he hears the *Muezzin,* the call of the *Azan;* and side by side he hears the chanting of the *Rig Veda,* both from men and women, who pass through the streets after their morning ablutions in the sacred river. If you go to the ferry-ghat you will see the plying of the ferry-boat, and the boatman sings a song of sweetly mingled Hindu and Moslem words, addressing the same Infinite and Eternal. One never asks what religion it is but instantly bows the head when one hears 'O ferryman, take me across the ocean,' a song of both Hindu and Moslem.

"In almost all the villages which are the standard of Indian communal life, the houses belong to Hindu and Moslem alike. There are few villages which exclusively belong to one set of religionists. There may be predominance of one community over the other, but it is always in the spirit of a communal life that they live together.

"Today the Hindu pilgrims go not only to Juggenath but to many Moslem mosques to show their love and adoration. The Hindu and the Moslems have been blended so much that the one cannot do without the other. In *rajas'* courts and palaces the highest post is often given to a Mohammedan just as it used to be in Moghul times. In the courts of Nabobs in a similar way the highest posts are very often given to Hindus. This is a common thing. In social gatherings Hindus and Mohammedans are invited to each other's homes. And

what a vast deal of manners and customs Hindu India has learned from his Moslem neighbors, and the Moslem from the Hindu! The Hindus give homage to the *pirs* and *fakirs*—the saints of the Moslem faith, and the Moslem does the same to the Hindu *sanyasis* or holy men. It is very difficult to say whether some of the great saints such as Kavir and others were really Hindus or Mohammedans. On the death of Kavir the story runs that there was a great quarrel amongst his followers whether his body should be cremated or buried, as he had both Hindu and Mohammedan disciples. There are families in the eastern part of India where it is difficult to know whether the ancestors of any particular family were Hindus or Mohammedans."

The Religious Rights of Moslem Convicts

The Mohammedans of Cape Town have recently made petition to the Government for the privilege of appointing Moslem chaplains to visit prisoners in the jails of South Africa. The same question has arisen in South India. We read in *The Muslim Herald* (Madras):

"Some time last November, the Executive Committee of the Majlisul-Ulama of Trichinopoly met and passed certain resolutions on the subject of the provisions to be made for Moslem convicts in South Indian jails for the due observance of their religious obligations. One of these resolutions was to the effect that the local Government be moved for sanction to allow Moulvies into jails for giving religious lectures to Moslem convicts. The Government of Madras have, we note, readily acceded to this request and instructed the Inspector-General of Prisons to appoint, in consultation with the District Magistrates concerned, a Moulvie for each jail to give religious instruction to Moslem convicts. Another resolution requested Government to grant to Moslem convicts holidays during the two Khutba festivals of Edul-fithr and Eduz-zuha and on all Fridays. As regards this resolution, the Government's reply, we note, is less satisfactory. They point out that Edul-fithr is already a holiday, but that as, according to their inquiries, there is no objection to Moslems working on Eduz-zuha, they do not consider it necessary to grant a holiday on that day.

"The Government indeed have a special responsibility in regard to the holidays of Moslem convicts. The jails are not so much penal institutions—at any rate they ought not to be—as reformatory asylums; and there can be no more potent reformatory influence than that of religion. Why then should the Government grudge to make provision for the maximum, religious influence to be brought to bear on the convicts in these asylums? The Government's reply is even more unsatisfactory in regard to exemption from work during Ramadan. They agree readily and say enough that fasting should be allowed and it is allowed. But they evade the corollary that with fasting should go the exemption from work. Their excuse is that there is a medical man to say whether exemption should be granted on the ground of inability to work. This is a most unsatisfactory answer. The fact is to think, not of the mundane work which the jail task-master gives the convict, but of Him who is the Maker and Ruler of all things. The Government should recognize in this connection that no man can serve two masters. And in this case, which may they prefer the convict to obey—the jail task-master or God? Surely, the latter."

A Turkish Kaleidoscope, by Clare Sheridan; Duckworth, London. Pp. 223; 15/-.

