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EDITORIAL

THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH

Persia is the keystone of the arch in that vast temple, the Dar-ul-Islam, reared during thirteen centuries, stretching from Sierra Leone to Shanghai, and sheltering under a common faith the Moors of Morocco and the Moros of Mindanao. Geographically, and indeed historically, Persia lies at the center of the Moslem world and has for centuries exerted no mean influence through language, literature and art on her neighbors. Westward stretch Arabia, Syria, Palestine and North Africa; eastward Mohammedan Central Asia, with its old centers Bokhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, and the Chinese provinces of Kansu and Yunnan; southward, Afghanistan and the seventy million Moslems of India; northward the Moslems of Russia in the Crimea and the Steppes.

In a recent lithograph a Persian artist depicts his country as a woman reclining on the waters of the Gulf and leaning on the broad shoulders of the erect figure of His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi. The sun's light shines upon the national hero, who is ready with drawn sword to defend the Motherland. In the background are Cyrus, Zoroaster and other great figures of the past; but there is no Islamic prophet or symbol in the whole picture. This is significant, since the Shiah of Persia are not averse to painting Mohammed or Ali. (Witness our frontispiece, one of many portraits of the prophets and Imams which are found on sale.)

But educated Persians are now saying that their national greatness was pre-Islamic and that the Arab invasion caused the arrest and not the development of their civilization.

Very early in the Christian era the Gospel entered Persia and the great persecution under Shapur II proves how widespread was its acceptance in 339 A. D. At times there was toleration and again we read of reactionary repression. Once there were bishoprics in Ray and Herat, two bishops in Gilan and one each in Azerbaijan, Yezd, Kerman, Isfahan and in Shiraz. Even now after centuries of Moslem domination Christian remnants remain. The beautiful Armenian Church at Julfa, dating from the sixteenth century, and the ruined churches of the Nestorians at Urumia are mute but eloquent witnesses. The Aryan blood of Persia has often shown itself not only by friendly toleration of other creeds but by revolt against the Semitic orthodoxy of Arabia from the first century of Islam to our own day.

Persia has been the mother of heresies. The Shiah by race and culture and philosophy became the non-conformists of Islam. They therefore form a problem within a problem. At first a political sect, through the claim of Ali and his followers to the headship of the Moslem state, the belief gradually arose that in the house of Ali there was a particle of divinity and that this supernatural endowment passed on from generation to generation. Hence the doctrine of the Imams and the passionate devotion to the Twelve, an apostolic succession of divinely endowed leaders. The origin and development of Shiah doctrine has only recently received special attention. Earlier writers—Kremer, Dozy and Müller—traced its rise to the influence of old Persian thought. Wellhausen, however, suggested that the Shiah owe their peculiar teaching to Jewish sources, and Friedlander¹ worked out the theory according to which the Jew, Ab-

¹ The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Hazm (New Haven, 1909) Cf. the full bibliography in Pfannmüller's *Handbuch d. Islam Liter.* pp. 315-20.

dullah ibn Sa'ad, was the real founder of the Shiah faith. Professor R. Strothmann has contributed much to a clearer understanding of the subject, especially in his latest work, reviewed in this issue of our Quarterly.²

The sects and subdivisions of the Shiah world are many. Schism was of its very nature. The Ahl-i-Haqq, the Babis and the Bahais are examples.³ Each offers special points of contact with, and of contrast to, Christianity and therefore special opportunity as well as special difficulty for the missionary.

It was for the purpose of studying the present missionary situation in Persia and to come in closer contact with the Shiah form of Islam that we accepted an invitation last year to spend the summer months in Persia and make a visit to the mission stations of the American Presbyterian Missions and those of the Church Missionary Society. These two missions, with the British and Foreign Bible Society, the London Mission to the Jews and one or two smaller missions occupy the field.

Three months of travel by motor for more than four thousand miles enabled us to visit in succession, Kerman-shah, Hamadan, Tabriz, Urumia, Resht, Teheran, Isfahan, Yezd and Kerman. A local conference was held at each of these places and, at the close, an all-Persia inter-mission conference at Teheran. At the final gathering forty-three delegates and a group of visitors were present, representing all but one of the stations in Persia. Of the many valuable papers presented at that conference four are printed in this issue. The findings of the conference on occupation, cooperation, Christian literature and the training of workers indicate both the hopefulness and the urgency of the present situation.⁴

No other Moslem land offers a larger opportunity for all lines of missionary effort. New Persia faces the future. The new Shah is a man of energy with a capacity

²Die Zwölfer-Schia (Harrasowitz-Leipzig).

³Missions owe a great debt to Professor V. Minorsky for his recent monograph on the Ahl-i-Haqq. (Leroux, Paris.)

⁴The Report of the Conference can be obtained from the Secretary of the American Mission Hamadan, Persia.

for hard work and bold leadership. The economic progress of the country, though beset with many difficulties, is assured, if the policies inaugurated by the American Financial Mission under Dr. A. C. Millspaugh are continued. Everywhere we witnessed signs of real progress—extensive road-building, new schools, reforms in administration and in the abolition of old abuses. To solve the most urgent economic problem, namely, better communications, a monopoly of tea and sugar has been introduced and the proceeds, estimated at a million sterling, have been earmarked for railway construction. We concur in the judgment of the editor of *The Near East* that “if the life of the new Shah is spared and if the pomp and circumstance of monarchy exercise no harmful influence on his character and energy, Persia may yet take her stand at the head of the nations of the Middle East.”

The clerical party, that is the *mullahs* and *mujtahids*, who are land-owners and capitalists, are making a fresh bid for power. Religious fanaticism is not dead but sleeping. In a recent outbreak at Jahrum, south of Shiraz, half a dozen Bahai were murdered in the streets. Muharram celebrations, such as we witnessed at Isfahan, are a constant danger signal. At present religious liberty is not proclaimed as enacted law. Islam is technically the state religion and the mullahs are still jealous of their former power and prestige. But there is far more freedom in Persia than in Turkey and there is an awakened desire for liberty in the hearts of all the people. The freedom taken by the press, in fact, has been so startling and precocious that one is not surprised at its present limitations. The Word of God has for many decades had free course and been widely read by Persians. Thousands of portions are sold every year. The circulation of Christian literature, although as yet meagre in quantity and weak in quality compared with that of India or Egypt, is steadily increasing. In the new program of national education there is no question that the mission schools and colleges are occupying the place of leadership. This

makes it supremely important that these model institutions at Teheran, Isfahan and Tabriz be kept at high level. To prepare the future leaders of Persia in every walk of life is a great responsibility which must be wisely met. Now is the golden hour of dawn.

In the absence of any census figures, the population of Persia, with its vast area of 600,000 square miles, more than twice the size of France, has been variously estimated. Some put it as high as twelve, others as low as eight millions. The total number of Protestant missionaries is one hundred and sixty-two—a wholly inadequate force for so large a task, especially since, due to the claims of institutional work, it is wisely but not widely distributed. To speak of unoccupied Persia is not an exaggeration.

After nearly a century since the occupation of Persia, large sections of the field remain as yet absolutely untouched or are reached only by occasional itineration or colportage work. Such are the Moghan and Talesh districts near the Russian border; the province of Khamseh; most of Kurdistan, and all of Luristan; Khuzistan with its growing importance as an oil center, where West and East meet with a vengeance; Mazanderan with about half a million people in a comparatively small fertile area; the districts of Demghan and Shamrud along the Teheran-Meshed road, village after village beckoning for reapers; the districts of Asterabad, Bajnurd and Kuchan along the Turkestan border; and, most accessible of all, the whole southern coast line, from Mohammerah to the Beluchistan border, so long in contact with foreign influence through its seaport towns. In addition to these, there are large nomadic tribes scattered all over Persia and comprising over a million souls. Beyond the eastern border lies Afghanistan with an estimated population of 4,000,000, on the verge of opening its doors to the Gospel, and more closely related to Persia than to any other country, because of trade-routes and the wide use of the Persian language. No Persian city is of greater strategic

importance than Meshed (see map). With Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Trans-Caspian provinces of Soviet Russia, Persia has for centuries had such close relations that the missionary horizon stretches beyond the political border of Iran.



Young Persia has growing pains. The purpose of the new Cabinet is to finance road and railway extension to the Black Sea via Trebizond. From Urumia through Mosul they hope to reach the Mediterranean, and from Kermanshah through Baghdad or from Hamadan to Khurramabad to reach the Persian Gulf.

Persians resident abroad exert increasing influence on their motherland. The *Iranschahr* Press at Berlin, the Persian journals of Cairo and the leading Persian newspaper *Habl-al-Matin* of Calcutta, afford an index to the extent and character of these contacts with the world. For example, the *Iranschahr* Press has agents in every city; in Kerman we found fifty-six regular subscribers to

TABLE SHOWING OCCUPATION OF PERSIA

Region	Cities Occupied	Society	Year Estab.	Communicants		Total Church Members	Missionaries	Schools	Hospitals	Population
				Converts from Non-Christ. Religions	Members from Oriental Churches					
North West Persia	Urumia	Presbyterian	1835		122	122	13	2	1	
	" villages	"	1873	14	878	878	23	3	1	
	Tabriz	Lutheran	1913	5	137	151	4		1	
Central Persia	Soujbulak				5	10				
	Teheran	Presbyterian	1872	48	60	108	28	3	1	
	"	Lon. Jews Soc.	1878	22		22	2	1		
	Kazvin	Presbyterian	1903		28	28			1	
	Hamadan	"	1880	55	154	209	16	2		
	"	"	1898	1	132	133				
	"	"	1903		37	37				
	Hamadan	Assem. of God	1924				2			
	Malayir	Presbyterian	1911	7	1	8	4	1		
	Resht	"	1906	9	15	24	10	2	1	
	Kerman-shah	"	1911	15		15	6		1	
	Meshed	Independent Presbyterian	1925				1			
			1911	43		43	12		1	
South Persia	Isfahan	C. M. S.	1869	282	107	389	17	3	2	
	"	"	1869		120	120				
	"	Lon. Jews	1897	101	101	101	1			
	Yezd	C. M. S.	1898	46	10	56	5	2	2	
	Kerman	"	1897	60	104	164	11	2	2	
	Shiraz	"	1923	9	6	15	5		1	
	Seistan	B. C. M. S.	1925				2			
	TOTALS			717	1916	2633	162	21	15	12,000,000

one of their magazines; their series of biographies of great men included not only Tolstoi and Lenin but Abraham Lincoln. The title page of such a popular biography of an American president provokes thought. Under the Persian title and sub-title we read, "Abraham Lincoln *sa vie et son oeuvre par Mohamed*" and then "*Orientalischer Zeitschriftenverlag Iranschahr, Berlin-Wilmersdorf-Augustastrasse 1*"; while the bibliography and the dozen illustrations savor delightfully of the Middle West. Only the ferment of a new nationalism could bring together such a motley collection of literature on every conceivable subject as we found in the book-bazaars of Tabriz, Teheran, and Resht. Bolshevism, too, is actively at work through its press and its schools in Persia. At Resht and Tabriz we gathered samples of their literature, hand-bills, newspapers, and magazines.

The Babi-Behai movement fully understands the secret of propaganda and of secret propaganda but is nevertheless waning in Persia today. In spite of its appeal as a so-called universal religion and its early martyrs for the cause, the ethical contradictions and the too evident syncretism of its book of Revelation do not appeal to the Persian mind. They are beginning to recognize it as only a half-way house to truth and many wish to travel all the way toward the goal.

The Cross is in the field and is winning its quiet victories. Dissatisfaction with the old Islam, especially its low ethical standards and ideals, is not only increasing but is freely, sometimes even loudly, expressed. Cartoons and caricatures, in the comic press, make a butt of the mullahs and their ways. Many of those who have received secondary education have inwardly broken with Islam and broken finally, even although they have not yet accepted the Christ. One of them said to us that real progress was impossible for Persia until the religion of Arabia ceased to be the religion of the State. Another declared, "Our country has had three things imposed on us from without by the Arabs: a foreign government, a

foreign language and a foreign religion. We have long been rid of the first, we are ridding ourselves of the second by purifying our language of Arabic terms, but have *not yet* got rid of the third."

That there has been a real *praeparatio evangelio* in Persia no one who knows its literary history can doubt. Jalalud-Din Rumi, Al Ghazali, Mansur-al-Hallai (who was tortured and crucified at Bagdad) and many others have borne witness to the character and life of Christ. The first named in one of his poems refers to Jesus Christ as follows:

"Thyself reckon dead, and then thou shalt fly
Free, free, from the prison of earth to the sky!
Spring may come, but on granite will grow no green thing:
It was barren in winter, 'tis barren in spring;
And granite man's heart is, till grace intervene,
And, crushing it, clothe the long barren with green.
When the fresh breath of Jesus shall touch the heart's core,
It will live, it will breathe, it will blossom once more."—

In another poem he gives a beautiful account of Christ healing the sick:

The house of 'Isa was the banquet of men of heart
Ho! afflicted one quit not this door!
From all sides the people ever thronged
Many blind and lame and halt and afflicted
To the door of 'Isa at dawn
That with his breath he might heal their ailments. . . ."⁵

Al Ghazali, the greatest of all Moslem seekers after God, was born in Persia and died there. He is claimed by the Shiahs too as their own, and his books are widely read. Miguel Asin has pointed out that in one of his writings he "confessed the whole of the teaching of the Christian faith, apart from two points of doctrine, to be infallible truth." He quotes Al Ghazali as saying: "Should someone say to thee 'Say that there is but one God and that

⁵ Masnavi-i-Manavi Whinfield's Translation, p. 116.

Jesus is His Prophet' thy mind would instinctively reject the statement as being proper to a Christian only. But that would be because thou hast not sufficient understanding to grasp that the statement in itself is true *and that no reproach can be made to the Christian for this article of his faith, nor for any of the other articles, save only these two—that God is the third of three and that Mohammed is not a prophet of God. Apart from these two, all the other articles of the Christian faith are true.*"⁶

Persian religious thought is saturated with such ideas. Those who say regarding the Near East "the harvest is not yet" should visit Persia, lift up their eyes and see the white fields. In every city and in many villages we met groups of men and women, once Moslem and now boldly confessing Christ by changed character and loving service. Indeed there are some who have laid down their lives for the truth. At Isfahan on July fourth we witnessed the public baptism of twenty-two adults, all converts from Islam, and heard the Persian church pray for the speedy evangelization of their own land. That church is increasing daily. The keystone of the arch of the Islamic temple is crumbling.

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⁶ "Al Qistas" p. 60 (Cairo, 1900) cf. Asin's "La Mystique d'al-Gazzali," pp. 67-104 and his "Islam and the Divine Comedy," p. 81.

THE CONCEPTION OF UNIVERSALITY IN EARLY ISLAM.

Did Mohammed when he issued his call to the Quraish in Mecca believe that he was founding a world religion? Did he plan as he fled to Medina that his peculiar religion should dominate the peoples of the whole earth? When he moved forward to consolidate Arabia and planned the expulsion of the Jews and Christians, had he definitely in mind a world conquest? At the very outset of such an investigation, let us be assured of the almost insurmountable difficulties of arriving at a clear-cut definite conclusion. Where the most eminent scholars differ over the relative importance of alleged events, and of statements in the Koran and Hadith, it seems an impossible task to finish our study with a pronouncement that is final.

T. W. Arnold, the protagonist for Islam among the scholars, says:

"The message of Islam was not for Arabia only; the whole world was to share in it. As there was but one God, so there was to be but one religion, into which all men were to be invited. This claim to be universal, to hold sway over all men and all nations, found a practical illustration in the letters which Mohammed is said to have sent in the year 628 (A. H. 6) to the great potentates of that time. An invitation to embrace Islam was sent in this year to the Emperor Heraclius, the king of Persia, the governor of Yaman, the governor of Egypt and the king of Abyssinia."¹

Nicholson is of the opinion that the Koran gives unequivocal testimony to the universal claim of Islam.²

Margoliouth believes that in sending letters to the rulers of whose fame he had heard, Mohammed at least published a program of world conquest.³

Sir Wm. Muir, in his "Caliphate," takes a different position:

¹ "The Preaching of Islam", 1913 edit., p. 281

² Literary History of the Arabs, p. 184

³ "Life of Mohammed" p. 364

"That the heritage of Islam is the world, was an afterthought. The idea, spite of much prophetic tradition, had been conceived but dimly, if at all, by Mahomet himself. His world was Arabia, and for it the new dispensation was ordained. The revelation ran in 'simple Arabic' for the teaching of its people. From first to last the summons was to Arabs and to them alone.

"The seed of a universal creed had indeed been sown, but that it ever germinated was due to circumstances rather than design."⁴

Caetani also holds that Mohammed's vision was a religion for Arabia only.⁵

Snouck-Hurgronje shows the difficulty of the problem in a significant paragraph, of which we quote two portions:

"Was Mohammed conscious of the universality of his mission? In the beginning he certainly conceived his work as merely the Arabian part of a universal task, which, for other parts of the world, was laid upon other messengers. In the Medina period he even more decidedly chose the direction of 'forcing to comply.' He was content only when the heathens perceived that further resistance to Allah's hosts was useless; their understanding of his 'clear Arabic Koran' was no longer the principal object of his striving. *Such* an Islam could equally be forced upon *non-Arabian* heathens."

"Are the words in which Allah spoke to him: 'We have sent thee to men in general', and a few expressions of the same sort, to be taken in that sense, or does 'humanity' here, as in many other places in the Koran, mean those with whom Mohammed had especially to do? Nöldeke is strongly of the opinion 'that the principal lines of the program of conquest carried out after Mohammed's death, had been drawn by the Prophet himself. Lammens and others deny with equal vigour that Mohammed ever looked upon the whole world as the field of his mission. This shows that the solution is not evident.'⁶

The main facts of Mohammed's life are so well known that it is not necessary to recall them in detail. Our especial interest is in defining the group to which he addressed his message. It is generally agreed that at the outset Mohammed began preaching to those of his own household and family. "Warn thy relatives of nearest kin" is said to have been among the first verses revealed. From the earliest suras his prophetic horizon does not seem to extend far beyond the Quraish and his native city Mecca. Aside from the theories of epilepsy, hysteria, or automatic speech, the reason for the call of Mohammed to carry a

⁴ Edition 1915, p. 42

⁵ *Annali dell' Islam* V. pp. 323,324

⁶ "Mohammedanism," p. 44-46

religious message is to be found in the needs of a certain people, namely, the Arabs.

Other peoples had been favored with written messages in a sacred book. "Why had the Arabs been neglected?" may have been the question that started his pondering mind. It seemed inconceivable that the God who had created the heavens and the earth should have left without a written witness any group of his creatures. The Jews and Christians had their books and messengers, why not the Arabs? In any case when the communications to Mohammed came, this reason is given:

"It is the truth from thy Lord, that thou mayest warn a people to whom a warner has never come before" (xxxii: 2).

"Verily thou art among the prophets to warn a people whose fathers living in ignorance were not warned" (xxxvi: 2-3).

The purpose stated repeatedly in the Koran for the use of Arabic is that the Arabs might comprehend the warning given them.

"We have made it an Arabic Koran that you might understand" (xliii: 3).

"Therefore we sent it down as a judgment in Arabic" (xiii: 37).

"Therefore we have revealed to thee an Arabic Koran, that thou mightest warn the mother of cities and those around it" (xlii: 7).

"An Arabic Koran without perversions, that you may fear Allah" (xxxix: 38).

The Sura of Yusuf is introduced with a statement similar to these. One of the best stories is to be told a people that have not heard it before, so their own language, the Arabic, is employed. It is possible to add a number of other verses bearing the same message, but these are sufficient to prove that during the Meccan period, if there was any idea in the mind of Mohammed that his religion was a new religion, he concealed it very successfully indeed. The Koran plainly tells him the opposite. "Say: I am not an innovator among the prophets" (xlv: 8).

As a matter of fact, Mohammed identified his religion with that of Abraham and other prophets, Noah, Moses, and Jesus.

"Say: 'Verily my Lord hath guided me into a straight path; a right religion, the creed (*milla*) of Abraham, the Hanif, for he was not of the polytheists'" (vi. 162).

The same thought in almost the same language is expressed in other verses—xvi: 124, ii: 129. Testimony is given to the revelation through Moses as follows:

"And before it (the Koran) was the book of Moses, a rule (*imām*) and a mercy, and this book confirms in the Arabic tongue to warn those who oppress" (xlvi: 11).

The scheme of human history, as Mohammed saw it, is expressed in the Koran in the following terms:

"Neither too soon, nor too late, shall a nation (*umma*) reach its appointed time. Then sent we our apostles one after another. As often as their apostle came to a nation, they treated him as a liar: and we caused one nation to follow another" (xxiii: 46).

The religion of all these prophets was the same. A verse, said by Beidawi to refer to all the prophets, reads:—

"O ye apostles! truly this your nation (*umma*) is one nation, and I am your Lord; therefore fear me." (xxiii: 54).

It might be well to note the different words used in the Koran for religion, for they have a bearing on our subject. The term *dīn* is used for religious ordinances and practices in general. Even the polytheists and the infidels are said to possess a kind of *dīn*. The early reply of Mohammed to the Quraish prompted by the Koran, "To you your religion (*dīn*), to me mine" a verse now said to be abrogated in meaning by the sword verse—"Kill the polytheists, wherever you find them" (ix: 5)—granted that a wrong practice might be called *dīn*. When the right sort of religion is meant, a qualifying statement often accompanies the word. *Milla* is used ten times out of the fourteen times which it occurs, to mean the creed of former prophets, especially Abraham.⁷ The word *umma* means people or nation, and is usually employed in the Koran to refer to separate nations or communities in relation to their prophets. Each of the apostles, Abraham, (xvi: 121), Moses, (vii: 159), and Noah, (xl. 5) had an

⁷ Cf "The Teaching of the Koran," H. U. W. Stanton, p. 71

umma of his own. Yet we have already seen that the Koran emphasizes the fact that all were one. "Truly this your nation (*umma*) is the one nation" (xxiii: 54, xxi: 92). "If the Lord had pleased he would have made men of one nation," (xi: 120) is recorded in one sura, and in others that "Men were but one nation" (x: 20, ii: 209). The believers are said to be the best nation sent forth to men (*lin nās*) (iii: 106).

The terms "Islam" and "Moslem," to define the true religion and designate the believer, came early to have the specialized meanings of the system of ordinances introduced by Mohammed and those who followed his *sunna*. Yet in the Koran one is surprised how many times they are used either with the idea of submission or with reference to the pure primitive religion of the prophets who had preceded Mohammed and whom he recognized.

Often these words denoting religion are used as synonyms:

"Say: Verily my Lord hath guided me into a straight path, a right religion (*dīn*). It is the creed (*milla*) of Abraham the Hanif . . . I am the first of the Moslems" (vi: 162, 163).

In another sura—"the religion with Allah" is said to be "Islam" (iii: 19). "Whoever follows other than Islam in religion, it shall not be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost" (iii: 79).

As we proceed to study the later Mecca and the Medina Suras, we see suggestions of the idea that the Koran teaches Islam as the new and final religion, which Mohammed brought as the capstone of all other religions, or as the Moslems would say, that which abrogates all those preceding. Mohammed is commanded to say, "I am the first of the Moslems" (vi: 163), and "Verily I am commanded to be the first of those who profess Islam." And yet Beidawi in explaining the first says, "The Islam of every prophet precedes in rank the Islam of his nation (*umma*)."

The second is similarly explained. Other

peoples who long antedated Mohammed are said in the Koran to be Moslems.

Noah is quoted as saying, "I am commanded to be of the Moslems" (x: 73). Jacob's dying command to his sons is to accept Islam before they die (ii: 127). The people of the Book, when Mohammed's message is given to them, are said to reply—"We believe in it, for it is the truth from our Lord. We were Moslems before it came" (xxviii: 53).

Finally let us examine the verses that seem to indicate a final triumph of Mohammed's religion over the whole world. Arnold gives a partial list of them in his "Preaching of Islam."

"It (the Koran) is no other than an exhortation to all creatures (*lil ālamīn*)" (xxxviii: 87).

The same thought is repeated in lxviii: 52, xxi: 107, and xxv: 1.

"It is no other than an exhortation to warn whoever liveth" (xxxvi: 70).

"We have not sent thee except as a preacher and warner to men (*lin nās*) in general" (xxxiv: 27).

"He it is who hath sent his apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that he might make it prevail over religion all of it" (xli: 9).

With the exception of the last verse they are all from Meccan Suras and, as Snouck-Hurgronje has pointed out in criticism of Arnold, at this period the universal conception of Mohammed's mission is quite out of the question. He says further in regard to *lil 'ālamīn* translated by Arnold "to all created beings," used four times in the verses referred to above, "that we must remember that *'ālamīn* is one of the most misused rhymewords in the Koran, and we should not therefore translate it emphatically as 'all created beings', unless the universality of Mohammed's mission is firmly established by other proofs." He also objects to the translation of *lin nās* in xxxiv: 27 as "mankind," preferring "men" in the sense of everybody.⁸

⁸ "Mohammedanism," pp. 45, 46

Even the Arab lexicographers are driven to limiting the meaning of *'ālamīn* in these verses. Lane tells us in his dictionary, that Ibn Abbas is related to have explained *rabb il 'ālamīn* as meaning "the Lord of the jinn (or genii) and of mankind." Katadeh says, "the Lord of all created beings"; but according to Al-Azhari, the correctness of the explanation of Ibn Abbas is shown by the saying in the beginning of Sura xxv of the Koran that the Prophet was "to be a warner *nādhir lil 'ālamīn*, and he was not a *nādhir* to the beasts nor to the angels, though all of them are creatures of God, but only to jinn (or genii) and mankind." Beidawi interprets *'ālamīn* as *thaqlain*—that is jinn and mankind. In any case, there is serious doubt that the literal meaning of the word is to be pressed here. Therefore if it were used with a purpose beyond that of mere rhythm, it may mean "creatures."

