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✦ DUNCAN BLACK MACDONALD ✦

TEACHER OF MISSIONARIES TO MUSLIMS

During all his literate life, Duncan Black Macdonald was interested in the Muslims, their languages, their literatures and their religion.

That interest began with a translation of *The Arabian Nights* as soon as he was able to read. It increased when he was a theological student and learned that Arabic literature included forms that were similar to some of the Hebrew sacred books. Early in his student life he was convinced that Arabic, Arabia and the Arabs preserved a second, an independent and a contemporary commentary on the Bible. It was not only because of its relationship to Hebrew that Duncan Black Macdonald devoted himself to the mastery of the Arabic language, but also because he wished to discover for himself and others the illumination that this surviving Semitic speech and life would provide for the whole religious experience presented in the Scriptures. It was this insight into the importance of Arabic that in large measure led him to the study of the language and the religion of the Arabs.

Macdonald took his college and seminary courses at Glasgow, where he was born, and then went to Berlin for graduate study under Professor Eduard Sachau. There he found himself in the stream of the great Dutch, French, German and Spanish Orientalists who had been carrying on Arabic and Islamic studies for several hundred years. Contemporary with him were professors and other students who became in their turn the active producers of editions, translations and studies of Oriental works. He felt the full influence

of the European standards and methods of scholarship and made them his own. He was himself soon to become one of the most productive and most prominent scholars in his field.

In 1892 Macdonald came to America as a teacher of Semitic literature in the Hartford Theological Seminary. Arabic and Islamic studies had no importance in American education during most of the nineteenth century, although a few scholars and preachers such as John Pickering, the first president of the American Oriental Society, Noah Webster, the lexicographer, Elihu Burritt, the learned blacksmith and Calvin Stowe, Harriet Beecher's professorial husband, had learned Arabic as a part of their interest in philology or Semitic literature. But the scholarly study of Islamic culture was practically non-existent in American academic circles. It was rather in literary circles that interest in the Orient flourished. Emerson had written an essay on Persian Poetry. Longfellow and others had made many poems based on Oriental themes and incidents. A book on "The Poetry of the Orient," by W. R. Alger, went through five editions between 1865 and 1883. But it was not recognized that Arabic and Islam were subjects for study in university courses on the civilization of the Near and Middle East, Egypt and North Africa, on the Semitic languages and the history of religion, on the mediæval history of Europe and in the general fields of art, architecture and comparative literature, of mathematical, medical and other sciences as well as mediæval philosophy and theology and contemporary sociology and economics. Such recognition is exceptional to this day, for, until the present war emergency changed conditions, Arabic and Islam have been minor, secondary or collateral studies even in the few universities and seminaries where they have had places in the curriculum.

At first it was only on special occasions that Professor Macdonald had opportunities to lecture or write on Arabic and Islam, but soon he saw that the interest at Hartford in missions to Muslims provided reasons for courses on Muhammadanism. Seminary students planning to become missionaries in Turkey, India and elsewhere in the Orient needed

and welcomed full and specific instruction in Islam to help equip them for their life work.

It is worthy of note that the first article Professor Macdonald published in America has the title "The Gospel in Arabic." He participated in securing for the seminary the important Arabic library of the German scholar August Müller. In 1899 the Journal of the American Oriental Society published his article on "The Life of al-Ghazzālī," which was based on Arabic sources. In 1901 the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society published his translation of al-Ghazzālī's book on Music and Singing. These works reveal Macdonald's complete mastery of Arabic and illustrate the scholarly procedure he had adopted. He believed in paying attention to Muslim authors of first-rate importance, in working directly with first-hand sources and in publishing only first-class results.

In 1903 Scribners produced his *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*. The scope, the clarity and the accuracy of this book brought Macdonald immediate recognition as a foremost Islamic scholar and teacher. In the winter of 1907-1908 he and Mrs. Macdonald went to the East. They spent most of the time at Cairo, but also visited Jerusalem, Nablus, Damascus, Constantinople and other places. His book on *Aspects of Islam* is part of the fruitage of his experiences and observations. The trip gave him direct contact with the Muslim peoples and institutions that he knew well from his many books. He also made large additions to his library, collecting the cheap and popular books of stories and magic as well as important printed and manuscript works.

Professor Macdonald had found, or rather made, at Hartford his unique opportunity to teach Arabic as a tool of prime value and Islam as a vital subject for his students. Missionaries to Muslims had to know both the sacred language and the theological doctrines of those Muslims. Thus it came about that when the Kennedy School of Missions was established in 1911 as a part of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, it started with the Muslim Lands Department. In that

Department the students read at first-hand the writers recognized by the Muslims themselves as authorities; they received a sound introduction to the languages and the religion of the Muslims; they absorbed their teacher's passion for precision in study and instruction, his appreciation of sincerity of heart and simplicity of life, and his earnest desire for the spiritual welfare of the Muslims. It is not hard to believe that he had been prepared in mind and heart, in academic position and library facilities, for just such service.