While all the world is gasping at the sudden changes taking place in Turkey, Clare Sheridan says: "Who need care, then, about such things as roads and railways, harbors, quays, machinery, organization, schools, hospitals, hygiene, etc.? These require time and money. In Turkey there is no money to spend, nor is there time to lose, for 'civilization is pitiless towards those who will not submit to its requirements.' The leader of the Turkish Republic.....has said so, and he knows what those requirements are. He has crystallized them into a single word: 'hat'; thus proving that civilization can be acquired overnight."

An amusing, ironical, flippant and perhaps superficial book—but nevertheless showing that beneath the hat the Turk is still the Turk of old, and belongs to Asia. But in her "Apology" the author also says: "Although I may seem to belittle the Turks.....I do not belittle the part the Turks have played. Even if the future of Turkey as a unit is without promise, the spirit of the Oriental movement, of which Turkey is a supporting monolith, is by no means insignificant."

PENELOPE ROYALL.

Le Koran, traduction litterale et complete des Sourates Essentielle, by Dr. J. C. Mardrus; Eugene Fasquelle, Paris. Pp. 305; 20 frs.

A new translation from the Arabic into French endeavoring to give in an artistic way the spirit of the Koran, adapted to European readers, but with a warning in the Preface that one must approach the Koran, as far as possible, with the conceptions and sentiments of a man of the Orient, if one wishes to understand it. P. R.

The European Powers and the Near East, 1875-1908, by Mason Whiting Tyler; University of Minnesota. Pp. 234; $2.00.

In the death of the author of this monograph, in March, 1923, research in Modern History lost one of its devoted disciples. Most of this volume was written by that time. A number of interested and competent friends have completed the task. At the outset the author excludes Egypt and its peculiar problems from his investigations, although he admits that this country should probably be considered a part of the Near East. Although the Asiatic division comprising Turkey in Asia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Arabia are included in his definition of the Near East, the book mainly deals with the problems of the Balkans and Turkey in Europe.

The introductory chapters deal with the geographical, racial and economic factors, Turkish rule in the Near East, and the emergence of the Balkan States. The crises, conferences and treaties during the period from 1875 to 1908 are the factors around which the remaining chapters are organized. For a brief, clear statement of the background of all the diplomatic tangles in Europe relating to Turkey and the Balkans one will search long and far to find an equal to this book. The two questions, dealing with the portions of the Near East in Asia that are treated with any detail, are the Bagdad Railroad and the Armenian problem. The book bears testimony to the excellent work of American Colleges in Beirut and Constantinople, in contributing to the growth of national consciousness and moulding liberal thought in the Near East.

E. E. ELDER.

The Call from the Moslem World, being a comprehensive statement of the facts which constitute the call from the Moslem World to the Church of England, prepared by a Commission appointed by the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly. Press and Publications Board of the Church Assembly, London. Pp. 81; 2/6.

This is one of a series of reports, as the title indicates, on the missionary responsibility of the Anglican Church throughout the world. After a brief bibliography, the reader has a survey of the present-day opportunities in the world of Islam, because of geographical accessibility, a new spirit of tolerance, demands for education and, in some fields, a responsiveness to the message. This is followed by an account of Anglican missions throughout the Mohammedan areas, an indication of the task of the church, and the cost in workers and money for adequate occupation. We regret that in the third chapter the work of other societies, if not wholly ignored, is at least insufficiently emphasised.

The Unfinished Task of Foreign Missions, by Robert E. Speer; Revell, New York. Pp. 351; $2.75.

These lectures delivered at the Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, are a discussion of some of the facts and problems of the present-day missionary enterprise in various parts of the world. Of necessity the book lacks unity, as it covers too wide a field. Each lecture, however, by itself is a complete analysis of a special situation by one of the foremost living missionary statesmen. There is no indication that some of these lectures have appeared in other form elsewhere. The subjects are as follows:

Foreign Missions, An Enterprise of Hope and Duty; Some Changes in Asia in the Past Generation; The Present Economic and Religious Environment of Missions in India; The Christian Approach to Buddhism; The Most Open Door to Islam; The Present Situation in South America; The Unfinished Task on the Foreign Field; Foreign Missions and the World's Need.

Of absorbing interest to our readers is Lecture V, on the open door in Persia.