Snouck-Hurgronje states further that Arnold has also missed fire in the translation of a verse, which came as an encouragement to Mohammed in the hour of deep despair. Arnold translates it, "One day we will raise up a witness out of every nation" (xvi: 86). Snouck-Hurgronje thinks rather that it should be, "On the day when we will raise up a witness out of every nation"—referring to the Day of Judgment.

In the unrelenting attitude of Mohammed and his Koran to his opponents, one would think surely there is enough to prove that he warred against an unregenerate world, believing that he and his followers possessed the unique absolute religion. But let us not forget that Mohammed in Mecca aimed, as the Koran plainly states, to bring a message and a book to a people who had previously been deprived of such blessings. Even if his own refused him, he never lost sight of a united Arabia.

Two somewhat unexpected developments took place very shortly after his arrival in Medina. Although Mohammed made warfare on the Meccan aristocrats, who had slighted his prophetic pretensions and persecuted

him, he developed a spirit, evident from the Koran, of *rapprochement*. In some particulars the old idea of an Arabian religion developed with remarkable rapidity. He had tried compromise in Mecca, if the Al-Lāt and Al-Uzza incident is true. But from Medina his feelings towards Mecca became that of an Irredentist. His attitude towards the polytheists remains uncompromising, yet very shortly after his arrival Meccan customs and institutions are adopted. The direction of the *Qibla* is changed from Jerusalem to Mecca. Safa and Marwa are named among the monuments of Allah, and there is no longer any harm in the running around them (ii: 153). The pilgrimage to Mecca became an institution of great importance (ii: 192). It is doubtful whether these concessions to the Quraish of Mecca made a fraction of the impression on them that was made later by the siege and fall of Mecca. However, from Mohammed's standpoint it was a move in the direction of a consolidated Arabia.

The second unlooked for development was the defection of the people of the Book—the Jews and Christians—whose support he had anticipated. We must remember that the Christians and Jews of Arabia were Arabs, and therefore exceptions to Mohammed's early conception that racial and religious lines coincided. Yet Mohammed thought when he came with their religion (as he imagined his teaching to be), taught in their language, that they would naturally fall in line under the banner of the revived primitive faith, as did many of the heathen Arabs. When they disputed with him, the Koran commanded him as follows:

"I have surrendered myself to Allah. Say to those who have received the Book and to the common folk (the *Umiyyin*—the heathen Arabs) do you surrender yourselves? If they do, then are they guided aright; but if they turn away—thy duty is only preaching; and Allah's eye is on His servants" (iii: 19).

In the matter of the *Jihād* and the interpretation of the verses in the Koran ordering war to the death, many modern apologists for Islam, like Sheikh Muhammad Rashid

Rida, Ameer Ali and Dr. Muhammad Badr⁹ have made it seem plausible that such a verse as,

"When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them, bind them in fetters. And afterwards let there be free dismissals or ransom until the war has laid down its burdens" (xlvii: 4, 5).

does not refer to the constant attitude of the warring Moslem against the infidel, but is only an instruction from a military master to his troops on the conduct of warfare.

There are passages, however, in the later Medina Suras of the Koran that seem to indicate that as his success was assured in Medina and Mecca, Mohammed deliberately planned to wage warfare until he had exterminated his opponents, polytheists, Jews, and Christians. He had been disillusioned in regard to the Jews. They did not recognize in him a prophet of God, so pleading and preaching gave way to reviling and cursing, and these in turn to armed aggression.

"Make war," says the Koran to Mohammed, "upon such of those to whom the Book has been given as believe not in Allah and the last day, and who forbid not that which Allah and his Apostle have forbidden, and do not follow the religion of truth, until they being humbled pay the poll-tax out of hand" (ix: 29).

The Bani Quraidha, a tribe of Jews, went back on a treaty with Mohammed and aided the Meccans, so he wreaked his vengeance upon them. Their attitude may have resulted from what they knew had happened to other Jewish tribes, the Qainuqa and the Nadir. In any case they were told to expect no quarter from Mohammed when he invested the city. In all probability no opportunity was given them to accept Mohammed's interpretation of religion.

The Koran has this encouragement for Mohammed, "and (Allah) caused those of the people of the Book who had aided to come down out of their fortresses, and

⁹ See *Moslem World*, II, 349

he caused dismay in their hearts; a part of them you slew and a part you made captive" (xxxiii: 26). The purpose of warfare as stated here was not to compel the Jews and Christians to submit to Islam, but a more important consideration was to have them humbled and to have them pay the poll-tax, to take them prisoners, and to despoil them.

We must not forget the fact that throughout all his opposition to the people of the Book during the last years of his life Mohammed's wrath and maledictions were directed against them and their refusal to accept him, and not against their religion. (See also Sura ii: 59, 84, 129, 130, iii: 60).

Snouck-Hurgronje has pointed out clearly, in a significant statement, that that spirit remained in Islam even long after the Prophet's death.

"Recent research shows most clearly, that Islam, in after times so sharply opposed to other religions and so strongly armed against foreign influence, in the first century borrowed freely and simply from the 'People of Scripture' whatever was not evidently in contradiction to the Koran. This was to be expected; had not Mohammed from the very beginning referred to the 'people of the Book' as 'those who know'? When painful experience induced him afterwards to accuse them of corruption of their Scriptures, this attitude necessitated a certain criticism, but not rejection of their tradition."¹⁰

In the last Sura to be revealed, Mohammed is advised not to take Jews or Christians as friends (v: 56). "But," says the Koran, "if the people of the Book believe and have the fear of Allah, we will surely put away their sins from them and bring them to gardens of delight; if they should keep the *Tawrah* and the *Injil* and what has been sent down to them from their Lord, they would have their fill from above and beneath their feet." (v: 70.)

In addition to what is to be found in the Koran, the Traditions throw some light on Mohammed's claims for his religion. Snouck-Hurgronje criticizes Arnold for placing the Traditions upon an almost equal footing with the Koran as a source, in his contention that Islam was at the outset a missionary religion.

¹⁰ "Mohammedanism," p. 66

"We must never lose sight of the fact," says Caetani, "that the traditions of later times have given an intensely religious colour to all the memories of primitive Islam, and so have transformed into missionaries of Islam many of those who in reality were only ambassadors, spies or political agents, exactors of tribute on behalf of the Lord of Medina."¹¹

The most significant incident recorded is the sending of embassies to foreign potentates with letters from Mohammed calling them to Islam. The text of the letter to the Emperor of the Byzantine Empire as given in Muslim and Bukhari is as follows:

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Mohammed the servant of Allah and His Apostle to Heraclius the Ruler of the Roman Empire. Peace be on whoever follows the guidance. After this I invite thee with the invitation of Islam. 'Embrace Islam, and thou wilt be secure'. Embrace Islam, and Allah will give thee thy reward twice over. But if thou turn away, then on thee will be the sin of thy subjects. O people of the Book, come to a doctrine equal between us and you, namely that ye do not worship any except Allah, and do not associate anything with Him; and that some of us take not others as lords besides Allah. But if ye turn away, then say, O believers, I bear witness that we are Moslems." (Koran, iii: 57)¹²

Hurgronje speaks of these letters as legendary¹³ and Caetani believes much of the evidence in regard to them to be untrustworthy.¹⁴ But even if the authenticity of the text as in tradition is proved, and the visits of the emissaries is confirmed by further investigation, will that necessarily establish the fact that Mohammed believed in the universality of his mission? If we take the words "embrace Islam" in the sense of later Islam, when a world conquest had really been thought of, and when Moslem theologians had done much dogmatizing, we can read into this statement a religious challenge. If we remember that the latter half of the letter is a quotation from the Koran, said to have been given at the time of a visit of an embassy from the Christians of Nejran in Arabia, then we ought to judge the letters in the light of this event. These Christians came with their bishops on a visit to Mohammed. He proposed that they settle their

¹¹ *Moslem World*, Vol. V., page 383

¹² Muslim, II: 81 Bukhari, I: 9

¹³ "Mohammedanism," p. 49

¹⁴ *Annali*, Vol. I, p. 725 ff

differences on a point of doctrine by mutual execrations. The embassy declined, but consented to pay tribute on condition of not being molested in their religion and lands.¹⁵

The invitation to Islam may have been only a call to submission for safety; the play in the Arabic words suggests that. "Submit and thou wilt be secure" (*aslim taslam*). The same language is used in addressing Jews in Arabia.¹⁶ Rejection of this call did not necessarily mean warfare until there be only one religion. From the first there was the alternative that if one did not choose submission to Mohammed and alliance with him, one could purchase neutrality through payment of the poll-tax. It is a question whether these were more than challenges.

There is an oft quoted tradition, which exists in various forms, that the prophet said, "I will certainly turn the Jews and Christians out of the island of Arabia, until I do not leave in it any but Moslems."¹⁷ Another says that it was the second Khalifa Umar who banished them. Christian Arabs in the peninsula seem to have gone over to Islam or to have migrated.¹⁸ And yet Baladhuri quotes a tradition stating that Mu'awiya in his Caliphate bought land from Jews in Wadi il Kura, a suburb of Medina.¹⁹

One fact seems to be certain in all this uncertainty. Mohammed was an opportunist. He was a man of remarkable ability, his personality encouraged loyalty in his followers even in times of great opposition. Yet he lacked the capacity for looking far into the future. His policy towards those who did not follow him completely was not at all definite.

It is true that in dealing with polytheist Arabs there are passages in the Koran that open the way for conversion, in fact invitation is given to accept.

¹⁵ See Tabari's Commentary, III: 211. Rodwell, Koran, p. 392

¹⁶ Muslim, II: 76

¹⁷ Muslim, II: 77

¹⁸ Cf Bell, "Origin of Islam," page 181 f

¹⁹ Baladhuri, Futuh al Buldan, 35. The English translation is "The Origins of Islamic State," I: 59

"And when the sacred months are passed, kill the polytheists wherever you shall find them, and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them, with every kind of ambush; but if they repent and observe prayer, and the alms, then let them go their way, for Allah is forgiving and merciful" (ix: 5).

This verse commands aggressive warfare, and is supposed, by extending the privilege to Moslems of attacking their enemies, to abrogate such verses as the following, which only permit defensive warfare:

"And make war for the cause of Allah against those who war against you; but do not commit the wrong of attacking first; for Allah does not love such. And kill them wherever ye shall find them, and eject them from whatever place they have ejected you, for sedition is worse than killing. Make war against them until there be no more sedition, and religion be to Allah" (ii: 186-189).

Does this mean that the Prophet declared war against all unbelievers, and would spare nothing and no one until his religion was dominant? If we glance at the verses immediately preceding the one commanding open aggression against the polytheists, we notice that war was not to be made against faithful allies.

"But this concerneth not those polytheists with whom ye are in league, and who shall have afterwards in no way failed you nor aided anyone against you" (ix: 4).

Had the Prophet and the early commanders always maintained even the desert code of warfare, and never broken a covenant nor a truce, we might respect such chivalry, which demanded that he keep faith with allies in the face of strong religious conviction. But if he believed his religion to be the universal and absolute faith, and that its propagation was to be by the sword, one would expect nothing to stand in the way. However, the desire to unite Arabia counselled leniency at one time, and at another time military strategy dictated extreme cruelty.

Verses in the last portions of the Koran lead one to imagine there must have been at least three gradations of cooperation with Mohammed, and that to profess Islam did not necessarily mean to follow the religion of Mohammed. It was only a preliminary step.

"Arabs of the desert say, 'We believe,' Say thou, 'You believe not, but rather 'we have submitted' (Islamized, *aslamna*) for the faith hath not yet found its way into your hearts' . . . The true believers are those only who believe in Allah and his Apostle, and afterwards doubt not; and contend with their wealth and their persons in the path of Allah. Those are the sincere" (xlix:14).

A tradition quoted by Muslim which may throw some light on the gradations among followers and allies is as follows:

"When the Apostle of God appointed a leader over any army or marauding band, he gave him orders regarding his special duties concerning the fear of Allah and the welfare of those Moslems who were with him. After that he would say, 'Go forth to war in the name of Allah in His path; fight with those who disbelieve in Allah. Go forth to war. Do not use deceit or break a covenant, or mutilate, or kill children. And when thou meetest thine enemy, the polytheists, then invite them to three states or conditions. Then whichever of the three they give an affirmative answer to, accept it from them and withdraw from them. First, then invite them to Islam; and if they give an affirmative answer to thee, then accept it from them and withdraw from them. After that, invite them to remove themselves from their homes to the homes of the refugees, and inform them that if they do that, then they shall have what is given to the refugees; and their responsibilities are the same as those of the refugees. But if they refuse to change from their homes, then inform them that they will remain as the desert Arabs who have embraced Islam. (cf. Sura ix: 98-100.) The commands of Allah will be obligatory upon them which are obligatory upon other believers; but they will get nothing of the plunder and spoils unless they go to fight along with the other Moslems. But if they refuse (to become Moslems) then ask from them the poll-tax (*jizya*). And if they answer thee in the affirmative, then accept it from them, and withdraw from them. But if they refuse, then seek help from Allah and fight them.'"²⁰

The people of the world, according to Islam, are generally considered as divided into believers, who pay the alms (*zakāt*); *dhimmi*s who are of the "people of the Book" and pay the tribute or poll-tax (*jizya*), for the privilege of retaining certain liberties; and the unbelievers upon whom war is made until they receive the true religion or are exterminated.

The tradition which we have quoted from Muslim, if true in all its details, shows that the offer of paying of the *jizya* or poll-tax was made to the polytheists as well as to the Christians and Jews. We learn from Balad-

²⁰ Muslim, II: 62

huri²¹ that on one occasion at least the Prophet allowed the Magians at Bahrain to take advantage of the offer of the poll-tax. Some of the Arabs disapproved, saying: "The Prophet pretended that he would accept poll-tax from none outside of the Book, but here he is accepting it from the Magians of Hajar, who are not people of the Book." And when Al-Mughira interviewed Rustam, the Persian general, and presented terms of surrender, he offered him, among the alternatives, the privilege of paying the poll-tax, quoting a verse from the Koran directed especially to the people of the Book. By stretching a point the Persians as Zoroastrians might be called a people of the Book, but when India came under the sway of Islam during the later years of the Umayyad régime, idolatry was tolerated. On the condition of prompt payment of tribute, heathen temples were left standing. The worldly Umayyads are reputed to have cared little about the propagation of the faith of Mohammed. They are censured for thinking first of amassing fortunes. But this tradition and others seem to show that Mohammed and the early Khalifas had given them precedents enough to demonstrate the importance of the tribute, in contrast to other factors in the development of an empire.

There are traditions which might be interpreted to mean that Mohammed commanded his followers to carry on general warfare against all those who differed in faith,²² but this statement of policy to his commanders permits a very loose sort of allegiance to those who would pay the required alms. The outstanding tie of homage to Allah was the financial consideration. Shortly after the Prophet's death, some Arab tribes apostatized from Islam entirely; others said that they would observe prayer, but not pay *zakāt*. And Abu Bakr, the newly chosen Khalifa, threatened to fight them if they withheld so much as the tether of a tithed camel.²³

Military expediency even counselled sometimes that

²¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 79. "Origins of Islamic State," p. 121

²² Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, 257, "Origins of Islamic State," I: 412

²³ Muir, "Caliphate," p. 13

in order to win tribes they be permitted to pay alms instead of poll-tax:

"The Christian Arab tribes Taghlib, Iyad, and Namir objected to the poll-tax. Omar consulted his colleagues. They pointed out that as Arabs they would never be content to pay the tax, and that having it in their power to do the Muslims damage, they ought not to be tempted to help the foe. This agreed with Omar's own opinion, who made them pay alms like the other Muslims, only stipulating that they should not Christianize their children."²⁴

In studying the spread of Islam beyond Arabia, one is struck by the rare mention on the part of early historians of the invitation to Islam by the Arabs to the inhabitants of conquered lands. The agreements between the victorious generals and the peoples concerned often do not mention any offer of Islam.

Khalid before Damascus submitted the following terms:

"In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the merciful. This is what Khalid would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus, if he enters therein: he promises to give them security for their lives, property and churches. Their city-wall shall not be demolished; neither shall any Moslem be quartered in their houses. Thereunto we give to them the pact of Allah and the protection of his Prophet, the caliphs and the 'Believers.' So long as they pay the poll-tax, nothing but good shall befall them."

When the inhabitants of Palmyra sought to surrender, Khalid guaranteed them their safety, on condition that they be considered *dhimma* people, that is, that they be subject to the tribute.²⁵

Amr ibn al-As seems to have made no offer of Islam to the people of Egypt. Some state that he had a covenant with them, but he is also reported to have said:

"I have occupied this position, and am bound to none of the Egyptian Copts by covenant or contract. If I want, I can kill; if I want, I can take one-fifth of the possessions; if I want, I can sell captives. The people of Antabulus are excluded, because they have a covenant which must be kept."²⁶

In spite of such facts there are those who make much of the world program of early Islam. Does not Arnold

²⁴ Margoliouth—"Zaidan, Umayyads and Abbasids," p. 31

²⁵ Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 111, "Origins of Islamic State," I, p. 171

²⁶ Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 217, "Origins of Islamic State," I, p. 342

greatly over-emphasize peaceful penetration during the first forty years of the Hejira? In his opinion, any signs of persistent Christianity in lands that became Mohammedan are usually due to the toleration of the rulers, and any abandonment of Christianity for Islam is the result of missionary activity. He fails to give enough emphasis to the wholesale migrations of Arab families into Irak, Syria, and Egypt. Kufa, Basra, and Fostat were camps of Arab soldiery. Any teaching of Islam that was done, was largely in these fortified cities. Here they did not at first aim to gather converts about them, but rather were on hand to maintain order, to collect the taxes and tribute, and uphold the Arab supremacy. Any great desertion of the inhabitants from their own religion to Islam was to be discouraged, for it meant a decline in the tax receipts. Nor do those who attribute the rapid spread of Islam to religious zeal give sufficient weight to the part played by the clients of the Arabs, who were mostly captives taken in war and manumitted in compensation for a change in religion. Thereby the client was more dependable in the capacity of ally than as slave, for he could still be depended on to contend for clan, party, or faith. Easily the Koran might say, "There is no compulsion in religion," but the social and economic pressure exerted on captives, slaves, and subject peoples, is incalculable.

However, the Arabs never conceived for a moment that conversion raised the client to the level of the Arab. The golden days of simple democracy, which later tradition pictured, were largely legendary. The brotherhood of early Islam was more or less of a misnomer. Yet Islam owes much to these clients, for although of inferior standing because they were not Arabs, they produced a great number of the jurists, commentators, poets, and scholars. "The more the *Mawali* (or clients) increased in importance," says Becker, "and the more they permeated the Arabian tribes, so the universalistic, i. e. democratic tendency of Islam was bound in a correspond-

ing degree to force its way into wider circles.²⁷ The shaping of the doctrines of Islam under the Abbasids was influenced by their party, and it is not surprising that they proclaimed a more democratic theory of relationship, and widened the horizon of Islam until it included the whole world.

Arnold admits the lack of any evidence in regard to conversions in the first century, but bases his calculations upon the downward curve of receipts from taxes. Other possible factors, the ravages of war, the lavish squandering of wealth by the rulers, and the gross mismanagement of affairs by the Arabs, are almost entirely ignored. Lane Poole²⁸ states that

"Ninety years after the conquest of Egypt, a governor despairing of any considerable accession of native Egyptians to the Moslem ranks, was driven to import five thousand Arabs into the Delta."

"It was only by very slow degrees and after much intermarriage and many partial immigrations that Egypt became Moslem, and for a long time the Arabs were practically confined to the large towns."

If the Prophet bequeathed to his followers a world vision, even from the political standpoint, military strategy warned them against a too vigorous exercise of this vision. Umar, the second Caliph, wished on one occasion for a mountain of fire between the Moslems and the Persians, so that neither could get at the other. Similarly, he forbade the Moslems to cross the sea. He commanded that the camp cities be so situated in conquered districts that they would not be separated from Medina by water. He saw the value of a full treasury, but he feared that the empire might become so unwieldy that it could not be governed from Arabia.²⁹

The fact that the expansion of the Arab race was the movement of a hardy, war-loving people pressed by hunger and want, has been elaborated by Winckler. Caetani³⁰ after study of the historical geography of Arabia has re-emphasized this factor in the martial migration of the Arabs. Lammens considers the economic factor

²⁷ Cambridge Medieval History, II: 364

²⁸ "Story of Cairo," 60

²⁹ "Umayyads and Abbasids"—Margoliouth—Zaidan, p. 32

³⁰ Annali, Vol. II, 831-861

of importance." Even Arnold, the champion of Islam, agrees. Rustam, the Persian General, charged the Moslems before Mughira with this motive.

"I have learned that ye were forced to what ye are doing by nothing but the narrow means of livelihood and by poverty. We are ready to give you what will satisfy you, and to see you leave with certain things that ye choose."³²

The more positive phase was the prospect of rich booty. It was that, and not a spiritual experience, which Mohammed told his commanders to hold out as the special privilege of those who would leave their homes and follow him. This feature in his program drew men to the banner of Islam. Siyah, the leader of Asawira, after falling out with the Moslems, chides them, "We entered into this religion from the very beginning only as a refuge, and in the hope that your Allah was one who provides abundant sustenance."³³

We discover that in early Islam, even as Arnold admits:

"The spirit which animated the invading hosts of Arabs who poured over the confines of the Byzantine and Persian empires, was no proselytizing zeal for the conversion of souls. On the contrary, religious interests appear to have entered but little into the consciousness of the protagonists of the Arab armies."³⁴

He concedes that there is scant testimony during the first two centuries of the Hijrah to any proselyting efforts.

"The earliest document of a distinctly missionary character which has come down to us, would seem to date from the reign of al-Ma'mun (813-833), and takes the form of a letter written by a cousin of the caliph to a Christian Arab of noble birth and of considerable distinction at the court, and held in high esteem by al-Ma'mun himself. In this letter he begs his friend to embrace Islam, in terms of affectionate appeal."³⁵

So much has been made of holy war and compulsory conversion to Islam in later centuries, and persecutions have been so frequent, that Christians have been accustomed to think of these early conquests also as being

³¹ Berceau de l'Islam, pp. 120, 174

³² Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, 257, "Origins of Islamic State," I, 411

³³ Baladhuri, *op. cit.*, 373, "Origin of Islamic State," II, 106

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 46

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 84

carried on entirely because of the religious motive. Many Moslems pride themselves on the martial spirit of their faith. But history indicates that the armed hordes who overran Asia and Africa in the seventh century cared little for the spiritual welfare of the millions of souls in these continents, so long as the spoils were plentiful and the tribute promptly paid.

If we grant that it was other than a religious motive that drove them out to conquest, then we cannot but minimize the value of their religious conceptions. When the Koran says, "Who so desireth any other religion than Islam: it shall never be accepted of him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost," (iii: 79), we can only interpret it in the light of Arabian nationalism.

Islam expanded in time into a world religion, and Mohammed's place in the initiation of the enterprise was more than significant. But many years elapsed before the principle of universality was evolved. Unforeseen circumstances and numerous developments took place before the conception was clearly fixed.

And when one of the final verses of the Koran exalts the Moslem faith, "This day I have perfected your religion . . . and have chosen that Islam be your religion" (v: 6), we remember with Snouck-Hurgronje that these words are only a cry of jubilation over the degradation of the heathen Arabs by the triumph of Allah's weapons: and they have in no way the meaning of the exclamation "It is finished" of the dying Christ.³⁶ And one might add, that the statement of the Koran, "He hath sent his apostle with guidance, the religion of truth, that He may make it victorious over every other religion" (lxi: 9) and the encouragement of Jesus to his disciples, "Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world," or the command of the risen Christ, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations," are worlds apart.

Cairo.

E. E. ELDER.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 47

THE SECT OF AHL-I-HAQQ (Ali Ilahis).

Early in the fourteenth century, the Christians and Jews lorded it over the Moslems in Persia; a Jew was the prime minister in the last decade of the 13th century, and even aimed at the destruction of Mecca. The country was teeming with churches with a corrupt and false profession (judging by contemporary writers), who gloried in the cross as an outward ornament, but whose worship had been reduced to lifeless rites. This was the time when the rod of Taimur finished what Shapoor before Islam, and Islam and the Mongols after him had done. Taimur is said to have wiped out 9,000,000 Christians in Persia and Mesopotamia and Sultan Salim killed 200,000, while Nadir killed of the Urumia Christians 100,000 at Mianeh. Perhaps all this was a righteous judgment on "the unnatural branches" in the East who "did not abide in goodness" but became a byword for drink and wine-selling, and a worship almost idolatrous. At that time the Awraman mountains were more accessible and communications with the present Iraq were quite feasible; then, from Mosul down to Baghdad, the country was covered with Christian churches and monasteries, and only two days' journey from Awraman brought one in touch with Saratoohi (the present Sulaimanieh), where as late as the 16th century eight hundred Christian families lived.

At such a time a mysterious Kurd appeared in these mountains named Ishak, otherwise known as *Pir Sahak*. This Ishak, or Sahak, soon attracted many followers by his life and piety, a thing which caused no little jealousy among the contemporary sheikhs. You may see the same thing today among the very religiously inclined Kurds, who must have a *Pir* or spiritual leader. One sees again conditions like the days of Elisha fully demonstrated in

these mountains. Some of Sahak's followers certainly held the *Hululi* doctrine. He followed and succeeded his father Sheikh Isa, while on the side of his mother, whose name was Dayerak, he came from the well-known Sheikhs of Barzenjeh. He chose from among his followers four companions—*Pir Benjamin*, *Pir Moosa* (they pronounce it Mosee), *Pir Davood*, and *Pir Rizbar*, who was a woman. Through these and the *Haftavaneh* (the seven companions), the "forty bodies," and the "seventy-two bodies," his fame and name soon were spread abroad and many Kurds from distant parts came to be taught and blessed by the new Pir.

