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THE PULPIT IN ISLAM

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Among the essentials of a mosque in the world of Islam and even from the earliest days is the *minbar* or pulpit. The public proclamation of the truths of religion from a raised chair or platform, or the reading of God's revelation from a special place in public worship, is common to Jews, Christians and Moslems. It is not strange, therefore, that in the technical word for this chair, desk or rostrum, and in the use to which it is put, we find that Islam has both borrowed and bequeathed. The common word used for the desk or pulpit in the synagogue today is *almemar*; ¹ the word is a legacy from Islam.

Rabbi Dr. Kaufman Kohler, writing in the Jewish Encyclopedia, says that the pulpit in the synagogue, which in the Talmud goes by the name of *bema* (from the Greek), is now called *almemar*. This word refers to the elevated platform in the synagogue on which the desk stands for reading the lessons. The word is undoubtedly a corruption of the Arabic *al-minbar* (pronounced *mim-bar*).

The earliest reference to a wooden pulpit is that mentioned in Nehemiah 8: 4 from which Ezra read the law. The proper place for the pulpit in a Jewish synagogue is in the center of the area. The Alexandrian synagogues

¹ Encyclopedia Judaica (Berlin, 1928). Pulpit is from the Latin *pulpitum*, the foremost point of the Roman stage where the actor stood. In the French and the Dutch, *chaire* and *preekstoel*, we have the notion of *cathedra* or seat of honor. The German *Kanzel* (=chancel) comes from the Italian *cancelli*, a screen.

used a pulpit which went by the name of *kathedra*. This was also known as "the-seat-of-Moses" (compare Matt. 23: 2). And in one of the oldest Jewish synagogues extant, at Kai-fungfu in China, there was a simple desk with the sides extended by a railing and the whole placed on a circular platform which went by the name of the Chair of Moses.

The illustration accompanying the article by Dr. Kohler bears a striking resemblance to some of the primitive pulpits in Moslem lands. In the *Encyclopedia Judaica* there is a photographic reproduction of the stone *almemar* of the synagogue at Aleppo, dating from the sixth century. It has three steps leading to a small square platform supported in the rear by basalt columns. This, too, bears close resemblance to the earliest traditional mosque-pulpits, although, as we shall see, these were made of wood.

The Arabic word *minbar* (pulpit) comes, we are told, from the root *nbr*, which signifies, "he raised or elevated a thing . . . or to raise the voice, to speak in a high tone;" or, according to another authority, the pulpit was "so-called because of its height."² Schwally, however, believes that the word has an Ethiopian derivation, where it has the significance of throne, seat or tribunal. Most probably the word came into the Arabic language through Yemen before Islam (Aghani 13: 165).³ Becker prefers the derivation from the Arabic root.

The pulpit in the early days of Christianity was called *bema* and *ambo*. The deacon preached from the *ambo*, the Bishop from his *cathedra*. The former word was also used of the synagogue pulpit. Jesus Christ and the apostles gave their message from these "seats of Moses" (Matt. 23: 2; Luke 4: 20). The Jewish *bema* (from the Greek for a speaker's tribune) is the counterpart of Ezra's wooden pulpit (Neh. 8: 4) and is so rendered in the Septuagint. *Ambo*, plural *ambones*, is also a Greek

² Lane's Arabic Dict. Part viii, p. 2757.

³ Z. D. M. G. Vol. lii: pp. 146-148. The earliest pulpit was a seat of authority. In early times the Arabic word *majlis* seems to have been occasionally employed for *minbar*. (Margoliouth, E. R. E.)

word said to be related to that of mountain or elevation (Isa. 40:9; Matt. 5:1). The *ambo* was introduced into the churches about the fourth century and became universal in the tenth. Chrysostom was in the habit of preaching sitting in the *ambo*. Bunsen thinks it was originally a movable pulpit or chair. At St. Sophia in Constantinople the *ambo* stood nearly in the middle of the church, but a little eastward. It was ascended by two flights of stairs, one from the west and one from the east. A picture of the *ambo* of St. Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, built between 493 and 525 A. D., in some respects resembles the *minbar* in the Sultan Hassan Mosque of Cairo.⁴ The typical *ambo* consisted of a square or circular platform resting on columns or plinth, railed in front, with access by a flight of steps and occasionally surmounted by a canopy. The Gospel was read from a higher step than the Epistle.⁵ All of which is of interest when we study the evolution of the *minbar* in Islam.

In his monumental work, Leone Caetani has collected the data regarding the gradual growth of early Islamic public worship, and has conclusively shown that Tradition alone is not a safe guide on the pathway to historic conclusion.⁶ C. H. Becker's two studies on the Pulpit in primitive Islam and on the History of the Cultus in Islam are most important.⁷

Wensinck gives a list of traditions relating to the pulpit in Islam, with references to all of the six standard collections. If we could rely on these sources, we would learn that the pulpit took the place of the palm trunk against which Mohammed used to lean, and which lamented when he abandoned it; that between Mohammed's house or the tomb in which he was buried and his pulpit there is an (invisible) garden of Paradise; the pulpit, in fact, as well as Mohammed's house acquired a

⁴ Smith and Cheetham—Dict. of Christian Antiquities, Vol. I, p. 56. M. Fernand Cabrol (Dict. d'archéologie Chrétienne, Vol. III, p. 39) gives an account and a picture of the ancient (pulpit) chaire à Torcello, Italy, to which the Cairo *minbars* bear still closer resemblance.

⁵ Schaff-Hertzog Encyclopedia. Article, *Ambo*.

⁶ *Annali dell' Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 432-457.

⁷ *Islamstudien*, pp. 450-500.

special sacred character. A false oath at Mohammed's pulpit brings severe condemnation because of the sanctity of this environment. Tradition also tells in détail when and by whom the first pulpit was made for Mohammed; and finally speaks of *al-'ūdāni*, the two bits of wood, that is, the pulpit and the staff of the Prophet.⁸ The first pulpit is described for us in Bukhari. The Prophet commanded one of his slaves, a carpenter, that he should make a wooden seat to be used when he addressed the people. It was made out of acacia wood found at Al-Gaba. Before he used the pulpit, the Prophet was accustomed to lean against a palm stump.

We read in Tabari (Vol. I: 1591) "In this year, A. H. 7, the Prophet made his *minbar*, on which he was accustomed to preach. It had two steps and a seat." Others say the pulpit was made in the year A. H. 8. When 'Amr built a mosque at Fustat, Egypt, he also erected a pulpit, but by the command of the Caliph 'Umar it was immediately ordered to be destroyed, because 'Umar wrote to him rebuking him for attempting to sit when God's people were standing for prayer. (The reference in Becker is to Ibn Tagribirdi, Vol. I: 76). The rule seems to have been in early Islam that the preacher sat on the pulpit in giving his address. The standing was a later innovation. According to a tradition current in India, the earliest pulpit had three steps. Mohammed in addressing the congregation stood on the uppermost step, Abu Bekr on the second, and 'Umar on the third or lowest. 'Uthman fixed upon the middle step, and since then it has been the custom to preach from that step.⁹

The place of the pulpit in the mosque seems to be identical with that of the *ambo* in the Oriental churches, namely, to the right of the altar or the *mihrab*. The preacher sits in the *minbar*, and stands only for the delivery of the sermon. He must have a staff or a sword in

⁸ Becker, *Islamstudien*, p. 456. Cf. article on "The Sword of Mohammed," (THE MOSLEM WORLD, April, 1931).

⁹ The preacher in the great mosque at Mecca today stands on the third step from the top of the pulpit. Cf. photographs in Ibrahim Rifa'at Pasha's *Mira't al-Haramain*, Vol. I, p. 253.

his hand. Becker discusses the question why the preacher carries a staff or sword. Some hold it was for his protection against unexpected attack from enemies. Al-Ghazali in the *Ihya* (Vol. I: 130) says that the preacher holds the staff to prevent his gesticulating with his hand. There seems to be no question that the staff or sword was a necessary adjunct of the preacher from the earliest times. Jāhiz is quoted as saying, "As far as I am concerned, the preacher can mount the pulpit naked, but he must have a turban and a staff."¹⁰

The earliest pulpits were portable, that is, they were made of wood in such a fashion that they could be carried about. Becker infers that the pulpit originally was a chair of the Judge, the throne of authority where pronouncements and judgments were made by the Prophet, and only later did it become a place of public address.

The sacredness of pulpits from the earliest times is evident from the fact that they were hung about with coverings in the same way as the *kiswa* covering the Ka'aba—(Tabari II: 292). In later days relics were kept under the pulpit, and visitors received *baraka* by stroking the pulpit covering. According to Becker, it was not until the time of the *Abbasids* that the pulpit became what it is today.

Finally, Becker traces a parallel in the history of the Christian pulpit and that of Islam. "The Christian pulpit originated in the Bishop's throne, which stood in the earliest Christian *basilika* in the apse, exactly where, under paganism, the judge's chair stood." Therefore, he concludes, the Christian pulpit also has its origin in the seat of the judge. In Christianity, however, both chair and pulpit remained side by side, while in Islam the chair of the judge became itself the pulpit of today—the *minbar* of the mosque. On the other hand, and not without reason, Dr. Margoliouth believes that the Moslem pulpit was a conscious imitation of what was seen by the

¹⁰ Among the Shiahs it is ordained that the preacher shall wear a turban and the striped Yemen cloak. The Umayyads used to robe the preacher in white, but in Abbasid times he wore black.

refugees in the old Abyssinian churches. Peculiar sanctity attached to the pulpit of Mohammed, which is said to have lasted until 654 A. H., when the mosque was burned.

In his article on *Minbar* in the Encyclopedia of Islam, E. Diez says: "Becker refers to the earliest historical statement, which says that the Prophet in the year 7 A. H. made his *minbar*, on which he used to preach to the people; it had two steps and a seat (*maq'ad*). The *minbar* was therefore originally a raised seat or throne. On the morning after the death of the Prophet, after stormy disputes, Abu Bakr took his seat on the Prophet's *minbar* in a solemn assembly and received the general homage here. The later caliphs followed this tradition, as did the governors, who ascended the pulpit on their accession to office and on their resignation. The *minbar* in the early period was therefore not at all specially associated with worship, but was the seat of the ruler in the council. The pulpit only gradually grew out of it with the development of public worship. According to Becker, the date of the change from the ruler's or judge's seat to the simple pulpit coincides with the end of the Umayyad dynasty. By the year 132 A. H. all the mosques in the provinces of Egypt were provided with *minbars*, and at the same period probably in the other lands of Islam. At the beginning of the Abbasid period the *minbar* was already a pulpit exclusively. The first tendency to its use as a pulpit is seen by Becker in the introduction of the *minbar* into the divine service at the *musalla*, the out-door place of prayer in Medina; which innovation is ascribed to Mu'awiya or to his governor. The Prophet did not have a *minbar* at the *musalla*, and nothing but divine service could have been held there.

The architectural development of the Moslem pulpit is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of mosque architecture.¹¹ The most famous of all in the history of Moslem art is the great pulpit in the mosque of

¹¹ Cf. G. Migeon, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Vol. II, pp. 103-106.

Kairawan. It was built of carved wood brought from Baghdad, with a staircase of seventeen steps leading to the preacher's platform. The *minbar* attained its finest workmanship in Cairo under the second Mamluk dynasty in the fifteenth century. Most of the *minbars* of early date have no canopy. This seems to have been introduced from India.

"In India," E. Diez writes, "pulpits were built almost exclusively of stone. Many, some of them richly carved, still exist in the Muslim provinces and towns of India. The pavilion on four pillars, common and popular in India, which gives a charm to buildings for Muslim worship as a decorative finish to the roof, was also used here for the stone *minbar*. Indeed, one might even wonder whether this originally Indian structure was carried by the Eastern Turks to Central Asian lands and adopted by them for the *minbar*. *Minbars* with such canopies are frequently found in the mosques of the province of Gujarat and in Ahmedabad."

The architectural development of the pulpit met with opposition from the Puritans in Islam. When Amr, the ruler of Egypt, built a costly pulpit, it was considered an indication of his pride, and he was forbidden by the Caliph 'Umar to complete it. Only in the first half of the second century of Islam did the *minbar* become universal. Even in the time of the Umayyads the question was raised whether the *khatib* was allowed to sit on the *minbar*, or whether he should deliver his sermon standing. The result of the controversy was the present regulation that the preacher must give the first and second parts of his discourse standing and is allowed to sit only during the pause.¹²

Wensinck agrees that one of the conditions for the validity of the Friday service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The preacher must pronounce these two

¹² T. W. Juynboll—*Handbuch des Islamischen Gesetzes*, pp. 85-87. Further details in regard to the duties of the *imam* when ascending the *minbar*, and on the innovations which are to be avoided, are given in *Al-Madkhal* by Ibn al Hajj, Vol. II, pp. 123-125; and on the right height of the *minbar* and its construction, Vol. II, pp. 78-79, Cairo edition.

brief homilies standing, and sit down between them. It is commendable, we are told, that the pulpit be an elevated place, and that the preacher lean on a bow, a sword or a staff. He must direct himself to his audience and offer a prayer on behalf of all Moslems. The *khutba* must be short. He goes on to say: "Regarding the *khutbas* of the service during an eclipse, al-Shirazi remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid; and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allah's pardon, in the opening of the first *khutba* nine times, in the second seven times; further, he must repeat several times the *salat* on Muhammad as well as *istighfar*, recite Sura lxvi: 9, elevate his hands and say Muhammad's *du'ā* (which is communicated by al-Shirazi in full). Further, he must direct himself towards the *kibla* in the middle of the second *khutba* and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments." These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. "C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Muhammadan pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *khatib* must sit down between the two *khutbas*; it explains also why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge."

In his study on the history of Moslem worship, C. H. Becker has endeavored to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the Christian mass. He believes that the first *khutba* corresponds to the first part of the mass. The second *khutba*, with the call to prayer, is an echo of the responses between the deacon and the priest who administered the mass. The recitation of the Koran corresponds to that of the Scriptures in the Oriental churches. The second *khutba* corresponds to the sermon and the general prayer.

Mittwoch, however, combats this view, and finds rather in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to those used in the mosque. He believes that the recitation

from the Torah corresponds to the first *khutba* and that from the Prophets to the second.¹³

Wensinck concludes that it is at present impossible to decide the question, and that Mohammed probably borrowed from the Jewish as well as from the Christian liturgy.

What was the character of the earliest preaching in Islam? We have, fortunately, the text of Mohammed's first sermon as a specimen. The Prophet's first and second *khutba* in Medina are given in Ibn Ishak's *Sira* (ed. Wustenfeld, p. 340). Margoliouth gives a translation, not because of its being considered by Western critics as genuine, but as a specimen admired by all Moslems, and which later preachers followed:

"The Apostle of Allah praised Allah and said: *Amma ba'du* (after this) Oh people, provide for yourselves (by good works), accept instruction. By Allah you will be thunderstricken and every one of you will leave his cattle without shepherd. Then his Lord will say to him, speaking without a dragoman and without a screen: Has not my Apostle come to you? He preached to you, and I provided you with money and gave you abundance. What have you provided for yourself? Then you will look to the right and to the left, without perceiving anything (which can aid you); you will then look before you, but not perceive anything besides Hell. Therefore, whosoever will be able to avoid Hell, even though it were on account of a piece of a date (given as alms), he should do it, or on account of a good word, if he should not possess a date. For good deeds are rewarded ten, nay even seven hundred times. May peace and God's mercy and blessing be upon you."

E. W. Lane gives examples of the mosque preaching current in Egypt in his day. He translates a new year sermon preached in the great mosque of al-Azhar. This sermon, which consisted of an exhortation on the brevity of life and the certainty of death, was followed by the

¹³ E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Islamischen Gebets und Kultus*, in *Abh. Pr. Akad. d. Wissenschaft*, 1913, No. 2.

second *khutba* called the *khutba* of praise. In it we have the following reference to unbelievers: "O God, assist the forces of the Moslems, and the armies of the Unitarians. O God, frustrate the infidels and polytheists, thine enemies, the enemies of the religion. O God, invert their banners, and ruin their habitations, and give them and their wealth as booty to the Moslems."¹⁴

Other typical sermons are given by Sell.¹⁵ The fact is that the Friday sermon in Islam soon became stereotyped. The exordium and the conclusion are always practically the same. A few sentences in the middle refer to the special subject of the sermon. The second of the two sermons consists of an invocation of blessings on the leaders and heroes of Islam, and sometimes includes a malediction on unbelievers, as in the example given by Lane. Except as an innovation in modern Turkey, both sermons are always given in Arabic throughout the world of Islam. What would answer to our idea of a sermon, such as an explanation of doctrine or an exposition of some passage in the Koran, is not a part of public worship in the mosque. This is done either in an ordinary assembly or by a learned man in one of the mosque-schools.

Sermons are delivered *before* the mid-day prayer on Fridays, and *after* the prayer on feast days. They are also used at important weddings and on public occasions. Orthodox jurists state that the elements of a sermon must be five: praise to God, a blessing on the Prophet, an admonition to piety, a blessing on the believers, and comment on or quotation from the Koran. A prayer for the reigning sovereign is also common, although not universal. Margoliouth says that the practice was introduced in Baghdad about 367 A. H. "If the introduction of a prayer for the sovereign was late, the practice of cursing public enemies from the pulpit was early; the second Khalifah is said to have so cursed a man who was guilty of what was thought an immoral practice; and in the first civil war 'Ali and Mu'awiyah introduced im-

¹⁴ Lane's "Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," p. 91.

¹⁵ Sell, "The Faith of Islam," pp. 311-312.

precations on each other into their sermons. The cursing of 'Ali in the Friday discourse was continued till the end of the first Islamic century, when the pious 'Umar II put an end to it; as late as 321 A. H. there was a question of re-introducing the cursing of Mu'awiyah" (E. R. E. art. *Muslim Preaching*).

The list of influential preachers in the history of Islam is not great. Some of them are mentioned by Margoliouth, such as Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (561 A. H.), who claimed to have made five hundred converts to Islam and to have reformed more than 100,000 criminals, although his own personal character appears to have left something to be desired. Some of these preachers amassed great fortunes and maintained *harims* of colossal size. Margoliouth quotes, with comment, an account from the traveler Ibn Jubair who visited Baghdad in 580 A. H.:

" 'Scarcely a Friday passes without a discourse by a preacher, and those among the inhabitants who are specially favored pass their whole time in meetings where such are delivered.' He describes a Friday service at the Nizamiyyah College where after the mid-day prayer the shaikh Qazwini ascended the pulpit; chairs were placed in front of him for the Koran-readers, who chanted elaborately, after which the shaikh delivered a powerful discourse; questions were then addressed to him on strips of paper and he replied forthwith to every one. The historian Jamal al-din Ibn al-Jauzi held services of this kind every Saturday, and his eloquence also greatly impressed the traveller. The results were similar to the phenomena at times seen at revivalist meetings; many in the congregation sobbed and fainted, and crowds of penitents thronged to touch the preacher. 'It would have been worth while to cross the sea to hear one of these sermons.' On Thursdays this preacher's gatherings were held in a private court of the palace, from which the Khalifah and his family could hear them. The text was a verse of the Qur'an which ended in *nas*, and the preacher maintained this rhyme throughout his discourse.

Into the sermon he introduced compliments to the Khalifah and his mother and prayers for them; he further recited many verses, some encomia on the sovereign, others of the Sufi erotic style, which affected the audience powerfully.”¹⁶

From the pulpit in the world of Islam there has sounded forth again and again the call to *jihad* or holy war against infidels. On the other hand there have been instances to my own knowledge when the Friday sermon commended Christian medical missionaries, or where public prayer was offered for world peace.¹⁷ Governments have made use of the Moslem pulpit to broadcast useful information to the illiterate masses. A sermon on the boll-weevil, calling for a *jihad* to destroy it, lest cotton crops be ruined, was preached in the mosques of Egypt in 1925 on request of the Ministry of Agriculture! It begins: “Praise be to God who exceedingly prefers the diligent to the lazy and has ordained labor as the best worship” . . . and after describing the plague and its remedy closes thus: “Therefore, let nobody refrain himself from fighting and destroying this insect; and let nobody say that this is ‘God’s visitation,’ for God created both the disease and the remedy; and He ordered us to ply and labor. The person neglecting the precautions against the plague which afflicts his crop is no doubt a transgressor. Likewise the person who carelessly leaves his cotton to be eaten up by the insect is also the transgressor. ‘God helps man so long as man labors to help himself.’ O, God’s servants, preserve the means of your living and fight this injurious insect. If you take these steps you will need nobody’s aid. God said, ‘Seek to attain by means of which God hath given you the future mansion, and forget not your portion in this world; but be ye bounteous, as God hath been bounteous to you, and seek not to act corruptly, for God loveth not the corrupt doers.’ (Koran, Chap. 28, vs. 77 and 78).”¹⁸

¹⁶ Margoliouth on *Preaching* in Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.

¹⁷ THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. V, 305.

¹⁸ THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. XV, p. 197, where the sermon is given in full.

This surely is modernism in the pulpit, but in the best sense of the word. It would be of interest to learn from various Moslem lands what the character of the Friday sermon is today, and in how far it has freed itself from the old stereotyped form and content. The Christian pulpit, at least in Persia and in Egypt, is already exerting some indirect influence. In the former country a missionary was even invited a few years ago to preach on the *minbar*, and his sermons gave satisfaction. But the day perhaps is yet distant when Christ's name shall again be proclaimed from the pulpit of St. Sophia and when

عَلَا الصَّلِيبُ عَلَى أَغْلَى مَنَابِرِهَا وَقَامَ بِالْأَمْرِ مَنْ يَخْوِيهِ زُنَّارُ

"High stands the Cross over the tops of its *minbars*,
And he whom a girdle marked slave, has become
master." ¹⁹

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. ZWEMER.

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¹⁹ From a Moslem *Qasida* on the Destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols in the *Bulletin* of the School of Oriental Studies, London—VII, p. 44.

THE ESSENTIALITY OF THE CROSS ¹

"This matter (i. e., the Crucifixion and Death of Jesus Christ) has no importance in the Christian religion, which is, in fact and in itself, a religion for the inculcation of monotheism, morality and ethics, like the Mohammedan and Jewish religions."—From a Cairo newspaper.

I.

First of all, it must be said that no Christian denies the positive content of the sentence quoted above. Christianity *is* indeed a religion that "inculcates monotheism, morality and ethics." It is only in what these words *omit* that the assertion goes so far wrong; it is the claim that Christianity is *sufficiently and fully* described thus that must be refuted. Certainly Jesus and His religion proclaim one God; certainly they set forth a new law, a new ethic—though of a type utterly different from the Law set forth by the Mohammedan and Jewish faiths. Certainly Christianity taught a personal and social morality so high that, though it stands firmly on earth, it yet reaches to the heaven of heavens. But all that was not the *whole* of the work of Jesus, nor the *whole* of the good news which He heralded. Nay, great and wonderful though it is, it was not even the greatest or most wonderful or most essential part of what He came to accomplish. If that had been all, it is possible that no prophet would have followed those of the Old Testament: or if one had to follow, in order to put the finishing touches on "monotheism, morality and ethics," he would not have been

¹ This is a translation of the Arabic original written by the late Canon W. H. Temple Gairdner in the *Orient and Occident*, a bilingual magazine (Cairo), of which the first number appeared January 5, 1905. For all these years this magazine has been the leading apologetic published for Moslem readers. Those who have read the life of Gairdner need not be reminded that it was impossible for this apologist to be merely interesting and interested, when he faced moral issues with Moslems. He loved them and suffered for them, even when in his writing one detects a sharp note of indignation. It was Bishop Gore who said of him: "Temple Gairdner, our common friend, and the friend and helper of the whole church." "He being dead yet speaketh."—*Editor*.

Jesus Christ. But in fact the real work of Jesus Christ was to introduce into the world—to make available for humanity—a fund of *life* capable of producing as fruit this “morality and ethics” indefinitely, all down the ages, until the dawn of eternity. It seems incredible that it should be possible to say that anything is more wonderful or more precious or more necessary than what Jesus *taught*. And yet so it is. What He *did* was more wonderful, more precious and more necessary; and for this reason—that thereby the soul is enabled to penetrate to the heart of that “One God,” and bring forth the fruit of that “Morality and ethics,” a nobler name for which is—*Holiness*.