The Cost of a New World, by Kenneth Maclennan. Edinburgh House Press, London, 1925. Pp. 192.

Discussions of the world-problems which have been bequeathed to the present generation by the World War are no longer a novelty. These problems have been dealt with from every conceivable angle. This little book, by the Secretary of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, surveys the present world situation from the viewpoint of the worldwide missionary enterprise, in order to discover the real issues which are involved in such current world movements as the growth of national and race consciousness, the seething mind of youth, the industrialization of the Orient, the opening of Africa, the outreach for education, and the relevancy of Christianity to them. It is a thoughtful and stimulating discussion of matters that vitally concern all those who believe with the author that Christianity has a "sure word for mankind."

Chapter vi, "The Break-up of Pan-Islam," will be of particular interest to readers of this magazine. The factors which are contributing to the transformation of the Moslem world today are briefly stated,

and more extended notice is given to the growth of nationalism in Islamic countries, and the significance of the abolition of the Caliphate.
C. C. ADAMS.

Beled-es-siba. By W. E. D. Allen. Macmillan, London. Pp. 244. Price 8/6.

In the Preface the author says his book is "paltry, a mere conglomeration of travel sketches," but this mixture of travelogues may well be taken as a tonic on a dull, drab day in a dingy city, for the writer has the pen of an artist, sketching what he sees in bright colors. The book includes a journey along the northern slopes of the Atlas, another through central Europe, in Hungary, in Croatia, and one or two sketches of the Caucasus and Serbia. The first and longest chapter gives the title to the book. His description of the Berbers is typical:

"Although the Berbers formed the shaft to the Arab spear-head into Spain, and later sent dynasties of soldiers and prophets to command the Faithful of Fez and Marrakesh, they have remained a race apart, not Arab-speaking, and only on the fringe of Islam. The later Moorish Sultans, Berbers sometimes themselves, made many expeditions over the mountains and into the desert to reduce the unregenerate tribes, marauders of the caravans and spoilers of the towns; but when the Berbers did not hurl down rocks and attack in passes, they betook themselves to the mountain-tops or into the wilderness, and the next dynastic war in the rich *beled* brought them looting back to the gates of the four Sherifian capitals."
Z.

Den Mohammedanska Varlden i Revolution. By W. Wilson Cash. Stockholm. Ev. Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Bokforlag. Pp. 168.

A translation of the study textbook, "The Moslem World in Revolution." The book has no illustrations, but the text is complete.

Mit Auto and Kamel zum Pfauentron. By E. A. Powell. K. Vowinkel Berlin-Grunewald. 1924. pp. 259. M. 5.

This American Major gives an exciting and interesting description of his auto trip through the Syrian desert, Mesopotamia and Persia to Teheran, where he had an opportunity of seeing the wonderful "peacock throne" of the Shah of Persia. The book gives the reader an insight into the present state of politics in Syria, Arabia, Iraq and Persia. Major Powell had an excellent opportunity to study at first hand the life of the Bedouins while crossing the desert with a caravan. SIMON.

Conflict of Policies in Asia. By Thomas F. Millard. pp. 515. The Century Company, New York, 1925. Price $4.00.

The causes and results of the conference held at Washington in 1921-22, with the trend of world evolution since the Great War, have given the Pacific and Far Eastern questions an important place in the foreign policy of the United States. Will the forces of social and political unrest released by the Great War completely penetrate the Asiatic world and create a real yellow peril? Will the dissolution of China continue, carrying down with it the efforts of the Chinese to establish a republic?

Does abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance remove all occasion for dissension between Great Britain and the United States in world politics? Do the treaties made at Washington actually tend to secure peace? Or have they weakened the power of the United States to de-

fend its position and rights without gaining any adequate compensation? Has the imperialistic policy of Japan been reformed, or curbed?

What of the Philippines? Are they a liability or an asset? Is the American policy there right? What is its significance in relation to all our Oriental contacts and to world politics?

These are some of the questions asked and answered by Mr. Millard, and he is perhaps the American best equipped to inform his countrymen on these subjects. He has lived and worked in the East for many years; and before that he was a journalist of international experience and reputation. He makes frequent visits to America, and so never loses touch with what his countrymen are thinking and feeling. J. C. C.