To set an example, he married Khatooneh Bashir, the daughter of Meer Khosraw of the nomad tribe Jaf. He had seven sons called the "*haft tan*," the "seven bodies." Tradition says that after he established his doctrines and confirmed believers, leaving them *Pirs* and leaders, he suddenly disappeared and showed himself in Asia Minor under the name of Haji Bektash (on his father's side like Bektash he is traced back to Imam Reza). Hence the order of the Bektashi dervishes in Turkey. The ruling king was converted to his views and built throughout his empire some nine hundred convents in his honor and name, and they are there to this day. It is said that he lived to a very old age, namely 210 years. Sahak, after a clash with his brothers, left the Hajij district and went to Marano, then settled at Perdivar. What he taught and uttered has come down to us in Kurdish poetry, the style showing that the Kurdish poetry and language in those mountains have made very little change after six centuries. All his companions took up the subjects he touched upon and followed in the same strain. Nothing but poetry is recorded of them. These writings are called *Kalam* or *Vateh* and are considered the highest inspiration, and called *Saranjam*. *Saranjam* is the book which is called the words of truth; all came through the pen of Benjamin, and was revealed at Perdivar. Afterwards when the faithful increased, some of the Turks in

Baghdad came in and also wrote much, especially Qush-chi Oghli. These sayings and those of later writers are called the "*kalam-e-erbab-e-zauq*" or "words of the people of taste and delight," and were named *daftars*.

Some of their expressions are really beautiful, and as the Sultan has promised that when the cycles are ended, that is, when each individual soul has transmigrated a thousand times (each transmigration about fifty years on the average), he will then appear; the believer, not knowing the time, is expecting him daily. So some of the devotees, in their intense desire for the appearance of Khonkar, or King and Lord, have sung:—

"To be looking for the coming of the King,
He is the true slave who is looking for the coming of the King;
Clean in action, clean in thought, clean in gaze,
Unmovable from the path of truth and duty.
O dear friends, the King is coming;
Good news, O good news, the King is coming.
Let hands be engaged in service, but eyes look forward in
expectation."

One thinks how this puts to shame some idle Adventists who gave up business and went out to meet Christ, forgetting the words: "Occupy till I come." Again one of them says:

"Let us go out to meet Him, yes, come let us go out, go out,
to meet Him."

One is reminded of Miss Havergal's lines and the writings of some others who in the spirit of bridal affection, have sung:

"Thou art coming O my Saviour, Thou art coming, O my King."

And others say:—

"O Friends, good tidings, behold, our King has come;
O Friends, good tidings."

"He is the servant who is looking and longing for the coming of
the King."

Those who are the companions of Friends and shun the "thorns" (outsiders), these daily expect his appearing.

Shah Ne'matullah's son, Nur Ali Shah, who lives not far from Sahna, at Jaihunabad in the Dinavar district, whose father considered himself a prophet and wrote a book of some size, on the ground that he had been ordered to put in black and white everything about the truth and to unveil the hidden truths, believes that the greatest manifestation will appear in his lifetime. The order will come to Evat to rise from his grave in the valley of Kazvin and to blow the trumpet, and all who are dead will come to life. In the words of Qoshchi Oghli in Turkish: "All of it will become a garden of roses." When the stone of his tomb is tilted, spontaneously, then the coming theophany is at hand. Now some wicked men from time to time go about and tell the Friends: "The stone is tilted, the appearing is fast coming. What is the use of accumulating wealth? Let us have it to spend it on the poor."

How much he knew of the truth of Christianity we do not know, but he must have heard or seen the Gospel, for such are some of his words: "Jesus whose net is the Gospel." Speaking of Benjamin, and calling on Davood, he says:

"Davood, it is right.

The truth is the religion for which Benjamin is enough;

Benjamin is Christ the Holy Spirit;

His statutes are true, his covenant is in his possession;

Friends (i. e., his own followers), through the law of Christ can know the truth."

Benjamin is Jesus, Jesus is Benjamin,

His statutes are true, his covenant is complete."

Then Davood follows and takes up the strain:

"In the track of Christ,

Come, let us follow in the track of Christ.

The Friend, who has the knowledge of the truth and in word is eloquent,

Whose fundamentals are perfect, whose inward (thoughts) are sound."

With these wonderful proofs in hand, what might an evangelist not accomplish by God's help!

'*Doon*' is much used among these people, as cycle, or person in which the perfect or partial manifestation has pleased to show himself. For instance, it is said, "When God was in the '*doon*' of Jesus," or "Jesus was the '*doon*' of Benjamin."

Qushchi Oghli says:—

"By the breath of the Holy Spirit many dead come to life,
For in the realm of truth Jesus son of Mary is He." (God).

The first essence was in the '*doon*' of Yah or Jah before anything had any existence. He was subsisting in a Pearl; out of His own existence He expressed Benjamin, who is the essence of God. "Ben"—a son of "Jah", and "amin"—faithful; hence, "Benjamin"—the faithful son of Jah. By Him He created everything, and for Him He created everything; on Him everything depends; all other manifestations are subordinate to Him. In short, what the Bible says about the Eternal Word, they attribute to Benjamin. In the language of the "Law", i. e., Islamic law, they call him Gabriel. In Jesus and Ali and in Benjamin the manifestation was the selfsame. At the greatest manifestation, that is, of Sultan Sahak, Benjamin has appeared complete; in other times his appearance has been partial, or only as a guest.

The great essence Himself is to have only three manifestations; first, in Jah, who appeared in the form of man in a clothing of light; second, in the Sultan Sahak, who appeared among men; third, the last manifestation after the whole cycle of 50,000 years ends with the last day. His name at the last manifestation has not been unfolded; it is hidden in mystery. It can be gathered from their writings that the Pearl really was the being of Benjamin, wherein the divine Essence was hidden.

As to Islam, the founder of Ahl-i-Haqq had evidently very little respect for Mohammed and the followers of his precepts. Once he told a persecuting Mohammedan,

who had been lately converted, that he had better go on the Hajj to Mecca, in order to test his sincerity. Abedin answered: "If I am stoned to death like an apostate Jew, I shall not bow and worship a dead object." The same man, by the way, when converted to Sultan Sahak, threw the Koran, which he was reciting, into the water, and followed him. He sarcastically gave vent to the utterance: "If you do not fulfill friendship towards Friends, may you become like one of Mohammed's followers, who offers his prayers five times a day." One of the Manifestations is said to have turned seven Mohammedan mullahs into seven dogs by a miracle!

But Ali also is considered a great manifestation, and later the twelve Imams are included. How much of this has been brought in through the surrounding influences, including the lack of written records and by pious fraud, one does not know. There is a great field for research here. In their Turkish writings, it is put down: "Mohammed did not know and recognize the abode of God." If anything, with them Mohammed was only a law-giver who, compared to the Truth, is worth nothing, and useful only for the outside people.

Sultan Sahak believed and taught the Pythagorean system of metempsychosis. Many absurd stories are told, and it is only necessary to become acquainted with them in order to show their folly. But we are to preach to them the Gospel of God in its simplicity and elevating power. They are men like ourselves. If we recall the words: "Such were ye, but ye are washed; ye are sanctified," we shall be encouraged and go on. One could appeal to their reason and show them how unworthy of a holy God it is to choose certain unworthy manifestations, but lack of time prevents me from giving examples.

They give a most important place to the *Jam* (the assembly or gathering of the believers, when it is convened, if a king should enter he must remain standing with hands folded over his chest in an attitude of humility, for "God is there." In the *Jam* no man is su-

perior. Once Ishak saw some lovely tulips, some of which were taller than others. With his cane he knocked off the tall ones and said, "There is no superiority among my followers; all believers are equal." The prayer of the *Jam* is acceptable. His son, Shah Ibrahim, wrestling with a believer, called on the name of his father; the believer called on the magnanimity of the *Jam* and succeeded. The youth went and complained to his father; the Sultan answered: "Quite right, for my right arm is always with the *Jam*."

When Davood asked for a special favor, the Sultan Ishak said: "It cannot be granted, because it is not acceptable for a sinner (virtually saying, 'You are a sinner'). Let a sinless person come and beg." Davood miraculously roamed over the world but found none sinless. (How important for the evangelist to know this!) As Davood remained nonplused, the Sultan said: "Why puzzled? the one who offered the sacrifice stood in the state of '*Palvazheh*,' and confessed his sin. Made free by *Jam* and *Jam*'s prayer, he is considered sinless. Go and fetch such an one." There is no time to describe the mode of this confession of *Palvazheh*, although it is an important point. Seventeen times in the year the *Jam* must be convened, although for prayer for rain or freedom from special calamity it can also be assembled. The *Jam*, however, cannot be convened if the number of men is less than five persons, unlike even "two or three gathered in My name."

As to sacrifice, it is most essential and most sacred. Even the gaze of an unbeliever is not permitted; the joints are disjointed, but no bones are broken. How one is reminded of the Blessed Victim's words: "All my bones are out of joint," and "He keepeth all his bones and not one of them shall be broken." From an ox to a cock sacrifices are offered, according to the appreciation and ability of the offerer. The prayer offered over it must be in Kurdish, no matter what the language of the people present, like the use of Arabic in Islam.

The matter of sacrifice is so important that in the spiritual world, before the foundation of the earth was laid, when the Sultan was Jah Iah, after Benjamin (the faithful son of Jah) proceeded out of the essence of Jah, he created and brought out of the cloak of mystery the seven bodies, after which he ordered them to offer sacrifices, and spiritually each offer a sacrifice. (How much of this is based on a faulty exegesis of Rev. 13:8 we do not know). Seven of these fourteen sacrifices were bloody and seven bloodless; these are really appendages. *Natcheh moocheh* is where a piece of the meat of the sacrifice is rolled up in bread and each man present gets a roll, that which now is carried out in the physical world was then carried out in the spiritual state. All these things happened in the *Saje Nar*—the fiery plate (a very important name to remember in dealing with them). It was here a council was held over the creation of the world.

Other offerings are called *Neyaz*—a dedicated gift. The breaking of a nutmeg over *Havizeh* money is momentous. It is pounded up after the sacrifice and prayer, when a convert joins in. The first born of man is with a lamb, so with the larger animals. The poor must give at least a cock instead.

The first fruit and first chicken hatched are all sacred and must be spent on the expenses of the *Jam*. So with other voluntary offerings and dedicated gifts, also the gifts of the outsiders who send in begging the prayer of the *Jam* in their difficulties.

Every man and woman annually pays something, ten shahis, one kran, or more. This is an absolute obligation. One is reminded of the shekel of Exodus 30. Every woman, besides the money, has to give a small amount of melted butter to make special bread for the *Jam*.

They have a short prayer for morning and one on retiring and before food. They have the Azan or call to prayer in Kurdish. Their Qibla is *Perdivar* (literally,

over the other side of the bridge, a place well known in Awraman and made of branches of vines spanning the river Sirvan), where the Sultan and his companions are supposed to be buried. The people of that district are *Khar*—"thorns"; they persecute the pilgrims; the Sultan has cursed the place, hence judicial blindness. It was at this river the Sultan with his miracles won over the notorious *Pir Mikaiel*.

The question of having a *Pir* and guide is so momentous that even the Sultan, to set an example, "delivered his head" to *Pir Benjamin*, as the Lord asked to be baptized by John the Baptist. Any one to go without a *Pir* is called by the name "he is without a *Pir*." What a chance to lead them to the matchless and peerless *Pir* who ever liveth to make intercession and deliver! Often a believer travels from Azerbaijan to Iraq to find the descendants of the *Pir* of his forefathers in order to "deliver his head."

Of the seasons and times, Sunday is considered the best of days because it belongs to Him who is endowed with generosity, that is, "Khonkah" or Lord. One is reminded of *Kuriaki*, the Lord's day in Greek. Wednesday is named after Benjamin.

In the month of *Jalal* (the first lunar month after *Jadie* and the beginning of the real winter) the three solemn days of fasting are most important, on the 15th—17th days, when vows are made and sacrifices are offered. The three following days are feasting. There is a convocation of the *Jam* daily. With the Kurdish believers it starts on the twelfth of the month. When *Jam* is convened all must sit with bended head; then the reader recites either the words of the Sultan for the Kurds or that of the *Quschi Oghli* (who was the second manifestation of Benjamin) in Turkish. After each couplet the rest repeat a certain appointed short sentence. The excitement is augmented by the playing of lutes, when some go into raptures and ecstasy. It is at this time such men are said to enter fire unhurt; they say this is the abiding miracle of the sect. Women are not allowed in the *Jam*,

but women immediately connected with the man who has offered the sacrifice can gather together in a separate compartment. *Sayyids*, the descendants of the Sultan, have a special place, more dignified, in the Assembly.

There is a special discipline for the confessing penitent.

The Ahl-i-Haqq are divided into eighteen sects. The Shah Ibrahimis and the Atashbegis are most numerous. The latter are found more in Azerbaijan, especially Urumia (these do not fast). Then there are the Haftavanis; their great centers are Kerind, Dinavar, Sahna, Hamadan, and the villages round about Kazvin. They comprise many of the nomads in this district, who for their winter quarters go to Gilan. They are also in Teheran and some of its villages. There are some scattered villages in Khamseh, many in Mazanderan, thousands of families in Luristan, and some among the Turkomans and in Mosul. They claim to have followers in India; at least Quschi Oghli says the Sultan "gave the mace and India to Hajji Bavoss," one of the seven sons of the Sultan (hence Haftvaneh). There is no one who could give an accurate estimate as to the number of adherents of this sect, but in Persia alone there are probably more than one million.

I have endeavored, in the language of Sultan and *Pir* and the style of the later *daftars* or rolls, to give them a message. What I have done, being all in poetry like their own, has a special charm for them. I have seen them read by well-educated men and tried to persuade them to follow the words of the Sultan and read the Gospel, to "follow in the track of Jesus," to obey the Sultan and be sure as he says: "Friends through the law of Christ can know the truth," whose "statutes are true, His covenant complete." If so, and the Sultan must be right, then much of the foolish things which have come into the rolls must have crept in by other hands, as some good authorities among themselves admit. Since the book of Christ says that the thief went that very day to Paradise, and Lazarus went straight to the bosom of

Abraham and the rich man opened his eyes in Hell; since it is also stated "absent from the body, present with the Lord,"—how can transmigration be possible? Then I have called their attention to the one offering wherewith we are "perfect forever," and the importance of Christ's Assembly, the *Jam*, that is, the Church, and how the faithful Promiser has promised that "He will come quickly." Then "let us go out to meet Him," in the language of their own poets. I know my book (beside this little poem especially for them) written for the Kurds and Lurs will be welcomed by them, and a help to the evangelist. When they are persuaded and induced to read the Bible, what wonderful results may we not expect! This has already become quite evident in the case of Ali Ashraf Khan, who not only read the Bible but put into Turkish poetry most of the life of the Lord Jesus. He taught to his innermost disciples and trusted friends wonderful truths which one wishes every Christian preacher and evangelist knew and enjoyed as they did. Then also Ne'matollah, who had a Bible, has put many Psalms into Kurdish, but paraphrased and with additions.

This people keep very sacred and secret these facts which I have penned. In fact, any one who discloses any of these secrets of the creed runs the risk of punishment and discipline by the *Jam*. Ne'matollah, because of his book and his weak effort at making things public is looked down upon. My information has been the result of much pain and toil, of free medicine and treatments given for forty years. I lay it at the disposal of my beloved brethren in the Lord with the hope of encouraging them to enter into this open door and reach this remarkably kind-hearted and accessible people. I have occasionally read some of my poems to men who have been deeply moved and wept like children. As soon as one shows true friendship towards them and after a fair acquaintance, when some of these secrets are touched upon, they open out to one. Their women even dispense with the veil. Men are soon recognized by their untrimmed moustaches,

which are sacred to Pir Benjamin. They are hospitable and kind, and very benevolent towards others, in spite of difference of creed. Mohammedans who lord it over them in the villages own that they are more satisfying than their Mohammedan peasants. But in some vices I have found many even lower than Mohammedans.

Polygamy and divorce are said not to be allowed by the Sultan in his *Bayabaz* (law and covenant), but alas they have followed the habit of the surrounding Mohammedans. The fraud of *taqiyah* (religious dissimulation), is very prevalent among them on account of former persecutions. For example the change to winter of the fasting, which was due in summer, on account of the fear of being observed by the Mohammedan "thorns," i. e., strangers. So one wonders how much of the Islamic views and their respect for Imams, etc., have crept in through this pious fear. Hitherto I have failed to find traces of many things in the real words of the Sultan and the immediate Pirs, and the scarcity of writing and the want of record may have caused the spurious items which have crept in to pass on from an oppressed generation to the new one as part of the true *Kalam*, and later hands may have put them down in *daftars* as genuine and authentic.

I see that M. Minorsky kindly acknowledges in his monograph in French the little help I rendered him. I have forwarded to him Ne'matollah's large book. He hopes to publish it some day.¹ Let us hope he will succeed and will give to the civilized world the full account of this remarkable sect which has hitherto disclosed its secrets to none.

Teheran, Persia.

SAEED KHAN.

¹ See the review of Professor V. Minorsky's book in this number.—ED.

THE APPROACH TO SHIAH ISLAM

(A Symposium)

I.

We are the possessors of a glorious truth. We, like St. Paul, by the dispensation of God have had a great mystery made known unto us. It is for us "to make all men see what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God." How are we to make them see?

Let us look first at Christ presenting the Gospel to the legal-minded Unitarians of His day. He moved amongst them as a friend, not as an antagonist who by argument and subtlety must win over his opponents. Let us keep this steadily before us all the time in our relationships with Persians. They are not our antagonists to be won over, but, in embryo, are co-heirs with us of God. They may not recognize us as such, but we know it, and the effect of this point-of-view should constantly be visible in our attitude towards them.

Then, again, Christ was one of them. How are we, with all our differences of upbringing, of background, of tastes, of forms of thought, going to become one with those to whom we have been sent? So God might have said before the Incarnation. It means laying aside ourselves, being open to receive every impression, being in a constant state of adaptiveness, cultivating enthusiasm and intelligence in every branch and department of the thought and interests of the people we are serving. One practical means of attaining this is to go and live in a Persian family. It is especially helpful to new mission-

aries as an aid to getting hold of the language and in establishing happy relationships. But it is above all the essence of our own selves which by the power of God must be changed so that like St. Paul we may become "all things to all men"; so that we may be ready at all times to see the other's point of view, to perceive their turn of mind, to feel what is the background they will bring to every idea we present to them. We need to have our minds trained so that they can become one with the lines of thought of those whom we meet—the most ignorant and superstitious or the modern, well-read, agnostically-minded Persian.

Again, looking at Christ, we see that He was always ready. His meat and drink was to do His Father's will. His whole mind was full of nothing else. He had not, as we so often have, to move a whole set of thoughts on material things out of the way when an opportunity came, before He could focus His attention on what was the right thing to say. His attention was entirely occupied by God on one side and His children on the other; and being in constant vital contact with His children, He could at once feel their point of view, and their turn of mind, and bring out from His knowledge of His Father the very thing for their need. We so often have our thoughts centered on ourselves that it takes some time and a real effort to jog our spiritual selves awake, perceive the spirit of the person before us, and receive the inspiration as to how to present our message. Sometimes the opportunity only lasts a few seconds. It must be the very spring of our lives, our meat and drink, to do God's will, if we are to be on the spot with the right presentation. No amount of method, of telling argument, of points of contact are going to avail us otherwise.

But given this contact with God on the one side and His children on the other, there are obviously some ways which will help us more than others.

Our aim, of course, in presenting the Gospel, is to present a Person, and to bring those whom we wish to touch

into contact with that Person. Our method is varied, but it is all based on that.

Generally speaking, there are three types we meet. There are those who have never come in contact with Christianity, and whose attention must be caught; there are those who are already interested, and have come for discussion or objection; and there are those who know something of Christianity through relatives, or perhaps through time spent in hospital, but have remained indifferent. How are we going to attract these various types to our Master? I suppose there are three ways in which we ourselves have come to know Him: through the record of His life and teaching; through the lives of His faithful followers; and through direct communion and experience. Our chief concern is with the first two, though our prayers may indeed help the work of the Holy Spirit in the third. Our lives, as a presentation of the Gospel we will speak of again later. Chiefly then about the presentation of the record of His life and teaching. There are two main ways of presenting it: (i) by getting the record itself read (ii) by talking or writing about it. How are we to get people to read it? We all know methods and use them according to the circumstances. Lantern services followed by the sale of Gospels and literature; the posting up on walls of texts or cards, which are likely to interest and attract; street-selling of attractive portions and Gospels; the exposing in a case in the hospital grounds or some such place of Gospels open at a striking passage, such as portions of the Sermon on the Mount; getting them to read out of one's own Gospel, rather than reading to them; and so on.

Then we must talk about it, and here comes our real difficulty—how to talk about our many-sided truth? Every word will tell, and we need to keep very close to our Master, watching His methods, and be ready, as He was ready, for every type of individual.

If they come to us first, it will often be with an objection put in a more or less truculent manner, such as the

usual one, "Why do you say He is God's Son?" Here obviously argument is useless, and our whole endeavor is, by parrying the question, to get the conversation into our own hands, and gradually so to talk of the life and moral teaching of Christ as to interest the soul of the man in His vital personality. Jesus lived His life until His disciples were forced into the belief that He could be no other than God incarnate. Let us follow His method.

But most people will not come to us; we must go to them. And here we want every means we can lay hold on. A knowledge of the literature of the country with beautiful points of contact as in *Sa'adi*, or the *Masnavi*, will help us to show Christ as the dynamic which will fulfill in our lives what the poets only dreamed of. A study of the points of contact between the Shi'ah religion and Christianity will enable us to speak of Christ as the perfect and sinless One, Who alone can expiate sin; an understanding of the minds and inner lives of the Persians will lead us to show Christ as the One, who expressing the principle of love in the universe, can lift from them the weight of their superstition and fear of devils; an intelligent understanding of the trend of modern thought in Persia will give us the opportunity to represent Christ as the Hero and Leader, in whose blameless life and perfect moral code alone can be found the solution of the present social and political problems of Persia. Let our speech be with exhilaration and confidence, obviously a joy and a privilege, not a paid duty to be performed. Make the man feel he knows much, but you are fortunate enough to know more, and are really in the secret of the universe; and again and again come back to the exquisite beauty of the Life, until, without its being actually expressed by you, he is conscious of his own sin, and of the low standards of Islam.

We have an evangelistic service every Sunday in the church in Isfahan, and I expect it is the same elsewhere. Here many Moslems for the first time see the Christian as he approaches his God. It seems to me that every

detail of the service should be so arranged that, though there may be plenty of contrast between it and the *namaz* of the *Masjid*, yet it should in no way convey to the on-looker, that we, in any way, come behind in reverence, in awe, in devotion and concentration. Our services may convey cheerfulness and freedom, but must they not sometimes seem rather careless and disconnected, and devoid of that atmosphere of awe and mystery which is of so much help in bringing the curious and restless mind into a state of receptivity? In other words, is there any appeal to the emotions of a Moslem? It seems that in the services for Moslems more than in the Christian services (where the congregation has already a different background) we ought to study the Persian mind. We should not aim merely at cheerfulness and briskness, at making the service go with a swing, but more at depth, at calm, at the spirit of devotion, at rhythm and poise, obtained by the careful ordering of the service, so that there are not continual jerky movements, sitting, standing, kneeling, and then up again. The greatest contribution must be by the individual helper, who forgetting the small details of seating the curious throng and such like, and by obviously being in the spirit, can create that atmosphere in which involuntarily those around will forget to stare about and gradually focus their attention too. I think this service is one of the greatest opportunities for presenting the Gospel. For many hundreds of people it will form a good or bad impression which no amount of subsequent persuasion will quite eradicate.

Evangelistic services out of doors are on rather a different basis. There are other aids—the magic lantern, singing, etc. Here again, however, that subtle atmosphere of sacredness can be given by the good ordering of the arrangements, by the manner of dealing with the crowd, and by extremely careful selection of slides. Only by observation can it be discovered what is likely to amuse rather than impress. Services of course, are

followed by visiting in the homes of members of the audience.

One of the chief ways in which the soul of a country finds expression is through music. We want to touch the soul, individually and nationally, and if we do not sanctify music as a method of opening a way into these hearts, it seems to me that we are neglecting one of the gifts of the Creator, who created the emotions as He created the whole man, for His service and glory. Each country produces that music which expresses itself. We in Persia must get in touch with that music, put away all prejudice and distaste for what seems to us crude and meaningless, and use it in the countless ways in which music can be used—for softening hearts difficult of approach; as the cry of a heart at last conscious of sin, and searching for its Redeemer, as the outpouring of devotion and praise from the redeemed and sanctified soul to its Saviour and God. These we can never obtain by a foreign music imposed. It must be expression. Something, I know, has been done in the North of Persia towards the adaptation of Persian music for religious purposes. We are now going ahead, and being bold enough to try and get a new hymn-book entirely set to Persian music. It is amazing to see what effect a Persian hymn set to Persian music can have on a set of people who have been giving listless attention to a *Feringi* service with queer, incomprehensible *Feringi* music. Seeing this tremendous enthusiasm, it seems to me that there remains a great deal to be done in making it of use for evangelistic itineration. What we want for this purpose is a sort of *saga* of the life of Christ, in simple but good Persian, which to one or two of the old Persian tunes, carefully selected so as not to give the wrong impression, can be sung, in sections, by evangelists—especially Persians—in the village work. Time and place must be at the discretion of the missionary, but I expect it is the experience of most that once a hymn has been sung in the courtyard of a village home, at all the other visits one is begged to sing—this being so even with

Feringi tunes. For the illiterate people of the villages this is of tremendous value, for we all know what a help a tune or chant is in memorizing. It appears that this as a method of approach has a great future. No means can be overlooked which will make our listeners feel that this Christianity is not merely an importation, but something which may belong to them.