During the first stage of the mission of Jesus, before it was ripe to disclose the supreme subject of the Crucifixion and Death,—in that first stage Jesus did teach monotheism, morality and ethics, as we said. But *what* a monotheism—the revelation of a Father—creator! And what an ethic—the spiritual “New Law” of love: and what a morality—the new spiritual ideals of the Sermon on the Mount! But notice that even in this He was not speaking as a moral philosopher, nor as a theological teacher; not as a social reformer, nor as a warning preacher, no, nor even as a prophet and apostle. He did so as the One by whom and in whom at the end of time, “The Kingdom of God” was being declared, inaugurated and initiated. The Kingdom of God: that spiritual régime, dynamic in its whole scope, which could only be entered by a new birth, and was organically related to Himself as Head, or, in the language of the Jews, as Messiah—“anointed King.” All this at once goes decisively beyond the limitation implied in the lean, starved description of Christianity with which we started. For it at once makes Him not merely a Prophet, but a Power. This comes out startlingly in His earliest discourses—in the Sermon on the Mount, for instance, where He appears at once as the new Lawgiver, the new Motive-Power (see “in Thy Name” of Matt. 7, ver. 22) and the

Final Judge (ver. 23). It comes out equally startlingly in the signs He gave, when He showed Himself as possessed of "authority" over the powers of nature and the forces of evil and disease and death. Let our readers reflect on this dynamic conception of "the Kingdom of God," supernatural, yet existing in this natural world, and supernaturally related to Jesus Christ as Head, and then turn back to the sentence with which we started, and they will at once perceive its utter inadequacy as a description of the Christian religion, or the mission and work of Jesus Christ. Already, they will see, the wrong turning has been taken, the real point missed. And yet we are only at the beginning of things—there is far more to come. We would affectionately counsel our readers nevertheless to begin at this point, to re-read the earlier chapters of the Gospel from this new point of view; to become "disciples" of the Teacher and Leader there revealed; and not to be content with others whose ideas move on a lower and more naturalistic plane both in respect of "monotheism and morality and ethics."

The Fatherhood of God and the Kingdom of God in themselves need a volume,—not one paragraph in a single chapter; yet we must pass on.

We have already considered the fact that the Cross and Death came last (necessarily), and the further fact that there was a gradual leading up to that supreme dénouement, and we have shown that these facts do *not* prove that the cross and death of Christ "have no importance." Merely to put the matter so shows the absurdity of the contention. As well say that the final scene in some supreme drama has no importance because the preparation for it was veiled, and because, when it comes, it startles! No one would pass so absurd a judgment on a great work of literary or dramatic art; and the life of Jesus is the greatest work of art, as well as the greatest reality, that the world has ever seen. We think that this thought might well make those pause who have been wont to make facile remarks like the one with which we

started. In this paragraph, then, we have to show how even in the early "acts" and "scenes," when the tragedy is still veiled, when the preparation for it still is enigmatic, the allusions to what is coming are unmistakable, and point to the essentiality of the great climax. For let us not forget that it is this essentiality that is denied: what is asserted is that the climax is a mere close that has no importance. We shall now show that even the veiled allusions to it in the early stages have a significance which proves the opposite of this assertion.

There were two reasons why those early stages only contain allusions. First, the time had not come for more than this. The train of events which swept on towards the Supreme Event had not become clearly defined as yet; and Jesus, no more than God, no more than Nature itself will force evolution—as the writer once in childhood tried to force the growth of a rose by pulling apart the petals of its bud! No, He let the blood-red rose of that divine tragedy expand naturally, as all events must do on this stage of space and time; in these years the bud became the flower, and then all was manifest. But He knew the issue and dropped hints;² and (as we read) His disciples after He had risen from the dead "remembered" that He had spoken thus, and from this were able to gauge the "importance" of that at which He had hinted so gravely and significantly.

The second reason was that His own disciples were not ready for the shock of the heart-shaking, stupendous announcement—the announcement of a dreadful death by public, criminal execution! Such an announcement was psychologically impossible until their acquaintance with Him and trust in Him had reached a very advanced stage. Consequently we find that the Master spent a whole year, probably two years, with that little band of pupils, teaching the new message of the Kingdom and its "ethics and morality," the new message of "monotheism"

² e. g., John 2: 19—"Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up." John 3: 14—"As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." John 6: 51—"The bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Luke 5: 35—"The days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away."

and its Fatherhood, but above all teaching them to *trust Him*, teaching them His authority (Matt. 7: 29) and His utter trustworthiness, teaching them, in one word, "to believe upon Him." At the end of this period He continually tested those pupils to see whether they had learned this elementary yet all-important lesson. "Whom think ye that I am?" He asked. The times were dark and difficult: His early popularity had already begun to wane; the *intelligentsia* had already decisively declared against Him; the Ulema had issued a virtual *fatwa* that He was nobody, and were already meditating His death; the populace He Himself had discouraged (John 6: 15), and even some of His disciples had severed their connection with Him (John 6: 66). And therefore it was a truly sublime act of faith and personal trust when Peter, speaking for himself and his comrades, said "*Thou art the Messiah,*" that is to say, God's anointed King, the Head of the Kingdom of God in heaven and on earth (Matt. 16: 16): so sublime was it that Jesus said that it was by veritable inspiration from God Almighty that Peter had risen to this height. Mark now what followed. The anxious moment had been passed: the class had graduated: their personal faith in the Master had been vindicated against a whole little world of men: so they were *now* in a position to be initiated into the supreme secret, into the deep, the tragic mystery, which before could only have shocked and paralyzed and scandalized them. And therefore we read *immediately following* on Peter's rapturous confession and Jesus' rapturous reception of it, "*from that time forth* began Jesus to show unto His disciples how that He must go up to Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day"!

We think that the careful study of these words, their context and their place in the narrative, sufficiently do two things; first they explain why Jesus' explicit teaching of His death and resurrection was deferred a little, though it was hinted at and foreshadowed long before

that; and secondly they demonstrate that that teaching was at the very core and centre of His whole message, the very goal to which His whole life and work were tending; it was the Secret that was so astounding, so tragical, so surpassing the scope of human understanding that it could only be confided to ears prepared for it. It was the pearl so precious that its owner could not risk lending it to the careless or the unworthy. . . . Yet it is just this supreme revelation that we are told "has no importance." We earnestly desire that the many in this land who thus think, or whose thought is even more negative than this, may perceive from this exposition of Gospel facts how vast has been the thought of Him who went through that death and who knew and taught its supreme significance from the first.

II.

Let us summarize the facts as far as we have gone: Jesus began His career by preaching "the Kingdom of God," and He did not clearly allude to His death as part of the scheme of the world's salvation until halfway through His ministry. And we showed conclusively that neither of these facts could be taken as supporting the contention, so common in this country, that His teaching was simply one of "monotheism, ethics, and morals," but proved the exact contrary, viz: that *His own personality* was of central importance in the religion of this complete revelation of God, which He came to unfold, and that *His death* was of central importance in regard to that personality. Let us go on from this point. In what follows we shall seek to bring the two aspects into closer and more essential relation to each other. We shall show the relation between the Kingdom of God and the death of the Anointed King—thus combining into one the two themes.

Let our readers recall what has been said concerning "the Kingdom of God" as preached by Jesus; an organization with its roots in the unseen world (heaven) and

with its appearance and action on earth; a spiritual organization therefore, composed of renewed men and women; entered not by the door of birth,³ but by the door of *re-birth*, spiritual rebirth; with the Messiah-King as head of that organization, He being the complete revelation and therefore the *Wakeel* of unseen Deity.⁴ Such was the Kingdom which this Messiah-King came to found on earth, in the fullness of time. He came and the Kingdom was inaugurated—inaugurated with mighty and wonderful signs of power, with marvellous, divine, and new-penetrating teachings, and with the greatest miracle of all, a perfect, holy, human life (His own), pouring forth into the world a ceaseless river of love, and acts of mercy, and service of love. He *lived* the principles which He taught His disciples in such words as the Sermon on the Mount; for His task was not merely to teach, but to inspire, so that they should also live thus and act thus, and so accomplish the warfare and victory of the Kingdom under His leadership.

The disclosure to the disciples that He—their friend and teacher—the humbly-born prophet of Nazareth—was this glorious Messiah-King, *and* that for Him was reserved rejection and a criminal's horrible death, were made at one and the same moment.

"Whom do *you* say that I am?" "Thou art the Messiah!!" "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for it was nothing human that revealed *this* to you." . . . Then He charged the disciples to tell no one that He was the Messiah. "*From that time* began Jesus to tell His disciples plainly that He must go to Jerusalem and suffer much at the hands of the elders and chief priests and be killed and on the third day rise again."

The first impression on them, as on Saul later, and as on any one of us if we consider the violence of the contrast—was of utter contradiction, impossibility, unreconcilability. Messiah-King . . . crucified! How could

³Independent therefore of race or nation or creed or continent: "An olive-tree neither of the East nor of the West," Koran.

⁴To the Jews the expression *ibn Allah* suggested all this, but not more than this. It was therefore to them a tremendous but not a blasphemous word.

all that is lightsome and glorious be made compatible with all that is dark and shameful: how could essential victory join itself to essential defeat? And this first impression they *never* got over during His days on Earth—it was too overmastering, too overwhelming. But the second impression was that which conquered them later, and independently conquered Saul, the great Apostle of the Gentiles, that the very greatness of the paradox was the measure of the greatness of its power, that the riddle "*a crucified Messiah*" was the key to all the riddles and all the mysteries of time and eternity. And thus it became to them, as it was in fact, the central dynamic of the Kingdom of God on earth. As the violent opposition and impact of two great bodies produce heat and light enough to supply whole worlds, so these two concepts by the shock of their coincidence on Golgotha: the Messiah-King . . . Crucified! The universe was darkened, the angels hid their faces, the powers of heaven held breath: but in the impact, the power was engendered which is enough to save a world of men, to restore a universe to God.

It either had to be so, or the two opposite things must simply have cancelled each other out; that is to say, the Crucifixion would simply negative the Messiahship (as the Jews said), or the Messiahship the Crucifixion (as the Mohammedans have supposed). History has proved both opinions wrong. I have vindicated what was from the beginning the teaching of Jesus and His followers:—He *was* Messiah-King, and so (not because He was so infinitely great), His unnatural rejection and unnatural death constituted an event infinitely significant, a dynamic of infinite power to uplift the whole world down to the end of time. The supreme event in the career of the supreme being of the ages could not but have supreme significance and supreme power. And it has had: and has.

The occasion in which Jesus most plainly taught all this was in a parable which He set forth to leaders of the nation just before their rejection and betrayal of Him.

It is one of the deepest and most far-reaching of the parables (Mk. 12: 1-12). In this parable the world is likened to land which is being gradually reduced to cultivation: the centre of cultivation is a vineyard—the Kingdom of God: God is represented as the owner of the vineyard; He sends slave after slave (prophets) to the tenants (the Jewish people) who have been working the vineyard, to collect the rent of the place entrusted to them; they refuse, rejecting one, stoning another, killing a third: slave succeeds slave (note well that each is a “prophet.” . . . And now the greatest of them has come and gone . . . “Having therefore one Son, His well-beloved” (*Son*—not “slave” therefore not “prophet”—in a different category altogether) He sent Him. This, in the interpretation, is none other than the Messiah-King, the *Wakeel* of God on earth, the Head of the Kingdom of God. What did they do? The Unseen One had said, “They will reverence Him!” But no, they killed Him too and cast Him out of the vineyard. Oh ghastly, impossible deed! Must it not either be the end of the Kingdom of God on earth, or must it not prove the occasion for the supremest manifestation of divine energy? The conclusion of the story tells us which: Jesus drops the allegorical form and simply quotes from the Psalms—“The stone which the builders rejected *has become* the headstone of the corner: this is the Lord’s doing and it is marvellous in our eyes.” The reader doubtless appreciates the crashing force of these words. The last scene in the tragedy of the vineyard was not a torn, defiled body lying in the dust in the rough ground outside that vineyard. It was a glorified renewal of life and power: the vindication of that Messiah-King. And so we see that the very violence of the dark riddle paradox “a crucified Messiah” (see I Cor. ii) carries in the heart of it a very effulgence of light. Defeat on this scale meant victory, final and infinite: divine power, released without limit, eternally available.

We think we have led the minds of our readers some

considerable way beyond a teacher who came with a bare message of monotheism, ethics, and morals, and whose personality and personal fate were of no importance to that message!

III.

Before we continue our subject, let us repeat the sentence of "A Reader," quoted above:

"This matter (i. e., the Crucifixion and Death of Jesus Christ) has no importance in the Christian religion, which is, in fact and in itself, a religion for the inculcation of monotheism, morality, and ethics, like the Mohammedan and Jewish religions."

We have already shown how Jesus' early teaching about "The Kingdom of God" at once takes you far beyond the position represented by these words.

We have also shown how Jesus' claim to be Messiah-King takes you still further beyond it; and how the stupendous claim of "The Messiah-King Crucified" takes you immeasurably beyond it.

We further showed that Jesus had hinted at this tragic climax all along; and we demonstrated just why the full disclosure had to be postponed, and accomplished gradually. And finally we showed how that stupendous event was, as it were, the dynamo which created and made available a spiritual power that gave to "monotheism" a new significance and transformed "morality and ethics" from a teaching, a theory, a philosophy, into a life. It is from this point that we resume.

O "Reader" how much are we indebted to thee! We pursue thee with our prayers and our love, thou unseen and unknown reader! We are more indebted to thee than thou to us, for thou by thy sentence hast enabled us to unburden our soul. The sceptical knock of thy staff upon the hard rock of controversy has released these streams of water. Would that they might irrigate the garden of thy soul, O Reader, and all who with thee are Readers! Who art thou, O unknown one?—Wilt thou not let thy debtors know thy name and dwelling?

The parable of the Absent King, the Wicked Subjects, the Rejected Slaves, and the Murdered Son, was not the only allusion of Jesus to the tragedy which was to be the climax to the drama ⁵ of His life, though it is perhaps the most vivid. In those last months which elapsed between the first clear intimation to the twelve and the consummation on Calvary, He multiplied allusions to that coming, and the meaning of it. It is these which shall now occupy our attention, it being understood that our object is still to show that we have here to do with *fact*, and with significant fact; with the warp and woof of original Christianity, not with something embroidered on to it; contrary to the assertion of some that the event itself never really took place, or of "The Reader" that even if it did, it "has no importance in the Christian religion."

Twice more in Galilee, ere the Master started on the last long wandering journey that ended in Jerusalem, did He warn His disciples of what was coming.⁶ On one of these occasions He reminded them of the violent death of John the Baptist, and said that at the same hands at which John suffered should the Head of Humanity⁷ suffer also. And on that last journey He returned to the theme, time and again. Observe the inimitable irony of one of these warnings: "Nevertheless I must walk today, and tomorrow, and the day following," i. e., I am safe as long as I am beyond the boundaries of Jerusalem—"For it cannot be that a prophet should perish *out* of Jerusalem"! We say "inimitable," for we mean that if a romancer had written up the Gospel in after days he would not have written thus. No! the least grain of literary perception assures you that this word was really spoken, and was spoken by *Jesus*. Well then, O ye who accept Him at least as a prophet, hear and receive the solemn prophecy of that your prophet, that He was on His way to perish in Jerusalem.

Prophets are not always moving in public. It is some-

⁵ "Drama" in the Greek means only "deed."

⁶ Matt. 17:9-13, 22, 23.

⁷ In Jewish phrase "The Son of Man."

times a home circle that hears the prophetic word; and it was a little company of friends, after a supper just one week before the blow fell, that heard the most heart-melting of these words. One of His women disciples, in an access of foreboding and of love beyond utterance, had anointed His head and feet with a very precious ointment. . . . And to the protest of some against this "waste" the following reply was made, "Let her alone, she is come aforehand to anoint my body *to the burying*."

Once again, the word is its own evidence that it was spoken, by Him, there and then. And the solemn prophecy of the prophet on the eve of the event must be received with especial confidence and awe: His body was anointed to its burying, according to His word and the tenor of Mary's deed.

But more, it was not as a mere event that Jesus contemplated that Jerusalem tragedy; no, nor as mere tragedy either—always event *with significance*; nor as death-tragedy which, by its pang of agony, should bring new life to birth. Let us glance at some of the profound utterances in which He gave this thought words:

*"I am the bread of life. And the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."*⁸

Comment seems irrelevant chatter, in face of a word so luminous yet so profound; with so piercing a penetration. There is to be a laying down of life; a sacrifice of living flesh; a consequent life-giving to a world of men.

Or that word of unplumbed depth and exhausted application, a favorite saying of His, six times recorded in our records on at least four separate occasions: "*He that loseth his life shall gain it*":—First applied to *Himself* just after He had warned the disciples for the first time of the impending martyrdom.

"Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit.

⁸ Actually these words were spoken before the first clear announcement of His death: but they belong, and so to speak attach themselves, to that occasion.

He that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal. . . ."

Once more, a death which should multiply life uncountably many-fold.

Or again: "*I am the Good Shepherd: the Good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep . . . And I lay down my life for the sheep.*"

Why comment?—Except to remind you again that not thus do romancers write, especially if the event had falsified the anticipation!

Or again, "*The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many.*"

Always the same thought, though, as we have seen, the metaphors, vivid as lightning, vary,—the shepherd who sacrificed his life—the corn of wheat that was buried beneath the earth—the bread that was eaten—the ransom life that was surrendered: always the same thought—a death, with result of life won for many.

And finally the series of word-pictures was completed and crowned on the very last night of all, when in order to reinforce their meaning, He gave to that meaning not only spoken but also dramatic representation. For at supper on that last evening, when the eyes of all were fixed on Him, He caused that heavenly truth which is our theme to enter into their minds by Eye-gate and not only as formerly by Ear-gate; thus:—He took bread and when He had given thanks He broke it and gave it to them saying, "This is my body which is given for you" . . . likewise after supper He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them saying, "Drink ye *all* of it, for this is my blood of a new covenant, which is shed for many for the redemption of sins."

We are here led into the very heart of the Prophet-King, and the marvel and mystery of His Work for mankind. And so now we have heard the words and seen the pictures and watched the symbolic act—words, pictures and act full of infinite meaning, the meaning which we know. . . . With hearts and minds full therewith, let

us repeat slowly the sentence with which we started, that its incredible emptiness may fully appear:—

“This matter has no importance in the Christian religion, which is, in fact and in itself, a religion for the inculcation of monotheism, morality, and ethics. . . .”

Surely “the reader” must see what Christ saw—and thus strove to let him see!

IV.

Then comes the Event itself—the unutterable Deed—the central event of all history, of all time.

We shall not say a word about the wonder of the description of it in the Gospel narrative, nor the multitude of considerations which show that we have here to do with authentic fact. For our theme is still the assertion that “This matter has no importance in the Christian religion.” And in connection with *this* our sole comment upon the narrative of the passion and death of Christ will be to point out the *proportion it bears to the rest of the narrative of the Christian “sira”*:—in Matthew one-sixth, in Mark one-fifth, in Luke one-seventh, in John one-third. Such are the proportions given to the events which occupied as many days as the rest of the narrative occupied years! Contrast this with the space taken by the narratives of the death of the great figures of history—an infinitesimal proportion compared with the rest of the biography—sometimes a single chapter, generally a paragraph, sometimes only a line or two. Have we not in this one fact a sufficient refutation of this false opinion, and a sufficient proof that from the first it was felt and perceived and known that the Death of Christ was, on the contrary, all-important, all-significant, central, essential? We have already seen how, before the actual event, it had so been represented by Jesus Himself. Suppose now *per impossibile*, that He had proved utterly mistaken; that either the event had failed to eventuate, or having eventuated, had proved without significance, resultless, negligible: We put it to all “readers” in the name of sacred truth, would it have been possible for the recorders to

have recorded it at all, or having recorded it to record it *thus*—on this scale and with this emphasis? No, this was done simply because the results which followed the event immediately proved the truth of the Master's words about it, and established its infinite importance and its unfathomable meaning. *Therefore* it was recorded with all that wealth of circumstances, that fullness and yet restraint of feeling, a feeling which would doubtless have been a mere passion of grief and despair had the tragedy of Calvary been indeed the last scene of the last act, the drop-curtain behind which there is an empty shape—mere darkness, nothingness.

But . . . ! This brings us to another division of our subject; the teaching of the risen, glorified Christ Himself concerning the significance of the event.

For as He had promised, He rose again on the third day! Death, having done its all, could not hold the Messiah-King. The physical victory of death was therefore nullified by the very defeat of the champion who suffered to the uttermost; for *that* defeat was moral and spiritual victory; and *that* spiritual victory was forthwith manifested and indicated by the resurrection of Him who conquered and by the glorification of the body in which He had suffered. "On the third day He rose again," in the fullness of human personality, body, soul and spirit. The Son of Man, the representative of humanity on this earth of ours was made fit, while yet on earth, to pass to the glorified state of the eternal, unseen, spiritual world. And after a short space He did so pass.

But in that interval He had "shown Himself alive after His passion by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God." And of these things the first and greatest was the very theme which has been our theme, and which we are assured "has no importance in the Christian religion," His sufferings and death. What was the verdict of the triumphant Sufferer upon the significance of those brief hours? Is it to be supposed that *He*

knew best? Or he who came six hundred years later? Or perchance "Readers" in this twentieth century after the event? Did the chief actor pronounce that the event was irrelevant—a mere sadness best forgotten as soon as possible, because past and traversed and gone; dead, buried and done with? Hear and judge!

On the afternoon of that first day of the week the Risen Christ said to the first two of His disciples with whom He conversed, when He found them (not knowing with whom they talked) dumbfounded, aghast, in despair at the awful *débacle* of three days before:—"O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have shown: had not Messiah *to suffer*, and so enter into His glory? And beginning at Moses and all the prophets He expounded to them in all the scriptures the things concerning Himself." And in the evening, when He went to the whole band, this was still the theme. He said, "Thus it is written and thus *it was necessary for Messiah to suffer* and to rise from the dead the third day: and *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations*; and ye are witnesses of *these things*."

"Of these things"—of that death on that Cross of Calvary; the breaking of that body and the shedding of that blood which, as He said on that last evening, sanctified the new covenant between God and man, and on the strength of which a world-wide preaching of repentance and forgiveness was made possible and expressly commanded. And that world-wide enterprise, begun by those who were "witnesses of these things" is still going, and will go on until the end of this age.

"Monotheism, ethics, morality"—these existed for centuries as the programme of the Jewish religion. If these were really God's only programme, there would never have been a Christianity at all, nor a Christ at all. But we see now that what "A Reader" and the many whom he represents rules out as unimportant, constituted in fact the whole, specific, entire, intrinsic content of

Christianity! A world-wide "preaching of repentance and forgiveness of sins in His name" that is, the name of the crucified and glorified Messiah-King. By *this* the Kingdom of God came with power on the earth, and a new divine life in that Kingdom was made possible for humanity—to all who should close with God's Christ and receive Him with his whole being, with a passion of gratitude and love, that is, in a word, *by faith*.

Such was God's message; God forbid that any should prefer the Reader's message!

V.

Our task is indeed completed. We have heard God's message. We have seen the risen Messiah-King giving His commission to the children of the Kingdom, and we have seen them setting out on their task. But we think it well to conclude by enquiring how far they reflected on the message they were given to announce, and what were the results of their reflections.

They *did* reflect, by the aid of the Spirit of Messiah which was in them; and the remainder of the books of "the New Testament" are the chronicle and record of these reflections and revelations of that Spirit. And it will not surprise us therefore to discover that the central theme of all their reflections, and of all these books, is precisely that death and glorification of Messiah and the richness of the significance thereof:—What was it in God and in the nature of things that called for that death; and *why* its accomplishment released the message of God's forgiveness unto all mankind.

To trace the general course of these reflections we only have to recall the history of Saul of Tarsus.

This was a young Jew, wholly devoted to his religion of "Monotheism, ethics and morality"; dissatisfied in soul, nevertheless, though he did not attribute his dissatisfaction to his religion. This young man, lately become a graduate in what corresponded to the Azhar of his day, heard during a period of absence from Jerusalem of the Event which we have been considering. To him Calvary

was the righteous termination of the career of a pretender and a blasphemer. Thank God, *that* brief chapter was closed and would soon be covered by the oblivion of time. What was his rage and indignation, therefore, to hear that the followers of the executed criminal had constituted themselves into a sect which asserted that He rose again! that He was alive, glorified! and that He, after all that had occurred, was Israel's Messiah-King, He and none but He! Instantly this fiery enthusiast headed a fierce reaction that had taken place against the new sect. The object was to exterminate it once and for all, while it was still a small, weak weed, and before it had time to grow or spread.

The most prominent propagator of it seemed to be one Stephen: therefore Stephen was arrested and questioned. His reply threw all into such paroxysms of anger that an explosion took place, and a crowd, headed by the witnesses *and Saul*, put Stephen to death by stoning. Saul witnessed the last scene. He saw Stephen look steadfastly up into heaven, and heard him say these words:—*"Behold I see the heavens opened and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God."* Just before his spirit fled, when the stones had beaten him to his knees, Saul heard him say these last words:—"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit"; and "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge."

Strange, significant, incredible words—and most relevant to the issue between Saul and the sect, but he had no time to think about them. The words sank into his subconsciousness, and he went on his way.