Thamil'la. By Ferdinand Duchene, Albin Michel, Paris, 1921. Pp. 239. Price fr. 6. 75.

We make no apology for the belated notice of this book which secured the Grand Prize in literature at Algiers in 1921. The author lifts the veil on conditions of life among the Berbers. One must read the story to feel and know the law of Mohammedan womanhood.

Aftener I Damaskus and Min Ven Sjejken. By Alfred Nielson; Osterlandsmission, Copenhagen. 1925. Pp. 43 and 94 respectively.

These "Evenings in Damascus," and "Talks with a Sheikh," by one of the missionaries of the Danish Osterland Mission, introduce us to work for Moslems carried on under peculiar difficulties in a fanatical environment. The fact that in so short a period of service prejudice has broken down, friendships have been established, and the message of the cross proclaimed to willing listeners is proof of an open door and a call for intercession.

Jahangir's India, the Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, translated from the Dutch by W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., and P. Geyl, Litt. D.; W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge. pp. 88; price 8/6.

It is now three centuries since Francisco Pelsaert drew up this account of the Mogul Empire for his employers in Holland. The author was a merchant of exceptional ability, and a keen observer of life; and his "Report," based on seven years' experience, is one of the most vivid and convincing documents available on the period. The complete record has not been published before, although a portion was translated by Thevenot, Paris, 1663. Two sections only are of interest to our readers, viz: Section 13 and 14, which give an account of Moslem superstition and marriage at Agra.

A Flying Visit to the Middle East. By Sir Samuel Hoare. Cambridge University Press, London. 1925. Pp. 88.

This little book is worth its weight in gold to any one interested in the Air Route from Cairo to Baghdad. The author, the Secretary of State for Air, traveled from Amman to Baghdad, then to Kadhimain, Mosul, Hatra, the Mountains of Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniya, Diwaniya, Basra, Abadan, back to Baghdad, then to Trans-Jordania, Palestine and Egypt. For nearly three years, Iraq and Palestine have been under Air dominion. The Air Force have ploughed with Fordson tractors for five hundred miles the furrow that marks the desert route for the aeroplanes.

"It was on October 1, 1922, that the Air Force, under the able command of Air Marshall Sir John Salmond, took over from the Army the responsibility for the defence of Iraq. In 1920, there had been some sixty-four Army units and two Air Force squadrons in the country. Then came the rising, and the garrison rose to ninety-two units and four squadrons. In terms of money the maintenance of these great forces cost as much as £38,500,000 a year . . . In the course of five years the expenditure has been reduced from thirty-eight and a half millions to less than four millions, and I have every hope that in a not far-distant future we shall be able to make still further economies of a substantial character."

Hadhir al-'Aalam al-Islami (The new world of Islam). By Lothrop Stoddard, translated by 'Ajaj Nuweihas, with notes and appendices by Amir Shakib Arslan. Two volumes, pp. 425; pp. 427, Cairo, 1343 A. H. (1925).

These two well-printed volumes represent the united efforts of the translator and the commentator, who had before them Lothrop Stoddard's book "The New World of Islam." One can well imagine how they were both attracted and repelled by its contents. The original work was ambitious in attempting to cover the gigantic transformations in the world of Islam. Stoddard closes his introduction with these words:

"Islam is seething with mighty forces fashioning a new Moslem world. What are those forces moulding the Islam of the future? To their analysis and appraisal the body of this book is devoted."

It is no wonder that when such a theme falls into the hands of a strong Nationalist Druse today, the result is the shedding of much ink to win a great victory.

As for the translation of the original work, we have only praise for the translator and the publisher. It is in the footnotes and the appendices, however, that we have the Moslem appraisal of Stoddard's work, and gain new insight into the psychology of the advocates of Islam.

The book has doubled in size. This is due not only to lengthy footnotes, but to a series of appendices inserted between the chapters on the following subjects:

Islam in China, Islam in Java, Islam in Russia, Islam in Africa, Islam among the Congo Arabs, Islam in Abyssinia, Islam in Madagascar, Islam in the Philippines, the Moslems of India, the Babi-Behai Movement, the use of black troops in Europe, the recent history of Arabia, Islam and Communism, Islam and Bolshevism, etc., etc.