For fifteen years Dr. Macdonald taught in the Kennedy School of Missions as well as in the Theological Seminary, at times carrying far too heavy a teaching load, and at all times reading widely in abnormal psychology and folklore, writing reviews of books dealing with the Muslim East, preparing articles for encyclopædias and journals and occasionally conducting courses or delivering lectures at other institutions. Dr. Macdonald's studies in psychology contributed to his understanding of the life and character of the Hebrew prophets as well as of Muhammad the prophet of Arabia. His interest in folklore and story literature in general and in *The Thousand Nights and a Night* in particular enabled him to write the article "From the Arabian Nights to Spirit" that appeared in THE MOSLEM WORLD (Vol. IX) and to show how incidental story material may be related to the most abstruse philosophical concepts and the most important religious convictions of mortal life.

It was in *The Encyclopædia of Islam* that Dr. Macdonald exhibited most often the quality and technique of his scholarship. In his article on "Allah" he used the Arabic sources and explained the Muslim doctrines of God so that the Muslims themselves would say, "Yes, this account states fully and fairly what we believe," which is just the result that an encyclopædia should achieve. The same ideal and method are present, even if not apparent, in all the many articles he prepared. The result is that the substance of his writings is permanently valuable, and needs, in later years, to be revised and supplemented chiefly by fuller investigations and more recent bibliographies.

As a true scholar Dr. Macdonald was glad to have the results of his research, pursued objectively by himself in the first place, used by others for worthy purposes. As a convinced Christian and a firm believer in the Nicene Creed, he was particularly eager to have missionaries to Muslims base their activities on a sound understanding of Islam. He wanted the instruction he imparted to be used in a fair way, as well as with sympathy and goodwill. The fine spirit of all his teaching of Islam to missionaries is embodied in the pamphlet of the Board of Missionary Preparation called "The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems," which is largely his production and which is still so valuable that after a quarter of a century it is to be republished after being revised to bring it down to date.

Professor Macdonald continued his teaching in the seminary until 1932 and gave a new course of lectures after his formal retirement. He was then enabled to perform the inestimable service of putting the results of his forty years of Hebrew Bible study and teaching into two books, *The Hebrew Literary Genius* and *The Hebrew Philosophical Genius*, both published by the Princeton University Press. A third volume on the Hebrew religious genius he was not able to finish. These books are not written with the annotations of scholarship or the compression and detail of encyclopædia articles, but they have the clarity, movement and vigor that mark the master. Here again the subjects were handled in such a way that Jews as well as Christians admired the quality and goodwill of the manner and the matter of his books. Trinity College of Hartford had honored him with an S.T.D. and his own University of Glasgow had granted him a D.D. He was especially pleased when the Jewish Theological Seminary at New York made him a Doctor of Hebrew Letters, just as he was gratified to be elected an honorary member of the Arab Academy at Damascus.

On his seventieth birthday, April 9, 1933, Dr. Macdonald, then Professor Emeritus, expressed the deepest pleasure at a dinner in his honor at the University Club in Hartford, when he received numerous letters of congratula-

tion and respect from all over the world and was then given a finely bound copy of *The Macdonald Presentation Volume*. This contains his portrait and bibliography to that date, together with articles written in his honor, after the European *Festschrift* tradition, by former students, some of whom were missionaries to Muslims while others were teachers in graduate institutions in America and other lands.

Dr. Macdonald was long and intimately associated with THE MOSLEM WORLD, contributing articles to many of its volumes, counsel in its editorial direction and gifts for its financial support. It may be said that his other benevolences were as many, steady and large as his means would allow.

For the last two years of his life Dr. Macdonald lived in retirement at a nursing home at South Glastonbury, Connecticut, where, his many friends will be glad to know, he received the very best of care. He suffered a severe illness in July and passed away on September 6, 1943, in his eighty-first year. He willed his magnificent collection of editions of *The Arabian Nights* and his Semitic and Islamic books to the School he served. He hoped that his books would help and his standards would influence many succeeding generations of scholars studying Israel and Islam to render to the Kingdom of God service of permanent value.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

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THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS*

Are the missionaries of the future to be missionaries of Christ or missionaries of the Christian civilization of the West? This is the alternative which we face at present, although it is often disguised behind forms of words which conceal its real nature and essential importance. Do the missionaries of our Christian Churches go out to proclaim

* To the excellent tribute of my colleague I would add that Dr. Macdonald, as theologian and Missionary Statesman, contributed frequently to our Quarterly. This reprint from our issue of October, 1932 is decidedly up-to-date and breathes his strong convictions.—S. M. Z.

to the world the unique and divine fact of the Incarnation, or to carry to the non-Christian world the benefits—educational, medical, generally humanitarian—which have grown up in our civilization under the stimulus and guidance of the Christian Faith? Which of the two is the primary, the essential thing, the thing without which the other could not permanently exist, because separated from its source of life, the Life of the Incarnate and Risen Lord? Are we, when we send out missionaries or go out as missionaries, fully persuaded that the command to the Apostles is still the command to us and that the promise still holds, “And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world”?