For he was now in the full tide of passion, and he proceeded immediately into the task of extirpation. This involved a journey to Damascus, for the sect had spread as far as that, even in those early days.

But just outside the city, the glorified Jesus appeared to him! He saw Him, he heard Him. "Who art thou, Lord?" he cried as the vision of glory blinded him. "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," replied the Voice.

Stephen was right then! Jesus, though crucified, was Messiah after all! This was the mere fact: it must be accepted, let the interrogation of its meaning come later. Saul did accept it. He became a member of the community that accepted Jesus of Nazareth as glorified Messiah-King.

But, but, but—why crucified? The astounding, the incredible paradox of a “crucified Messiah” still remained for explanation. After his baptism Saul felt that he could not bear the society of any human being; he must get away and think this thing out. He went into the deserts alone, and there *for nearly three years* he prayed, thought, reflected, opened his soul to receive the light of God. The light he did receive is recorded for us in those thirteen letters of his which you will find after the “Acts of the Apostles,” and in these “Acts” also. We get there the explanation of the inner meaning of the death of Christ.

Have you ever looked at a speck of organic matter through a microscope? With the naked eye you can just see that something is there; but structure and details are wanting. You place it under the microscope; you focus bright light on it; and a little world of perfect structure is revealed. You take it again, or a portion of it, and place it under a microscope of greater power; a higher index of light is focussed on to it; and more and more wonderful details appear. And so on until *you* have reached your human limit of magnifying power, but *still* the inner content of that speck is continuing to unfold in new and richer detail; clearly you have not nearly come to the end of it, though you have come to the end of your own power of perceiving. All that you discovered and more was in the bare speck from the first: but it was invisible to you.

Exactly so was it in the case of that event—the death of Messiah. As soon as it became evident to some that it was the strangest thing that ever happened, it was submitted to examination by the enhanced light and power

of God's Holy Spirit. Immediately the inner richness and content began to appear, and ever more and more.

The records of all this you will find in the Bible, from Acts to Revelation; but with the highest that man was capable of, even with the divine help, more and still more (we may be sure) remained: behind the finite comprehensible, to be comprehended in this finite world, lay the infinite, to be comprehended only in the eternal world.

What Saul (who became Paul) and these others perceived who looked at the event of Calvary through the microscope of the Holy Spirit of God, was something like this: Messiah's death was not for Himself, but for the world, for men, for the human race, for each one, "for me." It was "for sin"; for the sin of the world, of men, of the human race, of each one, "of me." The sin of this sinful race was the barrier against the coming of the Kingdom of God, the barrier between God and Man. It had to be forgiven, that is, removed, put away, so that the Kingdom of God might come, the Kingdom of righteousness, with nothing between God and Man, the King and His people, the King Father and His children people. This meant a worldwide preaching of repentance and forgiveness.

But how could this be *with sin still unjudged*, its true character unrecognized by the human conscience—the justice of its condemnation and fate still unrealized? What sort of a forgiveness would that be? What sort of Kingdom? What sort of Holiness would be attributed to that God? No! Sin must be judged; its true character recognized by the human conscience; the justice of its condemnation and fate realized. That fate was death—a death of condemnation—a death, therefore, of darkness and woe. Man could not bear that, neither could any such demonstration be demonstrated in him.

But, the Messiah-King, the perfect representative of humanity, in His love for man said, "Let it be demonstrated in Me." And God so loved the world that He gave Him, to become Man, for this purpose.

All the love and all the holiness of God were incarnated in His Messiah-King. Yes, God was essentially in Him. Therefore in *the Crucified Messiah* the perfect holiness and perfect love of God, united, were shown forth, demonstrated to the whole world on the stage of place and time.

The message of this was carried everywhere by those who received it. And thus mankind perceived the extent of its sin and the extent of the love of God: the nations perceived it: individuals perceived it: "I" perceived it. It was "for the world," "for me."

Therefore the whole work of the individual soul, awakened by that sight of *The Crucified Messiah-King*, is to surrender to Him, and, in surrendering, to lay hold of Him with every faculty of its being and with the uttermost adoration, gratitude and love. This surrender and laying-hold (and nothing but this) is *Faith*. And the deed of God in Christ is *Grace*.

Every soul that lays hold becomes, necessarily, a new creation, for he and his Messiah-King become united into one. The old life of sin receives a death blow, for by his unity with the crucified Jesus, he is crucified and his sins judged: and by his unity with the glorified Jesus he lives a new life of love and holiness: the life of the Kingdom of God.

Something like this is what Calvary became when the event of Calvary was the object: the Spirit of God was the microscope, and the above is a feeble description of part of the expansion of that object when looked at under the microscope. Not all will be able to see even all this, but they will have the fact itself, "Christ Crucified," and many will be able to see *more* than this. But the whole of the event will never be known to anyone in this life.

Nevertheless, whether in this life, or in eternity, and whether for Paul or for the least perceptive of Christ-lovers, the fact still is always there, Christ Crucified, containing, all the time, all its infinite wealth and treasures of meaning and of power for us.

"The Reader" and his followers, then, were infinitely wrong when they said that this message "had no importance in the Christian religion," and even in respect of that in which they are partly right their thought is infinitely transcended. For the Christian religion does inculcate a monotheism—but *what* a monotheism is revealed by that microscope of God's Spirit!—a unity wherein an Eternal Father loves an Eternal Son by the Eternal Spirit of love and holiness.

And it does inculcate morality and ethics—but what morality and what ethics!—the eternal morality of the Kingdom of God—an ethic fulfilled in that love and holiness, the dynamic of which is the life of God's and Humanity's Messiah-King who was Crucified and lives again for evermore.

THE LATE W. H. TEMPLE GAIRDNER.

CARL HEINRICH BECKER

We record the death on February tenth, 1933, of one of the leading Arabists and Islamic scholars, Professor Dr. Carl H. Becker, of the University of Berlin. Born April 12, 1876, he studied at the Universities of Lausanne, Heidelberg and Berlin. In 1900-1902 he traveled in Spain, Egypt, the Sudan and Turkey; then became teacher of Semitic philology, at Heidelberg; afterwards Professor of Oriental History and Director of the Oriental Institute at Hamburg. He was editor of *Der Islam* and the author of many books on oriental subjects, in addition to some fifty articles written for the Encyclopaedia of Islam. Best known in his *Islamstudien*, of which the second part has just appeared. He was a distinguished publicist and held high office under the German government as Minister of Education. One of his colleagues, Professor Hans Heinrich Schaeder, pays a tribute to his noble character and his Christian faith in *Theologische Blätter* (March, 1933). Both in his frequent correspondence and especially at the time of our visits in Berlin he was a true friend of THE MOSLEM WORLD.

MUḤAMMAD'S DOCTRINE OF REVELATION¹

Muḥammad "did not expect that the Book would be given to him" (Sūra xxviii: 86). He was not conscious that he had even entertained so bold a wish as to be the prophet of his people, and present to the Arabs a holy scripture such as Jews and Christians possessed. When for the first time he heard the voice of the angel speaking in his ear the divine words, it was to him an unexpected, incomprehensible marvel. The whole assurance of his "call," the faith which supported him amidst derision and persecution, which led him with confidence to defy both men and demons to produce a similar marvellous Qur'ān, is based on this moment of surprise—a phenomenon very well known to us from the experiences of prophets, mediums and ecstasies.

He was conscious of no premeditation. Does this mean that none such was present? Assuredly not. The spirit of inspiration does not function in a vacuum. It employs the assembled material that the soul already possesses, whether actually in consciousness or hidden and concealed in the dark subconscious. Thus it is that inspiration, which is so clearly unrelated to any personal wishes or expectations, in general adapts its form to those ideas which are particularly prominent in the environment concerned. If it is usual for it to take the form of possession, whereby a spirit speaks through the medium's mouth, then a new prophet appears as one possessed. If an ecstatic visionary journey to heaven is the normal connection with the unseen world, then the inspiration experience will inevitably take on this form. Particularly

¹ Translated by Arthur Jeffery, Cairo, from Cap. IV of Tor Andrae's *Mohammed* (Göttingen, 1932), by special permission. We retain the translator's system of spelling.—*Editor*.

among people of a primitive culture, inspiration experiences almost always have, among the same people, a uniform type. It would seem as though this type hovers over, as it were, the mental process as a formative principle as soon as revelation begins. It is more than probable that the form which Muḥammad's presentation took in his prophetic revelation was settled in advance by the thoughts, and why not also by the secret desires, that had lived in his mind through the years of anticipation.

Belief in the judgment and everlasting punishment was the religious motive for Muḥammad's appearance, and fixed the content of his revelation. Yet in and for itself this belief need not have come to expression in a prophetic revelation. Muḥammad might have become a Christian, or his awakening might have incited him to seek to live a pious ascetic life in accordance with the demands of Christian monasticism, such as he had come to know it. Why did he not do this? The reason is to be sought in certain fixed ideas about holy scriptures and divine revelation, which Muḥammad must have embraced long before his own call.

Inquietude and anxiety arising from thoughts of Allah's judgment had driven him into the solitude to meditate and reflect. Conscience admitted the stern claims of the Judge. He desired earnestly to walk in the path of righteousness so far as he knew it. The Christian ascetics and monks, whose revivalist sermons had touched his heart, had also made a deep impression on him by their severe devotional exercises. In the stillness of the night, while men of the world, forgetful of judgment and eternity, were sleeping soundly, the pious ones were awake. They stood praying with outstretched arms: they bowed down or fell prostrate on the ground: and all the time one could hear their unceasing murmuring or their sing-song recitation. He knew that the words which he muttered in a foreign tongue came from their holy scriptures, and he believed that the essential thing about this devotional exercise, its religious efficacy, lay purely

in the reading of the holy text. So how could he, Muḥammad, pray correctly if he had no holy scripture to read? He could not use the scriptures of Jews or Christians, because they were written in a foreign language. It clearly did not occur to Muḥammad that they might be translated. Thus for him and his fellow-countrymen an Arabic holy Scripture was necessary above all things.

Muḥammad knew that the record of revelation consisted of a book or collection of books. Jews and Christians he was wont to call "literate folk," People of the Book. Nevertheless he himself did not think of revelation as in a written record, which the pious man might quietly read for himself in private devotion. He thought of the reading of scripture in divine service or prayer, in the lection which was often recited from memory during the vigils of the ascetics. That he had so dreamed and desired is clear to us from the fact that no sooner did the voice of the angel speak to his ear the solemn, divine words, than he identified them as a "reading." The word used in the Syrian church for the scripture reading in divine service, *qeryāna*, Muḥammad took and applied as a title to his revelation. He likewise calls each individual revelation a Qur'an, as well as the revelation in its entirety, and also so calls the portion of revelation that is read in every devotional exercise. For Muḥammad the record of revelation is not the writing down of a closed sacred history or tradition, and in particular it is not something eternal and unchangeable. It is the proclamation of Allah's favors and the thanklessness of men, the announcement of judgment and recompense, Allah's warning to the faithful of this world, and His guidance to right belief and conduct. His conception of scripture is dynamic not static. Scripture is not given to mankind once for all in a fixed, unalterable form, and so every people may rightly lay claim to share the awakening and guidance which scripture gives. For this reason every people has its scripture and its prophet. The various records of revelation in their spiritual sense and aim fully

agree with one another. Each scripture confirms the others. Jesus confirmed the revelation that came to Moses, and Muḥammad confirmed the revelation that had earlier been given to Jews and Christians. The true believer recognizes all these different revelations as sent from God. "Say! we believe in God, and in what has been revealed to us, in what was revealed to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the tribes, in what was given to Moses and Jesus, and in what the prophets received from their Lord: we make no distinction between any of them." (ii: 130). Nevertheless this does not mean that one community must adapt itself in all things to the manners and customs of the others. Allah has on good grounds given particular ordinances to different peoples. To the Jews, as a special punishment for their obstinacy and love of provoking opposition, which had given Muḥammad so many painful hours in Madīna, He had set forth a prohibition against eating the flesh of many animals that in themselves are clean and good. Muḥammad had a very liberal conception of ritual prescriptions. Such are not grounded in any eternal divine necessity, but are only the appropriate regulations which Allah has given the various peoples according to their needs.

So Muḥammad's mission means that he has come with scripture and guidance to a people "who had hitherto received no Warner"; that the Arab people, who up till now seemed to have been forgotten by Allah, had now also received its book, "a clear Arabic Qur'ān," and now stand out as having equal rights with the People of the Book. This conception of a revelation, uniform in all its essential content, which, in a form suitable to their particular needs, has been given to each people in its own peculiar language, is such a curious theological conception that one can hardly believe that Muḥammad, whose strength certainly did not lie in the realm of theological speculation, could have evolved this himself. Nor can one maintain that it must have arisen out of the religious *milieu* that preceded Muḥammad. The Arabs, a people

without a Book and without a prophet, were, it is true, surrounded by peoples who did read sacred scriptures, but Muḥammad must have learned, particularly from Christianity, that its unity was religious, not national. In his native town, Muḥammad could have encountered Copts, Abyssinians, Syrians, and perhaps also Greeks, and so could not have been in ignorance of the fact that Christians in Abyssinia spoke a different tongue from those in Syria and yet had the same scripture, the "Gospel" as Muḥammad calls it. The historical situation, which he must have known, was also at variance with his theological formula, that each people had received its revelation in its own proper language.

The Arabian prophet cannot have received his doctrine of revelation from Judaism, nor from the Orthodox Christian Church. The conception of prophecy as something living and actual, something that could belong to the present and to the future, can, so far as I can see, hardly have arisen in Muḥammad's soul if he had known of prophets and prophecy nothing more than was taught by Judaism and the Christian churches in the Orient. Muḥammad knew the Jewish expectation of the coming Messiah. He knew that a prophet was promised in the Torah, and linked this prophecy with Jesus' promise that He would send the Comforter. For him, this belief in a Messiah provided a prop for his conviction of his call, but he cannot have invented it. No trace of this belief, however, can be found in Muḥammad's conception of revelation. Rather he remoulded the messianic hope in accordance with his ideas about prophecy. In the Christian church the voices of the early Christian "prophets" had long since become silent. Their successors among the pious monks, who were usually called "pneumatics"—the spiritual ones—who received visionary revelations and were able to read prophetically the thoughts of men, have nothing in common with the Qur'ānic notions about prophets. Nor does it avail anything to cite the fact that theological writers such as Cyril of Jerusalem, count

among the prophets, beside the prophets of scripture, such saints of biblical history as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph and Moses, who also occur among the prophets of the Qur'ān. The significant thing about Muḥammad is just this, that he excludes the *writing* prophets. Above all, note that these personalities all belong to the past. The common belief was that they belonged to a class which was exalted far above the sphere of humans. An oriental Christian of the seventh century would just as soon have dreamed of becoming a patriarch or an angel as of becoming a prophet similar to those of the Bible. Moreover, the idea of a particular revelation for each people is entirely foreign to the Christian doctrine.

Syria, where the advancing Greek culture encountered Babylonian astral cults and Persian mythology, has had a special importance in the history of ancient religious syncretism. Peculiar religious sects and religio-philosophic teachings in which Greek thought endeavored to classify and clarify the mythological learning of the East, had one after the other begun from this area a longer or shorter triumphal march towards the West. Moreover, the remains of the primitive Christian community in Palestine, which shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem had emigrated to the region East of the Jordan, was quickly influenced by this heathen thought world with its alluring mystical teaching. Here at an early date we find a peculiar doctrine of revelation. In the Gospel of the Hebrews, which was utilized by these Judæo-Christian sects, it says, concerning the baptism of Jesus: "As the Lord came up out of the water, there came down the whole fount of the Holy Spirit and rested on Him, and said to Him, 'In all the prophets I awaited Thee till Thou shouldst come, that I might find my resting place in Thee, for Thou art my resting place, my first-born Son, who reignest for ever.'" Thus, according to the Gospel of the Hebrews, one and the same divine Being, the fount of the Holy Spirit, had taken form in all the prophets, or had inspired them, until finally it had

found in Christ its full and definitive revelation. This reminds one of the portrayal of the Wisdom of God in the apocryphal book of Wisdom, a picture that is colored by the Stoic philosophy. Wisdom, which is the goodliest, most active, and purest of all, and which therefore, like the World Reason of the Stoics, permeates all, is a reflection of the eternal light, and mirrors back the works of God. "From generation to generation it flows in the pious souls, and makes men into God's friends and into prophets."² This notion encountered in the East a Persian doctrine of a divine Saviour and Guide, the Heavenly Man, who once in the beginning showed helpless man the way of truth and life, and who will reveal himself once again as Redeemer and the procreator of truth.

Epiphanius (Haer. xxx: 3) explains that Ebion, the alleged founder of the Judæo-Christian sect, more probably one of its partisans, held that Christ was Adam, the first to be created by God, and into whom God breathed His breath. The Heavenly Man, the first Adam, used now and then to come down from his supra-mundane life, take a visible form and appear to the patriarchs. "After he had come thus to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the last days he came clothed in the body of the same Adam. He appeared as a man, was crucified, rose again, and went to heaven." The heavenly Christ was thus actually incarnated twice and lived on earth—in Adam and in Christ. But He had often taken an occasional visible form, and thus revealed Himself to the most distinguished saints of the Old Testament.

A peculiar vacillation between these two different conceptions is characteristic of the Judæo-Christian doctrine of revelation. First the heavenly messenger and helper, Adam-Christ, is conceived of as dwelling in the prophets and men of God and taking form in them. Then it is said that only twice, at the beginning and at the end of the world-period, did He take human form, and moreover, showed Himself only to holy persons whom He had

² *Wisdom*, vii.

found worthy of the divine instruction. The first conception corresponds more with the Judæo-Greek idea of the spirit of wisdom and revelation which came upon the prophets and dwelt in them. The latter belongs to the oriental teaching about a Redeemer who from His high kingdom can occasionally reveal Himself to the elect, but who actually came only twice into this mundane world.

One advocate of this doctrine of revelation is the mystic prophet Elxai, who appeared in the country East of Jordan in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Trajan. Elxai—the name is in reality a title and means “the hidden might”—had once seen in a vision a gigantic angel twenty miles high, and beside him a female being “standing like a statue above the clouds between two hills.” According to the revelation which Elxai received from the angel, Christ was a being who had often been born on the earth. At different times He had taken different forms and had entered many bodies. Sometimes He was born of a virgin mother, and at other times in the usual way. Sometimes He came “as spirit.” The Christ had thus at times let Himself be born in human form, and at times had given revelation to the prophets as a spiritual being. (Hippolytus ix: 4; x: 29). Elxai’s idea of his own position as a prophet seems peculiar. According to Epiphanius (Haer. xix: 4) the cloud-high angel was none other than the heavenly Christ. The woman beside Him was the Holy Spirit. Spirit, as is well known, is feminine in the Aramaic tongue. Elxai was thereby satisfied that he was one of those who could receive instruction and revelation from the heavenly messenger. But his remarkable name denotes yet something more. “The Hidden Might” reminds one of the name which the Samaritan prophet, Simon the Magus, gave himself, “the great power of God.” Actually this name means that Simon believed that he was an incarnation of the eternal Christ.

Similar ideas are prominent in the Pseudo-Clementine writings. All wisdom and knowledge, above all knowl-

edge of the way of salvation, God had from eternity imparted to the heavenly Christ, the "Prophet of Truth," the "Son of God," the "Prince of men." He knows all, the past as it was, the present as it is, the future as it will be. For with the eye of the soul, which knows no limitations, He comprehends and understands secret things. He does not possess the spirit only at certain times, as in the case of ordinary prophets, when the rapture comes upon Him, but He has a special innate endowment which never dries up. (Clem. *Hom.* ii: 6; iii: 11, 13). This Prophet of the Truth is identical with Adam the father of the human race, who was formed by the very hand of God, and who finally became man a second time in Jesus.³ To assert that Adam sinned against God is contrary to the truth and an insult to the eternal King whose image he is. In His own person He has thus appeared only twice. Nevertheless He has at different times chosen men, whom He found to be pure, as His prophets. Thus He revealed Himself to Abraham, Moses and other saints of the Old Testament.⁴ Epiphanius mentions Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joshua as prophets of the Ebionites. On the other hand Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other prophets of scripture were excluded. (Haer. xxx: 18). That is to say, the Old Testament, according to the teaching of the Clementines, has been interpolated by false prophets, who have smuggled in stories of sins and errors that Adam and the pious patriarchs had committed, and asserted that God takes pleasure in wars and bloody sacrifices.

The doctrine of revelation that we have here described was also formulated more or less clearly among the Sethians (Haer. xxxix: 1) among whom were the Gnostic Justinus, who reckoned one prophet from the heathen, viz., Hercules, among the body of "sent ones," (Hippolytus v: 26) and the Syrian Bar Daisan, who before his conversion had been a priest in the temple of

³ Clem. *Recogn.* i: 47. Waitz, *Die Pseudoklementinen*, 126, n. 3.

⁴ Yet there often appears an idea reminding us of the Gospel of the Hebrews and Wisdom vii. The Prophet of Truth passes down through the ages, changing name and form, until He finds "rest." *Hom.* iii: 17; *Recogn.* i: 28, 33, 34.

Atargatis, and who taught that Christ had appeared to Abraham and the other prophets in a heavenly body and talked with them, until finally He took on bodily form through the Virgin Mary.⁵ According to Arabic sources Bar Daisan held that "Allah's light had descended into his heart." (Al-Bīrūnī, ed. Sachau, p. 207). He thus considered himself to be the prophet of the Christ-Being, or perhaps indeed, His incarnation.

These ideas received a notable exposition at the hands of Mani, the preacher and martyr, who in the year 276 was crucified by the Persian king Bahram I at the city gate of Gundeshapur. By his profound theosophic speculation; by his poetical talents, well-suited to the fantastic Oriental myths, whereby he knew how to utilize them as a medium for a religio-philosophical system; by a grave ascetic piety and a keen faculty for organization, he had, before this event, succeeded in calling into being a speculative religious movement which became of far-reaching importance. According to the Arabic writer, Ibn an-Nadīm, Mani in his twelfth year had received a revelation from the King of the Paradise of Light. When he was twenty-four years old, the angel at-Tawwām came to him—the name is Nabataean and means "companion"—and said, "Greetings to thee, Mani, from me and from the Lord who has sent me to thee, and has chosen thee to be His messenger." (ed. Flügel, p. 328). Another Arabic writer, al-Bīrūnī, gives us an important citation from one of the actual writings of Mani. "From time to time messengers from God have come with wisdom and pious works. In one generation they came through an apostle named Buddha to the land of India, in another through Zoroaster to Persia, in a third through Jesus to the West. This prophetic office has now in this best of generations, come through me, Mani, the apostle of the God of truth, to the land of Babel." (Al-Bīrūnī, p. 207). Besides those mentioned, Mani recognized also Adam, Seth, Noah and Abraham as prophets. (Augustine

⁵ A. Hahn, *Bardesanes, Gnosticus*, p. 85; Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 160.

Contra Faustum, xix: 3). A heavenly being of light, who bears the mystic names "the third Messenger," "Jesus," "the Virgin of Light," took form in these prophets or revealed Himself to them. On this point we find the same peculiar obscurity in Mani that we have already met with in his predecessors. The fact that the heavenly revealer of God seems at one time to be identified with His messengers and prophets and at another to be distinguished from them, has from the beginning given rise to difficulties for Christian polemicists.⁶ In the person of Jesus there clearly appears an earthly revelation of the heavenly messenger himself. Jesus was no ordinary man. What the Christians relate about Jesus' birth, circumcision, temptation in the wilderness and such like things which disparage His divine dignity, are false. The Jesus whom the Jews crucified was thus not the heavenly one, who, thanks to His supernatural nature, cannot suffer. It was another being, who is sometimes called a demon, and sometimes the "son of the widow," whom God put in His place. Mani himself seems at times to wish to come forward only as a human messenger. He has received a visit from the "companion," who indeed is no other than the heavenly messenger. He calls himself humbly "a grateful disciple from the land of Babylon."⁷ He is the apostle of Jesus, that is, the messenger of the heavenly revealer of God.⁸ On the other hand, however, it is affirmed that Mani gave himself out as an apostle of Christ,⁹ of His very nature, as the Comforter, the Holy Spirit whom Jesus had promised, and as Christ Himself. (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii: 31, 1; cf. "Bibliographie Manichéenne," *J. A.* 1911, p. 505, 1913, p. 99). In the Manichæan texts from Turfan, in numerous hymns and prayers, Jesus, the Virgin of Light and the Lord Mani, are brought together in such a way as to make it clear

⁶ "Have you Manichees three different Christs?" asks Augustine (*Contr. Faust.* xii:11), and Epiphanius (*Haer.* xix:3) does not always know how rightly to understand whether what Elxai says about Christ really refers to our Lord and Saviour.