On pages 42 to 45 the book deals with the missionary movement and its advocates, especially the editor of this Quarterly. With considerable vigor, missionaries are pilloried and we are told that they are discouraging controversy as a method of approach, because they feel the Islamic position is too strong for attack.

The book as a whole is evidence that East and West have met, and that anything and everything written on Islam in the West is being read by Moslems in the Near East. The Arabic press of Cairo is one of the greatest broadcasting stations.

The Mohammedan Dynasties. By S. Lane-Poole; Paul Geuthner, Paris. Pp. 361; price 25/—.

The original edition of this very important and invaluable work was published in London in 1893, but it has long been out of print, although

in great demand. We congratulate the publishers, therefore, and students of the history of Islam, on the appearance of this photographic reproduction of the original. In the preface to the reprint, the author regrets the impossibility of additions or corrections in the text. The tables are in colors as in the original, and the book is well worth the price. It should be in every missionary library. For dates and dynasties, caliphs and caliphates, its use will save much labor.

Verspreide Geschriften. By C. Snouck Hurgronje; Kurt Schroeder, Bonn und Leipzig, 1925; 3 vols. Deel IV, (1) pp. 410, Deel IV, (2) pp. 436, Deel V pp. 419; price 12 marks gold each.

The earlier volumes of this series have been noticed in our Quarterly. The two parts of Volume IV consist of a series of papers on Islam in the Dutch East Indies, invaluable to the missionaries of this great area. All of them are in Dutch with the exception of two papers in French. In Part II, we have a reprint of Dr. Hurgronje's *Politique Musulman de la Hollande,* which deserves careful study. One could wish it were in the hands of all government officials in North Africa.

Volume V of this collection of papers deals with the Arabic language and literature. The two leading papers are on the proverbs of Mecca and West Arabia; both of first class importance to Arabists.

Die Weltmission des Christentums. By Martin Schlunk, Agentur des Rauhen Hauses, Hamburg, 1925; pp. 229.

Dr. Schlunk has succeeded in crowding on the canvas of six short chapters a lively portrait of the triumphant progress of the Gospel during the past nineteen centuries. The perspective is excellent, and although the figures are small, life and color are not absent. Under the history of modern missions there is a brief section on the world of Islam, designated as the "neglected step-child among mission fields," and giving a sketch of the efforts in Turkey, Persia, India, Arabia and North Africa.

Statistics, a bibliography (rather incomplete) and a good index make this an excellent handbook on mission history.

Das Innere Leben. By Inayat Khan. Pp. 62. Publishers: Rotapfelverlag, Munich. 1924. M. 1. 60.

In the ten chapters of this book, the inner life is compared to a journey in true mystical fashion. The traveler is a person who stands before God every moment of his life, and in this way he achieves the perfection, which Christ expressed in the words: "Be ye perfect, as your Father in heaven is perfect." Inayat calls this person the "Angelic man" (this expression reminds one of Ghazali), for "in the depths of the soul lie angelic characteristics." This book also will serve as an introduction to the thought world of Inayat. SIMON.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering
Missionary Research Library, New York.

I. GENERAL.

The City of the Twilight Fair. Walter B. Harris. (in *Travel,* N. Y. July, 1926. pp. 7-11, 46.)

A well-illustrated, interesting description of the life and buildings of Marrakesh, the southern capital of the Moorish Empire.

Ibn Saud, New Master of Mecca. Ameen Rihani. (in *Asia,* N. Y. August, 1926. pp. 669-674, 734, 735.)

The first of a series of articles on the political career and personal genius of this great leader.

The Inwardness of the Indian Problem. (in *The Round Table,* London. June, 1926. pp. 502-518.)

Suggesting an explanation of the tumult in India since 1919 by briefly analyzing the psychologies and the backgrounds of the Mohammedans and the Hindus.

Persia's New Regime. The significance of Reza Shah Pahlavi. A. C. Millspaugh. (in *The New Orient,* N. Y. July, 1926. pp. 16-19.)