However all this may be, we know that there is only one satisfactory and permanent way of presenting our glorious Gospel, and that is through the life of the individual and the community. We hear so often now that Christianity is not a creed only but a life, and this is true, though at the same time the life must have its foundation on a creed, Christ's teaching. But Christ did not go about reciting a creed; He simply lived that life which bore out and vindicated all He said. At all costs we have to live that life, as individuals, but supremely as a community. We have to live it to the extent that Paul did, who could say that he had filled up what was behind of the afflictions of Christ. The lives of ourselves, of the Persian Christians, of our institutions are going to leave their impression on hundreds of lives, and many of them new ones, every day. That fleeting contact is going to form the first nucleus of ideas on Christianity for some Persian. Let us make it quite practical.

A year or two goes by; that man comes again in contact with the Gospel; it is presented to him with all the zeal, understanding and love we can bring to bear. But all the time his first impression is at work too. We have no clue to that collection of ideas which the word "Christ" calls forward in his mind; we wonder why we can get nothing out of the man. Meanwhile, what we are saying is winding itself round the old nucleus, perhaps some trivial repetition of a Christian's inconsistency, or the memory of some rebuff in hospital or meeting. It is true that evil tongues spoke against Christ Himself, and called Him the tool of Beelzebub, but let these things be as groundless in our case as they were in His. The

words "Jesus of Nazareth" called up to the people of His own day impressions of strength and gentleness, of power and kindliness, of overflowing love; and we must see to it that the same impressions are left by His followers to-day.

Let the life of the individual and the community, which is the Body of Christ, by its interdependence, its love, its faithfulness in prayer, witness to the truth of what it is proclaiming, and we can be confident of its growth. For its Head is Christ, and we are told that from the Head all the "Body by joints and bands having nourishment ministered, increaseth with the increase of God."

Isfahan, Persia.

VERA STENTON EARDLEY.

II

I am inclined to think that on the whole there are fewer difficulties in presenting the Gospel to Shi'ah Moslems than to Sunnis. This may be ethnological rather than religious. The Aryan races of Persia, whether Iranian or Kurdish, have some things in common with Western races that Semitic and Turanian races do not have. It might be possible to show that differences of race are the fundamental causes of the split into Shi'ah and Sunni Islam, rather than differences in theology. As one author says "Though the personal history of Ali and his sons was the exciting cause of the Shi'ah schism, its predisposing cause lies far deeper in the impassable ethnological gulf which separates the Aryan and Semitic races." (Sir Lewis Pelly.) However interesting it might be to study this subject from this point of view, I take it that what is wanted in this paper is a simple statement setting forth in a practical way the special difficulties the missionary encounters in bringing the Gospel to Shi'ahs, and the special characteristics of Shi'ah Islam that are helps.

Among the difficulties are, first of all *Taqiah*, or religious dissimulation. The extent to which this pernicious doctrine has permeated the daily life of the people

of Persia is appalling. This is not a theological doctrine, of interest only to students in the mosque; it has become part of the life of every Persian man, woman and child. *Taqiah* is well-nigh as common as tea drinking. One practical result is that it has very largely annihilated sincerity in religious discussion. According to this teaching, one is not supposed to tell the truth in religious matters. It is a virtue, rather than a fault, to conceal one's real opinions.

The missionary talks with a group of men who strenuously defend the Shi'ah position and profess to be strict Moslems. Subsequently he discovers that not one of them is a Shi'ah. They enjoyed hearing the missionary talk, and incidentally learned something about America and Europe, and they pleased the missionary by listening to him politely. But they were insincere from beginning to end.

A teacher talks with a pupil. The latter listens with eyes, ears and mouth wide open, and eventually professes a faith in Christ. Later it is discovered that the sole purpose of the pupil was, if possible, to get a little better grade in his classes with that teacher.

A Moslem tradesman hears the message, confesses Christ, is baptized, is elected an officer in the Church, is employed as a colporteur of the Bible Society, which position he holds for years. Eventually it is discovered that the man was a Bahai and has been using his position to advance Bahaism, not Christianity.

For any effective missionary work among Persians it is essential that the missionary should thoroughly understand what the Shi'ah doctrine of *taqiah* is, and its practical influence on the lives of the people. I do not think it is too strong a statement, to say that an aggressive missionary, who does not understand this subject, will probably do more harm than good in Persia, if he is allowed to have his own way.

Then there is *sigheh* marriage. This too is distinctly Shi'ah, and its degrading effect on the moral character

is indescribable. Some years ago a Christian, a convert from Sunni Islam, and an ordained clergyman of the Indian Church, visited Teheran. I shall never forget the contempt and scorn with which he looked upon the Persian Shi'ahs because of these two corrupt practices—*taqiah* and *sigheh* (temporary marriage).

Bala Khanum, the wife of the Merat-es-Sultan, had it right when she spoke of "the filth of Islam," and it is the filth of Shi'ah Islam that puts hunger in the heart of Persians for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

In speaking of the Imamate we shall lay aside the interesting topic of the theological influence of this doctrine, and confine ourselves to that which is most practical in the lives of Shi'ahs—the martyrdom of Imam Husain. In the last analysis the Shi'ah is saved by the tears he sheds over the sufferings of Imam Husain. Practically, the average loyal Shi'ah exalts Imam Husain to a position higher than that of Mohammed—the same as the Persian Sufi practically puts Ali higher than the prophet himself.

During a recent itineration, my Persian companion, a convert from Islam and himself a *Sayyid*, said to me, "The Persians are crazy on the subject of Imam Husain. They will endure criticism of Mohammed and the Koran, but not of Husain. If, in a conversation, Imam Husain is mentioned, the conversation is ended. You may just as well quit. It is finished." He is correct. Moharram and the Passion Play, the *taziyeh* and the *rowzeh khan*, all have contributed to give Imam Husain a place in the affections of Shi'ahs that no other has. The veneration that a true Catholic gives to the Virgin Mary is nothing compared to that given to Imam Husain by a true Shi'ah. He is their sacrifice, their idol, their intercessor. His sufferings have been described by the *rowzeh khan*, dramatized in the Moharram passion play and repeated in *taziyeh*, until people are, as Sayyid Mohammed declared, crazy on the subject. One tear shed for the sufferings of Husain brings forgiveness of sins.

The Sunni has no answer to the Christian challenge that there is no atonement in Islam. Every Shi'ah has an answer—Imam Husain. And in a crowd of Shi'ahs when that answer is given to the Christian missionary, it carries the crowd, and the missionary's opportunity is probably ended for that particular occasion. Personally, I have never found any value in continuing the meeting after some one has mentioned the name of Imam Husain. With Shi'ahs that is the end of the matter, at least temporarily. It is better to look for a new congregation.

Special points of contact with Christianity also exist among Shi'ahs. One is a belief in the pre-existence of certain individuals. The Christian teaching of the existence of Christ before the creation of the world should be no stumbling block to Persians. Orthodox Shi'ah Islam teaches that five of the family of Mohammed existed before heaven, earth, sun, moon, light and darkness, paradise and hell—viz., Mohammed himself, Fatimah, Ali, Hasan and Husain.

The Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Divinity of Christ also find parallels among the sects of Shi'ah Islam. The Ali Ilahi teach the divinity of Ali. The Sufis are pantheists. With them everything is God. One of the great Persian Sufis frankly says "I am God." Bahaism teaches that Baha was a manifestation of God, and Baha himself on one occasion says, "There is no God but me." As Dr. Shedd said years ago: "Persia never wants for an incarnation or two."

Another point of contact is Mysticism. The Persian poets have furnished the sacred writings for the mystics of all Islam, and to a considerable extent for all the world. Sunni mystics quote Jalal-ud-Din, Al Ghazali, Sa'adi and Hafiz. Many Persians maintain that there is a striking similarity between Protestant Christianity and Persian Sufism. That similarity is so marked that one would expect the Persian *'Urafa* (mystics) to become Christians very rapidly. But they do not. Perhaps the reason is that they do have so much truth that they are content

with it. Yet we are still waiting for the Persian '*Arif*' of a high intellectual ability and culture to become a converted Apostle, and then to interpret Christianity (Christ) to the Persians.

It has been said that all Persians are mystics. With certain limitations that is true. Certainly an understanding of Persian mysticism is essential to any understanding of the Persian character, and to the most effective missionary work among Persians. Islam is not suited to the Persian character and never was. The Persians did not accept Islam of their own choice; it was forced on them at the point of the sword. And they have been trying ever since to get rid of some of its teachings, against which the Aryan mind rebels.

Teheran, Persia.

HENRY C. SCHULER.

III.

As it is impossible to lay down any definite rules for the presentation of the Christian message to non-Christians in Europe or America, it is equally impossible to outline a method of approach to Moslems in Persia which can be followed in every instance. Perhaps if we were skillful evangelists we would find that every individual needed to be approached in a different way, for Moslems differ radically from one another, even though the type of training that Islam gives its followers tends to produce greater uniformity of belief than one finds in Christendom. But because of the background of Shiah Islam out of which all come, it is possible to make certain general suggestions as to the sort of approach that is most apt to be effective.

Theoretically the Persian is ready to admit the necessity of religious inquiry. It is an oft-quoted theorem of the Shiah theologians that the principles of religion are not to be arrived at by imitation but by investigation. Hence every Moslem who has arrived at years of discretion (age 15) is in duty bound to investigate for himself the Unity of God, His Justice, Prophecy,

the Imamate, and the Resurrection; and only when he has freely accepted for himself the prophethood of Mohammed and the authority of the Twelve Imams is he obliged to imitate them and their representatives the *mujtahids*. Hence the appeal to think for himself always meet with a ready response from the Persian Moslem, and in many instances we cannot do better than to begin our conversation by suggesting the importance of every man's investigating the fundamental principles of religion for himself.

I would suggest that we lead our Moslem friends as soon as possible to a careful study of the Bible. The Behais, who have proved themselves to be the most successful propagandists in Persia, follow another method, and first build up an elaborate metaphysical foundation, on which they rest their peculiar doctrines. Perhaps they have been wiser than we, and it might have been well for us to have followed the example of Raymund Lull, and give more attention to philosophy and scholastic theology. But if we begin at the beginning and attempt to carry our hearers with us as we prove the existence of God, His personality, His love, and the necessity of the incarnation, we will most probably lose them before we reach our goal. Therefore in most cases I believe it is better to put a Bible in the Moslem's hand at once, and insist on his reading it as a necessary condition of our willingness to discuss religious problems with him. For it is impossible to talk satisfactorily about Christianity with a Moslem who has no knowledge of the contents of the Scriptures. The very terms that we use have entirely different meanings when used by him. For instance, when he asks such a harmless question as, "Do you believe in the prophets?" a question which any Christian might feel he could safely answer in the affirmative, the Shiah really mean, "Do you believe that 124,000 prophets have come from God, that all of them were sinless, that the chief of them (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed) were the intercessors for

and saviors of the men of their respective ages, and that Mohammed was the last and greatest of them all?" It is evident that the Christian cannot safely use the term *prophet* in conversation until he has given at least a summary of the Scripture doctrine of the prophets and their mission. In like manner almost every Christian doctrine and most of the facts of Christian history have been perverted by Islam, and until the Moslem knows something of what Christianity teaches, it is unprofitable for the Christian to discuss with him the claims of his religion.

In talking with men who have never read the Bible, I most often begin with the fifth chapter of Matthew. I choose this passage not simply because it almost always meets with a cordial reception, but because it illumines so many points which a Moslem needs to know. It clears up Jesus' relation to Moses—that he did not come to abrogate the *Taurat*, as they suppose, but to perfect it. And in admitting that he did perfect it, as they must do, they exclude the possibility of any subsequent prophet's coming to make more perfect that in which there is no imperfection. They try to find parallels in the Koran and traditions to the teaching regarding anger and purity of heart, but when they come to the law of marriage and divorce they are either silent or else confess that Jesus' law is after all the best. The impossibility of obeying Jesus' laws without first having a new heart leads one at once to the heart of the Gospel—to the new birth, to Calvary, and to the empty tomb.

Needless to say, the figure in the Bible on which we will lead our Moslem friend to center his attention is that of Jesus Christ. As the late Dr. Warfield, of Princeton, said to me when I was leaving for Persia, "The logical order would be first to convict the Moslem of his sin, and then to point him to his Savior; but since the Moslem has no strong sense of sin, in practice you will find it necessary first to point him to the Savior, that he may come to feel that he is a sinner." My experience has led me to believe that this is true, and I seldom try

to convict Moslems of their sin before setting before them the picture of Christ. It is true that unless one begins with sin the decision to become a Christian may be too largely intellectual without having its roots firmly fixed in a hatred of sin and a longing for holiness; and we all know individuals who subscribe to the whole Christian creed, but who have never become new creatures in Christ. Nevertheless I believe that the most powerful force we can bring to bear on the Moslem, blinded by his sin and ignorance, is to bring him face to face with Jesus of Nazareth.

But we must never forget that between Jesus of Nazareth and the 'Isa whom the Moslem reveres there is a vast difference. There is a tradition that the Imam Reza once said to Jasiliq, a Christian priest with whom he was discussing the claims of Christianity and Islam, "The Jesus whom we believe in is not the Jesus whom you believe in," and this remark is perfectly true. The Moslem 'Isa was one of the prophets and no more, except that he was distinguished by remarkable miracles at his birth and throughout his life, an ascetic who shunned human society and spent his days and nights in the mountains in fasting and prayer. A dervish once told me that it was his greatest ambition to be like Jesus, and on inquiring what he meant I found that he desired, like Jesus, to forsake the world and spend his life in solitude. And among some there is a tendency to make Him little more than a phantom figure. A Sufi sheikh in Sabzevar used to say to me, "Jesus was pure spirit," by which he meant that He was free from all the weaknesses and limitations of the flesh, and that He was not tempted in all points like as we are. Therefore, before we can press the claims of our Lord upon Moslems, we must acquaint them with Him; we must take away from them the caricature which they have accepted as a true likeness, and set before them the picture of Him which we have in the Gospels. To invite Moslems to confess the 'Isa whom they know as the only Savior of the world is preposterous; while to bring them

into the presence of the Jesus of the Gospels may be in itself sufficient to lead them to reject all others and "cleave to Him always." Hence the first work of the missionary is to circulate and promote the thoughtful reading of the Gospels.

Let us now consider what aspects of the person and life of Christ appeal especially to the Persian Moslems. First of all, they are universally impressed by His life of unselfish service for men. Though few of them practice it, the Persians profoundly admire renunciation of the world. I recently saw a Meshed newspaper which was almost entirely devoted to lauding the memory of a mulah who had died a few days previously. When I asked what he had done to deserve such honor, I was told that he had been a teacher in one of the theological schools, and might have been very rich, but chose to live in poverty, keeping no servant, and giving his money to the poor, and his days and nights to study. The story of Him who had nowhere to lay His head always elicits admiration, and the contrast between Jesus and the Prophet of Arabia does not have to be drawn in detail to be felt by the Moslem.

We may also lay emphasis on the sinlessness of Jesus. Of course the Shiahs hold that not only Jesus but *all* the prophets as well as the twelve Imams were immune to sin, because of the impossibility of one who is himself a sinner being a guide to other sinners. We can approve the doctrine that only a sinless prophet can save sinners, and then proceed to inquire who that prophet is in whom is no sin. From the Old Testament records we know of a certainty that the prophets who preceded Jesus were sinners, for they confess their own sins. In like manner we know from the Koran and traditions that Mohammed made no claims to sinlessness. But both Koran and *Injil* bear witness to the sinlessness of Jesus. Hence we can assure our Moslem friends that there is One, and One only, who is worthy to be a Savior, and urge them to forsake all others and cling to Him alone.

While Islam denies the passion of our Lord Jesus, I believe that Shiahs are especially apt to be affected by the story of the crucifixion. For they believe that every one of the Imams (except the twelfth) suffered a violent death, and to them it does not seem improper for one who is dear to God to suffer. There is a tradition that before the creation of the world God summoned the spirits of all the prophets before Him and asked who could drink the cup of woe. All came forward, Jesus included, and attempted to drink the cup, but none were able. Finally the Imam Husain took it up and drained it to the dregs, and by suffering more than any other won for himself the right to be the intercessor for all believers on the Day of Judgment. The reading of the records of the passion of our Lord should lead thoughtful Shiahs to realize that the right of intercession belongs not to him who died fighting on the battlefield of Kerbala, but to Him who was led as a lamb to the slaughter on Calvary. When we speak of the death of Christ as a sacrifice for sin, the Persian at once understands the meaning of the term *sacrifice*. He may even assert that the slaughter of Kerbala was a sacrifice for the sins of Shiahs. But as far as I have been able to ascertain, the general belief is that the sufferings of the Imam gave him the right to intercede for men, not that his death made atonement for sin. There is no doctrine of a sacrifice for sin in Islam. Hence it is necessary to explain the nature of Christ's sacrifice, and the need of atonement because of the nature of sin.

Moslems all know of Jesus' marvelous miracles, his virgin birth, his cures, his raising the dead. But they do not know of his greatest miracle, the empty tomb, and I feel we cannot lay too much stress upon the Resurrection as the final and unanswerable proof of the truth of all Jesus' claims. Shiahs have claimed for their prophet and Imams every conceivable miracle except this; no one has ever dared to assert that Prophets or Imams rose from the dead on the third day and declared themselves

alive to their followers by many infallible proofs. Hence we can confidently point to the empty tomb as the proof that Jesus' sacrifice was accepted, that His claim to be the Son of God was true, and that since He is alive His reign shall last for ever. The resurrection of Christ naturally leads on to the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of believers. Perhaps some of us have not made as much of this doctrine in preaching to Moslems as we might, feeling no doubt that the hope of the resurrection was one that they had already. We are apt to forget the crass materialism of the Moslem conception of the future life, which renders it little, if anything, better than the hopelessness of the heathen. Harnack mentions the doctrine of the resurrection as one of the distinctive notes of apostolic preaching, and a recent experience in Sabzevar has led me to believe that our Christian hope, grounded on and explained by the rising of our Lord from the dead, is one of the most effective messages that we can give to Moslems.

Another aspect of the character of our Lord which we will do well to stress is His deity. One naturally supposes that of all the Christian doctrines the one most offensive to the Moslems will be our claim that Jesus Christ is God, and this is often the case. But it has been my experience that Persians frequently take no offense when I advance this claim, but rather are attracted and impressed by it. There seems to be something in the Persian's nature which makes it easy for him to believe in the possibility of a divine manifestation. Before Islam, the Zoroastrian kings were revered as divine beings, and after the conversion of the nation to Mohammedanism this reverence seems to have been transferred to the Imams, who through Shahr-banu, the daughter of Yezdigerd III and wife of the Imam Husain, were the lineal descendants of the royal house of Persia. Not only so, but we read again and again in the religious history of Persia of the appearance of men who claimed to be incarnations or

manifestations of the deity, such as the "Veiled Prophet of Khorasan," and more recently Beha'ullah.

The desire of the Persian mind to see the Father should give us courage to set forth our Lord as the Eternal Word, "Very God of Very God, of one substance with the Father, who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary." It is an axiom for Persians that there must be a mediator between God and man, and in my experience men of open minds who have not been satisfied with Mohammed and the Imams as mediators welcome the doctrine of such a mediator, who is God Himself revealing Himself in the flesh. The Sufis make this claim for all the prophets, and for their own *Qutb* as well, and our answer is that of all mankind One only is worthy to say, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." I believe Persians find it less difficult to think of Jesus as God than as the Son of God, for the latter term has unpleasant associations for them, and to those who wish to give our Lord the highest possible honor it at first seems too low a title. It also involves the doctrine of the Trinity, which is more difficult for Persians to accept than what seems to them the simpler doctrine that Jesus is God. They like to think of "Father", "Son", and "Spirit" as three names or three aspects of the One Essence, and for that reason we need to guard our Christians carefully against falling into the heresy of Sabellianism.

I will suggest but one more aspect of our Lord's character which has a special appeal for Shi'ahs, namely, His being a living ever-present guide to men. There is a strong feeling among Shi'ahs that there must always be on the earth someone to stand between God and man. The orthodox look to their Hidden Imam, and the Sufis point to their *Qutb*, and the Behais write to Haifa for divine guidance. Can we not joyfully point our friends to our Risen, Living Lord, always present in every place through His Holy Spirit to strengthen and guide, able to do for us what no man limited by the flesh could possibly

do? They all recognize that a code of laws is not sufficient, a *person* is necessary. The persons to whom they have clung are either dead and buried, or else are wholly incapable of doing what is expected of them. But our Lord is both alive and able, as is proved by His glorious resurrection.

As the missionary strives to bring these great truths home to the minds and consciences of Moslems he will probably hear again and again the remark, "That is just what my own religion teaches." We are apt to assume that all Moslems know their religion well, and even unlettered men do have a remarkable knowledge of a great mass of traditions and beliefs, but those who know the Koran or understand what Islam really teaches or have any clear and accurate knowledge of Moslem history are very few. Hence it is absolutely necessary for inquirers to gain a true understanding of their own religion before they can make much progress in finding the truth. I have felt very greatly the need of a brief scholarly life of Mohammed in Persian, to put in the hands of those who would like to compare him with Christ. A translation of Goldsack's "Mohammed in Islam" adapted for Shiah readers would be excellent. The Moslem has been taught from infancy to believe that the sum of all excellence is to be found in Mohammed and the Koran, and even educated Persians cling to this belief. Only a fair and accurate presentation of the facts will clear away these misconceptions, and it is obligatory on every missionary to do that whenever necessary. We do not have to abuse Mohammed in order to exalt Christ, but we do have to help our Moslem friends see him as he was, that they may be able to choose intelligently between him and Christ.

It is impossible to discuss questions such as these with thinking Moslems without getting into controversy, and the Christian should welcome the opportunity to give a reason for his faith, and to clear away the misconceptions and answer the objections of Moslems. We shall be

(2) *Sunday School Courses*. Arranged in forty lessons. The courses are graded to a certain extent but can be used in rotation if desired. Courses on *Matthew* and *Old Testament* are ready.

(3) *Angalun-i-Majid*. (The Glorious Peace.) Arranged for topical and daily devotional Bible study. More suitable for advanced Christian than beginner.

B. Bible Study Helps.

(1) *Kholasat ul Asfar*. Introduction to the study of the books of the Bible.

(2) *Nur ul Anvar*. (The Light of Lights.) Old and New Testament History. Useful for general reading or class work.

(3) *Introduction to Corinthians*. (Bishop Linton.) Mimeographed copies.

(4) *Notes on Matthew for Moslems*. Swan.

C. Doctrinal.

(1) Westminster Shorter Catechism.

(2) Child's Catechism.

(3) C. M. S. Book of Instruction for Confirmation Class.

(4) *Usul we Furu'*. (Roots and Branches.) Brief statement of Christian belief and practice which has been found very useful in instructing advanced inquirers and catechumens.

(5) Athanasius' Rule of Faith.

(6) *Sirat'un Najat*. (The Way of Salvation.) Questions and Answers concerning the Christian Faith.

D. Pictures and Wall Cards.

(1) Nelson's Pictures to go with S. S. Courses on Luke and Old Testament Stories with Persian on the back.

(2) Nelson's Wall Pictures for same courses.

(3) Persian and Turkish Wall Mottoes. May be obtained from the American Mission, Tabriz.

V. HELPS IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

For your friend who has accepted Christ.

(1) *Nur-i-Chashman-i-Imandaran*. (Light of the Eyes of the Believers.) A booklet of prayers for those who feel the need of guidance in their prayer life.

(2) *Seahat-i-Masihi*. (Pilgrim's Progress.)

(3) *Matlab-i-Kull-i-Du'a*. (Prayer by McConkey.) Appreciated by advanced Christians. Has been used for study in Christian prayer-meetings.

(4) *Taj-i-Hayat*. (The Crown of Life.) To encourage Christians to stand fast. Contains some account of the martyrdom of M. Ibrahim of Tabriz.

(5) *Shisha-i-Atr-i-Geranbiha*. (Vase of Precious Ointment.) Short Life of William Borden.

(6) *'Aineh-i-Dil*. (The Mirror of the Heart.) An allegorical exposition of the effect of sin and the work of grace in the heart.

(7) *Persian Hymn Book*. Compiled by the Teheran Church Committee.

(8) *The Book of Common Prayer*. C. M. S. Translation.

(9) C. M. S. Hymnbook.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

(1) *Dozdee Makon*. Thou shalt not steal.

(2) *Imtend'i Shorb-i-Muskerat*. (Abstinence from Alcoholic Drinks.)

(3) *'Arus-i-Zisht*. (The Ugly Bride.) Against gambling.

This complete and yet so meagre a list of literature available for Persian readers was carefully considered at the Teheran Missionary Conference. In their "findings" on Literature they state:

"This committee wishes to go on record as deeply appreciating the scholarship and labor of those men who have supplied us with literature for our Christian missionary work. Such works as those produced by Pfander, Tisdall, Potter, Rice, Hawkes, and others, will always remain as standards. We also would acknowledge the constant and sincere efforts of those who have tried to bring before the Christian Missions of Persia the potency of literature as an evangelistic agency, notably Dr. Frame of Resht. Admitting our negligence in times past, we yet feel that the time for wise and extensive publication and distribution of literature has just arrived, and the greatest opportunity is still ahead. Therefore we strongly advocate that the necessary steps be taken for the immediate development of an adequate literature program of much greater activity in Persia."

Teheran, Persia.

MRS. ARTHUR C. BOYCE.