⁷ *Hymnus*, tr. Lidzbarski, *Nach. der Gesell. d. Wiss.* Göttingen, 1918, p. 501.

⁸ For references see Schaefer *Urforn und Fortbildung des manichäischen Systems*, *Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg*, iv:129: cf. also Waldschmidt und Lenz, *Die Stellung Jesu im manichäischen System*. Abhand. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1926, p. 59.

⁹ Addai Scher. *Histoire Nestorienne*, P.O. iv:228.

that the same person is meant,¹⁰ and in the Chinese texts he is called Buddha. (Schaeder, p. 103). Either, it may be, Mani himself, in preaching to the initiated, had given them to understand that he was not only the apostle of the eternal Christ, but He Himself in a visible form, or the later Manichæan community had raised their founder and prophet to the sphere of the divine.

We have seen that Mani did not limit revelation to the group of biblical worthies. This idea, which appears also in Justinian and the Sethians, he made one of the fundamental ideas of this theory of revelation. The message came at different times to different peoples. The great religions of the West, of India and of Persia, contain one and the same divine wisdom, their founders are all messengers of God. Mani takes it to be his particular vocation to point out wherein this common element in Christianity, Mazdaism, and Buddhism consists.

This teaching about the messenger and prophet of truth had not, so far as we know, aroused any new prophet later than Mani and before Muḥammad. But the idea lived on. In the tenth century Ibn an-Nadīm still found in Mesopotamia "Ṣābians" who appear to have subscribed to doctrines of the kind here described. Syrian bishops encountered heretics with similar ideas during their visitations in the regions by the Arabian desert. (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* III: 2, pp. 482, 609, 614). Manichæism, which was so powerful in Central Asia, and had extended its influence from the boundaries of China to the heart of Europe, would certainly not have been unknown in a city with so lively a commerce as Mecca. Arabic chroniclers, indeed, give the information that Zindiqs, i. e., probably Manichæans, had come from al-Hīra to Mecca. (Ibn Rosteh, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-Nafisa*, ed. de Goeje. *BGA.* vii: 217).

The Byzantine religious policy soon constrained the few adherents of the old Gnostic sects, as well as the vigorous Manichæan Mission, to observe great prudence

¹⁰ Alfarc, *Les Ecritures manichéennes*, ii: 13 n. 2: cf. also *JRAS*, 1920, p. 2.

in lands where Christianity was dominant. Mazdaism was also openly hostile to the life-blighting asceticism of Mani. Moreover, in these circles it was early regarded as permissible to conceal one's real faith, if circumstances made it necessary. On heathen soil it was possible to go ahead with greater freedom. In this connection what must particularly have drawn attention to these oft-times fanatically intractable heretics, was their proud abandonment of the Christian churches. Whether they considered Jesus Himself as a prophet in the prophet group, or frankly considered Him as identical with the heavenly messenger operating in all ages, they daringly accused the church of having in definite points falsified true religion. In particular, the notion that all religions, especially those that could name a personal founder, contained the same eternal truth, must have given a vigorous boost to the national pride of the heathen peoples. The claim of Christianity, as of Judaism, to be the sole true religion, had always appeared to them as wrongful and provocative presumption. The more the old folk-religions of the Orient began to decline, and Christianity forged ahead on different fronts, not only as a religious force, but at the same time as the triumphant bearer of a higher culture, the more bitter the feeling of enmity must have grown. One may compare the way in which in present-day India the theosophical proclamation of the similar truth-value of all the higher religions, has incited among the colored peoples the prevailing vexation at the political and cultural tutelage to the whites.

It is clear that Muḥammad must have been influenced, even if he was not actually awakened, by this struggle for religious independence which had given Mani and the Gnostics such strength of position among the peoples of the Orient. The serious religious awakening which the preaching of judgment by wandering Syrian preachers had evoked in his soul had given content and direction to his faith; the belief in revelation gave its peculiar form to his religious consciousness. He can hardly have come

into personal contact with the adherents of these Gnostic sects. Of their doctrinal system he knew little or nothing. He had only got hold of the ideas which had immediate relevance for the religious position in which he found himself. So now we understand why he, so far as we can see, never even gave a thought to becoming a Christian. He already knew through this echo of the Gnostic-Manichæan theory of revelation that had reached his ear, that Christianity was only one among other similarly privileged communities which had experienced divine guidance and revelation. In the second place he knew—and this idea struck deeper root in his soul than any other—that every people had its prophet. Where was the man who would bring the revelation to his people? This thought, linked perhaps with what he had himself witnessed at a *qeryāna* of the hermits in their devout recitation of psalms and other holy texts, was the creative idea which prepared the way for the revelation of the angel, and his dictation out of the holy book. To imagine that the revelation came first, and Muḥammad's conception of his call was only an interpretation of the experience of inspiration which had already taken place, means removing any possibility of psychologically explaining the matter. That the conscious appropriation and clear formulation of the prophetic conception of call only grew gradually and slowly, is only what on all grounds we should have expected.

Muḥammad's conception of revelation thus shows some relationship with the Ebionitic-Manichæan doctrine, which cannot be accidental. The case is different with regard to the external *form* of revelation. As to *how* the heavenly messenger communicated with the prophet of a people, this teaching, so far as Muḥammad knew it, said nothing. Yet even here his unconsciously working fancy did not act, nor could it act, in an absolute vacuum. His notions on this matter of how inspiration actually occurred, he had to take from the single form of actual inspiration which he knew from his own experience,

namely that of the soothsayers and poets of his own people. His heathen countrymen soon discovered that the new prophet resembled a *kahin* or a poet. An invisible voice dictated the revelation to his ear, and his Qur'ān was composed in the same oracular, solemn, doggerel verses as the utterances of the soothsayers.

Finally there is not lacking external testimony that a real connexion existed between the oldest Islam and these Gnostic sects. Muḥammad's followers were frequently—precisely in the historically valuable tradition of the old stories of the prophet's warlike expeditions—called “*Ṣābians*” by his opponents, a word which was the common name for a group of the sects here mentioned. This title cannot have come from the Qur'ān. The *Ṣābians* are there mentioned a few times as a particular community which was different from Christians and Muslims. It is in the highest degree improbable that the tradition of this nickname was just taken out of the air. So we may take it that in Mecca it was clear that the teaching of Muḥammad had a certain relationship with that of the *Ṣābians*.

A peculiar religious term which Muḥammad employed in Madīna and in the later years at Mecca, namely the expression *Hanīf*, probably points in the same direction. In the Meccan Sūras the word denotes “monotheist,” and stands in contradistinction to the idol-worshippers. (xcviii: 4; xxii: 32; x: 15). In Sūra xxx: 29, it is pointed out that this belief in a single God is the natural religion which corresponds to the God-given predispositions of mankind. “So direct thy countenance to religion as a *Hanīf*, in accordance with those God-given predispositions which He has given man. Allah's creation cannot be altered. This is the true religion.” During the later period in Mecca, and above all in Madīna, the word *Hanīf* is generally employed in reference to Abraham, where Muḥammad particularly emphasizes, “Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a *Hanīf*, a Muslim, one who did not belong to the idol-

worshippers." (iii: 60; ii: 129). Since Abraham is thus represented as a *Hanīf*, Muḥammad must clearly have had two ideas in mind. Although both the religions of scripture count him among their men of God, Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but a monotheist who had cut himself off from the worship of idols. The Gospel and the Torah were sent long after the time of Abraham, as Muḥammad emphasizes. Thus the people of the Book had no right to claim him for themselves. Further, according to the Qur'ānic legend, Abraham who lived amidst an idol-worshipping people, had by simple reflection come to see the vanity and impotency of the heathen idols. The star to which the people pray sets; he sees this and comprehends that a god who is evanescent cannot be the all-seeing, true God. He discovers that the images of the gods cannot defend themselves if anyone breaks them in pieces, and comprehends that still less can they help anyone else. So one may say that Abraham followed the "God-given predisposition," the instinct for the one true God which is implanted in every human soul.

Hanīf thus means for Muḥammad a monotheist—in the majority of cases where the word is used, there is added "not one of the idol-worshippers"—who is yet neither Jew nor Christian, who attaches himself to none of the existing religious communities, and who by his own investigation and reflection has gained insight into the comparative valuelessness of heathenism.

The Arabic word comes doubtless from the Syriac *hanpa*, meaning "heathen." How then came the word "heathen" to have in the Qur'ān the sense of "monotheist"? It is used in the Syriac Bible of heathen in general, and in the ecclesiastical language for Greek heathenism in particular. Thus, e. g., Julian the Apostate is called *Yulyāna hanpā*. The Christian Syrians did not use the word for heretics in general, but only for such whose standpoint drew so near to that of Hellenic heathendom that they could be reckoned as Apostates from the Chris-

tian religion. Thus Mani's teaching is plainly called *hanpūta*, heathenism. The Šābians, it is true, are first called "heathen" in works that were written after the Arabic conquest, but everything suggests that they were so called much earlier.

If Manichæans and Šābians were thus directly called *hanpē*, heathen, we can understand how the word could gradually come to mean in Arabic a monotheist who is neither a Jew nor a Christian. Muḥammad, however, seems to understand by the term *hanīf* rather a man who, without belonging to a definite religious community, yet spontaneously, directed only by the "God-given predisposition," separated himself from the popular heathenism. Hence we must assume that the struggle for religious independence, and the belief in a general monotheistic religion revealed to all peoples, which came from the Manichæan and Syrian *hanpē*, did not come to Muḥammad's time, and so far as he knew of it, in direct connection with these sects, but rather as a feeling after a new independent religion, free from the idol worship of heathenism, and not bound by any Jewish or Christian rites or laws—and thus a religion to which one could swear allegiance without having to sacrifice national distinctiveness and independence, such as joining a foreign religious community (*umma*) meant. The leading thought of the Manichæan movement had thus detached itself from the sphere of the sect itself, and wandered far beyond its borders. As scientific doctrines and philosophical and political ideas that have penetrated the masses and lost any indications of their origin, may yet be recognized as an anonymous tendency in general thought, so the old Gnostic doctrine of revelation appears to have worked in Arabia. Perhaps it called forth more experiments to provide the longed-for Arabian religion of revelation than that of Muḥammad. The rival prophets who appeared during Muḥammad's later years were, it is true, inspired by his example. But in the case of one of them, Musailama in Yemen, the question may be asked,

whether he had not already appeared while Muḥammad was still only an unknown quantity in Mecca.

What Islamic tradition relates about the *Ḥanīfs*, who forsook the heathen customs of their people and sought a better religion, bears a marked legendary stamp. At a sacrificial feast which the Quraish held for one of their idols, four men, so Ibn Ishāq relates, (Ibn Hishām, 120) separated themselves from the people in order to seek the true Ḥanifitic religion, the faith of Abraham. These four were, Waraqa b.Naufal, 'Ubaidallah b.Jahsh, 'Uthmān b.al-Ḥuwairith, and Zaid b.'Amr. Waraqa became a Christian and acquired much knowledge from the Christians and out of their books. 'Ubaidallah remained in doubt and uncertainty until he accepted Islam, and emigrated to Abyssinia. There he went over to Christianity and proudly explained to his earlier co-religionists, "We see clearly, but you are still blinking like newly born puppies." 'Uthmān betook himself to the ruler of Byzantium, there became a Christian and occupied an honorable position at Court. Zaid became neither Jew nor Christian. He kept himself from idol-worship and from eating flesh which had been sacrificed to the idols, and upbraided his people for their false idol-worship. As he prayed at the Ka'ba he said, "My God, if I knew what form of worship is most pleasing to Thee I would choose it, but I know it not." The Prophet said of him, "On the last day Zaid will rise up, a community in himself."

Although the story of the *Ḥanīfs* is from beginning to end a fanciful elaboration of certain indications found in the Qur'ān, one has nevertheless a distinct impression that what is told of these four men expressly named and their different histories, was not taken entirely from the air. It is noteworthy that three of the four became Christians. Legend could hardly have invented such a passing over of the pious ones who sought the true doctrine of Abraham. Rather would it have made them adherents of Muḥammad and witnesses to the truth of Islam. On

the other hand it fits in nicely with our theory that the tendency which the *Hanīfs* represent came originally from Christian sects. Perhaps it is no accident that it was specially the heathen cult from which these *Hanīfs* are represented as turning away, and in particular from bloody sacrifices. It reminds us of the violent attacks on bloody sacrifices, even those of the Old Testament, in the Clementine writings, and of Manichæanism, which forbade not only animal sacrifice, but killing in general.

One of the four, Waraqa b. Naufal, has been brought by Islamic tradition into connection with Muḥammad's first appearance. When the prophet was uneasy and distressed, and felt uncertain how he should take this revelation that he had received, Khadija sent messengers to her cousin Waraqa. This man, who had studied the Christian scriptures, comforted her by saying, "This truly is the great *nāmūs* which came to Moses." From the context it is not quite clear whether the word *nāmūs*, the Greek *νόμος* = law, is to be understood as a person or as a revealed writing. The Clementines speak of the eternal *νόμος* that came to Moses and to the other prophets (Andræ, *Ursprung des Islams*, p. 110). Now has legend merely invented this story of Waraqa in order to produce from the mysterious wisdom of the People of the Book a proof of Muḥammad's divine mission? In that case it would rather have been a priest or a monk who would appear in the story. For this reason I consider it probable that the story of Waraqa conceals an actual reminiscence of a connection between the new religion and the seekers for monotheism in the last years of heathenism. So I suggest that this relation of Khadija had already spoken with Muḥammad about the great *nāmūs* before the day on which the angel came with his call.

For the rest, definite traces of Manichæan teaching can be found only in one individual point, viz., Muḥammad's peculiar notion about the death of Jesus. "The Jews say—'Verily we have killed the Messiah, Jesus the Son of Mary, the Apostle of God,' but they neither killed

him nor crucified him, he merely appeared so to them. . . . Really, indeed, they did not kill him, but God took him up to Himself." (iv: 156). Muḥammad does not believe, as the usual Gnostic Docetism, that Jesus Himself suffered in a false body, but obviously, like Mani, and earlier Basilides, that another person took His place and was crucified by the Jews (Simon of Cyrene, Epiphanius xxiv: 3). Thus at any rate the Muslim exegetes of the oldest period understood it (Ṭabarī on iv: 156). They relate that of his own free will one of Jesus' disciples took it upon himself to suffer for his Master, and was made by God like Him, so that the Jews believed that they had crucified Jesus Himself; or that it was Judas who as punishment for his treachery had to die in Jesus' stead.

May one venture to seek here an interpretation of the enigmatical name "the son of the widow" which Mani gave to Jesus? As Ibn an-Nadīm explains (*Fihrist*, p. 335 ll. 7 and 8) Mani believed "that Jesus whom we and the Christians revere was a devil." This is a re-echo of the bitter polemic which purposely distorted Mani's teaching that a demon had been put to death upon the cross in the place of Jesus, to mean that Mani had called Jesus a devil. Just so the "son of the widow," with whom a special chapter of the Book of Mysteries deals (*Fihrist*, p. 336) is, according to Mani's idea, in no way identical with the "historical Jesus." He is the person who was crucified in His stead. Thus in all probability, Mani, like the exegetes of Islam, had a double teaching about the substitute at the crucifixion—either a demon or miscreant who was crucified as a punishment, or one of the faithful, a disciple who died of his own free will. Who may this unknown disciple have been? It is no far-fetched supposition that he may have been the son of the widow of Nain, whom Jesus had earlier brought back to life, and who now in his turn gave his life for the Master.

Upsala.

TOR ANDRAE.

AMERICAN NEGRO MOHAMMEDANS¹

The Negroes of the United States are creating a new American foreign problem. They are not doing so with malice aforethought. Few of them know anything of this innovation. But it has begun. It may, perhaps, expand so that eventually it will have a bearing upon home politics. At all events, it is not likely to come to an end tomorrow. It has about it too many elements which appeal to the black man's temperament for it to disintegrate overnight.

I am writing these lines in Cairo, Egypt. President Taft sent me out here twenty years ago to fill an American vacancy on the Mixed Tribunals of Egypt. During the earlier years of my incumbency, American business, with the single exceptions of the Vacuum Oil Company, and the producers of Singer sewing machines, made no attempt to invade the Valley of the Nile. Egyptians thought of Americans solely in terms of Protestant missionaries, archæologists and tourists. The latter were birds of passage. The Egyptologists were necessarily few in number and their field of activity was obviously circumscribed. The uplift workers were numerous, ubiquitous and tireless. They led the vanguard. Everybody knew them. They were universally loved and respected.

The net result of this missionary activity has been that American schools have sprung up all over the Land of the Lotus. These institutions now have an average daily enrollment of over 20,000 pupils. Many of these boys and girls, taken from all walks of life, are children and even grandchildren of former students of the same classrooms. This means that Egyptians associate the name of

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America primarily with Caucasian civilization, Christian propaganda and Protestant dogma.

Six months ago an American Negro came to Cairo without a saxophone and with no intention of playing in a jazz band. He was as black as the ace of spades, his teeth a wall of ivory and his speech the drawl of the Southern plantation. He surprised the Egyptians by announcing that he was a Moslem and that he had come to this country in order to work his way to Mecca.

He told fabulous stories of growing Mohammedan congregations in Detroit, Chicago, Buffalo, Worcester (Massachusetts) and Gary (Indiana). The names of these cities were unknown to those to whom he spoke. Such details did not interest them. What became riveted in their memory was the fact that there was a black American who was a "True Believer" and who proclaimed that Islam was carrying America by storm.

A few weeks later another American Negro arrived from the United States. Then, after a short interval, another. And later a fourth and finally a fifth and a sixth, the latter accompanied by a black wife and equally dark children. Further contingents are expected.

These arrivals on the installment plan lend great weight to this immigration. Had all of these men come at once, Cairo would possibly have absorbed them and perhaps have forgotten about them. But this steady infiltration created the impression that an endless chain had been set in motion. And, of course, Oriental imagination embroidered upon this fabric most glowing tales of America's being a black man's country dominated by Mohammedans.

These facts were not featured by the press. The vernacular papers have an Oriental and not an Occidental idea of news. The story, however, got into the bazaars and into harems. It was made the subject of an inquiry by the Cairo Governorate. It was brought officially to the attention of the American Consulate.

In other words, when these colored men and their

ebony sister announced that they were Mohammedans they forgot that they were not in the United States. They overlooked the fact that in the Orient religion is not merely a question of conscience but that it is also an affair of State. They did not know that in the Levant conversion, like naturalization, requires official red tape.

I shall explain, in a moment, the why and the wherefore of all of this. I prefer, for the time being, to drive home my meaning by giving a free translation of one of the official notices which the Cairo Governorate fills out whenever anybody desires to change his or her religion. Printed forms are used in which the words which I have put into italics are filled in in writing. The name and other details which I am using are entirely imaginary.

"Cairo Governorate

"His Excellency

"*The Consul of the United States*

"I have the honor to inform your Excellency that *Abraham Lincoln Washington* the son of *George Washington* has declared his intention to embrace the *Mohammedan* religion. He was born at *Yazoo City, Mississippi, in the United States*. He is 36 years of age and now resides at No. 17, *Sharia Fuad el Awal*, Cairo. He is a *Christian Protestant* and has presented an *American Passport No. 87681* in his name issued on *April 1, 1930*.

"The date of *his* conversion has been fixed for *Wednesday, April 15, 1931*. You are requested to send a representative to the Governorate at 10 A. M. on that date in order to give the above mentioned *American* subject such advice as you may deem necessary.

"Signed

"The Governor of Cairo

"*Mahmoud Sedky*"

"Cairo,

"March 31, 1931."

The blank which I have slightly modified so as not to run up against the rules of the Department of State by reproducing an official document, is the one which is used when the postulant is a foreigner. In the case of Egyptian subjects the notice is addressed to his ecclesiastical authorities and the details as to passport are replaced by other means of identification.

Such communications are frequently received by the British, French, Italian, Greek and other consulates which have large colonies of "protected" subjects, more or less indigenous to the soil. Some Governments carefully index and file away these papers and do nothing further. Others occasionally send their *cawass* or janizary to the Governorate in order to enter a purely formal appearance. The British, I am told, transmit the communications to the Church Mission Society, an Anglican Missionary Group, which decides each case upon its own merits.

I understand that the American practice is substantially that of the English. The United States Consulate obviously has no authority to undertake a theological discussion with an American Negro who "has got religion" and who desires "to embrace Islam." I have heard that in an entirely personal and unofficial way the efficient Secretary of the Consul gets in touch with the Presbyterian Church authorities, known as the American Mission, and advises them that a "Christian Protestant" named so and so has announced that he wishes to become a Mohammedan and that the Governorate has fixed the abjuration formalities for such and such a day and hour.

The seven Southern Negroes who had traveled some seven thousand miles in the fixed belief that they had ceased to be either Methodists or Baptists months ago and who have become infatuated with their new religion are not in a frame of mind to discuss theology with "Yankee" Presbyterians. And, yet, so true are the latter to their sense of duty that they never fail to appear at the Governorate in order to proffer their services. Theirs is

"love's labor lost." These blacks have passed beyond the reasoning stage—if they ever knew anything of it—long before the dawn of the fateful day.

The result of all this formality is that the Negro invariably refuses to discuss the matter. On the contrary, he triumphantly proclaims that "there is no god but God and that Mohammed is the Apostle of God." The Missionary retires as the inevitable becomes manifest. And then a *procès-verbal* or minute of the abjuration is drawn up by a scribe of the Governorate.

Abraham Lincoln Washington, in becoming a Mohammedan, shed the name of the Great Emancipator, while keeping that of the Father of his country. Moslem practice requires that an appellation suggestive of unbelief be replaced by one which recalls the great ones of Islam. Abraham Lincoln, therefore, became Mohammed Ali, but Washington survived as the result of a present-day toleration born of the tendency to adopt patronymics. Needless to say that the metamorphized American held on to his passport.

The why and wherefore of this intervention of the State in a matter which strikes an American as having nothing to do with the Egyptian Government is due to the fact that Islam looks upon religion and nationality as being synonymous terms.

I do not think that Mohammed himself had anything to do with the details of the question which I am about to discuss. He had worries of his own. He had to fight to get his Church started. Once his seed had taken root he, as a prudent statesman, sought to consolidate his power. He recognized, if I may be permitted to speak in terms of American politics, that he had to have a safe constituency, a secure assembly district back of him before he could think of spreading his wings. He, therefore, concentrated his attention upon welding the tribes of Arabia into a compact, cohesive and combative unit.

His successor, Abu Bakr, the first Caliph, followed the example thus given. But when Omar-ibn-il-Khattab

—the Brigham Young of Islam—became the head of the Mohammedan state, he felt that the hour for expansion had sounded. He, accordingly, unleashed his warriors upon the effete forces of the Eastern Empire. But he, like the Mormon of the West, was a statesman of discerning mind. When Jerusalem fell in A. D. 637, instead of offering the inhabitants of the conquered city the alternative of death or conversion the Moslem issued a *ukase* which breathed a spirit of broad humanitarianism.

I think that I should cite part of this firman. I know that many writers say that it is apocryphal. It, however, marks the spirit that characterized the polity of the Caliph. As such, one of its clauses is of special interest.

“This is the firman of Omar-ibn-il-Khattab. It constitutes a treaty with and a token of alliance in favor of the honorable and respectable Patriarch Sophronius, Patriarch of the Melchite nation and residing at Tor il Zeitun, in the Holy City of Jerusalem. It affords protection to his subjects, priests, monks and nuns wherever they may be. No harm will come to them as long as the Christian leader, who is granted our protection, respects the covenants in virtue of which our safeguard has been given.”

And then follow provisions which grant to Christians the right to preserve their churches and to worship at their own altars.

The kernel of this edict, to my mind, resides in those words in which Omar speaks of the Christians constituting a nation whose sovereign is the Patriarch. The recognition goes further than rendering unto God the things that are God's and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, for it accepts the Patriarch not only as the spiritual, but also as the temporal shepherd of his flock. It gave Sophronius greater power than he had enjoyed under the conquered Christian rulers.

I shall not go into details as to the extent of the authority in matters temporal enjoyed in those days by the Christian Patriarch of Jerusalem. I shall jump from the

seventh century of our era to the sixteenth and then pass rapidly to the twentieth.

It will be recalled that when Constantinople fell in A. D. 1453, the High Priests of the Greek Church, instead of encouraging their flock to fight to the death, were staging a fifteenth century Democratic Madison Square Garden Convention. The Patriarchate was vacant. The Bishops were holding a bitter and unending conclave to fill the post when Mohammed the Conqueror entered their capital.

This wrangling displeased the victorious Moslem. It made no difference to him whether the scepter fell to McAdoo, Smith, Underwood or Davis. He wanted to do business with an authorized spokesman of the Orthodox Greek nation. He, therefore, sent for the various campaign managers and gave them eighteen hours in which to choose a standard bearer. In dismissing them he said: "If you fail to act within this delay I shall have all of you summarily put to death."