Suggested answers to the questions: Why, facing the necessity of a change, did Persia choose monarchy in preference to a republic? Why did Reza Shah Pahlavi, already effective head of the Government, accept to become king? What has become of the Constitution and the Parliament?

Saad Zaghlul Pasha. Owen Tweedy. (in *The Fortnightly Review,* London. July, 1926. pp. 110-118.)

Traces in brief outline the life and political career of the great Egyptian leader.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

Social Phases of the Turkish Renaissance. Mary Mills Patrick. (in *The New Orient,* N. Y. July, 1926. pp. 25-28.)

Describes chiefly the changes in the position of women in Turkey, and the attitude of Mustapha Kemal Pasha thereto.

TURKEY WALKS ABREAST WITH THE MODERN WORLD. Albert Howe Lybyer. (in *Current History,* N. Y. July, 1926. pp. 576-582.)

A discussion of the new civil code adopted by Turkey, with but few modifications, from Switzerland. Followed by a translation of the speech made by Mahmoud Essad (Minister of Justice) before the Assembly in February, 1926, when the new code was presented to Ismet Pasha, the Prime Minister.

TURKEY'S COMING OF AGE: How far is the new republic keeping its oath to be civilized and progressive? Elizabeth P. MacCallum and Edward Mead Earle. (in *Asia,* N. Y. July, 1926. pp. 585-589, 654-659.)

A survey of the difficulties and achievements of Turkey, to answer the question of what use it has made of the independence won at Lausanne. Is it equal to the requirements of freedom? Are the Western Powers equal to the requirements of a new point of view in regard to Turkey?

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

EGYPTIAN MILESTONES AND ZAGHLUL PASHA. Captain Owen Tweedy. (in *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston. August, 1926. pp. 255-262.)

Registers the political emancipation of Egypt since 1800, and finds that Zaghlul Pasha, despite much noise, has not materially contributed thereto, largely due to his incapacity for statesmanlike compromise.

THE HINDU-MOHAMMEDAN PROBLEM IN INDIA. J. Coatman. (in *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston. July, 1926. pp. 121-131.)

Shows the scope and gravity of the problem, with its roots reaching far back in history, and indicates the steps by which the rivalry has, during the past few years, shifted its ground from the old base of religious fanaticism and prejudice to the even more serious field of political and economic struggle.

THE MOSUL TREATY. By "Augur." (in *The Fortnightly Review,* London. July, 1926. pp. 51-56.)

A discussion of imperial interests in the Near East and the Mediterranean route to India, as affected by the signing of the treaty; and the absolute necessity for a cordial entente with France in both places.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN EGYPT. Viator Hibernicus. (in *The Fortnightly Review,* London. May, 1926. pp. 694-701.)

An attempt to unscramble the political omelet, and to show the relative positions of the Ziwar Government, the Zaghlul Party, and the Liberal Constitutional Party.

SYRIA'S MALAISE. Roger Labonne. (in *The Living Age,* Boston. July 3, 1926. pp. 9-15.)

Translation of an article in *Le Correspondent* of May 25. Surveys rapidly the widespread feeling of Arab nationalism, the use

made of this by the Allies during the war, and their later repudiation of it, and more than intimates that it would be strongly to the advantage of France for her to withdraw entirely from any political role in Syria.

THE UNITED STATES AND LAUSANNE TREATY. George A. Plimpton, and the Hon. William E. Borah. (in *The New Orient,* N. Y. July, 1926. pp. 20-24.)

Summary of the present condition of affairs in Turkey as a basis for ratification, followed by the full text of Senator Borah's reply to the protest of Bishop Manning and a hundred and nine other bishops of the Episcopal Church.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN. S. M. Zwemer. (in *The Church Missionary Review,* London. June, 1926. pp. 134-143.)

A survey of the country, showing briefly some things accomplished by the Government, the penetration of the region by Islam, and the present missionary occupation.

FRANCE, ITALY, AND SPAIN IN NORTH AFRICA. J. J. Cooksey. (in *World Dominion,* London. June, 1926. pp. 121-127.)

The situation from the point of view of what has been done politically, and what is the significance of its missionary relationship to the problem of Islam and the rest of the Continent.