THE PERSIAN CALENDAR

One of the striking differences between Islam in other lands and in Persia is that of the calendar. Our readers will remember an article that appeared in *The Moslem World* a few years ago under the title "The Clock, the Calendar and the Koran." If orthodox Islam has found it difficult to adjust itself to Western clocks and solar months, the Shiah sect in Persia has made matters even more perplexing. We reprint a facsimile of a leaf from a calendar found on sale in Tehêran and used in the government offices. It gives the days of the week in Russian, French and Persian; indicates the Armenian, Catholic and Mohammedan festivals; while the months have their European, ancient Persian and Moslem names, the year is given as 1304 or 1344 A. H. and 1926 A. D. Louis Massignon in some notes on the Islamic calendar gives the answer to questions on the subject.¹

In Persia, by the side of the canonical calendar, of the Hejira era, the old Mazdean calendar has been maintained for nearly a thousand years as the agricultural and administrative calendar. The Mazdean year is a year of approximately 365 days without a leap-year; each year has 12 months of 30 days and 5 odd days added. The eras are the following:

(1) The Era of Yezderdjerd II. which only the Persian Fireworshippers followed (beginning June 16th, 632). A few nationalist papers (e. g. *Kaveh* at Berlin) formerly used this era.

(2) The Jalali era of the sultan Jalâl-al-Dîn Mâlikshâh (1092) which began the 15th of March 1079 (9 Ramadan 471). Each year starts with the astrono-

¹ *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, Première Année, 1923.

mical Nauroz (New Year) at the entrance of the sun in the sign of the Ram (it is known that the constellation varies on account of the precession) on the Ispahan meridian, provided that the phenomenon takes place before

1926-۱۹۲۶

اود ئیل ۱۳۰۴

1344 - ۱۳۴۴

(5) مسیحی

Уд-ил — Oud-il 1304 (Chamsi) Hedjri (Ghamari)

Abréviation	JANVIER	دائیه (فرنگی)	دЛЯ ПАМЯТИ NOTES	BAHMAN	RADJAB	عزومات
A) Arménien				فروردین	ردجب	(۱) ارامنه
C) Catolique				مهر	شهریور	(۲) فرانکی
P) Persan			یاد داشت	Solaire	Lunaire	
Воскресенье	۲۴			۴	۹	یکشنبه
Dimanche	24			4	9	
Понедельник	۲۵		C) Conv. de St. Paul	۵	۱۰	دو شنبه
Lundi	25		توز دزد	5	10	
Вторник	۲۶			۶	۱۱	سه شنبه
Mardi	26			6	11	
Среда	۲۷			۷	۱۲	چهار شنبه
Mercredi	27			7	12	
Четверг	۲۸		عید مولود حضرت امیر	۸	۱۳	پنجشنبه
Jeudi	28		P) Nais. de Khalife Ali	8	13	
Пятница	۲۹			۹	۱۴	جمعه
Vendredi	29			9	14	
Суббота	۳۰			۱۰	۱۵	شنبه
Samedi	30			10	15	

Composé par M. H. Nadjm

استخراج محمد حسن

noon. The Jalali year began for example March 22nd, 1922 (the astronomical Nauroz, or New Year, took place at night at a quarter past one); 845 began March 22nd, 1923; 846 started March 21st, 1924.

(3) The Era of the Hegira, adjusted, as in Turkey, to a financial-solar year, the names of the months being taken from the zodiacal signs, and followed, to avoid confusion, with the canonical lunar year. They also use in Persia the Chinese cycle of 12 years, introduced into the country at the time of the Mongolian invasion, and officially adopted in Persia since then for over a century by the Qâdjâr dynasty. It is called the Turkish year (*sanat turkî*). One says therefore after naming the year of the Hejira, *sichan-îl* (the year of the mouse) etc., following the Chinese list: mouse, bull, panther, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, ram, monkey, chicken, dog, pig.

(4) For several years the Persian administration, by a reform even more radical than the Ottoman one, has introduced an arbitrary solar era, deducing it from ours by the subtraction of a fixed number (date of the Hejira) e. g., $1923 - 622 = 1301$.

The names of the months are as follows:

MAZDEAN	ARAB ZODIACAL	PERSIAN EQUIVALENT
Ferwerdin	Hamal	Bara
Ardbihisht	Thaur	Gaw
Khovdad	Jawza	Doupaikar
Tîr	Saratan	Kharshang
Movdad	Asad	Shir
Shahrir	Sunbala	Khosha
Mihr	Mizan	Tarazon
Aban	'Aqrab	Kazhdoum
Ader	Qaws	Nimasp
Dai	Jadi	Bahi
Bahman	Dalwa	Doul
Isfendarmed	Hut	Mahi

One finds, for example, in the treaty between Persia and the Bolshevik Government ratified December 15th, 1921, that the date is given as 23rd of Qaws 1300. This would seem to indicate that the official Persian year is solar and

counts from the astronomical *Nauroz*. New Afghanistan is adopting the new Persian calendar also.

To complete the account, we add a list of the Persian (Shiah) feast-days and fast-days. First of all they observe the two canonical days of Catholic Islam, that is, the Feast of Sacrifice ('Id-al-Adha) on the tenth day of Dhu-al-Hajj, and the break-fast feast on the first day of Shawwal at the end of Ramadan. But in addition Persian Islam has the following holidays:

10th	of Moharram	—the death of Husain.
12th	" "	—the death of Zain-al-Abidin.
1st	" Safar	—duel of Ali-al-Siffin with Moawiya.
3rd	" "	—the birth of Bâqir.
7th	" "	—the birth of Mousa Kâzim.
17th	" "	—the death of Ali Ridha.
5th	" Rabiâ I	—the birth of Husain.
8th	" "	—the death of Hasan Askari.
12th	" "	—the birth of the Prophet Mohammed.
14th	" "	—the usurpation of Abû Bakr.
15th	" "	—the death of Yazid who killed Husain.
4th	" Rabiâ II	—the birth of Hasan Askari.
4th	" Jumâ I	—the death of Hasan; the birth of Zain-al-Abidin.
3rd	" Jumâ II	—the death of Fâtima.
20th	" "	—the birth of Fâtima.
1st	" Radjab	—the birth of Baqr.
2nd	" "	—the birth of Ali Naqi.
13th	" "	—the birth of Ali.
27th	" "	—the night of Mohammed's ascension.
15th	" Sha'ban	—the birth of the Mahdi.
15th	" Ramadan	—the birth of Hasan, and of Mohammed Taqi.
21st	" "	—the death of Ali.
27th	" "	—the execution of his murderer, Ibn Moldjim.
4th	" Shawwal	—the disappearance of XIIth Imâm, Mahdi, in 265 Hejira.
12th	" "	—the splitting of the moon by the Prophet.
25th	" "	—the death of Djafar Sadiq.
11th	" Dhûl Qada	—the birth of Ali Ridha.
13th	" Dhûl Hajj	—the accession of Ali to the Khalifat.
18th	" "	—the solemn investiture of Ali by the Prophet.
25th	" "	—the birthday of Khatam Baksh.
26th	" "	—the death of the usurper Omar.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Christmas in Isfahan

It is comparatively easy to visualize Christmas in any part of the homeland, but for those at home it is not quite so easy to picture Christmas in a large Moslem city like Isfahan in Persia.

On Christmas Eve we had our preparation service, at which all who hope to be present at the Christmas Communion are expected to attend. There were about eighty present, mostly Persian Christians. The service ended with a very solemn act of dedication, when I think everyone present stood up to dedicate his life afresh to God and His service. It was a solemn moment for us all, and fraught, I am sure, with blessing.

On Christmas morning we had first our early English Holy Communion. I had my car waiting at the door, and then hurried off to Julfa, the Armenian suburb, three miles away, to the Armenian Church, while Mr. Sharp went over to Jubareh, three miles in another direction, for the Jewish Christians there. When the Julfa service was over, I had to hurry back for the Persian Christian service in Isfahan. We had the Rev. Dr. Schuler, of the American Presbyterian Mission in Teheran, as our preacher. There were eighty-seven communicants at that service, almost all converts from Islam, and their children. By the time this was over, the English community were waiting outside for the Christmas morning service. This took us on till about one o'clock. Then we had a very unique Christmas lunch party. There were eighteen of us, including three American brethren and twelve Persian Christian men. One was legless Yusuf, who in his unconverted days made his living by his waggery. He now uses the same gift in the service of his new Master. Another was blind Hyder, who walked eighteen miles to Isfahan for Christmas. (Far be it from me to say that the Christmas festivities had nothing to do with it.) Another was epileptic Husain, and so on, with a few of the leading Christian men to help us. If you could have seen those men, some of whom had not had a square meal for ages, how they put their Christmas dinner out of sight, you would have felt it was worth while to be one with them. We were all on the floor, and "all one in Christ Jesus."

By the time lunch was over, we had to go to church for the evangelistic service. This is got up by the personal invitation of the members of the Persian Church. I tried to count the men on the men's side of the curtain, which was down the centre of the church. I got to about four hundred and fifty. By that time the church was so full that we could not possibly get any more into it. So we closed the doors. "House Full." I wonder how many churches at home had that sign up? On the women's side of the church the crowd was still greater, and they too had to close the doors.

When you read all that, then call to mind that this is a Moslem city, where a very few years ago no Christian was allowed to live, let

alone preach the Gospel. And that congregation was gathered together by individual effort, to listen to the story of the Incarnation of the Son of God. Dr. Schuler preached the sermon, the old, old story, that saves men in London, as it saved men in Palestine and Rome, and saves them today in Persia. Whether it be college, school or hospital, everything is directed toward evangelism. For after all, that is our call and commission, to "preach the Gospel."

Isfahan.

BISHOP LINTON.

Current Mohammedan Newspapers and Magazines in Persia.¹

Hamadan: (4) *Ittihad*—S. Moh. Yusef. *Iran-i-Tazeh*—Burhan el Mutakallemin (bi-weekly). *Sohail*—M. Baqir Khan Modaberul Mulk (bi-weekly). *Asrar-i-jalali*—Nazim-el-Sharia Jalali (weekly).

Isfahan: (14) *Rah-i-Najat*—M. Ibrahim (weekly). *Maarafat*—S. Kamaled Din (bi-monthly). *Zaban-i-Zanan*—Sadique Khanam Dantatabadi (bi-monthly). *Touti*—Salem (weekly). *Abrar-al-Ansar*—M. Hasan Ansari (monthly). *Akhtar-i-Mas'ud*—M. Abdul Wahab Gulshan (weekly). *Akhgar*—M. Fathullah K. Vazir Zadé. *Ghorresh*—M. Baqir Touserani (weekly). *Najat-i-Iran*—M. Ibrahim Khan (weekly). *Subh-i-Amid*—M. Taqi Khorasani. *Tuhfat-al-Udaba*—M. Abdul Hussain (bi-monthly). *Sapahan*—M. Ali Mukarram (weekly).

Kazvin: (1) *Ra'ad*—Ali Sadr-ul-Udaba (weekly).

Kerman: (1) *Adab*—Muhasib-ul Mamalik Ruhi.

Kermanshah: (2) *Bisutin*—Sadiq Daftar (susp.). *Rashtakhiz*—Pourdad Zardashti (weekly).

Khoi: (1) *Barid-el-Shemal*—A. M. Mahdi Makoui.

Meshed: (13) *Ruznamahi Astane Razani*—Muayyad-el-Vezara (weekly). *Dabestan*—S. Hassan Tebbi. *Fakr-i-azad*—M. Ahmed Dahgan (weekly). *Akhlaq*—M. Fakhr-ud-Din Khan. *Tebbe-Kanuni*—Dr. F. K. Messih-es-Sultane (monthly). *Mehr-i-Munir*—A. Moh. al Munir. *Kamal*—F. Bedaye Negar. *Bamdad*—Rafat Toliya. *Agahi*—M. Abdul Hussain Mulla Bachi. *Taze Behar*—M. K. Malekzade (bi-weekly). *Khorasan*—M. K. Danesh (tri-weekly). *Tchaman*—Ali Chamsol Maali (bi-weekly). *Majalla Danesh*—Moh. Danesh (monthly).

Resht: (10) *Gilan*—M. Said Khan Asafi (daily). *Bahr Khezer*—M. Ahmed Khan. *Peyam*—M. Ibrahim K. Fakhrai (weekly). *Mirat-ul-Milla*—S. Isa Gilani (weekly). *Nadal-Gilan*—Mujtahid Zade (daily). *Farhang*—Moh. Khan Shaibani (monthly). *Bidari*—M. Hussain K. Djavet (tri-weekly). *Amuzeh*—S. Abul Qasim Khan (weekly). *Janguel*—M. Hussain K. Kasmai (weekly). *Shemal-i-Iran*—(suspended).

Shiraz: (8) *Goftar-Rast*—S. Nur-ed Din Khan (weekly). *Sehhat-Irané*—Dr. Abul Qasim Rastegar (weekly). *Sedai-Islam*—M. Baqir Iftikhar-ul-Ulema (tri-weekly). *Sepideh-dam*—Lutfallahi Khan (monthly). *Cyrus*—M. Mahmud Khan Erfan (weekly). *Asre Azadi*—Mudir Zade. *Ilm wa Tarbiyat*—M. Hussain Khan Pertev (monthly). *Gole Sarkh*—Malek ul Muhaqqiqir (weekly).

Tabriz: (7) *Berjis*—Muzafer-es-Sultan (monthly). *Takammul*—Sali Akhbar Sarraj (weekly). *Nameh Banowan*—Shahnaz Khanam

¹ Classified according to the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1925. Cf. also Browne's "Persian Press and Poetry" and especially the lists in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. XXII and Vol. LIX.

Azad (monthly). *Tabriz*—(daily). *Danieh*—(monthly). *Tajaddud*—(tri-weekly). *Mashriq*—Mirza Jusef.

Teheran: (29) *Iran*—Z. Rahnama (daily). *Setare-i-Iran*—Hussain K. Saba (daily). *Ghorn-i-Bistim*—S. Reza Mirzade Askqi (weekly). *Mahabar*—Kazem Zade (weekly). *Iqtisade*—M. Asadullah Tajir (weekly). *Bamdad-Roshan*—M. Ali Khan Khorasani (tri-weekly). *Jahane Zanan*—Batoul Khanem Fakhri Afaq (monthly). *Nahid*—M. Ibrahim K. Nahid (weekly). *Ittihad*—S. Sarkeshi Zade (daily). *Nasim-i-Shemal*—Ashraf-ed-Din Hussaini (weekly). *Golshan*—S. Reza A. Rezwani (bi-weekly). *Iran Kohan*—Nasrullah Gharbi (tri-weekly). *Kargar*—M. Riza K. Mahinulmulk (tri-weekly). *Nehzat-Iran*—M. Ali Samadeji (tri-weekly). *Asman*—Mahmoud Khan Erfan Shirazi (bi-weekly). *Paikan*—M. Mahmoud Homayun (tri-weekly). *Bain-an-Nahrain*—S. Hassan Hajafi. *Bidar*—Ali Mohammed Rad (tri-weekly). *Ferdausi*—Moh. Khan Wafadar (monthly). *Mihan*—Abu Taleb Banan-es-Sultane (bi-weekly). *Jarchi Millet*—M. Ali Hussain Zade (bi-weekly). *Golezard*—Reihan (suspended, weekly). *Ilm-ve-Akhlaq*—M. Habiballah Khan (monthly). *Tabiat*—M. Ali Khan Gimnastiki (monthly). *Majillet Rahnama*—Z. Rahnama (bi-monthly). *Pars*—M. Abulqasim Azad (bi-monthly). *Tubbe-Musawwir*—Muzayen-es-Sultan (monthly). *Alam-i-Tubb*—M. Mohammed Khan (monthly). *Beitari*—Murtaza Khan (bi-weekly).

Yezd: (3) *Shirkuh*—Sh. Ali Mudir Yazdi (weekly). *Zare*—Musa Wizade (weekly). *Safin-en-Najat*—M. Mohammed Sadiq (weekly).

A total of ninety-three periodicals, of which seventy-six were on exhibit at the Teheran Conference.

The Koran and Geography

“1. The Mullas say that the earth never revolves round the sun, and those who believe that it does commit sin. They say it is against what the Koran says. Is it right?

“A. Geographical problems are outside the domain of the Koran. So on such questions as the rotation or revolution of the earth we can expect of it no detailed discussion. Nevertheless there are verses in the Book which do lead us to the inference that the earth is not stationary. For instance:

“‘He Who made the earth a *cradle* for you’ (43: 10). Now motion is an indispensable characteristic of a cradle. The earth therefore must be in motion if it is at all anything like a cradle. And from the particular mode of the motion of the cradle, it may be inferred that the reference is to the rotation of the earth round its own axis.

“‘And you see the mountains and think them to be stationary whereas they flee like the flight of the clouds: the handiwork of Allah Who has made everything thoroughly . . .’ (27: 88). This contains an unmistakable reference to the motion of the earth—for how could the mountains be said to be moving unless the earth on which they are fixed is also in motion?

“‘And He cast great mountains in the earth that it may go round with you . . .’ (16: 15). Again the rotation of the earth is clearly implied.

“Again describing that the sun has an orbit of its own in which it

moves and the moon has its own and that neither can overtake the other, the Koran goes on to say:

“‘ And all (heavenly bodies) float on in an orbit ’ (36: 40).

“Surely the earth could not be treated as an exception to this general law. It must therefore be moving, too, in its own prescribed orbit. This implies the revolution of the earth round the sun.”—“*The Light*.”

The Opening of the New Mosque in Paris

Paris, July 15.—“Allah is great and Mohammed is his prophet”—that must have been the thought of several thousand Moslems today when attending the official opening of the Paris mosque by Mulai Yusef, Sultan of Morocco, and President Gaston Doumergue. No ceremony connected with the Mohammedan religion approaching in grandeur that seen in Paris today probably has ever taken place outside of Moslem countries. Perhaps none more significant has ever taken place in history, when it is recalled that it was France which, above all the other powers in Christendom, led the great crusades against Islam. Now, minaret and dome topped with the crescent rise within sight of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. Future Parisians will be able to hear the muezzin’s picturesque call to prayer at sunrise and eventide.

A great throng of Mohammedans from all parts of France’s great Moslem possessions in Africa and Asia Minor gathered in the vast gardens and in the halls and galleries of the mosque to await the arrival of the two chiefs of State at 3 o’clock this afternoon. Great chieftains from North Africa—caids of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, nobles in gorgeous red, scarlet or crimson bournouses with rich gold embroidery—rubbed shoulders with elegant, frock-coated gentlemen wearing the red fez or with humbler brethren clothed in duller hue.

Escorted by his hundred black horse-guardsmen, their green pennants with silver crescents fluttering merrily on their lances, the Sultan arrived with President Doumergue. A French military guard of honor presented arms and trooped colors to the martial strain of “The Marseillaise,” while the Sultan’s private band wailed an Arab air.

After speeches had been delivered by the Sultan and the President, distinguished guests had an opportunity to visit the magnificent premises of the mosque. The building is an unusually fine example of Moorish art, skilled artisans having been called to Paris for its erection. Cool galleries surround lovely gardens, where fountains flow brightly into colored ceramic basins. Fine Turkish baths, as is customary, are attached to the mosque, where Mohammedans visiting Paris can foregather.

La Revue du Monde Musulman

(*An important correction*)

In a notice of the recent publication by L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* (1923), we were guilty of an inference wholly unwarranted and for which we apologize. This *Annual*, of which the second part (1925) has just appeared, is a separate publication from the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, which we are glad to note continues to issue its important contributions to the scientific study of Islam in quarterly volumes. The editor of both publications assures us that there is every prospect of their continuance. In 1922 four volumes of

the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (xlix-lii) with a total of 918 pages appeared; in 1923 vols. liii-lvi, pages 1012; in 1924, through exceptional circumstances, only two volumes (lvii and lviii), pages 536; in 1925 four volumes (lix-lxii), pages 1053; in 1926 two volumes have appeared and the others are in preparation. No other periodical contains such a wealth of material and commands such scholarly contributors.

The Question of Inspiration

"The Question of Inspiration" as dealt with by a contributor in a recent issue of *The Moslem World* seems to come short of the mark, and I venture to suggest that the following defines more truly the facts of Biblical inspiration, and as such the real issues involved between the Christian and the Moslem views of Divine Inspiration.

In truth we have in the Tables of Stone—as delivered to Moses—a more perfect and complete example of *wahi* inspiration than any Moslem can claim for the Koran; but it is not upon a fact like this that the power of the Christian Book rests.

When the challenge was made of old (Numbers xvi, xvii) the Lord showed who were His and who were Holy, by causing His chosen rod to bud and to bring forth blossoms and fruit; and in the same manner today does the Lord manifest His approval. The dry and blood-stained rod of Islam yields neither blossom nor fruit, it is only the Rod from Jesse's stem (Is. xi), Jehovah's servant, the Branch (Zec. iii; 8) that all down the ages has brought life and light, and joy and peace to the sinful soul of man.

Ashcroft, York.

COLONEL H. BIDDULPH.

Mahatma Gandhi on Islam

"Someone has said (I do not know where, but only recently) that Europeans in South Africa dread the advent of Islam—Islam that civilized Spain, Islam that took the torchlight to Morocco and preached to the world the Gospel of Brotherhood. The Europeans of South Africa dread the advent of Islam, for they are afraid of the fact that if the native races embrace Islam, they may claim equality with the white races. They may well dread it. If brotherhood is a sin, if it is equality of colored races that they dread, then that dread is well founded. For I have seen that any Zulu embracing Christianity does not '*ipso facto*' come on a level with all Christians, whilst immediately he embraces Islam, he drinks from the same cup and eats from the same dish as a Mussalman. That is what they dread."—*Mahatma's Speech at the Indian National Congress.*

A Call to True Fasting in Ramadhan

We rejoice to see such words as these in the organ of the Ahmadiya Anjuman, Lahore, on the observance of the fast-month in India:

"Long-drawn faces, pious airs, peevish tempers ready to fly at another's throat at the slightest pretext—this is what, as a rule, marks the month of Ramazan among present-day Mohammedans. Who has not come across such furious looks ready to pick up a quarrel for nothing? About the close of the day, you must be particularly on your guard lest you say or do anything against the wish of a man with the

fast, if you do not want to be knocked down there and then. Why, is he not the chosen of God, going through a most meritorious observance? As such he is a privileged person and may do anything with impunity. He may neglect his duty. His officer must not call him to account. He is fasting. He may dash your tumbler of water to pieces. How dare you taste a drop of water in his presence? Is he not fasting? He may even insult and abuse you. You must quietly pocket it. He is fasting. Such is fasting as observed among the bulk of the Mohammedans—not a brake to teach us self-control, self-discipline as originally intended to, but a license to self-indulgence. A North Punjab Mulla, it is said, went so far in his zeal to persuade his flock of men to keep fast, that he gave them *carte blanche* to have anything for breakfast at sunset—even another man's wife.

"We must take this opportunity of disillusioning that such fasting is no fasting. The fast which instead of enabling us to have a smile for our fellow men, gives us a temper to frown and growl at others is no fast. It is just starvation.

"On the other hand how significant is the parable which says that in the hereafter man will cross that narrow bridge—*Pul-i-Sarat*—to heaven on the back of his sacrificial animal! As a matter of fact the animal meant is not the sheep or goat we kill, but the animal within us. Here is a royal road. Whosoever should learn how to ride on that animal may have a trip to heaven any day, even in this life. And what is fasting but a riding school to give us due coaching, to curb, control and master that animal of the flesh in us, so that we may drive it at will and not be driven by it. For a time, we deny our body even such elementary needs as food and drink thereby asserting our right to rule over the flesh and teaching the flesh to be humble and submissive. Such is the philosophy of the true fast."

The Arabs of Sinai

In an important monograph on Central Sinai in *The Geographical Journal* (May, 1926) H. J. L. Beadnell F. R. G. S., corrects the common judgment on the character of the Bedouin in a paragraph worth quoting; Dr. Harrison, of Arabia, expresses similar views in his recent book:

"Mr. Currelly, the co-author with Professor Flinders Petrie of the monumental work 'Researches in Sinai,' describes the Bedouin of the peninsula as 'mean, thieving, and lying.' This harsh judgment seems to me hasty and not altogether merited. Personally, I respect and have always got on well with the Arabs, though I must admit that in my dealings with them I have had whatever advantages may pertain to being a Government official. Their hardness and abstemiousness have always appealed to me. No race of mankind eats, drinks, smokes, and wears less than these intelligent and dignified children of the desert. Certainly also they wash less and work less, but this is the result of their rigorous environment, and is easily understood when one considers how their very existence depends on what, in any other country, would be regarded as meagre and negligible supplies of water of extremely questionable quality, and that any surplus output of energy means additional requirements of food and drink. Quarrelsome they are, quick to take advantage of one's necessities, maddening in their importunities

when one crosses a tribal boundary. But treated with firmness, reason, and understanding, they carry out their job to the best of their ability, and they have the inestimable quality of putting up with all the little difficulties and hardships, inseparable from desert exploration, without grumble or murmur. Frankly I like them, their perfect faith in Allah, their entire disregard of tomorrow, and their charming salutation 'May your day be happy.'"

Islam and Womanhood in India

The editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* (Bombay) is always brave and outspoken. Writing on Moslem education in reviewing the thirty-ninth session of the All-India Conference he says:

"It is too late in the day to discuss the causes of Moslem backwardness in education. Suffice it to say here that it was the Moslem community itself that first set its face against Western education as something to be spurned and that it was the far-seeing wisdom of Sir Syed that realized the mistake and founded the Aligarh Moslem College which has now grown up to be one of the great university centres in modern India. Though the All-India Moslem Educational Conference, the thirty-ninth session of which was recently held at Aligarh under the presidentship of Sir Abdul Quaiyam Khan, has done much to educate the community, much remains still to be done, especially in regard to its attitude to women. That this is so was amply proved by some unedifying scenes that took place at the Conference. It was simply an insult to the chivalrous traditions of Islam that the Secretary of the Conference should have thought fit to serve a notice on the lady visitors not to attend the Conference. Nevertheless, Islam may congratulate itself on possessing such valiant spirits as Atiya Begum who protested against this unjust restriction at the open Conference. Similarly, it was with great difficulty and in the midst of great uproar that a resolution declaring that Moslems should avail themselves of the advantages of compulsory primary education in the case of their girls also was adopted."