It goes without saying that these prelates no longer procrastinated. Their choice fell upon an extremist named Gennadius. As soon as the Sultan was apprised of this election, he invited the Patriarch and a group of Bishops to a sumptuous banquet.

It was a "dry" feast, for Islâm has had Prohibition since A. D. 640. When all had imbibed freely of the Moslem grape juice Mohammed the Conqueror told one of his men, in an audible whisper, to "bring forth the sword." When Gennadius heard these words he turned pale. He thought that his death-knell had sounded. But, instead of severing the Patriarch's head from his body the Moslem chieftain said:

"I confer this sword upon you. It witnesses that I confirm all of your traditional privileges."

And just as Sophronius had perceived that he was more powerful under Omar than he had been under Christian rulers, so also did Gennadius find his authority greatly enhanced by the defeat of the Greek Emperor.

He became a bishop with temporal powers, whereas his predecessors had been merely spiritual leaders.

All of the conquered inhabitants of Byzance were not Greek Christians. Some of them were Armenian Christians. Others were Jews. The Sultan, true to the Islamic principle that religion and nationality are synonymous terms, conferred upon Joachim, the head of the Armenian Church, and upon Moses Capsali, the Chief Rabbi of the district, the same attributes as had been granted to Gennadius. Needless to say that the jurisdiction of each of these prelates applied only to his own flock of "nationals."

Each of these shepherds was an autocrat answerable to the Sultan, and to nobody else. The Moslem State held the Churchman responsible for the good behavior of his constituents. They were, in principle, exempt from Moslem law, that is to say from the common law, both civil and criminal, of the Ottoman Empire. They were not called upon to serve in the army. No general taxes were assessed against them individually by the Sultan.

All that the Sublime Porte did was tell the Patriarch or Rabbi how much was needed and when the amount had to be paid. The ecclesiastical authorities then proceeded to get the money out of their subjects. Legend has it that they seldom failed to add on quite a sum for overhead charges.

Times have changed. The days of arbitrary authority were believed to be over until dictatorships recently became popular in Europe. But, before this new wave of one man power came into play, constitutionalism caught these mitred despots of the Levant in its wake. By this is meant that the temporal powers formerly vested in patriarchs and rabbis have now largely become secularized. Such dignitaries are no longer able to put the thumb screw to their adherents in the shape of general taxes. Christians and Jews are, at present, amenable to the same taxation as Mohammedans and are called upon to do military service. But in all matters of what lawyers call personal status the Church is still supreme.

This implies that in everything that touches the intimate relationships of life, marriage, divorce, filiation, guardianship, it is the patriarch and rabbi who still act as the temporal judge of their nationals.

At the present moment Egypt still recognizes fourteen distinct non-Mohammedan Egyptian nations inhabiting her soil, each with its own elaborate judicial machinery and each presided over by a temporal ruler. These fourteen non-Islamic Egyptian watertight segments are, the Patriarchates of (1) the Orthodox Copts, (2) the Catholic Copts, (3) the Orthodox Greeks, (4) the Catholic Greeks, (5) the Maronites, (6) the Orthodox Armenians, (7) the Catholic Armenians, (8) the Catholic Chaldeans, (9) the Orthodox Syrians and (10) the Catholic Syrians. There are likewise three Rabbimates known as (1) the Sephardim, (2) the Caraites and (3) the Ashkenazi. The fourteenth in this enumeration is a Wakilate which takes charge of the different Protestant denominations. And, of course, Moslems are segregated from all of these "dogs of Christians and Jews."

This lengthy dissertation drives home the message that the civilization of the Levant required that Abraham Lincoln Washington have his conversion or naturalization authenticated by the State because the change of faith of a local subject has the far-reaching civil consequences which have just been outlined. As a matter of fact, no such result flowed from the American Negro's abjuration of Protestant Christianity. He, as a foreigner, carried with him to Egypt the laws of the United States.

It would take me far afield to explain this differentiation. Suffice it to say that Egypt is what is technically known as a Capitulatory country, that is to say a land where foreigners are not necessarily amenable to the local police, or to the local laws whether they be penal or civil. If an American, an Englishman, or a Frenchman, for example, kills a man out here, robs a church or burns a barn it is his Consul who arrests him, tries him, and sentences or acquits him. When he dies his succession is

administered according to the laws of his home land. And the legitimacy of his children is regulated by the rules applicable in his own country.

The practice of advising foreign Consulates of all applications for conversion filed by their nationals springs from the fact that Egypt looks upon a Consul as the counterpart of a Patriarch or a Rabbi. It was felt that because these ecclesiastical authorities are entitled to know that one of their subjects was seeking to get away from their clutches, Consuls would likewise be interested in being apprised that one of their constituents was contemplating a change of faith.

It follows from all of this that as he who is now Mohammed Ali Washington held on to his American passport he not only continues to be an American citizen, but his children, born or unborn, participate in this advantage. The corollary to this proposition is that if this Moslem American goes forth and multiplies, drinks up a fair share of the cheap whisky which abounds in these parts and then starts to shoot up the town, there will be a batch of black or near black babies added to the Cairo American community while he lingers in jail or stretches hemp and causes untold trouble for American consular and diplomatic officers.

All of this is, in no sense, exaggerated. A Negro convert to Islam, loose in the Near East, with an American passport in his pocket, is like a monkey with two tails. He is bound to attract attention. And once all eyes are focused upon him, that sense of vanity which has ruined many a good man will inevitably lead him to perdition.

Adulation is a corrosive element which often eats away the best of armor-plated self-restraint. Every petty foreigner in the Levant thinks that he is a tin god simply because he is a foreigner. The amount of flattery which is apt to be showered upon a black American Moslem full of virility is bound to be irresistible in its seductiveness. And once this poison begins its work it is asking too much of human nature not to expect this lionized

man to act like a fool and eventually to run amuck of law and order.

But whether these colored Americans do or do not resist the blandishments to which they will be subjected, the very fact that they linger in the Levant after having publicly professed Mohammedanism throws out of gear the basic relationship between Orient and Occident. For generations America sold to the Near East not merchandise but ideals. Egypt exported to the United States cotton, onions and hides. Egyptians are now beginning to say that their creed is conquering the United States and that this fact is proof of their intellectual superiority over America.

They, who formerly looked upon American missionaries as paragons of all that was best, are commencing to think that American Negroes represent a still higher product because, even if some of them are chauffeurs, they have the incomparable advantage of being "True Believers."

This foreign consequence of the possible Islamization of the American Negro is but of minor importance. What counts is the fact that Mohammedanism has begun to germinate in the United States. I do not know to what extent the seed has grown. I can readily foresee a fruitful harvest of American black men and women.

It may not be amiss to face the issue. The Moslem propagandist who seeks to sell Islam to the colored people of America has at least three most seductive propositions which he is able to stress. They may be thus summarized: Mohammedanism, as a religion, is simplicity itself; Mohammedanism symbolizes social equality, and Mohammedanism champions polygamy.

I hesitate to emphasize the attractive simplicity of Moslem belief. I do not want to create the impression that my Catholicism has been shattered by long residence here. All that I shall say is that the Nicene creed of Islam is boiled down to twelve words. They are: "There is no god but God; Mohammed is the Apostle of God."

This proclaims three principles: (1) the existence of a Supreme Being, (2) the oneness of that Supreme Being and (3) the fact that the man, Mohammed, was the Apostle or Messenger of God. There are no dogmas and no priests.

The Moslem propagandist may truthfully say that Islam stands for social equality. Talk "social equality" to an American black and he is a sympathetic listener.

I shall not elaborate these points. The latter is too obvious to require proof. The former has over 1,300 years of history to substantiate it. Mohammedanism has always taught—and what is more—has always practiced that color forms no barrier. The Circassian Mohammedan, whose skin is white, looks upon the Sudanese Moslem, whose pigment is black, as his brother and deals with him as such if there be the slightest intellectual affinity between them. Princes in the old days treated as absolute equals their sons born of white wives and those begotten of black slaves.

And this argument as to the legality of polygamy is a far better selling point than one would like to admit. During the fifties and sixties of the last century Mormon missionaries were most successful in Wales and Scandinavia because the right to have plural wives appealed to the men. And the opportunity offered to the husband to thus extend himself met with favor from the women because it told them that in Utah no girl who was physically fit would be left on the shelf.

It is obvious that if Moslem American blacks seek to indulge in polygamous matrimony the police will give them trouble. Mohammed, however, taught that a man could have four wives and an unlimited number of concubines. Certain restrictions apply to both of these authorizations. The Negro who enjoys "having religion" and whose sexual appetite may not be under control, will be tempted to overlook these restrictions, respect the letter of the law by having but one wife, and specialize in concubines. Other men have been known to act upon this

principle, but they do not have the proud privilege of feeling that they are doing their duty.

In envisaging this possibility of Mohammedanism becoming a black spot upon the American horizon it should not be forgotten that Islam today is making more converts in the world at large than any other religion. The Moslem faith may be particularly strong among backward peoples, but it is not a dying religion. Right here in Egypt, where there are 14,000,000 Mohammedans, and 1,000,000 Christians, Jews and Agnostics, Mohammedanism is, I am told, making practically a hundred conversions to one effected by the combined Christian Churches.

I got these figures from a source which is most sympathetic to Christian Missions. They frighten me. They do not mean that Jesuit Fathers, Christian Brothers, Presbyterian clergymen and Anglican Missionaries are not doing good work. They are. But their converts are not gained in reassuring numbers from among Mohammedans.

And now here are these American Negroes in the Near East, getting into their blood this conception of a triumphant faith which stands for social equality and which countenances polygamy. If these blacks remain in the Levant and grow in numbers their presence foreshadows, sooner or later, first petty annoyances, and then disconcerting trouble for American diplomatic and Consular officers. If these converts return to the United States, the ardent spirit of the neophyte and the sermons which they will preach make me shudder at the consequences which I see in store for America and particularly for the Southern States, not that I do not have the highest respect for the many Mohammedan friends whom I have made during these last twenty years, but because I am convinced that principles which are so admirably suited to the Levant would work incalculable mischief in my country.

Cairo, Egypt.

PIERRE CRABITES.

THE GYPSIES OF MODERN EGYPT

People in Britain not so very long ago regarded the wild dark-complexioned vagrants of the moors and country lanes as being in origin what their name suggested, Gypsies or Egyptians. These wandering folk themselves by no means denied the popular opinion, and sometimes found it profitable to add a glamor to their imputed ancestry. For example, at the village of Yetholm in the south of Scotland, where there has existed for centuries a well-known Gypsy colony, their leader traditionally describes himself as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, and within recent memory a woman, Queen Blanche Faa, has even ruled the community. Now although scientific investigation of Gypsy language and lore has definitely placed the original home of these modern nomads in India, the fact is often overlooked, even by people on the spot, that there exist today several tribes of Egyptian Gypsies carrying on their familiar pursuits and occupations in the Nile Valley. Some account, therefore, of these individuals may not be without its value to those interested in the manners and customs of the dwellers of Modern Egypt.

A certain amount of material has already been collected and sifted by European investigators regarding the Gypsy tribes of Egypt, but for the most part the conclusions are buried in out-of-the-way periodicals, or the proceedings of learned societies, or in publications which are now out of print. Lane, to whose "Modern Egyptians" (chap. xx) we naturally look at once for information, has little to supply. The modern Encyclopedia of Islam has no article devoted to these sojourners in Moslem lands, though perhaps this omission may be rectified in the Sup-

plement. For definite information in English we must have recourse to the pioneer article of Capt. Newbold in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1856), pp. 285-312, which treats of the Gypsies of Egypt, Syria and Persia.

Another early contributor to this investigation was A. Von Kremer, Austrian Consul in Cairo, in his two interesting volumes "Aegypten" (Leipzig, 1863), vol. I, pp. 138-148 and notes 70-72, p. 155. The same account had previously appeared in 1862 under the title: "Die Zigeuner in Aegypten" in Petermann's *Mittheilungen* (Gotha), vol. II, pp. 41-44. It was not until the year 1898, however, that the famous Sir Richard Burton's notes on the Gypsies, made over a long period of years, were posthumously published in a work entitled: "The Jew, the Gypsy, and El Islam." Chapter VI of this book contains a section concerning the Gypsies of Egypt (pp. 233-261), which consists largely of an English translation of Von Kremer's account above-mentioned.

In the present century (in 1912) a further examination of the ground was made by Émile Galtier in his "Les Tsiganes d'Égypte et de Syrie," printed in the *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale au Caire*, tome xxvii, pp. 1-9. Galtier's contention is that the glossary of words¹ used by the Gypsies of Egypt, as published by Von Kremer, and reproduced by Liebich (in his *Die Zigeuner in ihrem Wesen und ihrer Sprache*, vol. i., Leipzig, 1863, pp. 10-11) is in reality in spite of its foreign admixture, a true Gypsy dialect *pace* Liebich. To prove his case he calls in the aid of the small vocabulary compiled by Newbold (*loc. cit.*).

The philological aspect of the case, however, does not particularly concern us here.² We wish to present certain collected facts regarding the distribution of the Gypsies of Modern Egypt, and to give some account, however brief, of their customary occupations. It is by

¹ Their argot is called *al-Sim*. cf. Modern Arabic phrase, *yatakallim bi'l-Sim*=he speaks in enigmas.

² D. Enno Littmann in 1920 published a scholarly treatment of the subject in his *Zigeuner-Arabisch*. (Leipzig.)

no means easy to acquire information at first hand regarding these vagrant folk. Even well-educated Egyptians possess the minimum of knowledge concerning them, and even that little might be summarized in the phrase "rogues and vagabonds." It is a pity that someone with the necessary linguistic equipment and a love for the company of such wild nomads, should not mingle with them for the purpose of supplying ethnologists with reliable data regarding their manners and customs. The following notes perhaps may be sufficient to show how fascinating the field for research really is, and at the same time indicate how limited our knowledge actually is of these modern Ishmaelites.

Nominally these Gypsies are Moslems, in so far as they may be said to have any definite religious beliefs, and are very superstitious. Their numbers are estimated by Massignon in his *Annuaire musulman* (Paris, 1925), p. 115, as two per cent of the population, consisting, namely, of four tribes of *Ḥalabī Gypsies*, together with the *Ghagarī* and *Nūrī* tribes. We shall consider each of these tribal divisions in turn.

I. The *Ḥalab* (*singular Ḥalabī*) are found chiefly in Lower Egypt in most parts of the Delta lands, especially at the local markets and village fairs. In winter time they withdraw within the bounds of the large towns. A favorite location of theirs for many years has been the Cairo-*Shubrā* road. Numbers of them join the annual pilgrim caravans that set out for Mecca. In fact they are sufficiently arrogant to claim that they are of South Arabian stock from the Yemen and the Ḥaḍramaut. A vernacular broad-sheet production known as the *Ta'rikh Zīr Sālīm* (or History of Zīr Sālīm) is generally supposed to contain their tribal history. Newbold says (*op. cit.* p. 291) that he hoped to obtain a copy of this popular chronicle, which he wrongly names *Ta'rikh al-Zīr* (*sic*). The present writer was likewise unable to procure a copy.

Whether this claim to have South Arabian blood is true or merely an act of homage to the homeland of their

present religious faith, their tribal name, *Halab*, suggests a migration from Syria, from the region of Aleppo (in Arabic *Halab*). But here again it may only be like the similar case of the Gypsies of France receiving the name of Bohemians, or those of Denmark and Sweden that of Tatars. Their racial migrations, however, are largely a matter of speculation.

At all events the *Halab* are divided into four tribes whose names are given respectively by Newbold (p. 291) and Galtier (p. 7).

At the present day these tribes pursue various occupations. Many of them are traders in camels, horses, donkeys and cattle. The men are often in much demand as veterinaries; while their womenfolk have a popular reputation as seeresses or medicine women. As in other countries, they practice sand-divination (*ḍarb al-raml*), shell-divination (*ḍarb al-saḍ'*), bibliomancy (*fath al-kitāb*) or fortune-telling by means of cards or palmistry. These women are easily distinguished from the other natives by reason of their veilless, wild-eyed, bronzed faces. They are credited with being more chaste than the women of the *Ghagar* tribe.

II. The *Ghagar* (singular *Ghagarī*), on the other hand, have a rather unsavory reputation. The only thing associated with them that is comparatively pure is their speech. Galtier was of the opinion that they were only a Gypsy tribe that had wandered from Constantinople within the past century or two (*ibid.* p. 8, note 3). This might account, he said, for the fact that their speech was less contaminated with foreign ingredients than that of the other Gypsy tribes in the Nile Valley. At any rate the reputation of these vagrants can be judged by the fact that *ghagarī* is synonymous with what is vulgar and insolent. The name has supplied Modern Egyptian Arabic with a new verb, *ghaggar*, meaning "to be abusive."

In winter they frequent the towns. Their chief settlements in Cairo are (a) the *Hosh al-Ghagar* behind the Sultan Hasan Mosque where public horse and cattle fairs

are held,³ and (b) in Old Cairo near the Mosque of 'Amr.

The *Ghagar* are chiefly occupied as farriers, smiths and tinkers. Some travel about as professional tumblers, rope-dancers and acrobats (*bahlawānāt*, sing. *bahlawān*, from the Persian *pahlawān*); others are monkey-leaders (*ḡurādātiya*, sing. *ḡurādātī*, from *ḡird*, monkey); while others are snake-charmers (*ḡuwwā*, sing. *ḡāwī*, from *ḡaiya*, a snake) or snake-eaters (*rifā'iya* sing. *rifā'ī*, the name of a well-known Dervish fraternity).⁴ Many of the women are dancers and itinerant musicians, with the usual accompaniments of a native orchestra. Burton (p. 257) records that the women of this tribe are employed to circumcise Moslem girls, to tattoo lips and chins, and to bore ears and nostrils.

III. The *Nawar* (sing. *Nūrī*), as the last class of Gypsy in Egypt is called, are renowned far and wide throughout the land as professional thieves. In a popular proverb their thieving propensities are associated, in a libellous fashion, with the people of Damanhūr, a well-known town in the Nile Delta. The Arabic runs: *Alf Nūrī walā Damanhūrī*, i. e., a thousand thieves and not one Damanhurian! According to the ancient policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, the *Nawar* are sometimes employed as watchmen (*Ghuffār*) on estates.

Such, in brief outline, are the several divisions of the Gypsies of Modern Egypt with their varied pursuits, habits and proclivities. It is to be hoped that these "cast-aways" will not fail to find a sympathetic and discerning student who will try to trace their migratory history, and record their folk-lore and tribal life as vividly and lastingly as Borrow did in the case of the Romanies of his native land.

British Museum, London.

JOHN WALKER.

³ Burton, following Von Kremer, calls it the *Hosh Bardak* (p. 238).

⁴ These latter are gypsies who have adopted the guise of Dervishes.

THE MOSLEM WOMEN OF ALGERIA

A few weeks ago a paragraph in *La Dépêche Algérienne* mentioned the fact that the first Moslem woman in Algeria to do so had taken her certificate of capacity to drive an auto. Not long before, a worker among women of the south had told of a Moslem woman who had longed to see something beyond the four walls of her little house. She had dared to walk a few short steps to a turn in the road to see where it led to, and for this offence her husband had summarily divorced her! Between these two women, the one who is free to drive her motor in highways and byways and the other who may not go outside her own door, there is a world of difference, though the first is an extreme case. In writing of the Moslem women of Algeria it is difficult to generalize. One's thoughts travel north and south, east and west, in this large province, which seems to have no southern limit, and the types of women that one's mind pictures are as varied as the scenery. In huts perched on the ridges of the mountains the hardy handsome Kabyle women live their strenuous lives. Belonging to a tribe of the ancient Berber race, they possess a language, dress and customs of their own, and have been till recently under the civil laws of their own tribal code. These laws gave a woman no hereditary rights, no power to consent to or to refuse a marriage imposed on her, no power to complain of the treatment meted out to her, and no rights over her children. She was usually married in childhood, and became part of the succession of her husband when he died. Public opinion and the efforts of enlightened and educated Kabyle men strengthened the hands of the Government, and some changes favorable to the

woman have been made. But the working out of new laws takes time, and they are difficult to enforce among a primitive people, many of whom live in the heart of a wild, mountainous country.

In the cities, the desert and the fertile plains of Algeria are to be found the many thousands of Moslem women who belong to the Arab race. These women live under varying conditions, and while some are fair-skinned and blue-eyed, most are dark-eyed, lithe and swarthy. Dressed in flowing robes and wearing high head-dresses and barbaric jewelry, the women of the south look in amazement at their sisters of the northern towns, whose clothing and ways are becoming gradually Europeanized. Singer's sewing machines replace embroidery frames, paraffin stoves the ancient fire-pots, gramophones are rife, and smart French coats may be worn under the all-enveloping street draperies. Deeper down, many things are almost unchanged. The Moslem women of Algeria bear a burden due to sin, ignorance, sorrow and oppression, the weight of which bows down their spirits and bodies. From the fear that is born of superstition, their charms and amulets, sacrifices and sorceries, cannot free them. Their religion consists mainly in the observance of fasts, feasts and pilgrimages, with offerings at the numerous shrines. In the religion of a large number of women, mostly elderly, prayers and occasional attendance at a Mosque service play an important part.

The majority of Moslem women in Algeria are illiterate and ignorant, and are shut in from the time of their girlhood. Married usually very young, they are at the mercy of their menfolk, who are often tyrannical and sometimes cruel. Though some women have fairly happy lives, enjoying their cooking, weaving and other household tasks in which they excel, many have hard times, and it is not rare to find them sick at heart and ill in body. A large proportion of their children, whom they love dearly, die in infancy, and divorce, which is very com-

mon, often means the heart-breaking separation of a mother from her children.

In *La Voix Indigène*, a Constantine newspaper, M. Zenati wrote of Algerian women thus: “. . . This is the sad truth, and Algerian women are not deceived by the situation. They know that their rights are not respected; they often compare themselves to dumb animals, and they find it very hard to put up with the ill-treatment which they endure.” M. Zenati goes on to say that these Moslem women of Algeria are waiting patiently for the hour of their liberation, and that “when the hour strikes they will go as fast and as far as their Turkish sisters.” Though as yet this hour has not struck, the hands of the clock are slowly but surely moving. The brave pioneers have taken to European dress and go unveiled. Some of these are Moslem, some Christian, and when they are recognized as natives are liable to open remark if unprotected. It is said, however, that there are Moslem women who put on European dress at times in order to go unrecognized to the cinema or other places of amusement. Many Moslem girls attending Government schools are dressed as the French and some of them, no doubt, will continue to go about unveiled. On the other hand an educated Arab girl, hitherto unveiled, has just voluntarily abandoned her freedom because of the pressure of Moslem opinion.

Excellent French Government schools for native girls have been established in many centers, in addition to the ordinary schools which are also open to them. These special schools combine a primary education (French) with the teaching of native arts and crafts. Many parents still object to their girls going to school, others remove them when they are eleven or twelve years old or even younger, and a very large percentage of the girls of Algeria are still untouched by education. The number attending the schools, however, is growing steadily, and there seems to be an increasing desire for education. Even illiterate mothers are sometimes intensely anxious for

their children to learn, though the fact that the little girls are often the water fetchers, baby carriers and general messengers for the household, does not make it easy.

In the towns the homes often show signs of progress. Children are better cared for and cleaner, and ideas learned from European neighbors or employers are carried out. On the whole, too, women are more ready than they were to seek skilled medical help, when permitted by their husbands. Among the poorer classes, respectable women now go out to do domestic work far more often than formerly, and their growing spirit of independence is partly due, no doubt, to their capacity to earn money for themselves. In some districts many work in factories, but it is rare to hear of an educated native woman who is a teacher or a typist, even though some girls go on to take their certificate, and a few take still higher examinations. There is as yet no student community among Algerian Moslem women, and no outstanding leader. The older generation of Moslem women is fanatical, and opposed to any change in the ancient order of things, while some of the younger women have snatched at freedom too hastily. It is these birds, born in captivity and unmindful and ignorant of the dangers of life outside their cage, who are a great problem. To the present generation of girls, lovable, eager and full of life, the pull of the old against the new is bewildering.

For these Algerian girls who are as yet trained to think of marriage as their only possible vocation, the future promises ill. M. Almenouar Kellal, writing in *La Dépêche Algérienne* said of the young Moslem men of Algeria, "Through the influence of school and regiment, and as a result of their contact with Europeans, our young men gradually acquire a modern point of view and new tastes, which make them consider the Moslem girls who are less advanced than themselves as too primitive and too much their inferiors morally to make satisfactory wives for them." M. Kellal goes on to say that very many of these men remain unmarried or marry European

women. He continues, "What will become then of native girls when this progressive spirit among the young men becomes more general and more pronounced?"