It may be said, Why put the alternative so crassly? Different times require different emphases. Our times are not theologically-minded, and to carry the benefits of the Christian civilization is to preach Christ. Also, teaching, healing, helping are essential to the Christian Faith. The answer, in all gentleness and charity, must be that this objection rests simply on confused thinking and is, also, a misreading of the facts in the case. It may easily be that our Western world is not theologically-minded, that its religion is not theocentric—which is a pity—but the whole Eastern, non-Christian world is theologically-minded, and when our missionaries go to them with a non-theological temper of mind, they are simply unintelligible. The East is quite certain that these men know nothing of Religion, that the Divine Spirit has never spoken to them. They may bring in their hands many very useful things for our present life, here and now; they may be teachers, physicians, helpers in many ways. But if they do not come to proclaim a definite theological teaching which produces a life-transforming faith they are a puzzle to the Oriental. Why do they come? What is their motive? The whole East understands a theological motive; but when that is obscured, the East is only too ready to impute other and discreditable motives. This, especially and most unhappily, is the present situation, with its implications, in Turkey. The missionaries there have been forced into a false position.

But, further, what is the real place of humanitarian work

in the preaching of Christ? For it has there a most important place, emphasized in all the Commissions given by Christ in the Gospel record. It is a means of access, and it is a practical demonstration of the fruits of the Spirit. By schools, medical works, hospitals, immediate help in many ways in ordinary life, the missionary reaches his opportunity to teach the life that is in Christ. These are aids for the present-day missionary to do his work, even as the Roman roads carried the feet of the first preachers of the Gospel. But they are not the Gospel itself, any more than those roads were.

And, second, these present-day helps show what the Christian life must produce if it is a true life hidden in Christ. The missionary as he goes in and out among his people sees, of necessity, their ignorance and suffering, all their ailments, physical and mental. Woe to him if he does not help as far as in him is! As his Master went about doing good, so, too, must he. As he teaches Christ he has, of necessity, to live Christ. And so with him he must carry, as he goes, and to the furthest degree possible, all the helpful equipment of the Christian civilization. This is a secondary but necessary product of his commission—necessary but secondary. He was sent to preach Christ, and all this follows.

But there is another aspect of this practical and humanitarian side to Christian missions. Far too many, even of our regular church-going folk, ask "Why Missions?" because Missions for them too often suggest a somewhat ineffective effort to save the heathen from hell. This in them is sometimes a survival, as so often in the pew, of ancient and un-Christian theological thought. The pulpit exhortations of the past have much here for which to answer. But sometimes it is a product of the general untheological-mindedness of our Western world. To it one theological scheme is just as good as another; and they have a confused feeling that there is much to be said, in their time and place, for Buddha, Mohammed and even Mumbo Jumbo. If these far-away peoples want that kind of thing, let them have it, and don't disturb them in it.

To such as these the only answer is to ask them a hypo-

thetical question. Suppose in our Western world everything connected with Christianity were swept away, not only its organized forms but its ideas and motives. Suppose that all Churches were gone and the different humanitarian organizations which have sprung from them and are connected with them; that all schools and colleges were completely secularized; that the business and manufacturing worlds, the worlds of politics and amusements, were left dominant and unrestrained by the structure of Christian thought; that the dream of the secularist, in a word, had come true. Suppose all that: what kind of a world would we have to live in? It would be as near hell as anything thinkable.

Yet that is what the present non-Christian world is assuredly going to become if Christian Missions are swept away. The West is imposing its whole materialistic, mechanized civilization on the East. The East knows it, resents it, but is defenceless. Its own culture, its own religious and philosophical systems of thought and conduct, are falling like card houses. Its young men, trained in Western thought in the modern secularized schools, are losing all religious feeling. Their own religions cannot stand the strain, and nothing is being put in their place. So it is very plain that the religion of the West must go to the East as an essential part of its civilization, and that can only be done through Christian Missions of the old-fashioned kind, Missions which carry and preach as a divine fact the Incarnate Life of the Lord Christ. That this is a frankly supernatural doctrine makes no difficulty for the East; for it a religion must be supernatural; otherwise it is nothing.