ISLAM IN AFRICA. Maurice Delafosse, S. M. Zwemer, and W. R. Miller. (in *The International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1926. pp. 533-568.)

Three separate studies. The first, while giving full credit for the good resulting from the spread of Islam in Africa, concludes that the obstacles to the intensive development of Islam in Negro Africa are numerous and strong, and that Islam shows no tendency to spread except in the towns. The second takes up the questions of what are the elements of strength and weakness in Islam, what are its advantages and disadvantages as compared with Christian missions in Africa today. The third studies the problems and peculiarities of Islam in West-Central and Northwest Africa.

MEDICAL TOURING IN ARABIA. L. P. Dame. (in *The Journal of the Christian Medical Association of India,* Poona. May, 1926. p. 55-63.)

A description of incidents experienced during two long tours, from the Mason Memorial Hospital at Bahrein as base.

A NEW NATION IN THE MAKING—IN AFRICA. Samuel M. Zwemer. (in *The Missionary Review of the World,* N. Y. June, 1926. pp. 413-421.)

(See note under the "Anglo-Egyptian Sudan" above.)

THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN MOSLEM PRESS

PROFESSOR ARTHUR JEFFERY

American University, Cairo.

A quarterly summary of important and interesting productions of the press of Moslem lands in controversy with Christianity, will appear regularly in the MOSLEM WORLD. Such a summary may have value for several reasons. It is always interesting and sometimes very instructive to know what our Moslem friends are writing about us and our religion, even if the interest and instruction are purely personal. It is of value for the missionary, who is quite familiar with the type of polemic in his own area, to know what is going on in other areas, to know what are the burning questions in other lands, such as China or Malaysia. Such summaries, of course, can provide an invaluable guide to literary workers as to the production that is needed on the Christian side to meet the difficulties felt and presented by Moslems, and we may all become wiser and more sympathetic in our presentation of the Christian message, as we from their own polemic eliminate the things that offend or are stumbling blocks. As it is found that similar problems are occupying various areas, a little cooperation in production may possibly save great waste of energy in different missions. And so one might go on developing these values.

It will be obvious, however, that the value of the Survey depends largely on its completeness, and that makes it equally obvious that the Survey can only be made possible by cooperation. Moslem literature is appearing daily in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, Malay, not to speak of the more limited production in Chinese, Javanese, Tamil, etc., and a no inconsiderable output in four or five European languages. No one man could cover this linguistic area, even if he had the time to read all the material. The Survey will be attempted in Cairo by Professor Arthur Jeffery of the School of Oriental Studies (113 Sharia Kasr el Aini, Cairo), and arrangements have been made for watching the Arabic and Turkish press, for articles in daily papers and periodicals, as well as pamphlets and books. For India, Persia, China, Malaysia, North Africa, and other areas, however, we shall have to depend on local missionaries, who will watch in their areas and send to Mr. Jeffery any interesting material that they find, that he may put it in order at the end of each quarter for inclusion in the Survey.

EGYPT

A writer in *Al-Balagh* toward the end of Ramadan devoted one of his articles entitled "The Thoughts of One Fasting" to the interesting subject of "Islam and America." America interests him particularly, as the Americans are the cleverest people in the world—note how they make money. Now he thinks that as Islam looks toward America it can see very hopeful signs. Particularly, two very important things have happened in recent years, which greatly interest Moslems. One is that Americans have abolished alcoholic drinks, and the other is that they are working hard to abolish the teaching that man is descended from the apes. Now in both these cases they are acting according to Islamic principles, for as is well known, Islam is the only teetotal religion in the world, and its holy Prophet Mohammed taught without equivocation that man was made by God from dust and is not descended from any animals. The New Testament, of course, is witness that Jesus was no teetotaller, for his first miracle was the changing of water into wine, and so here we have the spectacle in the twentieth century of this cleverest people in the world forsaking the principles of their

own Prophet, and taking as basal elements in their national life two principles drawn from Islam. Such a spectacle must rejoice the heart of every Moslem, and Islam may have much to hope for in the future of America.