A year or two ago an Arab shopkeeper took a wife for his only son, an intelligent, rather conceited school-boy of about sixteen, who is doing well in examinations (French) and is learning to neglect and despise his adoring mother. The nice little ignorant girl of about fourteen who is supposed to be his wife, does not interest him, and he confided to his mother not long ago (she repeated his words with mingled horror and pride), that he would like perhaps to marry a French woman. This is a typical instance of what may surely happen in many families in the future. Already the disastrous effect of such a state of affairs is seen in the repudiation and divorce by Europeanized Moslems of their ignorant wives. Unless these girls can be reinstated in their homes, which is by no means always possible, they are in a terrible plight. Many have lived a shut-in life, and there is no refuge at present existing for such women in Algeria. M. Kellal goes on to say that for the womanhood of Algeria "there is but one door of salvation, namely progress, and that the one means of attaining it is education." Education can do much, but can education alone give true freedom?

In a recent article in *La Dépêche Algérienne*, entitled "The Reform of Islam in Algeria," M. Benhoura wrote, speaking of a group of Algerian reformers, "They want to purge the Moslem religion of all the dross which mars it, and of all the heresies which spoil it. . . . Wishing to liberate the individual from the shackles of doctrines which are utterly empty, it is sought to accustom him to count on himself alone in the bitter conditions prevailing in the struggle for life."

A reformed Islam, hand in hand with education, may in time give an outward and welcome freedom to the Moslem women of Algeria, but if in seeking to stand upon their feet and to bear their heavy burdens, they "count on themselves alone," they will surely be griev-

ously disappointed. The messengers of the Evangel in this land believe and have proved that there is only One, Jesus Christ, the Son of God who died and rose again, who can give power to "arise and walk." In His Name they go into the homes where live the Moslem women, with many of whom they have the privilege and joy of friendship. In ways that love can devise, the messengers try to share the burdens of these their friends, but they cannot visit more than a tithe of the homes where shut-in women and restless girls are longing to give them a welcome and to listen to their message. Hearing does not necessarily mean receiving and believing, and while many listen eagerly or wistfully, others give an indifferent hearing, and others again who are friendly to the messenger are hostile to her message. A few there are, up and down this land of Algeria, who are no longer Moslem but Christian women. Of these some have suffered bitter persecution, but have confessed Christ bravely and often joyfully. Some are the wives of Christian men, and they are founding Christian homes. Others, known to the Great Shepherd of the sheep, are secret believers living in Moslem households. Again and again there come to mind the words that were written large in the room of Miss Liliat Trotter, that great lover of the Moslems of Algeria:

"And not by Eastern windows only
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But Westward look, the land is light!"

There will surely come a day when through faith in the Name of our Lord Jesus, a great company shall arise from among these Moslem women, "walking and leaping and praising God."

Blida, Algeria.

MILLCENT H. ROCHE.

CURRENT TOPICS

A Rock Disciple in Persia

Mr. A. K. Nakhosteen sends this interesting story to the British and Foreign Bible Society, concerning the Christian Dervish, Mansur Sang, who is an earnest and devoted colporteur. Our readers will remember the story of Benjamin Badal which appeared in our Quarterly, and will appreciate the reference to him:

"The teachings of the twelfth chapter of Luke are well lived in our zealous Persian evangelist and honorary colporteur, Mansur Sang (i. e., 'the Stone'). His high qualities as an ardent servant of the Master are outstanding. His unselfish life is a great witness to his sincere faith in Christ Jesus; for with no gold, nor silver, nor brass in his purse, no wallet for his journey, neither two coats, nor shoes, but with a bag of Bible portions on his back, he courageously tramps the highways and byways, preaching the Good Tidings. Wherever he goes the Lord provides his 'daily bread' through hospitable unbelievers, who gather to listen to his message of the Love of God for sin-stricken humanity.

"A native of Meshed, the sacred city of the famous twelfth Imam and the glory of Shiite Mohammedans, he has not only in utter fearlessness proclaimed there the Gospel to his fellow-countrymen, but in the extensive province of Khorasan he is scarcely unknown to the most obscure village. In every nook and corner of the large province the news of salvation through the Son of Man has been proclaimed to many a villager through this ardent servant of the Master. But that is not all. His missionary trips outside the province are no less important. Literally speaking, he has proclaimed the Gospel in the whole of Persia. From the borders of Russian Turkestan in the north to the borders of Baluchistan in the southeast, and from the borders of Afghanistan in the east to the borders of Mesopotamia in the west, Mansur Sang has travelled in his missionary trips. He is now working on the borders of the Persian Gulf with a strong desire to save souls.

"How did he come to be what he is? Here is his testimony:

"When I returned from Russia at the age of twenty-five I had lost faith in Muhammadanism and ardently sought for truth. I used to pray daily for guidance. But after I went to Acca, I lost faith in everything, even God, and ceased to pray or hope for anything. For several years I remained in this state. Then Benjamin Badal found me in the caravanserai at K—— and read the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew to me. There it came to me that these "false prophets" had been predicted by Christianity, and from the words of Christ I received the comfort of heart for which I had longed for many a year.'

"The secret of Mansur's power is in his comradeship with the Lord. He frequently repeats this prayer, 'O Father of all Light, grant that my

lamp may be ever filled with oil and my wick ever cleansed with the power of Thy righteousness, that through me Thy glory and the greatness of Thy majesty and Thy Love for men may be ever made known to the unbelievers of the world. In the precious name of Jesus, Amen.' He ever longs to be filled with the Holy Spirit, that the Salvation of God may be manifested through him to many a lost soul."

A Moslem on the Indian Census

Writing in *The Islamic Review* for November a contributor says: "The Muslim census reflects one painful truth. The increase (nine millions, or twelve per cent in ten years) is mainly due to the natural causes of multiplication by birth and not to assimilation by propaganda. The Christian missionary still holds the palm in the field of conversion. The present Christian population of India, including Europeans and Eurasians, is about six millions, *i. e.*, three times the number recorded in 1901. We know very well that Christianity cannot stand before Islam, for Islam stands for rationalism. The Christian missionaries are never in the habit of appealing to the reason of the people of India. The money of the multi-millionaires (!) of America and Europe, which is poured into India and brings bread to the mouth of nearly every convert to Christianity, may not be the main factor in the progress of Christianity, but the fact remains that Christianity, with this progress, will one day add to the complication of the problem of the national struggle of India." . . .

The same writer goes on to say with regard to the habitual underestimate of the Muslim population in China: "I have been in touch with authorities in China as well as Indians in China having first-hand knowledge of Chinese conditions, and they unanimously agree that the Muslim population in the Chinese Republic could not be less than *fifty millions*. Only one of the Muslim races in China, *viz.*, the Chinese Tungan which is found from Kansu to Manchuria, numbers more than thirty millions." For the false impression abroad he says, "Marshall Broomhall should be held responsible, as he was originally responsible for the wrong estimate. . . . Even his modest calculation is a matter of more than two decades ago."

Christ in a Cairo Slum

The Reverend L. C. Hickin writing in *Northern Nigeria* from Cairo, gives an interesting account of work for boys by the C. M. S.:

"For some days the little alley that goes through the heart of the Bulac slum area had been seething with excitement. In the first place the borough council workmen had been levelling the road surface. The dirt heaps outside each house had been one and all carried away, and the craters in the centre of the roadway had been filled in, and now for the first time in its history the road looked a bit more like a road and a little less like a series of converging switchbacks.

"What was it that had stirred the 'tanzim' to such unwonted energy? The neighborhood learnt that it all had to do with a certain building belonging to the missionaries that had suddenly sprung up in their midst. The building was very soon to be opened as a social centre,

and no less a person than the wife of the High Commissioner was coming to perform the ceremony.

"Seven years ago a club for working boys was started in a small room opposite the new building. In spite of considerable opposition at the outset, the club grew and succeeded in breaking down all hostility and in creating an atmosphere of friendship and co-operation. Its activities have come to include a night school, indoor and outdoor games, a Scout troop, a football club, a dramatic section, a library, and a savings bank. Two years after the start of this club an infant welfare centre was set up in the building used by the boys, and last year there came into being a club for young girls, where reading, writing, sewing, hygiene and games are taught.

"These activities have had a remarkable influence for good upon the whole neighborhood. Seven years ago it would have been impossible for any of our women workers to have gone through this area unaccompanied. Now no one would think of attacking them. Egyptian officials have expressed their astonishment at the change which has come over the slum as a result of the influence that has radiated from this centre."

Islam in Lombok

The following interesting facts regarding Islam in this part of the Dutch East Indies are contributed by the Reverend John Wesley Brill:

"Although a small island, Lombok has six hundred thousand Sasaks, all of whom are Moslems. Approximately six hundred make the pilgrimage to Mecca yearly.

"It is interesting to note that there is a class of Moslems here who call themselves the 'Tiga Waktoe,' that is, they pray 'three times' instead of five times. These do not make the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca, for they say that they 'have Mecca in their hearts.' These are perhaps more open to the Gospel than the others. However they are in the minority.

"Most of the people are illiterate, perhaps one-fourth of the men can read, and only a very few of the women. Their literature consists of the Koran in Malay Arabic script and a few other books dealing with their religion. Only the educated Sasaks can read Romanized Malay, that is, those who have attended the government schools. However most of them are taught to read the Malay Arabic script by the 'Hadjis.' The Sasak language has been reduced to writing, using the same script as the Balinese of this island. The Sasak language has been romanized by the government, but this is read only by those that have attended the government schools.

"I think I am safe in saying that only about one-tenth of the people know the reasons for their many Moslem customs, and that fewer yet can give any real explanation of their religion. Many of the 'Hadjis' are devoid of a good understanding of their own faith.

"The chief teachers are the Arabs, who don't have as tight a hold upon the people as they would like. The teachers often rebuke them for buying Scriptures in my presence, but still they buy. I know of only one Sasak Christian, and she is the wife of a Menadonese Christian."

Turkish Women — yesterday and today

In a recent book published in Turkey by Nazihe Muhittin and entitled "*Türk Kadını*" the contrast is drawn between the Turkish women of yesterday and of today:

"What a big difference between the unfortunate woman of a few years ago, who did not know how to utter a few words, bore the rings of slavery on her feet, the chains of prejudice and fanaticism around her neck, and the black veil of inferiority on her face, and the free and independent Turkish woman of today who walks in the direction of her own choice and satisfaction!

"The unique leader of the revolution of the Republic, immediately after saving the country from the hopeless situation, stretched out his great emancipating hand to the Turkish woman. He brought her status to the same level as that of her man fellow-citizens.

"He said to the woman, 'Study together, work together, earn together, enjoy the same respect in facing life with men. You are equal before the law.'

"The woman whose talking was considered as sin yesterday, makes her melody heard in theatres today. Yesterday the sole business of woman was to cook in the kitchen and to nurse her child; today the doors of all aspects of life are wide open before her. Yesterday woman called on the physician with shame and a sense of sin; today she herself has become a physician. Yesterday the Turkish woman, while speaking a few words of defense before the court got pale and perspired under her thick veil; today she is sitting herself as judge in the court. Yesterday woman was nothing before the law, today she is entitled to almost all the civil rights of man.

"So far we have watched the beautiful and attractive side of the scene; now let us turn to the other side.

"In a spring day let us stop at a public garden. We see men and women together; this is all right! But we see also liquors on the table, around which women are trying to show that they are by no means inferior to men in drinking. In drunkenness and gambling women are showing equality to men!

"Freedom is not given to the Turkish women to secure equality with men in cafés and before the liquor tables. If we are using our freedom in this way, we are misusing the sacred rights and responsibility that are granted to us."

Turkish Opposition to Christian Schools

"The revolution destroyed superstition," said *Atsız Majmna* (November 15, 1931). "The Moslem *tekkes*, the belated institutions of religious propaganda are closed. But the Christian *tekkes* are left open. They entered our country as foreign citizens and foreign firms, and they are working their way by all the delicacy of a civilized propaganda.

"Pères, frères, missionaries, schools, societies, books, periodicals and a thousand other means are used every day in the important centres of our country to win the conscience of our youth, and to poison their sacred feelings.

"We do not know whether there is any difference between the Y. M. C. A. and the *tekkes* of the *mevlevîs*, or between the missionary schools and the *medreses*. Along with Mohammed they were teaching us the nobility and magnanimity of the Arabs, but they were trying to undermine our national consciousness. Thank heaven! they are closed.

"But what are these Catholic and Protestant schools? What are these societies who want to attract our youth with concerts conducted by beautiful girls and beautiful voices? Everywhere we are saying, in an emphatic way, that education must be unified. Why shouldn't we unite the education of the American schools also, which make their program according to their own desire?

"In Turkey we are not accepting lawyers who do not know Turkish. We give no permission to physicians who do not speak Turkish. But why are we letting these foreign teachers, ignorant of Turkish, live in Turkey? Is it necessary to say that they are working for Christianity? These are institutions of propaganda. These are poisonous snakes thrust into our hearts. So long as we see them among us, we think that we shall be their colony one day. Before the French occupation of Syria, sisters, frères, and pères entered that country. Why are we sleeping when even the Chinese understand the situation and try to expel them from their country?

"We want the expulsion and extinction of these inauspicious institutions from our country."

The Call to Prayer in Turkish from the Minarets of Constantinople

According to the Turkish paper *Milliyyet* (November 23, 1932) the new enthusiasm for Turkish as the language of religion, as well as of lawful and civil life, was celebrated by the call to prayer. The translation was made by the *hafız*, Burhan Bey e Yashar Bey, and is official.

The following is the text and translation by a Turkish scholar:

Tanrı uludur — God is Great. *Tanrı* is an old Turkish word the root of which means astonishment or awe.

Şüphesiz bilirim, Tanrıdan başka yoktur tapacak. Without doubt I know that there is no other than *Tanrı* to be worshipped.

Şüphesiz bilirim, bildiririm Tanrının elçisidir Muhammet; Without doubt I know, I proclaim that Mohammed is the ambassador of *Tanrı*.

Haydin namaza. Come to prayer.

Haydin felaha. Come to supplication.

Namaz ukuydan hayirlidir. Prayer is better than sleep.

Tanrı uludur. God is great. *Tanrıdan başka yoktur tapacak.* There is no other than *Tanrı* to be worshipped.

The Turkish Press remarks: "Eight hundred copies of this approved Turkish call to prayer will be printed by the department of religious affairs and distributed to the muezzins. Beginning with Sunday the muezzins will be taught the Turkish call. The instruction will go until Ramadan, and on the first day of Ramadan the call will be made in Turkish."

A New Highway in the Near East

"Today the highway from Egypt to Assyria, predicted by Isaiah (19:23-25), is an actuality, although it is only within the past year that the final link in the transportation system from Cairo to Baghdad has been completed. Truly, the forging of this chain of transportation has been one of romance and history. Prior to the World War the only link in the chain was the short-line railroad from Cairo to the Suez Canal. The Turkish attacks on the Canal and the succeeding campaigns of the English armies from Suez up through Palestine made the building of a railroad from El Qantara to Haifa one of major importance. Its rate of construction, of course, depended upon the progress made by the English troops, and most of the time the rail head was only a few miles behind the advancing army. Many difficulties were encountered, including the terrible sandstorms, the guerilla warfare carried on by local sheiks, and the scarcity of water. However, the railroad was completed as far as Gaza for the Palestine campaigns of 1916-1917, in which the Turks were driven back into their own territory, thus ending their long reign of terror in the Near East.

"After the war much reconstruction work necessarily had to be done and many separate states were set up, all of which, with the exception of Syria, were under British control. With the railroad completed from Cairo to Haifa, it remained for the motor truck, one of transportation's newest tools, to finally fulfill the prophecy of Isaiah, by connecting the two sections, Egypt and Palestine (Israel) with Iraq, which state contains the major portion of ancient Assyria. In fact, the ancient city of Assur, capital and birthplace of the Assyrian race, is only about sixty miles west of modern Kirkuk, on the road to Haditha; and now, where Sargon and Sennacherib once led their fierce Assyrian warriors in the conquest of the West, a new type of history is being made, one of industry rather than war.

"Since last July a Wisconsin boy, driving a big FWD truck, has been traveling across this cradle of civilization, helping to build the forty million dollar pipe line of the Iraq Petroleum Company. This modern ship of the desert, with its four-wheel trailer, is hauling from 20 to 30 tons of steel plates and equipment per trip. It makes the 675 mile run from Haifa to Baghdad in from two to three days, depending on the number of cargo changes to be made, and each trip across the desert helps to make the road more permanent. It is assured that with improved economic conditions there will be a high type road paralleling the pipe line from Kirkuk to the sea at Haifa."—*Exchange*.

The Liquor Traffic in Palestine

From an article in *Dnyanodaya* (India) we take the following paragraphs:

A Conference organized by The Native Races and the Liquor Traffic United Committee took place at the Bible House, London, on Wednesday, November 23, on the subject of the Liquor Traffic in the Holy Land. The Bishop of London, who presided, said that if there was one thing which made him furious, it was that it should be said that the

population of the Holy Land was sober under the Mohammedans but was taking to drink under the Christian administration. It was not Christianity which was making them less sober. The Christian religion was a far nobler thing in every way than Mohammedanism.* Mohammedanism never raised any nation beyond a certain point, but it did teach the people temperance. If it was true that licenses in Jerusalem had increased from 28 or 30 to 300, he wanted to know who was giving away the licenses. They would be shocked, and rightly so, if it happened in England.

Major Richard Rigg, chairman of the Executive Committee, said that during the 45 years of its existence the Committee had never been confronted with a more serious problem. The Mandate under which the British held Palestine provided for the prevention of the slave trade, traffic in arms, and traffic in drugs, but there was no similar provision dealing with the liquor traffic. Major Rigg described in detail the position of the drink traffic in Palestine. Before the War there were 25 licensed houses in Jerusalem, now there were close upon 400, and in the whole of Palestine there were nearly 1,000. At least three breweries had been established, and the amount of liquor imported into Palestine, apart from that which was manufactured there, had been doubled.

Dr. Scott Lidgett, President of the Methodist Conference, proposed the following Resolution:—

(1) That this Conference, convened by the Native Races and the Liquor Traffic United Committee, is greatly concerned at the information we have received from the Holy Land as to the great increase in the number of licenses for the sale of alcoholic liquors granted in recent years, and the growing habit of consuming alcoholic liquors, in particular, amongst people who are enjoined by their religion to abstain from such liquors, licenses for the sale of which are very easily obtained.

(2) The Conference is strongly of the opinion that in dealing with the liquor question in Palestine, the Government should recognize its responsibility as a mandatory power and should take such steps as would lead to the reduction of the number of licenses and a far stricter control of the liquor traffic.

(3) That copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Colonial Office, the High Commissioner, the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, and that the Colonial Office shall be asked to receive a deputation on the subject.

Sunni-Shia Discord in Eastern Arabia

The unity of Islam has been the theme of many a writer and its various implications have been painstakingly worked out and demonstrated to be something, if not to be feared, at least to be taken into account. The impression is given that where Christianity is hopelessly divided, Islam, on the contrary, is the outstanding example of unity. Of course it is well known that there are various sects in Islam ranging from the Wahhabis with their strict unitarian faith, to the Ali Ilahis who practically deify Ali, but nevertheless the impression given by these authors is that the various sects practically act as a unit and this supposed truth is used to deprecate the innumerable divisions of Christianity. The inference is that where the Moslems work together in harmony, Christians fall down completely since they cannot forget their differences

and therefore never act as a unit. We have all too often read the statement that "The heathen (or Moslem) cannot understand our theological differences" and I believe this is a true statement of fact, but why should we expect him to understand and why should it worry us in the least? Human nature being what it is, men are bound to disagree in their thinking, strong minds are bound to dominate weaker minds and when this happens, a new sect is born. But this phenomenon is not the exclusive property of Christians, and where it is true that Moslems cannot understand our theological differences, it is just as true that we cannot understand their differences.

In the field from which I am writing this article, the population is almost equally divided between Sunnis and Shias. The Sunni community is composed of Arabs, Indians and a small, but influential group of Persians. The Shias are made up of the Baharina, Persians and a few Indians. The Sunnis are quite closely united and get along quite well together although the Wahhabi sect has its own mosques. The Shias are mostly Ethnaasheris although there is a small community of Bohras who go their own way, celebrating their feasts, praying, etc., together, and as far as I can make out, living a life absolutely separate from their fellows. The Persians are also a unit, having their own school, their own mosques and *matims* (the gathering places for the reading of the Shiah traditions and the passion play of Hussein), but their religious sheikh is the same as the Baharina and now and again they intermarry with this sect. The Baharina are a strange folk whose origin is obscure. Some people believe that they are the descendants of the Phœnicians who came here for trade centuries ago, some that they are the descendants of Arab-Persian ancestors, some that they are descendants from a Bedouin tribe that emigrated from Nejd before Islam and finally settled here, and some that they are the survivors of the Karmatian heresy. Whatever their origin, they are a class apart, and throughout all the years, they have been the least touched by missionary influence since they do not readily associate with us, due possibly to their ideas of defilement. In all the years I have lived here, I have never been invited personally to a meal in a Bahrani house, while it is quite common to be invited to dinner by a Sunni Moslem.

The first impression, as I stated above, of the newcomer is that all these people are united, and this conviction is strengthened when religious subjects are brought up, for they will all join together in argument or discussion against missionaries or other representatives of Christian countries. But it is a very simple matter to break up the argument if one desires, along the lines that Paul used before the Sanhedrin, by speaking of the Imams or Hussein. Then it is that one sees the tremendous gulf that divides the two great sects of Islam, a gulf that seems to grow wider and deeper as the years go by, that builds up hatred and distrust, that lives on bigotry, that takes every opportunity to emphasize differences. We have nothing to compare with it in Christianity.

Some time ago I was sitting in a shop in the bazaar talking to the proprietor and a friend of his who happened along. A Persian *seyyid*, distinguished by his green turban, passed by, and the shopkeeper's friend spat on the ground and hissed something that I did not fully comprehend and so I questioned him as to what he had said. He answered,

"I said that that man was a dog. You never can trust these Shias. They are two-faced." In the conversation that ensued, it became evident that this feeling was quite generally held by the Sunnis and was reciprocated by the Shias. The thing that surprised me more than anything during this conversation was that the cause of it all was a *seyyid*. I called attention to this fact, but the men laughed and one of them said, "Who knows whether he is a *seyyid*? They are all liars. And besides what is the difference? If he is a Shia, he is to be condemned."

Throughout the years, there has been a continual persecution of the Shias by the Sunnis since, being the rulers, they have been able to enforce their demands. Outrages of various kinds have been perpetrated and at times have given rise to wholesale murder. About six or seven years ago there were riots in the Bahrain bazaars and these spread throughout the islands, quite a few Shias being murdered. On the face of the matter, it appeared that the riots were caused by new regulations for the pearl divers, but the Shias bore the brunt of the disturbance. The Government took a strong stand at this time and as a result a village, having a Sunni population of from five to ten thousand, moved to the mainland and became subjects of the Sultan of Nejd. Religious hatred was really at the bottom of it all.

During the past few years, the Government of Nejd has been bearing down heavily on these Baharina on the mainland. Some three years ago, the edict was issued that all Shias must be led in prayer by Sunni *imams* and the situation became very acute in Qateef. This was but a repetition of the actions of the early Wahhabis when the sect first arose. This edict has since been repealed, or at least allowed to lapse, but taxes have been outrageous, in fact so high that many of the landowners have fled the country to escape punishment for non-payment since they have not been able to raise the required amount. The tax on date palms has been more than the sum realized on the sale of the dates at this time of depression. I believe that this is just the usual systematic persecution that has gone on through the years. Qateef is a Shia oasis and therefore extra heavy taxes are laid upon it. Religious hatred is again at the bottom of the matter.

In Bahrain at the present time peace seems to reign, but this is because of English administrative policies and one never knows what time will bring forth, for there is a deep enmity that is liable to flame up at any time. The Government has organized separate schools for the two sects, separate departments for the administration of religious foundations (*waqf*) and in other ways has kept the affairs of the two bodies apart. Outwardly all is peace and any public function finds the dignitaries of the two sides sitting next to each other.

What has been the Shia method of combating this condition? Since the British Government took a firmer hold here some eight or nine years ago, the Shias have had far more freedom and justice and naturally they have found life more to their liking and have dared to assert themselves more. The Muharram ceremonies are becoming larger and the demonstrations more lurid year by year. The Persians are far worse in this regard than the Baharina, however. The Shia dares to show his religious beliefs a great deal more than he did and so he makes as much as he can of his opportunity. Sometimes these displays take on

a comic tinge. As I am writing this article, the Sunnis are celebrating the annual Eed al Dhuha, but not the Shias. They will celebrate tomorrow. This has often happened at the Moslem feasts the past few years. I believe it is their way of showing their superiority and independence to their rivals. Ramadhan has begun quite a few times on different days by the two sects during the past years, the same idea being uppermost. During this month the Shias make much of the fact that they wait fifteen minutes after sunset before they break their fast, this of course being far superior to the Sunni tradition! Both sects refer to themselves as "Al Islam," the inference being that the other sect is not worthy of that name.