Halidé Edib Hanoum

In a very sympathetic review in the *New York Times* of the recent "Memoirs of Halidé" (Century Company, New York), Mr. P. W. Wilson points out that, while the facts of her life are simple, the problem of her attitude toward many questions, and the psychology of her Turkish mind remain perplexing.

"In candor we must add that this story, though well told, is as yet only half told. Halidé Edib states that the rise of the Turkish Republic in Angora is 'one of the greatest epics of modern Europe.' Be that as it may, the epic is to be 'a separate tale' to which this first volume offers no more than a prelude. Of Mustapha Kemal as Ghazi and husband of Mme. Kemal as the social and political rival of Halidé Edib, and of Halidé's own exploits as Amazon and as Cabinet Minister, we shall read on a future occasion. Today there is drama. But on the eve of the dénouement the curtain falls.

"Even in her zeal she realized that a national Turkey must be more in these days than the Turkey of the Koran and the scimitar. She

must be educated, cleansed and redeemed. And Halidé Edib, therefore, drifted into the policy, describable as Christianity without conversion. The Moslem was to retain his pride, his privileges, his tradition and, above all, his power over others. But he was to acquire the graces of a Galilean.

"It was a vision of reform from within—change the brain and still wear the fez. And the vision was shared by many of the governing Kemalists. But it was soon discovered that changing the brain and keeping the fez is much more trouble than changing the fez and keeping the brain. So the Sultan was expelled and the pan-Islamic movement was shattered.

"John Dillon had thus a pupil so apt that she took her nationalism of the oppressed and deftly applied it to the oppressor. When she listened to his fervid accents, there was, as there still is, a country called Ireland. But, in the sense of those words, there was not then, whatever there be now, a Turkey. There was only the Ottoman Empire, which empire was in collapse.

"We are frequently assured that for economic reasons, Turks have long since ceased to practice polygamy. These pages disclose a society in which polygamy was the accepted rule. In the home of Halidé Edib's father there were two wives, each with her establishment, each with her bitter jealousy of the other. The mother of Halidé Edib also had been included in the same system. And her own husband, whom she met as a professor at an American college, did not hesitate to marry a second wife when the spirit so moved him. Halidé Edib was neither consulted nor did she approve. But she had no redress, except divorce. And her husband was good enough to grant her petition.

"Today, polygamy appears to be legally abolished in Turkey. But Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the hero of Halidé Edib's 'epic,' is able nonetheless to discard his wife precisely as Halidé Edib herself was discarded. The conflict between Cross and Crescent has thus been, in effect, a choice between home and harem. It was for the home that Greek and Armenian and Bulgar and Serb successively fought with such vindictive valor. It was the harem on which Turkey relentlessly insisted. Halidé's own maid was kidnapped in Nubia and driven to her through the desert by the lash.

"This book is, then, a fine book, but incomplete. What we now want to know is whether there is as yet the new Turkey for which Halidé Edib has labored and suffered. The Armenians have been killed. The Greeks have been deported. Both of these embarrassments have been eliminated from territory which they owned and occupied for centuries before the Turk appeared on the scene. The Turk is now left to himself. What is he making of life?"

Wanted, a Prophet from Islam to Islam

A most interesting discussion has been carried on in the monthly magazine of the Universities' Mission *Central Africa* on the paucity of converts from Islam and its cause, especially at Zanzibar. The Rev. G. W. Broomfield wrote an article, "Wanted, a Prophet," on which Canon Doyle made some needed comment. The outlook is not pessimistic, but the need for a stronger leadership among Moslem converts is ably

expressed by Mr. Broomfield in his reply, "The Prophet That is to Be": "We want that Prophet someone who can rouse these sluggish consciences and convince of the awfulness of sin and the reality of Hell. The Moslems who 'remember' the words of missionaries and are 'interested' in points of doctrine, must be made to see that religion is a matter of life and death; it is a question of being *saved*. 'Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me . . . ?' When they begin to feel like that, we shall get converts and many of them. A man such as I described could do it. Of course, he might get 'crucified'; he almost certainly would, but not before his work had been done.

"I said that it would be hardly possible for a European to do what is required, but I admitted that the difficulties might not be insuperable. I want now to say something more of this prophet that is to be, and of the kind of life that he will live. It is possible that the man himself will read this article, and it may be that he will come.

"I will describe him as I dream of him.

"He will not be a member of the Mission. Membership in the Mission would be a hindrance in his particular work. He must be free to die of starvation, if that should be part of his vocation. We do not live in comfort in the Mission, and we do not live at ease; but we are *secure*. If anything happens to us, there is always the Mission behind us to look after us. There is never any possibility of our being left desolate. That is very right and proper for us ordinary missionaries, but it will not do for our prophet. He will want there to be nothing behind him but the everlasting arms of God.

"Then, of course, he will not possess anything. He will have no private means, nor will he receive money or anything else from the Mission. I do not think he will belong to a religious order. A man who belongs to an order has the support of his Society at the last resort, and he has the use of property of his Society, even though he has taken a vow of poverty himself. I do not want to criticize that arrangement in the least, but it will not satisfy the man I have in mind. He will want to have nothing to fall back upon but God. He will just have the clothes he stands up in, and a Bible and an office book.

"He will go, without any letter of recommendation, and beg permission to build a hut on the corner of some Arab's plantation. He will build his hut with his own hands. He will probably find people (Arabs and Africans) who are willing to give him the materials needed for a mud and stick hut. He may be allowed to grow his food on the ground near his hut, or he may earn it by 'tent making' or some other apostolic employment. He will have no comforts.

"He will be completely 'detached' from the world, and constantly at prayer. He will be vividly conscious of God's presence, and His overmastering Love.

"From time to time, as the Spirit moves him, he will leave his hut and will go to the crowded places, as Amos came to Bethel. And he will prophesy in the way I have described: 'Thus said the Lord God.' He will speak of God's Righteousness, and of man's sin, and the wrath to come. He will be full of the spirit of the Prophets, the sternness of John the Baptist, the tremendous severity of Christ.

"Then he will retire once more to his hut, and people will come to ask him questions. Some of them, at any rate, will not come to argue; they will come to ask what they must do to be saved.

"That is my dream of the Prophet that is to be. I call it a dream, but it is a dream that might come true. Most people will say that it is fantastic and entirely unpractical; a European could not possibly live such a life in Africa and survive. But no less a person than Bishop Hine has told me that he thinks it would not be impossible. There *are* people who could do it. I admit that the man might not survive *very long*, but that would all be part of his vocation.

"This is a serious suggestion. We need a man like that. If we get him, the whole aspect of our work will change. I think we shall get him—if we pray."

Raymund Lull's Life and Writings

The recent publication of English translations of Lull's writings, including his famous novel "*Blanquerna*," indicate a revival of interest in his life. Future study must include the recent exhaustive monograph (pp. 1074-1141) by E. Longpré in the last fascicule (lxxiv) of the *Dictionnaire Theologie Catholique* (Paris, 1926). It supersedes, supplements and corrects all previous attempts. A critical account of Lull's life with reference to all available sources is followed by a complete classified list of his writings and pseudo-writings, an analysis of his philosophy and theology, closing with a full account of his influence in history.

"Islam and Zoroastrianism"

"A new and important work, under the above title," says the *Islamic Review* (Woking), "from the tireless pen of Al-Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, is in the press, and will be published immediately. Here the saintly author, while according to Zoroaster his rightful place among the Great Prophets of the world—that impressive line ending with the Holy Prophet Mohammed (on whom be peace!)—seeks to show his followers, and particularly the Parsee community of India, how, and to how great an extent, they have misapprehended, and continue to misapprehend, the true message of their Prophet. When we consider that, as Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din points out, the authentic teaching of Zoroaster that has survived the ages can only be said to consist of a few sentences, it is not surprising that those few sentences, and the essential truth that is in them, should have been swamped in the sea of tradition, more or less irresponsible. That the essential truth is there, however, and that the message of Zoroaster was in effect identical with the messages of the other great warners, spoken of by the Book of God, it is the aim of this volume to prove. The profound learning of its author, his logical cogency, and his wide sympathy, coupled with a deep sense of reverence and intimate understanding of the needs of the human soul, combine to render this volume—in itself a treasure-house of erudition—a work of outstanding spiritual significance, and a most valuable, as well as a most human, contribution to the theological literature of modern times."

(2) *Sunday School Courses*. Arranged in forty lessons. The courses are graded to a certain extent but can be used in rotation if desired. Courses on *Matthew* and *Old Testament* are ready.

(3) *Angalun-i-Majid*. (The Glorious Peace.) Arranged for topical and daily devotional Bible study. More suitable for advanced Christian than beginner.

B. Bible Study Helps.

(1) *Kholasat ul Asfar*. Introduction to the study of the books of the Bible.

(2) *Nur ul Anvar*. (The Light of Lights.) Old and New Testament History. Useful for general reading or class work.

(3) *Introduction to Corinthians*. (Bishop Linton.) Mimeographed copies.

(4) *Notes on Matthew for Moslems*. Swan.

C. Doctrinal.

(1) Westminster Shorter Catechism.

(2) Child's Catechism.

(3) C. M. S. Book of Instruction for Confirmation Class.

(4) *Usul we Furu'*. (Roots and Branches.) Brief statement of Christian belief and practice which has been found very useful in instructing advanced inquirers and catechumens.

(5) Athanasius' Rule of Faith.

(6) *Sirat'un Najat*. (The Way of Salvation.) Questions and Answers concerning the Christian Faith.

D. Pictures and Wall Cards.

(1) Nelson's Pictures to go with S. S. Courses on Luke and Old Testament Stories with Persian on the back.

(2) Nelson's Wall Pictures for same courses.

(3) Persian and Turkish Wall Mottoes. May be obtained from the American Mission, Tabriz.

V. HELPS IN THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

For your friend who has accepted Christ.

(1) *Nur-i-Chashman-i-Imandaran*. (Light of the Eyes of the Believers.) A booklet of prayers for those who feel the need of guidance in their prayer life.

(2) *Seahat-i-Masihi*. (Pilgrim's Progress.)

(3) *Matlab-i-Kull-i-Du'a*. (Prayer by McConkey.) Appreciated by advanced Christians. Has been used for study in Christian prayer-meetings.

(4) *Taj-i-Hayat*. (The Crown of Life.) To encourage Christians to stand fast. Contains some account of the martyrdom of M. Ibrahim of Tabriz.

(5) *Shisha-i-Atr-i-Geranbiha*. (Vase of Precious Ointment.) Short Life of William Borden.

(6) *Aineh-i-Dil*. (The Mirror of the Heart.) An allegorical exposition of the effect of sin and the work of grace in the heart.

(7) *Persian Hymn Book*. Compiled by the Teheran Church Committee.

(8) *The Book of Common Prayer*. C. M. S. Translation.

(9) C. M. S. Hymnbook.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS.

(1) *Dozdee Makon*. Thou shalt not steal.

(2) *Imtena'i Shorb-i-Muskerat*. (Abstinence from Alcoholic Drinks.)

(3) *'Arus-i-Zisht*. (The Ugly Bride.) Against gambling.

This complete and yet so meagre a list of literature available for Persian readers was carefully considered at the Teheran Missionary Conference. In their "findings" on Literature they state:

"This committee wishes to go on record as deeply appreciating the scholarship and labor of those men who have supplied us with literature for our Christian missionary work. Such works as those produced by Pfander, Tisdall, Potter, Rice, Hawkes, and others, will always remain as standards. We also would acknowledge the constant and sincere efforts of those who have tried to bring before the Christian Missions of Persia the potency of literature as an evangelistic agency, notably Dr. Frame of Resht. Admitting our negligence in times past, we yet feel that the time for wise and extensive publication and distribution of literature has just arrived, and the greatest opportunity is still ahead. Therefore we strongly advocate that the necessary steps be taken for the immediate development of an adequate literature program of much greater activity in Persia."

Teheran, Persia.

MRS. ARTHUR C. BOYCE.

THE PERSIAN CALENDAR

One of the striking differences between Islam in other lands and in Persia is that of the calendar. Our readers will remember an article that appeared in *The Moslem World* a few years ago under the title "The Clock, the Calendar and the Koran." If orthodox Islam has found it difficult to adjust itself to Western clocks and solar months, the Shiah sect in Persia has made matters even more perplexing. We reprint a facsimile of a leaf from a calendar found on sale in Tehêran and used in the government offices. It gives the days of the week in Russian, French and Persian; indicates the Armenian, Catholic and Mohammedan festivals; while the months have their European, ancient Persian and Moslem names, the year is given as 1304 or 1344 A. H. and 1926 A. D. Louis Massignon in some notes on the Islamic calendar gives the answer to questions on the subject.¹

In Persia, by the side of the canonical calendar, of the Hejira era, the old Mazdean calendar has been maintained for nearly a thousand years as the agricultural and administrative calendar. The Mazdean year is a year of approximately 365 days without a leap-year; each year has 12 months of 30 days and 5 odd days added. The eras are the following:

(1) The Era of Yezderdjerd II. which only the Persian Fireworshippers followed (beginning June 16th, 132). A few nationalist papers (e. g. *Kaveh* at Berlin) formerly used this era.

(2) The Jalali era of the sultan Jalâl-al-Dîn Mâlikshâh (1092) which began the 15th of March 1079 (9 Ramadan 471). Each year starts with the astrono-

¹ *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, Première Année, 1923.

mical Nauroz (New Year) at the entrance of the sun in the sign of the Ram (it is known that the constellation varies on account of the precession) on the Ispahan meridian, provided that the phenomenon takes place before

1926 - ۱۹۲۶

اود ئیل ۱۳۰۴

1344 - ۱۳۴۴

(5)

مسیحی

Уд-ил — Oud-il 1304 (Chamsi) Hedjri (Chamari)

Abréviation A) Arménien C) Catolique P) Persan	JANVIER ژانویه (فروردین)	ДЛЯ ПАМЯТИ NOTES یاد داشت	BAHMAN بهمن روز	RADJAB رجب روز	علامات (۱) ارامنه (۲) فرنگی	
					Solaire	Lunaire
Воскресенье Dimanche	۲۴ 24		۴ 4	۹ 9	یکشنبه	
Понедельник Lundi	۲۵ 25	C) Conv. de St. Paul نوز دزد	۵ 5	۱۰ 10	دوشنبه	
Вторник Mardi	۲۶ 26		۶ 6	۱۱ 11	سه شنبه	
Среда Mercredi	۲۷ 27		۷ 7	۱۲ 12	چهارشنبه	
Четверг Jeudi	۲۸ 28	عید مولود حضرت امیر P) Nais. de Khalife Ali	۸ 8	۱۳ 13	پنجشنبه	
Пятница Vendredi	۲۹ 29		۹ 9	۱۴ 14	جمعه	
Суббота Samedi	۳۰ 30		۱۰ 10	۱۵ 15	شنبه	

Composé par M. H. Nadjm

استخراج محمدحسنی

noon. The Jalali year began for example March 22nd, 1922 (the astronomical Nauroz, or New Year, took place at night at a quarter past one); 845 began March 22nd, 1923; 846 started March 21st, 1924.

(3) The Era of the Hegira, adjusted, as in Turkey, to a financial-solar year, the names of the months being taken from the zodiacal signs, and followed, to avoid confusion, with the canonical lunar year. They also use in Persia the Chinese cycle of 12 years, introduced into the country at the time of the Mongolian invasion, and officially adopted in Persia since then for over a century by the Qâdjâr dynasty. It is called the Turkish year (*sanat turkî*). One says therefore after naming the year of the Hejira, *sichan-îl* (the year of the mouse) etc., following the Chinese list: mouse, bull, panther, hare, dragon, serpent, horse, ram, monkey, chicken, dog, pig.

(4) For several years the Persian administration, by a reform even more radical than the Ottoman one, has introduced an arbitrary solar era, deducing it from ours by the subtraction of a fixed number (date of the Hejira) e. g., $1923-622=1301$.

The names of the months are as follows:

MAZDEAN	ARAB ZODIACAL	PERSIAN EQUIVALENT
Ferwerdin	Hamal	Bara
Ardbihisht	Thaur	Gaw
Khovdad	Jawza	Doupaikar
Tîr	Saratan	Kharshang
Movdad	Asad	Shir
Shahrir	Sunbala	Khosha
Mihr	Mizan	Tarazon
Aban	'Aqrab	Kazhdoum
Ader	Qaws	Nimasp
Dai	Jadi	Bahi
Bahman	Dalwa	Doul
Isfendarmed	Hut	Mahi

One finds, for example, in the treaty between Persia and the Bolshevist Government ratified December 15th, 1921, that the date is given as 23rd of Qaws 1300. This would seem to indicate that the official Persian year is solar and

counts from the astronomical *Nauroz*. New Afghanistan is adopting the new Persian calendar also.

To complete the account, we add a list of the Persian (Shiah) feast-days and fast-days. First of all they observe the two canonical days of Catholic Islam, that is, the Feast of Sacrifice ('Id-al-Adha) on the tenth day of Dhu-al-Hajj, and the break-fast feast on the first day of Shawwal at the end of Ramadan. But in addition Persian Islam has the following holidays:

- 10th of Moharram—the death of Husain.
- 12th “ “ —the death of Zain-al-Abidin.
- 1st “ Safar —duel of Ali-al-Siffin with Moawiya.
- 3rd “ “ —the birth of Bâqir.
- 7th “ “ —the birth of Mouâsa Kâzim.
- 17th “ “ —the death of Ali Ridha.
- 5th “ Rabiâ I —the birth of Husain.
- 8th “ “ —the death of Hasan Askari.
- 12th “ “ —the birth of the Prophet Mohammed.
- 14th “ “ —the usurpation of Abû Bakr.
- 15th “ “ —the death of Yazid who killed Husain.
- 4th “ Rabiâ II —the birth of Hasan Askari.
- 4th “ Jumâ I —the death of Hasan; the birth of Zain-al-Abidin.
- 3rd “ Jumâ II —the death of Fâtima.
- 20th “ “ —the birth of Fâtima.
- 1st “ Radjab —the birth of Baqr.
- 2nd “ “ —the birth of Ali Naqi.
- 13th “ “ —the birth of Ali.
- 27th “ “ —the night of Mohammed's ascension.
- 15th “ Sha'ban —the birth of the Mahdi.
- 15th “ Ramadan —the birth of Hasan, and of Mohammed Taqi.
- 21st “ “ —the death of Ali.
- 27th “ “ —the execution of his murderer, Ibn Moldjim.
- 4th “ Shawwal —the disappearance of XIIth Imâm, Mahdi, in 265 Hejira.
- 12th “ “ —the splitting of the moon by the Prophet.
- 25th “ “ —the death of Djafar Sadiq.
- 11th “ Dhûl Qada—the birth of Ali Ridha.
- 13th “ Dhûl Hajj—the accession of Ali to the Khalifat.
- 18th “ “ —the solemn investiture of Ali by the Prophet.
- 25th “ “ —the birthday of Khatam Baksh.
- 26th “ “ —the death of the usurper Omar.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Christmas in Isfahan

It is comparatively easy to visualize Christmas in any part of the homeland, but for those at home it is not quite so easy to picture Christmas in a large Moslem city like Isfahan in Persia.

On Christmas Eve we had our preparation service, at which all who hope to be present at the Christmas Communion are expected to attend. There were about eighty present, mostly Persian Christians. The service ended with a very solemn act of dedication, when I think everyone present stood up to dedicate his life afresh to God and His service. It was a solemn moment for us all, and fraught, I am sure, with blessing.

On Christmas morning we had first our early English Holy Communion. I had my car waiting at the door, and then hurried off to Julfa, the Armenian suburb, three miles away, to the Armenian Church, while Mr. Sharp went over to Jubareh, three miles in another direction, for the Jewish Christians there. When the Julfa service was over, I had to hurry back for the Persian Christian service in Isfahan. We had the Rev. Dr. Schuler, of the American Presbyterian Mission in Teheran, as our preacher. There were eighty-seven communicants at that service, almost all converts from Islam, and their children. By the time this was over, the English community were waiting outside for the Christmas morning service. This took us on till about one o'clock. Then we had a very unique Christmas lunch party. There were eighteen of us, including three American brethren and twelve Persian Christian men. One was legless Yusuf, who in his unconverted days made his living by his waggery. He now uses the same gift in the service of his new Master. Another was blind Hyder, who walked eighteen miles to Isfahan for Christmas. (Far be it from me to say that the Christmas festivities had nothing to do with it.) Another was epileptic Husain, and so on, with a few of the leading Christian men to help us. If you could have seen those men, some of whom had not had a square meal for ages, how they put their Christmas dinner out of sight, you would have felt it was worth while to be one with them. We were all on the floor, and "all one in Christ Jesus."

By the time lunch was over, we had to go to church for the evangelistic service. This is got up by the personal invitation of the members of the Persian Church. I tried to count the men on the men's side of the curtain, which was down the centre of the church. I got to about four hundred and fifty. By that time the church was so full that we could not possibly get any more into it. So we closed the doors. "House Full." I wonder how many churches at home had that sign up? On the women's side of the church the crowd was still greater, and they too had to close the doors.

When you read all that, then call to mind that this is a Moslem city, where a very few years ago no Christian was allowed to live, let

alone preach the Gospel. And that congregation was gathered together by individual effort, to listen to the story of the Incarnation of the Son of God. Dr. Schuler preached the sermon, the old, old story, that saves men in London, as it saved men in Palestine and Rome, and saves them today in Persia. Whether it be college, school or hospital, everything is directed toward evangelism. For after all, that is our call and commission, to "preach the Gospel."

Isfahan.

BISHOP LINTON.

Current Mohammedan Newspapers and Magazines in Persia.¹

Hamadan: (4) *Ittihad*—S. Moh. Yusef. *Iran-i-Tazeh*—Burhan el Mutakallemin (bi-weekly). *Sohail*—M. Baqir Khan Modaberul Mulk (bi-weekly). *Asrar-i-jalali*—Nazim-el-Sharia Jalali (weekly).

Isfahan: (14) *Rah-i-Najat*—M. Ibrahim (weekly). *Maarafat*—S. Kamaled Din (bi-monthly). *Zaban-i-Zanan*—Sadique Khanam Dantatabadi (bi-monthly). *Touti*—Salem (weekly). *Abrar-al-Ansar*—M. Hasan Ansari (monthly). *Akhtar-i-Mas'ud*—M. Abdul Wahab Gulshan (weekly). *Akhgar*—M. Fathullah K. Vazir Zadé. *Ghorresh*—M. Baqir Touserani (weekly). *Najat-i-Iran*—M. Ibrahim Khan (weekly). *Subh-i-'Amid*—M. Taqi Khorasani. *Tuhfat-al-Udaba*—M. Abdul Hussain (bi-monthly). *Sapahan*—M. Ali Mukarram (weekly).

Kazvin: (1) *Ra'ad*—Ali Sadr-ul-Udaba (weekly).

Kerman: (1) *Adab*—Muhasib-ul Mamalik Ruhi.

Kermanshah: (2) *Bisutin*—Sadiq Daftar (susp.). *Rashtakhiz*—Pourdad Zardashti (weekly).

Khoi: (1) *Barid-el-Shemal*—A. M. Mahdi Makoui.

Meshed: (13) *Ruznamahi Astane Razani*—Muayyad-el-Vezara (weekly). *Dabestan*—S. Hassan Tebbi. *Fakr-i-azad*—M. Ahmed Dahgan (weekly). *Akhlaq*—M. Fakhr-ud-Din Khan. *Tebbe-Kanuni*—Dr. F. K. Messih-es-Sultane (monthly). *Mehr-i-Munir*—A. Moh. al Munir. *Kamal*—F. Bedaye Negar. *Bamdad*—Rafat Toliya. *Agahi*—M. Abdul Hussain Mulla Bachi. *Taze Behar*—M. K. Malekzade (bi-weekly). *Khorasan*—M. K. Danesh (tri-weekly). *Tchaman*—Ali Chamsol Maali (bi-weekly). *Majalla Danesh*—Moh. Danesh (monthly).

Resht: (10) *Gilan*—M. Said Khan Asafi (daily). *Bahr Khezer*—M. Ahmed Khan. *Peyam*—M. Ibrahim K. Fakhrai (weekly). *Mirat-ul-Milla*—S. Isa Gilani (weekly). *Nadal-Gilan*—Mujtahid Zade (daily). *Farhang*—Moh. Khan Shaibani (monthly). *Bidari*—M. Hussain K. Djavet (tri-weekly). *Amuzeh*—S. Abul Qasim Khan (weekly). *Janguel*—M. Hussain K. Kasmai (weekly). *Shemal-i-Iran*—(suspended).

Shiraz: (8) *Goftar-Rast*—S. Nur-ed Din Khan (weekly). *Sehhat-Irané*—Dr. Abul Qasim Rastegar (weekly). *Sedai-Islam*—M. Baqir Iftikhar-ul-Ulema (tri-weekly). *Sepideh-dam*—Lutfallahi Khan (monthly). *Cyrus*—M. Mahmud Khan Erfan (weekly). *Asre Azadi*—Mudir Zade. *Ilm wa Tarbiyat*—M. Hussain Khan Pertev (monthly). *Gole Sarkh*—Malek ul Muhaqqiqiir (weekly).

Tabriz: (7) *Berjis*—Muzafer-es-Sultan (monthly). *Takammul*—Sali Akhbar Sarraj (weekly). *Nameh Banowan*—Shahnaz Khanam

¹ Classified according to the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1925. Cf. also Browne's "Persian Press and Poetry" and especially the lists in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. XXII and Vol. LIX.

Azad (monthly). *Tabriz*—(daily). *Danieh*—(monthly). *Tajaddud*—(tri-weekly). *Mashriq*—Mirza Jusef.