INDIA

Attention should be drawn to a most amusing periodical *The Light,* published by the Ahmadiya Anjuman at Lahore, several numbers of which have recently passed through our hands. It is a simple four-sheet paper published twice a month and obviously modelled on the famous *Epiphany* of Calcutta. The Editor states its policy in the issue of May 1st:—"Perhaps it is not generally unknown that the principal aim of our movement, is to inflict a crushing defeat on Christianity which has lately been proving itself the most powerful enemy of Islam ..... Unmistakable signs show that the movement is fast approaching when Christian missionaries will have not to show their faces before the world."

In the same statement from which we have quoted the above, we notice another very interesting and significant thing. It is well known of course that the Lahore Anjuman grew out of the Qadiani Movement, popularly known as the Ahmadiya Movement, from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Khan, its founder, who claimed to be the Messiah. It is also well known that since the split with the old Qadiani party, Khwaja Kamal ud-Din and other members of the Lahore group, no longer emphasize their connection with Ahmad. It is here suggested, however, that their nome Ahmadiya is derived from the word "Ahmad," the name whereby Mohammed was foretold in John's Gospel.

It is interesting to note how wide awake the members of the Ahmadiya groups are to Western writings on Islam that appear in English. In two numbers of the *Light,* for instance, we find an attack by Maulavi Mhd.Ali, the translator of the Ahmadiya Koran, on Dr. Mingana's two interesting contributions toward a sounder understanding of the origins of the Koranic text. The Maulavi's ammunition does not do much damage and Dr. Mingana is quite capable of taking care of himself, but it is rather amusing to find the writer in all seriousness questioning Dr. Mingana's knowledge of Arabic, which is Dr. Mingana's native tongue, but to the Maulavi as to ourselves an acquired language.

Speaking of the Ahmadiya Koran reminds us that in the April 16th issue of the *Light,* there is a most important note expressing very great apprehension over a proposal of the Indian *Jamiat ul-Ulama* to have money set aside for bringing out an English translation of the Koran. The writer shall speak for himself:

"A translation under the direction of the Ulama may, we are afraid, repel rather than attract. For instance such Mulla-notions as the story that Jesus has been alive in the fourth heaven all these twenty centuries, that Jesus raised the dead to life, that Jesus created actual birds out of clay—such notions would certainly tend to confirm Jesus on his throne of Divinity. And such Mulla-notions that in the Koran there are certain verses which abrogate others, that some verses have altogether been omitted from it, would, rather than draw towards Islam, go to discount from the authenticity and reliability of the Koran. Again, such notions that apostasy must be punished with death, that non-Moslems may be killed anywhere and everywhere, that thrice did Abraham tell a lie, that the Prophet getting enamoured of Zaid's wife by a chance glance made him divorce her in order himself to take her in marriage—such and a quite a host of similar notions, which make up Mulla-Islam, would, we are afraid, rather than endear Islam to a scientific world such as the West, nail the coffin of Islam in those lands once for all. Of translations misrep-

resenting Islam in all manner of horrid colors there are already good many on Western book-stalls. But this one by the Ulama will, we apprehend, surpass all in its mischief. For unlike others, it will carry along with it the hallmark of the Ulama's authority. We would therefore urge it on the serious consideration of Sir Abdur Rahim and the Committee formed for the purpose that if they have the good of Islam at heart and do not want to disgrace Islam in the eyes of outside world, the translation work must be placed in the hands of men who can understand the mentality of the people for whom it is meant."

This same number has a very amusing attack on the Trinity entitled "A Straight-word Puzzle." After quoting at length from the Athanasian Creed as given in the Anglican Prayer Book (which he evidently regards as standard Christianity), it calls on its readers to exercise their Algebra on the equation F.S. + H.G. = 1 and concludes, "It is a holy mystery beyond the ken of man and besides reason has no place in religion. It is faith that saves. Such is the brazen-faced argument that the cleric when you corner him on the point, flings at your face, and with such creeds, such arithmetic, such logic, he is out to evangelize the heathens in the East." The issue of May continues with "the Trinity puzzle," this time in the form of a letter to the editor signed "an Englishman," though who the Englishman could be who writes such ungrammatical, unidiomatic English, is rather difficult to understand, and one may be pardoned the suspicion that perhaps the Editor of the *Light* sometimes writes letters to himself.

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