Bahrain, Persian Gulf.

B. D. HAKKEN.

An Intelligence Test on Islamics

The following intelligence test on Islamics has been used with effect to test the general knowledge of missionary applicants and beginners in the study of Islam. Each statement should be marked "true" or "false," the time allowed not over ten minutes.

1. Islam is a religion without sacrificial rites.
2. The Koran teaches the virgin-birth of Jesus.
3. The Koran teaches that women have no souls.
4. Moslems went to Abyssinia before the Hegira.
5. Circumcision is not mentioned in the Koran.
6. The Kiswah is a Holy Carpet for the floor of the Temple in Mecca.
7. Prayer is offered at the eclipse of the sun and moon.
8. The Kaaba is a Black Stone at Mecca.
9. Islam knows no color-bar or race prejudice.
10. None of the Apostles of Jesus are mentioned in the Koran by name.
11. Women are not allowed to pray in Mosques.
12. The Koran chapters called the Cow, and the Spider, are long.
13. The Koran also has chapters called the Bee, the Frog, and the Elephant.
14. Moslems bury their dead with the head toward Mecca and the feet pointing in the other direction.
15. There is no religious celibacy in Islam.
16. The death of Jesus on the Cross is affirmed in the Koran.
17. The Ahmadi Sect believes Jesus went to Cashmere.
18. Jerusalem is the third Holy City of Islam.
19. Tradition is of minor importance in the study of Islam.
20. Gambling, wine, and usury are forbidden to Moslems.
21. Moslems always pray reverently with uncovered head.
22. The Koran contains regulations for domestic slavery.
23. Only Moslems are allowed to visit Medina.
24. The Koran teaches that all true believers must pass through Purgatory (hell) before entering Paradise.
25. The story of the Queen of Sheba is found in the Koran.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Macdonald Presentation Volume: A Tribute to Duncan Black Macdonald, consisting of articles by former students, presented to him on his seventieth birthday, April 9, 1933. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey. Oxford University Press, New York. pp. 487; \$6.00.

It has been the custom in Europe for many decades to present to Oriental scholars or those in other departments of learning, on the occasion of their retirement or on their attaining the seventieth milestone, a sheaf of literary tributes called by the Germans a *fest-schrift*. These collections are not only a crown of olives as happy evidence of appreciative scholarship, but in themselves constitute a real contribution to Oriental learning. We learn from the dedication of the volume that more than forty years ago a brilliant young Scot, fresh from advance studies at the University of Berlin and giving promise of noteworthy leadership in the fields of Old Testament and Semitics, joined the Faculty of the Hartford Theological Seminary. "From that time on, the name of Duncan Black Macdonald has been a symbol of all that is most significant in Semitic scholarship. Against a steady background of Old Testament teaching, with memorable courses in exegesis and interpretation, Professor Macdonald developed as his primary interest an authoritative mastery of the language and literature, the theology and the philosophy, the laws and the history of the Semitic world in general, the full content of Islam in particular." Today the name of Professor Macdonald is known all over the world as a specialist in his particular subject, Islamic theology, life and literature. He is one of the few occidental scholars who really know the Mohammedan religion and the psychology of the Moslem. The circle of his pupils has included missionaries from many lands and specialists in many departments. The contributors to the volume represent many nationalities and write from many parts of the world: Europe, Turkey, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Persia, India, Malaysia, and China. Among the twenty-seven contributors to this volume no less than twenty are occupying professorial chairs in America and other countries. The remainder are missionaries and clergymen. The President Emeritus of Hartford Seminary Foundation, Dr. Mackenzie, contributes an Introductory Biography: "On the academic side of his life Macdonald has had a distinguished career. Early in his years at Hartford he became interested in providing special courses for men who were looking forward to missionary work in Muhammadan lands. In fact the courses he offered in Arabic and Syriac in his very first year, 1892, had this service in prospect. His annual reports to the President of the Seminary, throughout the years of his professorship, showed that Macdonald was, in addition to his work as teacher of

Hebrew and Old Testament exegesis, giving an ever increasing amount of time to instruction in the Arabic and Muslim field with a special emphasis on the missionary enterprise. This must in part account for the fact that so many of the most powerful missionaries in Turkey for nearly a generation were graduates of Hartford Theological Seminary. When in 1899-1900 a special course in foreign missions was established by the faculty as a whole, Macdonald contributed his own share from his own department. In 1907-1908 Macdonald was granted leave of absence. He spent his sabbatic year abroad, seven months at Cairo, several months in a journey through Palestine and Syria, and visits to Beirut and Constantinople. An important fruit of this year was the delivery of the Hartford-Lamson Lectures in 1909 on 'Aspects of Islam.'"

The bibliography attached to this volume presents a record of all the publications which have come from the pen of Dr. Macdonald including his book reviews and articles for encyclopedias. We all know that "the vast field of Muslim scholasticism had been ignored for long, and Dr. Macdonald is recognized as one of those who have done most to recover the interest in it of modern scholars. Very early in his career he made his mark here with 'The Life of al-Ghazzali,' which appeared in 1899 in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. This has been followed up with a long series of writings for which reference must be made to the Bibliography. Not only science, but music and ritual, mysticism and metaphysics, politics and theology have all been dealt with. The influence of the Muslim system upon medieval Christian theology, even upon Thomas Aquinas, broke new ground for subsequent investigators. And we must not ignore the fact that the groundwork of the whole is a constant dealing with Arabic grammar and philology, which also receive specific attention in various articles and reviews. . . . The Bibliography contains many items which reveal Dr. Macdonald's interest in the *Thousand and One Nights*, popularly known simply as *The Arabian Nights*. He has more completely explored the origin and the whole history of that famous collection than any other scholar; and his splendid Arabic library, which is one of the most precious special libraries in this country, contains the largest collection of editions of the *Thousand and One Nights* to be found anywhere in the world. He has labored for many years at the collation of the various versions or recensions, for which he alone has all the relevant and necessary material."

The former students and colleagues of Dr. Macdonald are looking forward eagerly to his new book on Hebrew Literary Genius. The papers contributed in honor of Dr. Macdonald are given in the alphabetical order of the names of former students. Where all is excellent we will not draw invidious distinctions but would call the attention of our readers to some of the papers which have special value as bearing on Islam: Charles C. Adams writes on "Muhammad 'Abduh and the Transvaal Fatwa;" J. Kingsley Birge has an interesting paper on "Yunus Emre, Turkey's Great Poet of the People," and Murray T. Titus writes on "Islam and the Kingdom of God"; Joshua Finkel on "Jewish, Christian, and Samaritan Influences on Arabia;" Dwight M. Donaldson on "al-Ya'qubi's Chapter about Jesus Christ"; William G. Shellabear on "A Malay Treatise on Popular Sufi Practices." Other Islamic papers are contributed by Edwin E. Calverley, Margaret Doolittle, E. E.

Elder, John E. Merrill, Miss Barnette Miller, George Sarton, and William Thompson, all of which merit careful study.

We regret that a volume so full of interesting material has no index. Otherwise its typography and form are a credit to the University Press. An excellent portrait of Dr. Macdonald is given as frontispiece.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Al-Hamdāni, al-Iklīl, pt. 8. Edited by Anastase Marie al-Karmali. Baghdad, 1932. pp. 488.

The importance of the study of the pre-Islamic culture that flourished in southwestern Arabia for the history and development of Islam is becoming more and more recognized by scholars everywhere. But unfortunately, aside from the two thousand or so inscriptions discovered mainly by Glazer and Halévy in the latter part of the last century, we have hardly any documents from that remote age. Our sources therefore are epigraphic, not literary, and since no excavations have yet been made, these sources assume special importance. For a long time, however, it has been known that a Yamanite Moslem, al-Hamdāni, who died in a prison at Ṣan'ā' in 945, had composed a monumental work, entitled *al Iklīl*, on the archaeology, history and culture of pre-Islamic Yaman. Since "Islam abrogated all that came before it" Hamdāni's work was one of the few composed on this subject, and one of the very few to survive.

Father al-Karmali, originally a Maronite from Syria, was fortunate indeed to have succeeded in acquiring several manuscripts of part eight of this work, which he laboriously edited and made available for the first time. As editor of *Lughat al-'Arab* and contributor of several articles, al-Karmali has rendered certain services to Arabic lore, but this is undoubtedly the greatest contribution he has made. Unfortunately he did not collate his material with that portion of *al-Iklīl* published by D. H. Müller in his *Südarabische Studien* (Vienna, 1877), nor did he seek to consult the MS. in the Princeton University library, of whose existence he knew. A comparison of several pages shows very many variant readings. The eighteen indices could have been made into one-third as many.

Princeton University.

PHILIP K. HITTI.

An Examination of the Mystic Tendencies in Islam in the Light of the Qur'an and Traditions. By M. M. Zuhuru'd-din Ahmad, M.A. Published by the author, Pali Road, Bandra, Bombay, India. pp. 248.

The author is Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the Ismail College, Bombay, and formerly lecturer at Aligarh University. The aim of this interesting study, we are told, is to explain how Islamic mysticism originated and to sketch the history of its development. Professor Ahmad is not unacquainted with the earlier work of western Orientalists who have studied this aspect of Islam, and he refers to Nicholson, Macdonald, Lehmann, Margoliouth, O'Leary and Brown. His main authorities, however, are the Quran and Tradition, with occasional references to the Mathnawi of Jalal-ad-din ar-Rumi. Strange to say, he seems unacquainted with Professor John Clark Archer's study on *The Mystical Elements in Mohammed* (Yale University Press,

1924), which also finds the origin of mystical tendencies in the life of the Prophet and in the Qur'an itself.

No one doubts that there are traits in Mohammed's character and a very few passages in his book which lend themselves to the view that mysticism belongs to the essence of Islam. We read that the works of western Orientalists "are marred by their reliance on the works of unknown authors. Their inferences from such works give an impression to the readers that the Muslim Mystics had lived a life absolutely different from the life and tenets of the founder of Islam. Their writings seem to suggest that Muslim saints had chalked out for themselves a path of spiritual progress, which had very little in common with the path of the prophet and his companions, and almost invariably aim at proving that this new path founded by these saints in some way made amends for the inherent defects of Islam as a theory of life. There is nothing farther from the truth than this suggestion of the Western scholars."

To prove this contention we have brief chapters on The Early Beginnings of Sufism in Islam as illustrated in the practices of the Prophet, on Sufi tendencies in his Companions, on the Relation Between the *Tariqah* and the *Shariah*, on the Emergence of Present Sufi doctrines, on the theory of *tawhid* and its relation to spiritual growth, with a final chapter on Saintship in Islam and its Decadence. The writer sums up his discussion on present-day Sufism by saying that: "We may now briefly sum up our discussion, and say that the various reformatory movements started in the Islamic world have not yet proved of any great value. The pernicious practices introduced in the circle of their credulous votaries by the illiterate Sufis still persist, and are considered to be the essence of Sufism, by some still more ignorant to be the essence of Islam. The time is ripe for reformation."

Except for an occasional evidence of the propaganda spirit, (e. g., note on page 153), and many unfortunate misprints, to which attention is called in a list of Corrigenda, the book is worthy of careful study and supplements western thought on the subject. Z.

Early Caliphate. By Maulana Muhammad Ali, M.A. Publisher, Ahmadiyya Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore, India. pp. 327.

The author is well-known as the protagonist of the Ahmadiyya Movement in our day. This study of the History of the early Caliphate is a sequel to the life of Mohammed the Prophet, and is intended to correct what the author calls "misunderstandings of Western writers." His effort to change the character of history after thirteen centuries is, however, not so simple. In dealing with Jihad he says: "To two salient points about which great misconception prevails I would call attention. The first is that there is a general impression among Muslims as well as non-Muslims that though the battles which the Holy Prophet had to fight were defensive, and not aggressive, yet the wars of the Early Caliphate were undertaken with no other object than the expansion of Islam and the territorial extension of its kingdom. In this short history I have shown that this is quite an erroneous view, and that the Muslims never sallied forth to impose their religion or even their rule on the neighbouring empires, or to offer what is generally summed up as Islam or the *Jizya* or the sword." Having in this summary fashion disposed

of Mohammed's sword, he proceeds later on to whitewash Mohammed's character and, contradicting all the authorities and the weight of European scholarship without a scintilla of genuine evidence, states: "There is the weightiest testimony on record that 'Ayesha was married to the Holy Prophet in the tenth year of the Call in the month of Shawwal, shortly after the death of Khadija. The Hijra took place in the 14th year of the Call, in the month of Rabi'a I, or three years and five months after the marriage. The consummation of marriage took place eighteen months after the Hijra, according to most trustworthy reports. Thus between the marriage and its consummation there was a period of full five years or more. The commonly received account that 'Ayesha was six or seven years old at the time of marriage and nine years at the time of consummation is, therefore, unacceptable on the very face of it, for it reduces the period between the marriage and its consummation to two or three years at the most, while as a matter of fact, it was on no account less than five years. And there are reports which show that 'Ayesha was nine years old at the time of marriage, and thus she could not be less than fourteen at the time of consummation of marriage, which took place after the battle of Badr in the second year of the Hijra. The report that she was already betrothed also supports the conclusion that the commonly received report about 'Ayesha's age is based on some misconception. Again, the *Isaba*, speaking of Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, says that she was born five years before the Call, and was about five years older than 'Ayesha. A calculation on this basis would also show that 'Ayesha was ten years old at the time of *nikah* and fifteen years old at the time of the consummation of her marriage."

We have given these two paragraphs at length to indicate the character of this history. Throughout the whole of the narrative the Moslems were not the aggressors in their conquest. Their wars were wars of defense. The early Caliphs had "a passion for the service of fellow-man ingrained in their very natures. Their hearts were devoted to the love of God and their bodies to the service of man." Z.

The Turkish Press: Selections from the Turkish Press, Showing Events and Opinions, 1925-1932. Translated and arranged by Lutfy Levonian. School of Religion, Athens, 1932. pp. 216.

Without preface or introduction, this book is nevertheless a tribute to the diligence and skill of the compiler. It affords a cross-section of the most interesting editorials and articles in the Turkish Press on themes, some of which are no longer of interest, but others of permanent value. The abolition of the Caliphate and the discussion that ensued in 1928 regarding alleged conversion of girls in the School at Broussa are past history. What the Turks are saying, however, regarding Islam, Jesus Christ, Christianity, social reform, moral training, womanhood and youth, concerns us today. We give two paragraphs from a volume that contains a wealth of material. The first appeared in January, 1927, the second in 1931, in a book on "The Morality of Love" by Hilmi Ziya Bey:

"There has been an important revolution in ideas, conceptions and manners going on in the world since the great war. The views which used to influence our ways of thinking, our imagination, and our intel-

lectual life are entirely changed, giving place to new ideas and new ideals which were never heard of before. Most of the civilized world has lost its hold on religion and morality, which were the two foundations of orderly life, culture and morals; so that we have no longer the idea of a common and authoritative basis of morality and religion."

"How many models of virtue can you find in all Ottoman History? Why do we not see men of great courage and self-sacrifice produced among us? Why is it that *Jesus* has a St. Paul, and St. Sebastian has thousands of followers, but we have not had one true follower of Bedrettin's sacrifice, or one person following the path of Kamal? What is lacking is not courage, but a new man. Because it is necessary to sacrifice, not in order to become victorious, but for love only."

All students of the situation in the Near East are indebted to Professor Levonian for this collection. We note that Chapter XV is a reprint from his article in *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, (1931). Z.

The Religion of the Baha'is. By J. R. Richards, B.A. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London; The Macmillan Company, New York. pp. 242.

This book has been written for missionaries in Persia, by one who is in daily contact with Baha'is. It stands, therefore, in the same class with the book on Baha'ism by the Reverend W. M. Miller of the American Mission, which was reviewed in our Quarterly. Mr. Richards has, perhaps, the most extensive library of Baha'i literature in Persia, and has made good use of his sources. Every statement is documented, and the reader may be assured of reliability and lucidity on every page. The bibliography is fairly complete, especially in its list of Arabic and Persian works. The chapter on Baha'i Missionary Methods is a revelation of the strength of Western propaganda:

"In 1926 the number of Baha'is in the United States was 1,247, an almost insignificant number, yet the cash receipts during that year amounted to the immense sum of \$51,039.28. Christians have much to learn from the Baha'is in the matter of giving, and whatever may be our opinion of the movement, we are bound to admire the zeal and enterprise shown by its adherents in the West."

Regarding the future of Baha'ism, the author states that after careful collecting of statistics he believes the total number of Baha'is in Persia is probably less than 30,000. Baha'ism in Persia today is but a stepping-stone from Islam to Materialism. In the United States Baha'ism is rapidly losing ground. In ten years the number of adherents decreased over fifty-six per cent. "But whilst the movement is undoubtedly losing ground, its missionaries continue to be active, and their insidious propaganda must be fought down. Persia is slowly coming to the crossroads where she must face the inevitable choice, Christ or Materialism. God grant that the Church in Persia may so reveal Christ that, when the choice has to be faced, Persia may yield herself to Him, and find in Him the fulfillment of her aspirations." Z.

England in Palestine. By Norman Bentwich. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London. 1932. pp. 345. 12/6.

It is not inappropriate to comment that this is a unique book, not only in that it attempts to set forth one of the most arresting political

experiments of all times, to restore an ancient people to its ancient home and to knit up the several threads of national history, but in that it also sets forth one of the most modern political experiments in international relations set up since the World War under the terms of a Mandate. The events of that War changed an external into an internal relation; two countries that were connected by sentiment and interest became related as guardian and ward. It is the aim of this book to record the main events of that relationship in the years following upon the War. The author qualifies by reason of a residence in Palestine during this entire period, thirteen years as legal adviser to the Government of Palestine. Obviously, this narrative cannot have the perspective necessary to the historian, but the freshness and timeliness of a narrative written from personal knowledge may compensate for the perspective which time alone can give. This book is an attempt to describe the development of Palestine under British administration since 1917, under the authority of a Mandate. This unique modern method of international relations could hardly have had a finer illustration than that afforded by the serious and almost reverent manner in which Great Britain accepted the Mandate, following upon Balfour's famous declaration in 1917, that his Government viewed with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. This book, well supplied with Appendices, is an accounting of the stewardship of one nation toward another, under international auspices.

W. I. CHAMBERLAIN.

Chah 'Abbas I, sa Vie, son Histoire. By Lucien-Louis Bellan, (Les grandes figures de l'Orient, tome III). Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Paris, 1932. pp. 297. 75 francs.

This substantial and detailed biography amply justifies the inclusion of Shah 'Abbās among the "Great Figures of the Orient." It is chronologically arranged, and thus uses a method of presentation which enables the reader to follow step by step the process by which a boy of sixteen became established on the throne of his Šafavi ancestors, ruthlessly repressed every internal enemy, and ultimately re-established the wide boundaries of his great predecessor Ismā'il. This was not accomplished without almost yearly campaigns against rebel governors, who had become accustomed to virtual independence under weaker rulers, and against neighboring states which had profited by confusion in Persia. Ozbeks, Ottomans, Georgians, Indian Moguls, and Portuguese were defeated and held in check by a masterly combination of military and diplomatic skill.

The author concerns himself primarily with the official and public side of the Shah's activity, basing his account on the principal sources thus far published in Oriental as well as European languages. Consequently, the biography does not attempt to present an intimate psychological study, yet through the tightly woven texture of narrative appear occasional glimpses of the great ruler which prove his subtlety of mind and amazing vigor of body. It is to be regretted that a work which fairly bristles with personal and geographical names should be published without either index or map, and the bibliography will by no means solace students for the complete lack of references to the sources

which have been exploited. Despite these limitations to its usefulness, the book is a most welcome addition to the history of a man and a period as yet too little understood.

Princeton University.

W. L. WRIGHT, JR.

Arabic-Tamil Glossary of Islamic Religious Terms. Compiled by the Rev. H. Bjerrum, the Rev. E. Savarirayan, and Mr. S. Ramalingam. The Scripture Literature Press, Bangalore, S. India. pp. 24.

We welcome this little book as a proof of increasing interest in the evangelization of the Moslems of Southern India. It is not generally known that all the Tamil-speaking Moslems of India use a special language. The Arabic terms are given in the Arabic character, the Roman form, with the Tamil form and the Tamil translation. We learn from the Foreword that: "This Glossary of Islamic Religious Terms used in Tamil is the result of several years of reading and research under the auspices of the Madras Representative Christian Council, Committee on Work among Muslims. Certain popular Tamil Muslim papers and publications of their religious press have been read by qualified members of the Committee, and lists of constantly recurring religious terms not used in ordinary Tamil were compiled, and then carefully compared, checked and revised. Gradually a list has developed, which the Committee now feels may be published, and is confident, as has been expressed many times by those in touch with Tamil-speaking Muslims, that it will meet a very real need. It need hardly be said that the list is not exhaustive, but it is felt that nearly all of the Islamic terms in most common use have been included, and a more complete list would possibly be confusing, as it would certainly have been more expensive, and would have entailed yet further delay." Z.

The Catholic Faith. By Paul Elmer More. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 1931. pp. 312. \$4.

Students of the history of religion as well as students of Buddhism will welcome the excellent chapter on Buddhism and Christianity. While the writer is sympathetic toward primitive Buddhism, he admits the superiority of Christianity; for in the teaching of Jesus he finds "a fulness of worship and prayer, a beauty of holiness, a deeper peace in the acceptance of sorrow, a vision of divine purpose at work in the world, an inexhaustible hope—which the pursuit of the Eightfold Path of the Buddha can never quite attain." Readers of this journal will be interested in a footnote on page 3, where it is stated that the good in Islam is Judaic, while its errors are its own, and that spiritually and intellectually, in its orthodox form, it is far below Buddhism and Christianity.

For one who is conservative in his theology, More's interpretation of the Apostles' Creed is vague and far from satisfactory, especially in his treatment of the virgin birth.

It is interesting to note that he attempts to explain the Eucharist by means of Platonic philosophy. Mysticism is regarded as a disease of religion. According to this book, the Christian will find the proper balance within the circle of Platonic idealism.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Vers le Christ par le Vedânta, I. Cankara et Ramanuja. By Pierre Johannis, S. J. Translated from English into French by Michel Ledrus, S. J. Museum Lessianum—Section Philosophique, No. 13, Louvain, 1932. pp. xi + 252. 30 fr.

The author notes a very close resemblance between the philosophy of the Vedânta and the teaching of St. Thomas. Cankara believes in the existence of an independent God, but he does not explain the world and its relation to God; that is taken up by Râmânûja. Although the theory of the *avatâr* has a mythological character, Father Johannis thinks that it is destined to prepare India for Christ. Among the natural religions, he regards that of the Vedânta as perhaps the best, and consequently as the best foundation upon which to erect the supernatural structure of Christianity.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

The Independent Arab. By Major Sir Hubert Young, C.M.G., D.S.O. John Murray, London, 1933. pp. 345. 15s.

The author states in his Preface that the economic progress and the political independence of Iraq could never have been achieved by Sir Percy Cox "if it had not been for the earlier work of two men, one of whom, caring little for good administration, sowed in Arabia Petraea the seeds of Arab independence; while the other, caring little for Arab independence, laid in Mesopotamia the foundations of discipline and good administration." This book tells their story. Not only Lawrence and Wilson, but all the others who had a leading part in the Near East between 1913 and 1921 find their place in these interesting pages. The author himself had his full share of raids across the desert, attacks upon the Turks, and in the work of construction after that of demolition. We have excellent geographical description and discriminating information regarding the Arabs, but it is astonishing that there is scarcely any reference to their religion, as the background of their thought and civilization. Three excellent maps are found at the end of the volume.

Z.

Vingt Traités: philosophiques et apologétiques d'Auteurs Arabes Chrétiens du IX' au XIV' siècle. By P. Paul Sbath. H. Friedrich et Co., Cairo, 1929. pp. 206. 5s.

The author is well-known among Orientalists in the Near East through his famous collection of more than one thousand Arabic manuscripts, of which a catalogue appeared in 1928. The present work consists of a series of apologetic writings taken from these early manuscripts, with annotations, brief biographies, and an excellent index. The Arabic text is carefully printed, and appears without translation. The writers belong to the Nestorian, the Jacobite, and the Melkite sects. Among the subjects dealt with are the following: The Trinity, the Person of Jesus Christ, the Existence of God, the Veracity of the Gospel, the Virgin Birth, Science and Miracle, etc. It is astonishing to realize that the same questions are raised today in Moslem controversy, and that we must give the same answers. Tract number 17 by Yahia Ben Adi (A. D. 974) on the Virgin Birth is especially cogent and convincing.