Teheran: (29) *Iran*—Z. Rahnema (daily). *Setare-i-Iran*—Hussain K. Saba (daily). *Ghorn-i-Bistim*—S. Reza Mirzade Askqi (weekly). *Mahahar*—Kazem Zade (weekly). *Iqtisade*—M. Asadullah Tajir (weekly). *Bamdad-Roshan*—M. Ali Khan Khorasani (tri-weekly). *Jahane Zanan*—Batoul Khanem Fakhri Afaq (monthly). *Nahid*—M. Ibrahim K. Nahid (weekly). *Ittihad*—S. Sarkeshi Zade (daily). *Nasim-i-Shemal*—Ashraf-ed-Din Hussaini (weekly). *Golshan*—S. Reza A. Rezwani (bi-weekly). *Iran Kohan*—Nasrullah Gharbi (tri-weekly). *Kargar*—M. Riza K. Mahinulmulk (tri-weekly). *Nehzat-Iran*—M. Ali Samadeji (tri-weekly). *Asman*—Mahmoud Khan Erfan Shirazi (bi-weekly). *Paikan*—M. Mahmoud Homayun (tri-weekly). *Bain-an-Nahrain*—S. Hassan Hajafi. *Bidar*—Ali Mohammed Rad (tri-weekly). *Ferdausi*—Moh. Khan Wafadar (monthly). *Mihan*—Abu Taleb Banan-es-Sultane (bi-weekly). *Jarchi Millet*—M. Ali Hussain Zade (bi-weekly). *Golezard*—Reihan (suspended, weekly). *Ilm-ve-Akhlaq*—M. Habiballah Khan (monthly). *Tabiat*—M. Ali Khan Gimnastiki (monthly). *Majillet Rahnama*—Z. Rahnama (bi-monthly). *Pars*—M. Abulqasim Azad (bi-monthly). *Tubbe-Musawwir*—Muzayen-es-Sultan (monthly). *Alam-i-Tubb*—M. Mohammed Khan (monthly). *Beitari*—Murtaza Khan (bi-weekly).

Yezd: (3) *Shirkuh*—Sh. Ali Mudir Yazdi (weekly). *Zare*—Musa Wizade (weekly). *Safn-en-Najat*—M. Mohammed Sadiq (weekly).

A total of ninety-three periodicals, of which seventy-six were on exhibit at the Teheran Conference.

The Koran and Geography

“1. The Mullas say that the earth never revolves round the sun, and those who believe that it does commit sin. They say it is against what the Koran says. Is it right?

“A. Geographical problems are outside the domain of the Koran. So on such questions as the rotation or revolution of the earth we can expect of it no detailed discussion. Nevertheless there are verses in the Book which do lead us to the inference that the earth is not stationary. For instance:

“‘He Who made the earth a *cradle* for you’ (43:10). Now motion is an indispensable characteristic of a cradle. The earth therefore must be in motion if it is at all anything like a cradle. And from the particular mode of the motion of the cradle, it may be inferred that the reference is to the rotation of the earth round its own axis.

“‘And you see the mountains and think them to be stationary whereas they flee like the flight of the clouds: the handiwork of Allah Who has made everything thoroughly . . .’ (27:88). This contains an unmistakable reference to the motion of the earth—for how could the mountains be said to be moving unless the earth on which they are fixed is also in motion?

“‘And He cast great mountains in the earth that it may go round with you . . .’ (16:15). Again the rotation of the earth is clearly implied.

“Again describing that the sun has an orbit of its own in which it

moves and the moon has its own and that neither can overtake the other, the Koran goes on to say:

"And all (heavenly bodies) float on in an orbit' (36: 40).

"Surely the earth could not be treated as an exception to this general law. It must therefore be moving, too, in its own prescribed orbit. This implies the revolution of the earth round the sun."—"The Light."

The Opening of the New Mosque in Paris

Paris, July 15.—"Allah is great and Mohammed is his prophet"—that must have been the thought of several thousand Moslems today when attending the official opening of the Paris mosque by Mulai Yusef, Sultan of Morocco, and President Gaston Doumergue. No ceremony connected with the Mohammedan religion approaching in grandeur that seen in Paris today probably has ever taken place outside of Moslem countries. Perhaps none more significant has ever taken place in history, when it is recalled that it was France which, above all the other powers in Christendom, led the great crusades against Islam. Now, minaret and dome topped with the crescent rise within sight of the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. Future Parisians will be able to hear the muezzin's picturesque call to prayer at sunrise and eventide.

A great throng of Mohammedans from all parts of France's great Moslem possessions in Africa and Asia Minor gathered in the vast gardens and in the halls and galleries of the mosque to await the arrival of the two chiefs of State at 3 o'clock this afternoon. Great chieftains from North Africa—caids of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, nobles in gorgeous red, scarlet or crimson bournouses with rich gold embroidery—rubbed shoulders with elegant, frock-coated gentlemen wearing the red fez or with humbler brethren clothed in duller hue.

Escorted by his hundred black horse-guardsmen, their green pennants with silver crescents fluttering merrily on their lances, the Sultan arrived with President Doumergue. A French military guard of honor presented arms and trooped colors to the martial strain of "The Marseillaise," while the Sultan's private band wailed an Arab air.

After speeches had been delivered by the Sultan and the President, distinguished guests had an opportunity to visit the magnificent premises of the mosque. The building is an unusually fine example of Moorish art, skilled artisans having been called to Paris for its erection. Cool galleries surround lovely gardens, where fountains flow brightly into colored ceramic basins. Fine Turkish baths, as is customary, are attached to the mosque, where Mohammedans visiting Paris can foregather.

La Revue du Monde Musulman

(An important correction)

In a notice of the recent publication by L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* (1923), we were guilty of an inference wholly unwarranted and for which we apologize. This *Annual*, of which the second part (1925) has just appeared, is a separate publication from the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, which we are glad to note continues to issue its important contributions to the scientific study of Islam in quarterly volumes. The editor of both publications assures us that there is every prospect of their continuance. In 1922 four volumes of

the *Revue du Monde Musulman* (xlix-lii) with a total of 918 pages appeared; in 1923 vols. liii-lvi, pages 1012; in 1924, through exceptional circumstances, only two volumes (lvii and lviii), pages 536; in 1925 four volumes (lix-lxii), pages 1053; in 1926 two volumes have appeared and the others are in preparation. No other periodical contains such a wealth of material and commands such scholarly contributors.

The Question of Inspiration

"The Question of Inspiration" as dealt with by a contributor in a recent issue of *The Moslem World* seems to come short of the mark, and I venture to suggest that the following defines more truly the facts of Biblical inspiration, and as such the real issues involved between the Christian and the Moslem views of Divine Inspiration.

In truth we have in the Tables of Stone—as delivered to Moses—a more perfect and complete example of *wahi* inspiration than any Moslem can claim for the Koran; but it is not upon a fact like this that the power of the Christian Book rests.

When the challenge was made of old (Numbers xvi, xvii) the Lord showed who were His and who were Holy, by causing His chosen rod to bud and to bring forth blossoms and fruit; and in the same manner today does the Lord manifest His approval. The dry and blood-stained rod of Islam yields neither blossom nor fruit, it is only the Rod from Jesse's stem (Is. xi), Jehovah's servant, the Branch (Zec. iii; 8) that all down the ages has brought life and light, and joy and peace to the sinful soul of man.

Ashcroft, York.

COLONEL H. BIDDULPH.

Mahatma Gandhi on Islam

"Someone has said (I do not know where, but only recently) that Europeans in South Africa dread the advent of Islam—Islam that civilized Spain, Islam that took the torchlight to Morocco and preached to the world the Gospel of Brotherhood. The Europeans of South Africa dread the advent of Islam, for they are afraid of the fact that if the native races embrace Islam, they may claim equality with the white races. They may well dread it. If brotherhood is a sin, if it is equality of colored races that they dread, then that dread is well founded. For I have seen that any Zulu embracing Christianity does not '*ipso facto*' come on a level with all Christians, whilst immediately he embraces Islam, he drinks from the same cup and eats from the same dish as a Mussalman. That is what they dread."—*Mahatma's Speech at the Indian National Congress.*

A Call to True Fasting in Ramadhan

We rejoice to see such words as these in the organ of the Ahmadiya Anjuman, Lahore, on the observance of the fast-month in India:

"Long-drawn faces, pious airs, peevish tempers ready to fly at another's throat at the slightest pretext—this is what, as a rule, marks the month of Ramazan among present-day Mohammedans. Who has not come across such furious looks ready to pick up a quarrel for nothing? About the close of the day, you must be particularly on your guard lest you say or do anything against the wish of a man with the

fast, if you do not want to be knocked down there and then. Why, is he not the chosen of God, going through a most meritorious observance? As such he is a privileged person and may do anything with impunity. He may neglect his duty. His officer must not call him to account. He is fasting. He may dash your tumbler of water to pieces. How dare you taste a drop of water in his presence? Is he not fasting? He may even insult and abuse you. You must quietly pocket it. He is fasting. Such is fasting as observed among the bulk of the Moham-medans—not a brake to teach us self-control, self-discipline as originally intended to, but a license to self-indulgence. A North Punjab Mulla, it is said, went so far in his zeal to persuade his flock of men to keep fast, that he gave them *carte blanche* to have anything for breakfast at sunset—even another man's wife.

"We must take this opportunity of disillusioning that such fasting is no fasting. The fast which instead of enabling us to have a smile for our fellow men, gives us a temper to frown and growl at others is no fast. It is just starvation.

"On the other hand how significant is the parable which says that in the hereafter man will cross that narrow bridge—*Pul-i-Sarat*—to heaven on the back of his sacrificial animal! As a matter of fact the animal meant is not the sheep or goat we kill, but the animal within us. Here is a royal road. Whosoever should learn how to ride on that animal may have a trip to heaven any day, even in this life. And what is fasting but a riding school to give us due coaching, to curb, control and master that animal of the flesh in us, so that we may drive it at will and not be driven by it. For a time, we deny our body even such elementary needs as food and drink thereby asserting our right to rule over the flesh and teaching the flesh to be humble and submissive. Such is the philosophy of the true fast."

The Arabs of Sinai

In an important monograph on Central Sinai in *The Geographical Journal* (May, 1926) H. J. L. Beadnell F. R. G. S., corrects the common judgment on the character of the Bedouin in a paragraph worth quoting; Dr. Harrison, of Arabia, expresses similar views in his recent book:

"Mr. Currelly, the co-author with Professor Flinders Petrie of the monumental work 'Researches in Sinai,' describes the Bedouin of the peninsula as 'mean, thieving, and lying.' This harsh judgment seems to me hasty and not altogether merited. Personally, I respect and have always got on well with the Arabs, though I must admit that in my dealings with them I have had whatever advantages may pertain to being a Government official. Their hardiness and abstemiousness have always appealed to me. No race of mankind eats, drinks, smokes, and wears less than these intelligent and dignified children of the desert. Certainly also they wash less and work less, but this is the result of their rigorous environment, and is easily understood when one considers how their very existence depends on what, in any other country, would be regarded as meagre and negligible supplies of water of extremely questionable quality, and that any surplus output of energy means additional requirements of food and drink. Quarrelsome they are, quick to take advantage of one's necessities, maddening in their importunities

when one crosses a tribal boundary. But treated with firmness, reason, and understanding, they carry out their job to the best of their ability, and they have the inestimable quality of putting up with all the little difficulties and hardships, inseparable from desert exploration, without grumble or murmur. Frankly I like them, their perfect faith in Allah, their entire disregard of tomorrow, and their charming salutation 'May your day be happy.'

Islam and Womanhood in India

The editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* (Bombay) is always brave and outspoken. Writing on Moslem education in reviewing the thirty-ninth session of the All-India Conference he says:

"It is too late in the day to discuss the causes of Moslem backwardness in education. Suffice it to say here that it was the Moslem community itself that first set its face against Western education as something to be spurned and that it was the far-seeing wisdom of Sir Syed that realized the mistake and founded the Aligarh Moslem College which has now grown up to be one of the great university centres in modern India. Though the All-India Moslem Educational Conference, the thirty-ninth session of which was recently held at Aligarh under the presidentship of Sir Abdul Quaiyam Khan, has done much to educate the community, much remains still to be done, especially in regard to its attitude to women. That this is so was amply proved by some unedifying scenes that took place at the Conference. It was simply an insult to the chivalrous traditions of Islam that the Secretary of the Conference should have thought fit to serve a notice on the lady visitors not to attend the Conference. Nevertheless, Islam may congratulate itself on possessing such valiant spirits as Atiya Begum who protested against this unjust restriction at the open Conference. Similarly, it was with great difficulty and in the midst of great uproar that a resolution declaring that Moslems should avail themselves of the advantages of compulsory primary education in the case of their girls also was adopted."

Halide' Edib Hanoum

In a very sympathetic review in the *New York Times* of the recent "Memoirs of Halidé" (Century Company, New York), Mr. P. W. Wilson points out that, while the facts of her life are simple, the problem of her attitude toward many questions, and the psychology of her Turkish mind remain perplexing.

"In candor we must add that this story, though well told, is as yet only half told. Halidé Edib states that the rise of the Turkish Republic in Angora is 'one of the greatest epics of modern Europe.' Be that as it may, the epic is to be 'a separate tale' to which this first volume offers no more than a prelude. Of Mustapha Kemal as Ghazi and husband of Mme. Kemal as the social and political rival of Halidé Edib, and of Halidé's own exploits as Amazon and as Cabinet Minister, we shall read on a future occasion. Today there is drama. But on the eve of the dénouement the curtain falls.

"Even in her zeal she realized that a national Turkey must be more in these days than the Turkey of the Koran and the scimitar. She

must be educated, cleansed and redeemed. And Halidé Edib, therefore, drifted into the policy, describable as Christianity without conversion. The Moslem was to retain his pride, his privileges, his tradition and, above all, his power over others. But he was to acquire the graces of a Galilean.

"It was a vision of reform from within—change the brain and still wear the fez. And the vision was shared by many of the governing Kemalists. But it was soon discovered that changing the brain and keeping the fez is much more trouble than changing the fez and keeping the brain. So the Sultan was expelled and the pan-Islamic movement was shattered.

"John Dillon had thus a pupil so apt that she took her nationalism of the oppressed and deftly applied it to the oppressor. When she listened to his fervid accents, there was, as there still is, a country called Ireland. But, in the sense of those words, there was not then, whatever there be now, a Turkey. There was only the Ottoman Empire, which empire was in collapse.

"We are frequently assured that for economic reasons, Turks have long since ceased to practice polygamy. These pages disclose a society in which polygamy was the accepted rule. In the home of Halidé Edib's father there were two wives, each with her establishment, each with her bitter jealousy of the other. The mother of Halidé Edib also had been included in the same system. And her own husband, whom she met as a professor at an American college, did not hesitate to marry a second wife when the spirit so moved him. Halidé Edib was neither consulted nor did she approve. But she had no redress, except divorce. And her husband was good enough to grant her petition.

"Today, polygamy appears to be legally abolished in Turkey. But Mustapha Kemal Pasha, the hero of Halidé Edib's 'epic,' is able nonetheless to discard his wife precisely as Halidé Edib herself was discarded. The conflict between Cross and Crescent has thus been, in effect, a choice between home and harem. It was for the home that Greek and Armenian and Bulgar and Serb successively fought with such vindictive valor. It was the harem on which Turkey relentlessly insisted. Halidé's own maid was kidnapped in Nubia and driven to her through the desert by the lash.

"This book is, then, a fine book, but incomplete. What we now want to know is whether there is as yet the new Turkey for which Halidé Edib has labored and suffered. The Armenians have been killed. The Greeks have been deported. Both of these embarrassments have been eliminated from territory which they owned and occupied for centuries before the Turk appeared on the scene. The Turk is now left to himself. What is he making of life?"

Wanted, a Prophet from Islam to Islam

A most interesting discussion has been carried on in the monthly magazine of the Universities' Mission *Central Africa* on the paucity of converts from Islam and its cause, especially at Zanzibar. The Rev. G. W. Broomfield wrote an article, "Wanted, a Prophet," on which Canon Doyle made some needed comment. The outlook is not pessimistic, but the need for a stronger leadership among Moslem converts is ably

expressed by Mr. Broomfield in his reply, "The Prophet That is to Be": "We want that Prophet someone who can rouse these sluggish consciences and convince of the awfulness of sin and the reality of Hell. The Moslems who 'remember' the words of missionaries and are 'interested' in points of doctrine, must be made to see that religion is a matter of life and death; it is a question of being *saved*. 'Wretched man that I am, who will deliver me . . . ?' When they begin to feel like that, we shall get converts and many of them. A man such as I described could do it. Of course, he might get 'crucified'; he almost certainly would, but not before his work had been done.

"I said that it would be hardly possible for a European to do what is required, but I admitted that the difficulties might not be insuperable. I want now to say something more of this prophet that is to be, and of the kind of life that he will live. It is possible that the man himself will read this article, and it may be that he will come.

"I will describe him as I dream of him.

"He will not be a member of the Mission. Membership in the Mission would be a hindrance in his particular work. He must be free to die of starvation, if that should be part of his vocation. We do not live in comfort in the Mission, and we do not live at ease; but we are *secure*. If anything happens to us, there is always the Mission behind us to look after us. There is never any possibility of our being left desolate. That is very right and proper for us ordinary missionaries, but it will not do for our prophet. He will want there to be nothing behind him but the everlasting arms of God.

"Then, of course, he will not possess anything. He will have no private means, nor will he receive money or anything else from the Mission. I do not think he will belong to a religious order. A man who belongs to an order has the support of his Society at the last resort, and he has the use of property of his Society, even though he has taken a vow of poverty himself. I do not want to criticize that arrangement in the least, but it will not satisfy the man I have in mind. He will want to have nothing to fall back upon but God. He will just have the clothes he stands up in, and a Bible and an office book.

"He will go, without any letter of recommendation, and beg permission to build a hut on the corner of some Arab's plantation. He will build his hut with his own hands. He will probably find people (Arabs and Africans) who are willing to give him the materials needed for a mud and stick hut. He may be allowed to grow his food on the ground near his hut, or he may earn it by 'tent making' or some other apostolic employment. He will have no comforts.

"He will be completely 'detached' from the world, and constantly at prayer. He will be vividly conscious of God's presence, and His overmastering Love.

"From time to time, as the Spirit moves him, he will leave his hut and will go to the crowded places, as Amos came to Bethel. And he will prophesy in the way I have described: 'Thus said the Lord God.' He will speak of God's Righteousness, and of man's sin, and the wrath to come. He will be full of the spirit of the Prophets, the sternness of John the Baptist, the tremendous severity of Christ.

"Then he will retire once more to his hut, and people will come to ask him questions. Some of them, at any rate, will not come to argue; they will come to ask what they must do to be saved.

"That is my dream of the Prophet that is to be. I call it a dream, but it is a dream that might come true. Most people will say that it is fantastic and entirely unpractical; a European could not possibly live such a life in Africa and survive. But no less a person than Bishop Hine has told me that he thinks it would not be impossible. There *are* people who could do it. I admit that the man might not survive *very long*, but that would all be part of his vocation.

"This is a serious suggestion. We need a man like that. If we get him, the whole aspect of our work will change. I think we shall get him—if we pray."

Raymund Lull's Life and Writings

The recent publication of English translations of Lull's writings, including his famous novel "*Blanquerna*," indicate a revival of interest in his life. Future study must include the recent exhaustive monograph (pp. 1074-1141) by E. Longpré in the last fascicule (lxxiv) of the *Dictionnaire Theologie Catholique* (Paris, 1926). It supersedes, supplements and corrects all previous attempts. A critical account of Lull's life with reference to all available sources is followed by a complete classified list of his writings and pseudo-writings, an analysis of his philosophy and theology, closing with a full account of his influence in history.

"Islam and Zoroastrianism"

"A new and important work, under the above title," says the *Islamic Review* (Woking), "from the tireless pen of Al-Haj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, is in the press, and will be published immediately. Here the saintly author, while according to Zoroaster his rightful place among the Great Prophets of the world—that impressive line ending with the Holy Prophet Mohammed (on whom be peace!)—seeks to show his followers, and particularly the Parsee community of India, how, and to how great an extent, they have misapprehended, and continue to misapprehend, the true message of their Prophet. When we consider that, as Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din points out, the authentic teaching of Zoroaster that has survived the ages can only be said to consist of a few sentences, it is not surprising that those few sentences, and the essential truth that is in them, should have been swamped in the sea of tradition, more or less irresponsible. That the essential truth is there, however, and that the message of Zoroaster was in effect identical with the messages of the other great warners, spoken of by the Book of God, it is the aim of this volume to prove. The profound learning of its author, his logical cogency, and his wide sympathy, coupled with a deep sense of reverence and intimate understanding of the needs of the human soul, combine to render this volume—in itself a treasure-house of erudition—a work of outstanding spiritual significance, and a most valuable, as well as a most human, contribution to the theological literature of modern times."

BOOK REVIEWS

Yanabi' Al Masih. *The Sources of Christianity*, by Kamalud-Din. Woking, 1924. 8 vo. 193 pp. Lahore.

It used to be a jibe of Continental savants that English scholarship always trotted along about ten years behind that of Germany, and it was a clever Orientalist who added that Indian scholarship slowly follows about a generation behind that of England. Whatever truth there may be in this latter remark is excellently illustrated by the present volumes, the Urdu original and English version of a work by one of the leaders of the Lahore branch of the Ahmadiyya Movement and Imam of the Mosque at Woking.

The work is obviously an imitation of Dr. Tisdall's *Yanabi' ul Islam* which appeared in Persian many years ago and whose English version under the title "The Original Sources of the Koran," is well known. Not possessing Dr. Tisdall's scholarship, however, and being unable to get back to original sources, the Ahmadiyya champion has based his case against Christianity on a rehash of the mythological theories popular in anti-Christian polemic of a generation or so ago, but now lingering on only in the furthest backwaters of that school. One is struck at the outset with how poor a case the writer has made out for this theory. He could have found much better illustrations and much more interesting material for his Sun-Gods and Zodiacal mysteries and such like, had he consulted Niemojewski's *Bog Jezus*, or Fuhrmann's *Der Astralmythen von Christus*, or even in old Dupuis' famous *L'origine de tous les cultes*, from which most later writers draw, but he seems to depend almost entirely on the very poorest and most unscholarly of English works on this mythological theory, such as Inman's "Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism," Higgins' "Anacalypsis," Doane's "Bible Myths," and that curious work, "Our Sun God." There is even reason to suspect that he owes to Doane his references to Higgins.

Christian apologetic, of course, has not much difficulty in refuting this cheap form of polemic; the danger of these volumes, however, is that both in the Urdu and the English form they will circulate among classes who will accept their wild and grossly inaccurate statements at face value. This is enhanced by the fact that the work is written in a pleasing way unspoiled by the gross and vulgar polemic language so often found in books of this sort, often too in books emanating from the Christian camp, and has a show of learning which will carry great weight among the people for whom the work is intended, and who cannot discern that it is merely a show of learning with no real scholarship behind it.

This latter point may delay us a moment. It should be pointed out that the author has fallen into the very bad habit of loading up his book

with references to works he has obviously never consulted, merely to make a parade of learning. Thus we find numerous references to Philo, Tertullian, etc., given with the abbreviated Latin titles, all of which have been simply copied from one or other of the English books he has used. This parade of scholarship often leads the writer into curious errors, *e. g.*, on p. 71 of the English volume he writes, "But the oldest manuscripts of Isaiah do not read 'virgin' but 'young woman' " referring to Isa. vii. 14 where, of course, there is no manuscript variation at all, but where variant translations into Greek were made by Jews to escape Christian arguments based on the passage. Again p. 78, "In some of the Gospels, Jesus is reported to have been born in a stable, and others say that the stable was a cave." Of course the ecclesiastical discussion at the basis of this is obvious to all, but it is curious to note the slip in attributing it to the Gospels. So p. 81 the confusion between Baal and Bel. An excellent one again occurs on p. 85. "The original manuscript of Josephus does not contain the page referring to Jesus," where the reference is to doubts suggested by some scholars as to the authenticity of certain passages of Josephus, for which the manuscript evidence, however, is perfect; and when on p. 123 he tells us that the concluding verses of Mark xvi "do not exist in the Vulgate," one wonders whether he has ever seen a Vulgate or knows what the word means.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Three Essays of Abu Othman Amr Ibn Bahr Al-Jahiz (d. 869). Edited by J. Finkel, Cairo, 1926.

Al-Jahiz (the goggle-eyed), the renowned freethinker of Basra in the time of the Caliph Ma'mun, was one of the most famous of the Mu'talizites, and one of the first of them to study for himself the works of the Greek philosophers. He is probably best known by his great work on Zoology *Kitab al-Hayawan*, and his treatise on Rhetoric, *Kitab al-Bayan*, but is the author of very many smaller essays and tractates on Theology, Natural History and Belles Lettres. Three of these smaller essays are published in this volume: (i) *Ar-Radd ala'Nasara*; (ii) *Fi Dhimm Akhlaq al-Kuttab*; (iii) *Al-Qiyan*.

It is the first only of these essays that particularly concerns us, for it gives a very fresh and independent statement of the Islamic position in controversy with Christianity, and is an excellent example of the care Jahiz takes to understand the position of his adversary.

It appears that some of the pupils of al-Jahiz had been greatly concerned because of the attacks of Christians on Islam, and had consulted him about their difficulties. This *Risala* is his answer. From what Jahiz tells us of them, the attacks of the Christians were not lacking in subtlety. They want to know, *e. g.*, how the Koran can be divine when it makes mistakes. It says, for instance, that Jesus will be questioned by God for having told His followers to take Him and His mother as gods, whereas everyone knows that no sect of Christians ever took Mary as divine: and makes Haman an official of Pharaoh of Egypt instead of the Kings of Persia; and states that God had sent only men as prophets, whereas it is well known that there were prophetesses among the ancients.

Jahiz begins by explaining why the Koran says that Christians are friendlier to the Moslems than the Jews. The reasons do not interest

us much, but we note that he takes the opportunity to take some wind out of the sails of the Christian champions by pointing out that Aristotle and the great sages whom they quoted so bravely were not, however, Christians but old heathen philosophers. He then goes on to point out the evil ways of Christians, their making of eunuchs, eating swines' flesh, etc., and makes a great point of the differences among the sects. Nestorians, Malekites, Jacobites, etc.

His controversy with Christian doctrine is confined to that of the Person of Christ, and moves on much the same lines as one generally finds in Moslem works of this nature, though the keenness and originality of Jahiz's mind is continually in evidence. He takes up, as we should expect, the question of the Fatherhood of God and the Sonship of Jesus, and makes merry with the idea that if God is a father, he must also be a grandfather and an uncle, and enter all sorts of amusing family relationships. As to the uniqueness of Jesus in being born without a human father, he says that is much less than the uniqueness of Adam and Eve who had neither father nor mother.

He has a curious way out of the dilemma that the Koran says that the Jews called Ezra the son of God whereas there is no evidence that the Jews ever honoured Ezra with this appellation. The Children of Israel, he says, were all called sons of God, and after the giving of the Law at the Restoration, Ezra stood out so prominently among them that the name became applied to him as particularly representing his people.

The doctrine of the two natures also gives much scope for the usual questioning as to how God could eat and drink and perform all the other functions of human nature, but he does not add anything to the age-long discussion. Too often his arguments appear to rest on mere linguistic quibbles, as for example his attempt to explain away the fact of the Koran definitely calling Jesus the "Spirit of God."

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Islam and the Divine Comedy. By Miguel Asin, translated by Harold Sunderland. John Murray, London; pp. 295; 12/—.

The Spanish original of which the present is an abridged translation appeared six years ago under the title "Moslem Eschatology and the Divine Comedy." The author is a Roman Catholic, and professor of Arabic at the University of Madrid. He is well known to Orientalists through his earlier studies, especially those on the relations of Islamic thought to the theology of the Middle Ages; and we are not surprised that this study has awakened keen controversy. Professor Nallino, of Rome, says that this is the most important work on the religion of Islam that has appeared of late. It compels thought.

The book consists of four parts. Part I compares the legend of the nocturnal journey and ascension of Mohammed with the *Divine Comedy*. Part II is a comparison of the *Divine Comedy* with other Moslem legends on the after life. Part III deals with Moslem features in those Christian legends which were the precursors of the *Divine Comedy*. Part IV, which, in our opinion, should have been Part I, discusses the probability of the transmission of Islamic models to Europe and particularly to Dante.

The conclusion of Miguel Asin is that Dante is indebted to Ibn

Arabi, the Spanish Moslem mystic who died twenty-five years before Dante was born, for his conception of the *Divine Comedy*. He says, "Thus the two works agree in subject-matter, action and allegorical purpose; in their principal and secondary persons; in the architecture of the astronomical heavens; and in the didactic trend of ideas and the use of literary devices to produce in abstract a national cyclopædia. To these features of resemblance must be added the similarity in style; both works are so abstruse and involved at times as to suggest to the reader the mysteriousness of an oracle. In the face of all these reasons it is not too much to say that Ibn Arabi's work is of all Moslem types the most akin to the *Paradiso* in particular and the whole *Divine Comedy* in general, in so far at least as the latter may be regarded as a moral and didactic allegory." Once again, in speaking of the *Inferno*, he says, "The general architecture of the *Inferno* is but a faithful copy of the Moslem hell. Both are in the shape of a vast funnel or inverted cone and consist of a series of storeys, each the abode of one class of sinner. In each, moreover, there are various subdivisions corresponding to as many subcategories of sinners. The greater the depth, the greater is the degree of sin and the pain inflicted. The ethical system in the two hells is also much alike, the atonement is either analogous to, or the reverse of, the sin committed. Finally, both hells are situate beneath the city of Jerusalem."

As the author points out in the concluding portion of this most interesting and scholarly work, to prove literary imitation it is necessary to show not only agreement between the model and the copy and to prove that the model existed prior to the copy, but that the original was known to the copyist. In our opinion, the last step in the argument should have been given fuller and prior consideration. Otherwise, we may deal simply with coincidences, however startling.

As a good Catholic, Miguel Asin is jealous for Christ and His Church. His conclusion, therefore, is characteristic, both as a defense of Dante and an indictment of Islam: "In the end we find that it is that perennial source of poetry and spirituality, the Divine religion of Christ, that furnishes the real key to the genesis of Dante's poem and its precursors, both Christian and Moslem. For Islam, be it once more said, is but the bastard offspring of the Gospel and the Mosaic Law, part of whose doctrines on the after-life it adopted. Lacking the restraining influence of an infallible authority whereby the fancy of its believers might have been checked, it assimilated elements from other Eastern sources and thus came to deck and overlay with all the trappings of Oriental fancy the sober picture of the life beyond the grave that is outlined in the Gospel. Dante could, without altering the essence of Christian teaching on that life, draw for the purposes of his poem on the artistic features furnished by the Moslem legends. In so doing he was but reclaiming for Christianity property that was by rights its own, heirlooms that had lain hidden in the religious lore of the East until restored to the stock of Western culture greatly enhanced by the imaginative genius of Islam."

Apart from its value in the study of Dante every student of Islam will find here new material on Moslem eschatology and many references to the work of Ibn Arabi and others not elsewhere accessible.

Young Islam on Trek. By Basil Mathews. Friendship Press, New York. 1926. pp. 224. 60c.

Three words may describe this book—interesting, impressive, inspiring. Who does not want to be told what this decade is surely bringing, and what Christianity may bring to the Moslem millions? The story of present-day Egypt, Turkey, India and Arabia grips our attention, and the three great Moslem leaders of the Near East challenge our respect. Ambitious, hopeful young Islam, cut off from the roots of his old faith and with no new ones yet forming, presents on these pages a mighty appeal to him who would love this neighbor as himself.

JAMES CANTINE.

The Moslem Faces the Future. By T. H. P. Sailer. Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, New York. pp. 254. 1926. Cloth 75c.

This book was prepared as a study textbook for college students and graduates, especially for use in discussion groups. The author is well qualified for his task—he has travelled extensively and was for twelve years educational secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

After a brief introduction, the studies are entitled: The Moslem's Heritage; The Growth of Islam and Some Present-Day Problems; The Opening of the Sluices; Moslem Response to the New Age; Our Share in the Moslem's Future; and The Christian Mandate.

We expect and find accuracy of detail, skill in presentation of the facts, and a balanced judgment. It is a view of Islam as an historical phenomenon sketched dispassionately. The book is even so balanced in its judgment that the scales continue to oscillate. The study of it, in our judgment, would result in opinions rather than convictions. Its conclusions are thoughtful, but not compelling.

A wealth of material is crowded on every page. The chronological tables, maps, glossary, and bibliography are in every way excellent. Among so much that is good, the best chapter is the third, in which we have a vivid picture of social and intellectual conditions today in the world of Islam.

Z.

The Blight of Asia. By George Horton. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. 1926. pp. 292. \$3.50.

This purports to be the true story of the burning of Smyrna by the Turks and an account of the systematic massacre of Christian minorities by the Mohammedans of Turkey. The narrative is vivid, by an eyewitness who, for thirty years in the consular service of the United States, corroborates his conclusions by testimony from men and women of different nationalities. In a foreword, James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany, states "the writing of this book required courage. It has been inspired by no other motive than a desire to make the truth known about matters which it is important for the world to know." It is a terrible tragedy of martyrdoms, a frightful scene of inhumanity that is here unveiled, and which was enacted within a few yards of a powerful Allied and American battle fleet. Yet the writer would have made a stronger case against the Turk, (who has changed his hat and not his heart,) if he had written with more restraint and judicial calm. The documentary evidence is sufficient to condemn

those who were the perpetrators. Diatribe against them or against their religion does not mend matters. Even though all missionary effort in Turkey should prove fruitless, that does not justify abandonment of missions there or elsewhere. Only the pessimist blows out his candle to see how dark it is. The true light still shines even in Turkey. Yet if it is true, as the author alleges (and he writes as one who loves his Lord) that some of the Christian missionaries "have accepted to cease preaching Christ," we agree that, in his words, "it is about time for the cock to crow." The book is one to provoke serious thought, even though we may disagree with some of its findings. Z.

The Economic Position of Persia. By Mustapha Khan Fateh. London, P. S. King & Co. 6 shillings.

This modest book by one who loves his own country and is not at all pessimistic regarding its early future development, deserves attention. The author originally prepared his thesis for an American university, and in this enlarged form it does not lack a scholarly flavor, although its descriptions of Persian resources are rather roseate. He puts the population at about ten million, and reviews the well-known facts regarding mineral resources, oil supply and railway projects. His solution of the problem of investment by foreign capitalists while not infringing on Persian nationalism, is that the Teheran government should invite loans and guarantee the interest on such investments. Of the deeper problems of Persian life and character due to Islamic influence, the book does not speak.

Memoirs of Halidé Edib. The Century Co. 432 pp. \$4.

An autobiography of unusual interest, the author being the most distinguished woman in Turkey today. Part one gives an intimate glimpse into the home life and education of the young Turkish girl. The second half of the book deals with her part in Turkish politics—both active and as an onlooker. She and her husband, Salih Zeki Bey, took part in the political movement by which Abdul Hamid was overthrown; and her rôle was an active one during both the Balkan and World Wars. Her point of view is altogether Turkish and Moslem—and for that reason interesting, even if it is not altogether convincing. The illustrations are unique and plentiful. A. R. V.

Proof of Prophet Mohammed from the Holy Bible, and the Way to Paradise for Eternal Life. Lahore, n. d. 8vo. 59 pp. Published by the Mohammedan Tract and Book Depot, Punjab.

Another Ahmadiyya publication, very poorly printed, and very much below the standard of intelligence usually shown in publications of the Ahmadiyya sect. The writer has a very windy Preface in which he tells us that most Americans are a "set of pagans, unbelievers or atheists," and that the study of science and philosophy drives men away from Christianity but attracts them to Islam, and then sets forth the purpose of his pamphlet in these words:

"In its attempts for conversion, Christianity speaks from behind a screen of attirements other than its own beauty, while Mohammedanism uncovers its simple face and presents nothing but its own beauty to bespeak for itself. These attempts on the part of Christianity are mostly attended with failure; while those on the part of Mohammedanism,



BOOK REVIEWS

though comparatively much less, are always crowned with brilliant success. Even the present Christianity itself does not in any way deny the prophethood of Mohammed, and this treatise is mainly intended to show that the Bible contains several predictions about the advent of a prophet, who will be the last of the series of prophets, and will stand at the very head of them—namely, the prophet Mohammed, blessed be his name."

There is nothing new in the supposed "prophecies" which are set forth, for they are just a rehash of similar collections which can be found much more acutely presented in a score of the older Moslem works of controversy.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Jung-Java. Bilder aus der Schularbeit in Niederländisch-Indien. By Elfriede Krieg. Missionsbuchhandlung Stursberg & Co. Neukirchen, Kreis Mörs, Germany. 1926. Pp. 55.

The authoress is a teacher in the Neukirchen Missionary Society, working in Java, where school work among the Mohammedans is of great importance, because the people are eager to obtain a European education. The Dutch language is the medium of instruction in the school in which the authoress is teaching, and she is doing her best to inspire her pupils with a love of the Bible and of the Lord Jesus Christ. Schools in which the Koran is taught are increasing in number at the present time; this adds to the importance of such mission schools. The opposition of the parents keeps many of the children from openly confessing Christ. But we learn that by this work in the schools the Mohammedan people of Java are being influenced by the power of Christianity and its ideals.

SIMON.

Garabed und Djürdji, Vater und Sohn. Lebens-und Sittenbilder aus dem christlichen Mesopotamien. By Jakob Künzler. 125 pp. Potsdam Tempelverlag.

These writings give one the sensation of wandering over a churchyard with one who is fully acquainted with the lives of those who lie buried there. The well-known assistant of the late Dr. Lepsius writes of those ancient Syrian Christian communities which have been entirely wiped out. The author gives hearty praise to the work of the American Board, which seems to have aroused the dormant spiritual forces among these Syrian Christians. This is evident from the lives of these two noble men, of whom the son lost his life in the massacre of Adana in 1909. The condition of the Oriental churches is very clearly described, and this work may be heartily recommended to those who are interested in the needs of the peoples of the Near East. Unfortunately the last annual report shows that the American Board has not been able to resume its work at present either in Urfa or in Aintab.

SIMON.

Religions of the Empire. Edited by William Loftus Hare. The Macmillan Co., New York. 500pp. 1925.

A more descriptive name for this book is given in the sub-title, "A Conference on Some Living Religions of the Empire."

This conference was held in London in conjunction with the British Empire Exhibition of 1924. It was in two parts, the latter being de-

voted to the psychology and sociology of religion, consisting of a series of papers by specialists on such topics as "Man and Nature," "The Naturalist's Approach to Religion," etc. These papers, eight in all, make up the last hundred pages of the book, and perhaps will not be of great interest to those who are arrested by the title itself.

The first section of four hundred pages aims at being a contribution to the knowledge of those who are interested in the religious beliefs of the millions of non-Christians making up such a large fraction of the world's population. The peculiar worth of these papers lies in the fact that each was presented by one who presumably was eminently fitted to tell the reader what is the highest valuation which can be given, each to his own faith. The critical student will naturally be careful about accepting at its face value much of what is said, and doubtless will feel repaid by checking off both translation and context of the copious references to some of the sacred books. Also the man who has lived for years in the East will decide for himself whether the universal and basic truths and ideals of the human soul, so beautifully expressed by some non-Christian prophets, and referred to by these writers, have not become to the rank and file of those who follow these faiths, *because of their peculiar religious settings*, as waning stars, ever more and more dim.

The pages given to the treatment of each religion will be of interest. Islam with its sects is given about 100 pages; Buddhism, 50; Hinduism, 25; the lesser Indian Religions, including the Arya and the Brahma Samaj, 75; Taoism of China, 25; Primitive Religions of Africa, 75. The treatment of the religion of Islam is especially valuable and inclusive, comprising:—"Historical Note" by Prof. Margoliouth; "Basic Principles" by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, (Woking); "The Spirit of Islam" by Mustapha Khan (Lahore); "The Shi'ah Branch of Islam" by Sheikh Kadhim el Dojaily (Baghdad); "The Ahmadiya Movement" by Hazrat Mirza Bashir ud-Din (Qadian); "Historical Note on Sufism" by Sir Patrick Fagan; "Sufism" by Sufi Hafiz Raushan Ali; "The Baha'i Cause" by the Baha'i Assembly; "Baha'i Influence on Life" by Mr. Rufi Afnan, (Haifa). Reference should also be made to the Introduction and Opening Address, and to the General Survey and the Summing Up by prominent English students of Comparative Religions.

While there is nothing in this book to shake the faith of the Christian reader, there may be something to increase our respect for the original sources from which sprang these various religions; and it certainly is of interest to note the spiritual, Godward outlook recognized as the vital kernel of each belief. In these days when many think that the final adversary of Christianity will not be some rival faith, but materialism and irreligion, it may be good to know that there are so many who, however vaguely and ill directed, are yet acknowledging and seeking their God. This is a book that should be a help to every missionary.

JAMES CANTINE.

Lectures on Comparative Religion, by Arthur Anthony Macdonnell, M.A. (Oxon.) Ph.D. (Leipzig), Hon. D. Litt. (Edin.), D.C.L. (Cal.), Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1925.

This series of eight lectures was delivered before the student body of Calcutta University for the Stephanos Nirmalendie Ghosh Founda-

tion. The religions passed in review are primitive religion, the religions of China and India, the ancient Persian and Greek religions, Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. In accordance with the terms of the foundation, the author endeavors to give, along with a statement of the content of each religion, an estimate of its ethical values. Lecture vii, on "Mohammedanism," gives a brief account of the career of Mohammed, discusses the development of the Koran, its arrangements, contents, and sources, briefly summarizes the main doctrinal and practical tenets of Islam, and concludes with a notice of some of its ethical requirements. The statement is throughout admirable in its restraint and fairness, and takes due account of modern critical positions.

C. C. ADAMS.

The Call and the Answer, by Phyllis L. Garlick. 122 pp. Church Missionary Society, London, 1926. 1 shilling.

A vivid impressionist sketch of C. M. S. work, with special reference to the World Call Convention of the Anglican Church, held in January. It is well illustrated, with maps showing the missionary dioceses. There is, however, one serious omission which we hope will be remedied in any future edition. In the chapter entitled "Sunrise in the Moslem World" no mention is made of the leading Moslem work of the C. M. S.—that in the Punjab and United Provinces of India: the heritage of Henry Martyn, K. G. Pfander, Valpy French and Imad ud-Din, which has furnished a substantial part of the Indian Church, both clergy and laity today, and leading workers in the mass movements that now bulk so largely in the progress of the Church.

H. U. W. STANTON.

Islams Kulture under det Nittonde Arhundradet. By J. Ostrup. Pp. 88. P. A. Norstedt, Stockholm.

This sketch of Islam in the nineteenth century is one of a series of historical monographs regarding the past century. In five brief chapters the author sketches the developments which took place in the Mohammedan world beginning with the Wahhabi movement to the fall of Abdul Hamid; the political developments in Turkey, Egypt and Persia; literature and art, especially journalism; social reforms; and the inner life of the Moslem community in the midst of these disturbing factors. Among the illustrations is a facsimile of the *Fetwa*, in three languages, calling for the holy war, and dated November 11, 1914. The illustrations are all of them distinctly illuminative of the text, and the author has managed to crowd his material into small compass.

Z.

Notes Sur Secte Des Ahle-Haqq. Par V. Minorsky. (I et II avec 9 planches et une carte.) Paris. Ernest Leroux. pp. 182.

Under this modest title Professor Minorsky of the University of Paris has given us an exhaustive and scholarly monograph on one of the least known sects in the world of Islam. In this issue of our Quarterly the reader has an introductory paper on the same subject by a Christian Persian; just enough to whet the appetite for a book such as this, which is indispensable to the library of every missionary in Persia. These notes define and distinguish the various names given to the sect (some ignorantly), *e. g.*, Ali-Ilahi, Ahl-i-Silsila, Nusaira, etc. A complete annotated bibliography of no less than fifty-eight works in Oriental and

European languages is given and the author expresses his indebtedness, especially to Rawlinson, de Gobineau and Jonkofsky "*qui aient réuni des matériaux originaux ayant une réelle importance pour l'étude de la secte.*" The first part of the treatise gives the origin and history of the Ahl-i-Haqq, with their peculiar doctrine of seven Incarnations, with quotations from their so-called secret documents. We then have the subdivisions of the sect; the distribution of its adherents from Diarbekr to Tabriz and Teheran in Turkestan and Transcaucasia, with a map showing the chief centres of their activity in Persia. The second part of the book is historical and critical. It deals with the rites and ceremonies of the Ahl-i-Haqq, their sacrifices, rituals, fasts, and feasts, fraternities, séances (*zikrs*), marriage customs, burial-rites, their especial dress and, finally, their ethical teaching and ideals. In an appendix we have the official "Creed," consisting of an esoteric commentary on the 1st and 112th Surahs of the Koran; also a polemic treatise directed against the Behai sect. The illustrations are from photographs, and represent the leaders of the sect, some of their shrines and the tombs of their saints.

Z.

L'Islam Sous Le Joug (a nouvelle croisade). Par Eugene Jung. Chez l'auteur, 50 Avenue Malakoff, Paris. pp. 93. 6 fr.

The author, formerly vice-resident of France in Tonkin, is alarmed at the alliance of Islam with Bolshevism and sees red. His earlier work in two volumes, *La Révolte Arabe*, had the same theme from a different angle. The economic, political and religious conditions that obtain in the Near East after and because of the World War have driven Islam against the wall. Moslems everywhere are writhing under the yoke of foreign rule. The mandate system is oppression in disguise. The only hope is in united rebellion, but this is supremely difficult since Islam has lost its Caliph as the rallying point of unity. The book is intended as a warning to France and Britain of the need to change and ameliorate their present policies, especially in Syria and in Egypt. The writer however exaggerates. *E. g.*, the number of Mohammedans in the world is not "four hundred million" (p. 50); nor are all the Moslems of China in league with the Soviets (p. 28); nor is it true that in colonial policies today "there are no ideals, no moralities, but only money counts" (p. 69). Nevertheless, the whole volume contains interesting matter and some very shrewd deductions, as when M. Jung discounts the value of the mosque-de-luxe, built at Paris, to win the affections of the Moors.

Z.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY MISS HOLLIS W. HERING
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

INDIA: POLITICS AND RELIGION. (In the *Round Table*, London. September, 1926, pp. 771-791.)

A review of the year in India as seen through party changes, the Hindu-Mohammedan problem, the Delhi session of 1926, and the financial situation.

ISLAM AS A PROBLEM. S. Khuda Bukhsh. (In *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta, August, 1926, pp. 173-197.)

An article translated from the German of Prof. C. H. Becker, in which the "problem" is stated as: "How has the unity of Islamic civilization come about, and what part has religion played in its development?"

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

THE RISE AND FALL OF ISLAM. Julius F. Richter. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, October, 1926, pp. 753-759.)

A marshaling of the chief causes of the decay which has brought Islam from a position of world supremacy to its present place of political subserviency.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

CONGRES GENERAL ISLAMIQUE DU KHALIFAT. (In the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Vol. lxiv, 1926, 2me. trimestre, pp. 29-122.)

The *procès-verbaux* of the Congress held at Cairo, May 13-19, 1926.

LES DEUX CONGRES MUSULMANS DE 1926. Mou'tamar al Khilafah au Caire; Mou'tamar al 'Alam al Islami, à la Mecque. Achille Sékaly. (In the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Vol. lxiv, 1926, 2me. trimestre, pp. 3-25.)

A brief general summary, noting the types of questions examined, and the major conclusions reached.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

CONGRES DU MONDE MUSULMAN A LA MECQUE. (In the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Vol. lxiv, 1926, 2me. trimestre, pp. 125-219.)

The *procès-verbaux* of the meeting held at Mecca from June 7 to July 5, 1926. This meeting, in sharp contrast to that held at Cairo, discussed largely the practical problems now affecting Mohammedans.

"I, REZA, PLACE THIS CROWN UPON MY HEAD." By an On-looker. (In *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, October, 1926, pp. 548-553.)

A graphic description of the recent coronation ceremonies in Persia.

THE MECCA CONFERENCE. Ikbal Ali Shah. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London, September, 1926, pp. 304-311.)

Personal experiences and impressions received during attendance at the Grand Moslem Conference of June, 1926, with deductions therefrom as to the real value and meaning of Ibn Saud's work.

MOHAMMEDAN BOYS AND GIRLS. John Kingsley Birge. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, October, 1926, pp. 769-773.)

Deals chiefly with the education, especially religious, of the old day and the new.

MOSLEMS BREAKING AWAY FROM TRADITION. James L. Barton. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, October, 1926, pp. 761-768.)

Shows wherein a religion, formerly considered both static and incapable of change, is now everywhere changing both its point of view and its practices.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

ITALY, GREECE AND TURKEY. E. W. Polson Newman. (In *The Nineteenth Century*, London, October, 1926, pp. 545-555.)

A brief examination of internal conditions and trends of political thought in Turkey, and an intimation of the external play of politics which has led her to fear a combination of Italy and Greece hostile to her.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM. Quincy Wright. (In the *Political Science Quarterly*, New York, September, 1926, pp. 384-412.)

An analysis of the internal forces in Palestine, and the political issue of Zionism, studied respectively from the points of view of the Arab, the Jew, and the British Administration.

PERSIAN AFFAIRS. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London, October, 1926, pp. 539-544.)

A brief note questioning as to the true source of what is wrong with Persia, and finding it in military and internal affairs rather than in external politics or the influence of the Soviets.

THE PROBLEM OF AFGHANISTAN. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London, July, 1926, pp. 187-204.)

A paper read on the present Russian activities in Afghanistan and their probable effect upon the British interests there; followed by a valuable discussion.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH TO MOSLEMS. W. Wilson Cash. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, October, 1926, pp. 786-791.)

Holds that the great fault of past endeavors has lain in the fact that there has been too much of a diluted form of Western Christianity, and not enough of the unadulterated message of Christ.

HINDRANCES TO CHRISTIAN WORK FOR MOSLEMS. C. G. Naish. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York, October, 1926, pp. 781-785.)

After enumerating various causes of Moslem distrust of Christianity, the author reaches the conclusion that "in the last analysis it is Christ's followers who are the obstacle."

THE IMPORTANCE OF ABYSSINIA. T. A. Lambie. (In *World Dominion*, London, September, 1926, pp. 192-198.)

A survey of the country, with its large proportion of Mohammedans, showing its need for education, enlightenment, and Christianity, and noting the forward-looking policy of the present ruler.

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY. R. C. Hutchison. (In *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, November, 1926, pp. 706-710.)

In discussing why Islam presents such an undented battle-front to Christianity, the author finds the answer in the every-day denial by Christian nations, from time immemorial down through the present day, of the great and unique element which raises the Christian faith above that of Islam—the principle of love as completely superior to force—as taught and practised by Christ.

ISLAM IN SYRIA. William S. Nelson. (In *All the World*, New York, October, 1926, pp. 97-100.)

Glimpses of the shifting conditions in the country, the increased interest in non-Islamic systems, the increased desire for education, and the general effects of all this on the approachableness of the people.

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THE BIBLICAL REVIEW (quarterly) takes great satisfaction in the names on its growing list of contributors. Here are a few for 1927:

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BISHOP H. M. DUBOSE, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.
PROF. E. G. SIHLER, New York University.
DR. S. D. CHOWN, Canada.
SECRETARY ROBERT P. WILDER, Student Volunteer Movement.
REV. G. G. WARREN, China.
PROF. GEERHARDUS VOS, Princeton Seminary.
DR. J. STUART HOLDEN, England.
REV. W. GRAHAM SCROGGIE, Scotland.
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