Z.

An American Doctor at Work in India. By Sir William Wanless. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. pp. 200. \$1.50.

This is a capital human-document in evidence of the social and evangelistic values of medical missions. Sir William writes modestly of

the small and difficult beginnings, and of how the work grew by God's blessing. The Miraj Medical Center is famous all over India. Dr. Speer gives this testimony in his introduction: "In thirty years there had been built up a great plant, which could not be reproduced now for a million rupees, with a score of buildings, with three or four fully-equipped operating rooms, between one and two hundred beds, crowded almost all the year round, with thousands of out-patients—all, with the exception of a few gifts, acquired by the earnings of the hospital. . . . What a fountain of power this place is! Thousands of people have gone out from it to all parts of India, grateful for physical healing. Hundreds of young men have been sent throughout the country as Christian doctors. In more than one village we met them, standing out as the foremost men of the community. In two places we found them filling the positions of chief municipal honor and responsibility, presiding over high caste men, though they themselves had come from the lowest of the outcast people." Z.

Caravan Cities: Petra, Jerash, Palmyra, Dura. By M. Rostovtzeff. Translated by D. & T. Talbot Rice. Oxford University Press, New York. pp. 232. \$4.50.

This book is the outcome of a series of travel sketches which appeared first in a Russian magazine, then in book-form at Paris. The complete story of caravan trade in ancient times is a fascinating study, as all realize who have read Sprenger's "Alte Geographie Arabiens." The Near East is now the center of interest in archæological exploration, and the author is mindful of the fact that he is only one of a great company of scholars. "I do not for a moment suppose that I have given an exhaustive account of the historical problems to which I have referred in these pages, but I am confident that the line of research that I have indicated is the right one, and that the historical importance of many Syrian towns will only be properly appreciated when it has been recognized that they are towns of a peculiar type, and when their development as caravan cities has been fully acknowledged."

The maps and photographic illustrations are unusually fine; and a good bibliography is given for each chapter. A volume at once instructive and stimulating for a true appreciation of the ancient (and modern) caravan centers. Z.

Die Russische Gottlosenbewegung. By Dr. Adolf Ziegler. Verlag Josef Kösel & Friedrich Pustet, München, Germany. pp. 248. M4.50.

According to the sub-title this is an authentic presentation of the present Godless movement in Russia, since the October revolution in 1917. The eight chapters are a terrible comment on the text that is found on the title page: "The fool hath said in his heart: there is no God." The foundations of communistic atheism are described in the organization of anti-religious groups. The methods of propaganda are through the press, the theatre and the screen. The war against religion is thoroughly organized and carried on not only against the Russian orthodox church, the Catholic church and various Protestant groups, but against Jews and Moslems. The volume is well documented, and

contains thirty authentic illustrations from the Atheistic Press of Russia. Ten pages of bibliography include, however, only German and Russian works. Z.

Festschrift George Jacob: Zum Siebzigsten Geburtstag. Gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern. Herausgegeben von Theodor Menzel, Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1932. pp. 381. 30 R.M.

A Cufic vignette on the cover of this collection of Oriental studies indicates the high esteem for the Orientalist, Dr. George Jacob, on the part of his students and colleagues. It reads "*Ihsan al aslub fi ikram Ya'akub.*" Dr. C. H. Becker introduces the volume with a tribute to the scholarship and versatility of Dr. Jacob, and the volume closes with a bibliography of all his publications from 1886 to 1932. Among the important contributions to this collection of special interest to the student of Islam are the following: Joseph Hell, on "Der Islam und die Hudailitendichtungen"; Tadeuse Kowalski on "Türkische Volksrätsel aus Nordbulgarien"; Enno Littmann, on "Sneewittchen in Jerusalem"; Theodor Menzel, on "Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Derwisch-täg"; Karl Philipp on "Speisen und Getränke nach Sa'di"; Hans Heinrich Schaeder on "War Daqiqi Zoroastrier?" The article on the headdress of the Derwish orders is accompanied by a series of colored plates. Altogether this Festschrift is most interesting. Z.

Hespérís: Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des hautes-études Marocaines. 1er Trimestre 1932, Tome XIV, Fasc. I. pp. 110. Edited by R. Pinardon.

For some time we have not given notice to one of the most important of our exchanges, "Hespérís." Each issue contains invaluable articles on Morocco and North Africa with its ancient Berber civilization. The current number, in addition to the reprinting of ancient Jewish-Arabic texts from Fez, has a fully illustrated article on the Waterwheel and its History in North Africa. Dr. H. P. Renaud writes an article on "L'enseignement des sciences exactes et l'édition d'ouvrages scientifiques au Maroc avant l'occupation Européenne." Z.

Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates. Compiled by Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, Dublin. Luzac & Co., London, 1932. pp. 32. 2/6 net.

A most useful manual on comparative chronology. It consists of three tables: the first gives every year of the Hijra from A. D. 622 to the end of the twentieth century. In the same table they have the years of the Christian Era and in the third column the number of days in each Christian year which had elapsed before the year of the Hijra began. The second table gives the months of the Christian year; the third, the months of the Moslem year. The leap years are marked with asterisks. It is astonishing that the author makes no reference to the earlier work of Wuestenfeld, Prince Caetani and others. Z.

Yesterday and Today in Sinai. By Major C. S. Jarvis, Governor of Sinai. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1932. 312 pp. \$4.

We are glad to see Sinai through the eyes of one so competent as Major Jarvis. To the student of the past as well as the student of the present this book is a delight. Not only has the author spent years in making it possible for us to have this accurate picture of life in Sinai

today, but he has travelled the length and breadth of that unknown land and relived himself into the Crusades—even farther back into the weary wanderings of the Israelites.

But most of all we are grateful to Major Jarvis for making the Sinai Arab for us a lovable, human character. Major Jarvis has a rare gift of humor and his rich store of experiences makes his book a delight. They speak deeply for his years of patient work among the Arabs and his success in appreciating them. The book is a real contribution.

ANNA MONTEITH HARRISON.

Les Etats du Levant sous Mandat Français. By Raymond O'Zoux. Librairie Larose, Paris, France. pp. 329. 20 fr.

This carefully written and authoritative account of territories formerly called Syria and now under the French Mandate, belongs to the series "France d'Outre-mer." The author professes to write without bias; nevertheless his viewpoint is that of France and not of the Syrian people. There are chapters on the geography, the people, politics, the administration and the economic life. Classification of the people according to religions and sects is fairly accurate, and in speaking of higher education, the writer pays a just tribute to the Catholic University of St. Joseph and the American University.

"L'Université américaine est remarquable au point de vue de ses laboratoires et de ses bâtiments, de ses musées et de ses cliniques annexes. Bien que d'inspiration et de direction protestantes, elle respecte toutes les religions et se donne pour mission d'unir dans le savoir les jeunes gens de toutes nationalités et de toutes confessions."

A full, classified bibliography, two maps and a few illustrations add to the interest of the volume. Z.

Eléments d'Ethnographie Marocaine. By Joseph Bourrilly. Librairie Coloniale et Orientaliste Larose, Paris, 1932. pp. 296. 25 fr.

The author, a distinguished ethnographer, has written a score of books on archæology and ancient history. He went to Morocco in 1914 and died in 1929. The chapters of this book are based on his studies and notes. We have a description of the types of Berbers, their language, literature, family life, agriculture, the Berber calendar, music, etc. The author is a careful observer, and each chapter is followed by an annotated bibliography. He deals with actualities, and quotes with approval this summary of family life:

"Toute la vie de la femme marocaine est dominée par l'amour. La polygamie pratiquée généralement, la promiscuité du harem, la prostitution facile et non réprouvée, font naître des jalousies violentes. Pour l'emporter sur une rivale préférée, la femme se livre aux pratiques de sorcellerie les plus extraordinaires. Par suite, la sorcière, le sorcier, le forgeron jouent un rôle considérable dans la société marocaine." The illustrations are unique. Altogether a most useful manual. Z.

When Jews Face Christ. Edited by Henry Einspruch. The Mediator, 1503 E. Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Maryland. pp. 186. \$1.25.

There are two reasons for calling attention to this collection of biographies of Jewish converts. The first is that the law of apostasy in Islam and Judaism makes the way hard for those who leave the old religion and turn their faces toward Christ. The history of these

heroes is strangely similar to that of Moslem converts. The second reason for recommending the book is that it contains the story of one of the most intrepid missionaries to Moslems, Isidor Loewenthal of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. He was a trail-blazer on the borders of Afghanistan and prepared a translation of the New Testament into Pushtu. At the age of thirty-seven he was shot—whether accidentally or otherwise is not known. The gray dawn reveals a lifeless body within the mission compound. “Abreast Raymund Lull, Henry Martyn, Ion Keith Falconer, Bishop French—heroes of Mohammedan missions—stands Isidor Loewenthal, the Jewish peddler, with raven hair and black eyes—ambassador of Jesus Christ to far-off Afghanistan. Who doubts but that, when they laid his tired body to rest, the soul of the man, stalwart, strong and brave, went marching on with His Commander and Messiah into the forbidden land along the trail he had blazed for those who might come after.” Z.

My Life in the Moslem East. By Emma Cochran Ponafidine. (Mme. Pierre Ponafidine). Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1932. \$3.50.

This is the story of the author's life in the Near East, told simply and effectively; of the years in Persia as the daughter of American missionaries, and of the twenty years spent in Baghdad, Tashkent, Meshed and Constantinople as the wife of a Russian diplomat. The intolerable heat of Mesopotamia, the horrors of cholera following in the wake of pilgrimages, the settlement of a boundary dispute in uncomfortably high altitudes in the Pamirs, the sanctuary in the holy city of Meshed, are described realistically. Mr. Ponafidine was consul-general in Constantinople during the Russo-Japanese War, and witnessed the rise of the Young Turks. Mme. Ponafidine tells of the long imprisonment of Sultan Murad, as it was told her by his daughter, and one senses the bitter jealousy and cowardice of Abdul Hamid. This book was preceded by “Russia—My Home,” although “My Life in the Moslem East” should have been first chronologically. The two books form the autobiography of a courageous and sympathetic woman whose experiences were well worth recording. M.

The Odyssey of Homer: translated by T. E. Shaw (Lawrence of Arabia). Oxford University Press, New York. \$3.50.

Lawrence of Arabia is peculiarly fitted to translate the Odyssey of Homer, being a classical scholar and archæologist, but above all, because of his own astounding experiences among a pastoral people. He does not approach Homer with awe; rather, he appraises him dispassionately. “Very bookish, this house-bred man. His work smells of the literary coterie, of a writing tradition. His notebooks were stocked with purple passages, and he embedded these in his tale wherever they would more or less fit.” And the translation tends to clarify and quicken the narrative. The author cuts away what he terms as the “swarming speeches” by his clever choice of words, although sometimes the book loses in warmth of feeling when it gains in direct simplicity. Bruce Rogers, a distinguished American typographer, designed the large, readable type, and supervised the making of the book. On the whole, form and content alike are remarkably clear and beautiful. M.

The Selected Writings of Benjamin Breckenridge Warfield. Ten Volumes: Revelation and Inspiration, \$3.00; Biblical Doctrines, \$4.00; Christology and Criticism, \$3.00; Studies in Tertullian and Augustine, \$3.00; Calvin and Calvinism, \$3.00; The Westminster Assembly and its Work, \$3.00; Perfectionism, Vol. I, \$3.00; Perfectionism, Vol. II, \$3.50; Studies in Theology, \$4.00; Critical Reviews, \$3.00. Oxford University Press, New York.

We are glad to call attention to this important series of theological books. The volume containing the Critical Reviews is of special interest to students of Comparative Religion. Dr. Warfield was not only a great thinker, but a great scholar. He knew the literature of his subject as few men of his time have known it. Z.

An Arabic Zoological Dictionary. By Major-General Amin Malouf, M.D. Al-Muktataf Press, Cairo, Egypt. pp. 271.

The author is a member of the Arab Academy of Damascus, and was formerly Director of Medical Services of the Iraq Army. A bibliography of eighty books in English and Arabic, including those of Modern Arabian travellers, gives the sources for this excellent compendium. The method of the author is to give the English name followed by the Latin and the Arabic terms. Cross references are given in the Arabic index, and there are a number of rather inferior illustrations. The author devotes two pages to the camel, but the horse has only two lines, while the gazelle and the jackal have a page and a half each. A specialist will find much curious information, including an occasional anecdote, in this Dictionary. Z.

A Tower of Skulls: a Journey through Persia and Turkish Armenia. By Gerald Reitlinger. Duckworth, London, 1932. pp. 336. 18/- net.

A well written, beautifully illustrated book of travel. The writer visited the rock-cut sculptures of the South, wandered north along the Caspian Sea in Kurdistan and Armenia. He was imprisoned in the fortress-city of Kars and afterwards restored to everyday life, when he was marched under escort round Mount Ararat. Throughout all his hardships he preserved his sense of humor, and the book presents the amusing contrasts between the majestic past and the in some respects sordid present, in this part of the Near East. In the introduction he pays tribute to the great authorities on Persia, Sir Percy Sykes and Lord Curzon. Strange to say, there is not a single reference to missionaries or their work in the whole volume, nor to the new educational program of the Persian government. Z.

General William Eaton: The Failure of an Idea. By Francis Rennell Rodd. Rutledge & Sons, London, 1933. pp. 314. 12/6 net.

This is the story of a long-forgotten American hero, by an Englishman who has made full use of the episode in Eaton's life which marked the failure of a great idea and took place in North Africa, 1795-1805. During the Barbary War he conceived the fantastic idea of marching from Alexandria to Derna in Tripoli. He captured and defended the city, but the episode finally ended in disaster. If American ships had played their contracted part, the expedition might have succeeded. It is idle to speculate on the "might-have-beens" of history. After his re-

turn to America, Eaton's reputation suffered. "Under the influence of drink and gambling he deteriorated into a braggadocio, whose habits became somewhat ridiculous. He used to stagger about from tavern to market place, recounting his African exploits, dressed up in Turkish trousers or Bedawin robes and displaying his wounded arm to the unwilling acquaintances he buttonholed. Eaton declined into a pathetic figure of ridicule."

The story of this early contact between the American people and Tripoli is nevertheless of interest. Z.

Wie Sal Gaan? of die Sending in Theorie en Praktyk. By J. Du Plessis. Die S. A. Bybelvereniging, Capetown, South Africa. pp. 309.

The author is well-known as Professor at the Theological Seminary of Stellenbosch. His book on "The Evangelization of Pagan Africa" and his other works have made him an authority on South African problems. This is an excellent practical manual on the theory and science of missions, in thirty brief chapters, following in the main Dr. G. Warneck and Dr. Arthur J. Brown. The task, the Aim of Missions, and the Methods to be followed receive careful treatment. Although special problems like Polygamy and Lobola, Slavery and the Race Problem receive attention, it is surprising that there is such slight reference to Islam, which continues to make its inroads among the Bantu races. The bibliography is meagre, but the questions proposed for discussion in an appendix are exceedingly suggestive. Z.

Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina. Bd. II. Der Ackerbau. By Dr. Gustaf Dalman. C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1932. pp. 350. R.M. 21.-.

An intimate knowledge of domestic and agricultural life in Palestine is absolutely requisite for every Bible reader. How else is he to understand and to put a right construction upon the speeches and the many parables of the Old and the New Testament? Here Professor Dalman offers a solid help for understanding. His careful observations of the present state in Palestine proceed from the correct supposition that, considering the conservative tendency of the inhabitants of the Holy Land, far-reaching conclusions can be made therefrom with regard to biblical literature.

At the same time Dalman's researches are full of information also for the missionary in Palestine and for all friends of the Holy Land in the present time. The comprehensiveness of the book is admirable. We hear of the geological and chemical condition of the soil, we are enlightened about the laws relating to water and all the implements employed for agriculture. The descriptions of effective remedies for fighting locusts are very interesting. Their harmful effects are illustrated by descriptions of modern times. An arabic index of words and a classification of all biblical words greatly enhances the usefulness of the book. Numerous excellent pictures are also included in this volume. SIMON.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

THE ARABS OF JAVA. (In *The Java Gazette*, Batavia. February, 1933. pp. 1-4.

Originally from Hadramaut and often with homes in both places, the Arabs in Java are in successful clannish communities along the coast, keeping much to themselves and rejoicing in the daily gains of the Mohammedan faith.

MUSLIM CONTRIBUTION TO CHEMISTRY. Dr. D. H. Peacock.
(In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. January-February, 1933. pp. 5-12.)

During the Dark Ages, science was kept alive in Arab centres of learning, and Jabir Ibn Hayyan, Rhazes, Avicenna and Jildaki were chemical experimenters of great merit.

II. ARABIA AND PERSIA.

THE CONQUEST OF THE DESERT. C. S. G. Mylrea. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1933. pp. 117-121.)

Arabia, the heart and soul of Islam, offers a baffling problem to the missionary; but progress is steadily being made through evangelism, education and medical work.

ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR. K. N. Chatterji. (In *The Modern Review*, Calcutta. January, 1933. pp. 75-86.)

Profusely illustrated description of the treasures of Isfahan, which is the epitome of the Islamic art of Persia.

MORE EXPERIENCE IN ARABIA FELIX. K. S. Twitchell. (In *Asia*, New York. February, 1933. pp. 106-112: 130-131.)

Continues an article begun in the January, 1933, issue of *Asia* and describes road building and well drilling in the Yamen, inland from Hodeida.

PERSIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO LITERATURE. Sir E. Denison Ross.
(In *The Open Court*, Chicago. January, 1933. pp. 21-27.)

Except for the Zend Avesta, the Gathas and the Fables of Bidpai, written in Pahlevi script, Persian literature derives from

the Arabs and is largely lyrical, relying for its effect on word harmonies and musical metres, which cannot be reproduced in any Western language.

PUR-I-DAWOOD: a Scholar and Poet of Modern Persia. Mohamad Ishaq. (In *The Modern Review*, Calcutta. January, 1933. pp. 24-27.)

Modern, but with all the glory of the past in his soul, this poet of Persia brings a new gift to Santiniketan and strengthens the Moslem bond between the two ancient countries.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

L'ISLAM AFRICAÎN. Henri Dubois, S. J. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Alger. Janvier-Février, 1933. pp. 20-34.)

Discusses the expansion of Islam and its methods of combatting opposition; and gives populations for the principal divisions of Africa, showing relations of Musulman and Catholic to total.

DER ISLAM IM PAREGEBIRGE. W. Guth. (In *Evangelisch-lutherisches Missionsblatt*, Leipzig. Februar, 1933. pp. 48-53.)

Although the natives admire the Christians for their justice and compassion, they are led to Islam by the elasticity of its tenets and the simplicity of its demands.

THE YURUKS. Ernst Max Hoppe. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. January, 1933. pp. 25-28.)

Tells of an ancient shepherd race, whose descendants still inhabit the Gumuljina-Xanthi plains and the mountains of Rhodope.

IV. KORAN: TRADITION: THEOLOGY.

MUHAMMED: A BLESSING TO MANKIND. Dr. Khuda Bakhsh. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. January-February, 1933. pp. 18-25.)

Monotheism, united to a religion free from crippling ritual and bewildering creeds, has proved a mighty gift.

THE SUFI MYSTICS OF THE SAHARA. Joseph T. Cooksey. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1933. pp. 178-186.)

Based largely on Christian teaching but influenced also by Neoplatonism, Buddhism and Hinduism, "Sufism is one of the world's religious tragedies—the shining of a Divine light in a dark place and the darkness comprehending it not; the seeking, ever seeking, for spiritual union with God."

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

À PROPOS DU CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES FEMMES MÉDITERRANÉENNES. Mathéa Gaudry. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Décembre, 1932. pp. 712-718.)

Review of a congress held at Constantina, with résumé of its recommendations regarding prostitution, wages, hygiene, schools and legal age of marriage as they affect Moslem women and children in North Africa.

HOSPITABLE AFGHANISTAN. H. A. Lichtwardt. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1933. pp. 170-177.)

Description of Herat, with comments on conditions throughout the country and the suggestion that it affords a missionary opportunity for Americans since the Government is well disposed toward them.

KINGS, QUEENS AND VEILED LADIES. Annie Stocking Boyce. (In *Asia*, New York. March, 1933. pp. 137-143: 194-195.)

The wife of the vice president of the American College at Teheran vividly traces the progress of Persian women toward emancipation from 1928 to 1933.

REFORMS IN KASHMIR. Ram Chandra Kak. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1933. pp. 318-321.)

A survey of the workings of the recommendations of the Glancy Commission (1931) regarding: religious disabilities, land tenure, education and government services.

THE STATUS OF WOMAN IN ISLAM. Maulvi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. January-February, 1933. pp. 49-58.)

First number of a series of articles, presented to a Christian audience in a Christian church, stressing the alleged superior position of women under the Koran.

TURKISH WOMEN STILL STRIDING ONWARD. Charles Pound. (In *The New York Times Magazine*, New York. April 16, 1933. pp. 8-16.)

The advance is continual and appears in all parts of the country, though the large cities are the leaders.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

THE CHANGING FRONTIER: FROM RED SHIRTS TO REFORMS. F. G. R. Peterson. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1933. pp. 17-40.)

The real danger is, as of old, from the tribesmen; Soviet Russia is probably not instigating the Red Shirts.

THE GAZI OF TURKEY. W. A. Harper. (In *The Journal of Religion*, Chicago. January, 1933. pp. 1-17.)

A glowing picture of Mustafa Kemal's reforms and of the era of peaceful development opening for Turkey.

IRAQ'S RISE TO NATIONHOOD. William C. Bagley. (In *Current History*, New York. April, 1933. pp. 47-51.)

Progress toward universal education, the richest oil deposits in the world, and a sparse population offer opportunities for settlement and development scarcely equaled elsewhere.

KURDS, ASSYRIANS AND IRAQ. Capt. Philip Mumford. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1933. pp. 110-119.)

One of Iraq's major problems is how to deal with its minorities. Will it be able to handle them alone, or must it depend, as heretofore, on Great Britain and the Royal Air Force to support its policies?

LA MORT DE SI MOHAMMAD BEN BOUCHTA EL BAGHADI, PACHA DE FÈS. Alain Vizille. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Décembre, 1932. pp. 718-720.)

The French have lost a staunch supporter, and the citizens of Fez a just and understanding ruler, whose devotion to the interests of the Makhzen was untiring.

NINE YEARS OF REPUBLIC IN TURKEY. Sir A. Telford Waugh. (In *The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. January, 1933. pp. 52-69.)

Mustafa Kemal has achieved truly great results ever since Turkey's war with Greece, caused by the dilatory policy of the Allies in 1919, gave him his opportunity to assume absolute power.

NOTES DE POLITIQUE MUSULMANE. Un Africain. (In *L'Afrique Française*, Paris. Décembre, 1932. pp. 701-706; Mars, 1933. pp. 156-161.)

Stresses the danger to administrators caused by loss of contacts, due to red tape, rapid traveling by auto and train, and the creation of European quarters apart from the native towns.

THE TERMINATION OF THE 'IRĀQ MANDATE. Sir Nigel Davidson. (In *International Affairs*, London. January-February, 1933. pp. 60-78.)

Explains the theory of the mandate in general and discusses its application and development in 'Irāq, showing how the treaty with Great Britain in 1922 and the constitution adopted in 1924 led to that stability of government which must be the foundation of an independent nation.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

THE ASSYRIANS IN IRAQ. R. C. Cumberland. (In *World Dominion*, London. April, 1933. pp. 187-194.)

Recapitulates and, in part, refutes the article by Dr. Petros de Baz, in the October, 1932, issue of *World Dominion*, by showing the real need for the Assyrians is to recognize that their lot is cast in Iraq, that they must co-operate with the Iraqis, and that they must not plead for special rights and privileges.

WHEN THE GOVERNMENT FORCED THE ISSUE. Commodore B. Fisher. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. March, 1933. pp. 138-140.)

Due to the creation of a church committee, 100% Persian, and therefore acceptable to the Government, the Christians in Hamadan have been able to maintain church schools in spite of counter legislation enacted in 1932.

Mogul Paintings on Christian Subjects

1. A portrait of Shah Jahan with Christian symbols by Bichitr from the collection of H. Vever, Paris.
2. A page from the album of Jahangir at Berlin, including figures adapted from Albrecht Dürer.
3. Dürer's engraving, the "Maria am Baume," adapted in the album of Jahangir.
4. The Magdalen. A sketch in the possession of Mr. Coomeraswamy, Boston.
5. An orientalized reproduction of the Descent from the Cross, from the British Museum.
6. Angels worshipping the Infant Christ, from the Johnson collection at the India Office Library, London.