So we are forced back, at all issues, on the great Commission of Christ himself to his Apostles, and the analogies as to methods and attitude of the first generations of the Christian Church hold still for us. How did these earliest missionaries, the fathers of us all, face their task and carry it out?

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HOW FAR HAS THE ISLAMIC NIGHT GONE?

I

"A voice is calling out of Seir to me,
'How far has the night gone, watchman?
How far has the night gone, watchman?'
The watchman answers,
'Morning comes, morning—and night;
If you wish to know more,
Come back again'".

This is the impulse and temper that dominates the attitude of Christianity toward Islam. The Ecumenical Church—Invisible Body of Christ—has the spiritual potential to effect a junction with the seemingly elusive, distraught but veritably aggressive community of Islam. Each rising missionary generation has the solemn privilege of coming to grips with Islam, to follow the lead of the Holy Spirit along perilous and uncharted seas. Avenues leading to the Moslem heart are every day discovered through the power of Christ, our everlasting contemporary. In its very core and essence Christianity is amazingly contagious. It has nothing to fear, nothing to hide, nothing to simulate.

"I yield to very few people indeed in my admiration for Mohammedanism," writes Paul W. Harrison, noted medical missionary. "There is in it a wonderful symmetry and geometrical beauty. . . . Theoretical Mohammedanism can stand comparison with the inheritance from the Greek philosophers, which constitutes such a large part of our mental furniture. Nobody in Arabia needs to be saved from his Mohammedanism any more than men in New York need to be saved from their Greek stoicism. . . . But", along with all men, "they need to be saved from their fear and their pride and their sin."

Mecca and Medina, Cairo, Baghdad and Damascus, together with the other centers of Islam, are strongholds of religious and racial pride. Perhaps that is one good reason why Christian messengers to Islam should be picked with an eye to their fitness to undertake cosmopolitan tasks. They

will find in the world-famed treasure-house of Islamic institutions and culture—despite their unquestionably pleasing qualities—no spiritual creativity, no undergirding faith in self-denial and humility, no understanding of God's primary lesson on the atonement, and no eventful relationship between God and man. Therefore, on no matter how small a scale or large, the Church of Christ must maintain in these prodigal areas of spiritual aridity, beacons of enlightenment ever flashing the call to freedom of mind and heart, and proclaiming the way from man's utter misery and depravity to God's supernatural grace, redemption and sanctification. This is what the Christian's throbbing heart sings as it implores: "How far gone is the night of lethargy and devastation and dreary ignorance through which two hundred and fifty million souls must stagger?"

II

A psychological war of nerves, in which many a missionary to Islam succumbs as an early victim, levies a proportionately heavy toll on Christians everywhere. Numberless and pitiful are the casualties of this sometimes "whispering" campaign. Its ravages on Church morale are astounding. It follows no uniform pattern. Its opening salvos assume some such form as this: "What does Christianity contain that is not found in Islam? Does not Islam emphatically assert that it has much to offer Christianity? Of all human beings, are not the Moslems the most obstinate rejecters of the Gospel call?" To which an answer is immediately suggested by the rankling apathy and festering spiritual decay which shout Islam's need silencing every voice that is raised in apology.

Students of history and arm-chair academicians, next, pick up the melancholy refrain, implementing with facts and figures their tearful lamentation entitled: *The Futility of Christian Missions to Islam*. From the viewpoint of holy history, theirs is a dismal and worn-out tale, the good intentions of some narrators notwithstanding. Pursuing a subtle, high-strung, erudite course, step by step they promote a

philosophy of doom, calculated to stymie Christendom into a loathesome position of impotence and despair. Their reasoning reaches the layman under one deceptive covering or another. Here is a sample: "Islam today is shamefully exposed to the encroachments of Christians. To be sure, early in its history Islam sought to encircle Christendom. But the zeal for encirclement, receiving some support from the Islamic theory of war, soon dwindled. It is true the Mediterranean was virtually a Moslem sea, particularly after Sultan Maḥmud II captured Constantinople in May 1453. But the voyages of Diaz, Columbus and Vasco da Gama, before the close of the fifteenth century, opened not only a new world but new routes to the East. Thus by closing the old trade paths, the Turks had actually rendered an immense service to Europe. The subsequent age of exploration and colonization led to the isolation of Islam. Islam's own policy of isolating Europe tended in the long run to ruin the very economic structure of the Moslem world. The eventual separation of the Middle East was only a matter of time. The sad spectacle of the Sick Man of Turkey is a symbol of the deterioration of Islam's interior lines under Christian hammer blows from without."

In this arresting manner do certain front-line writers and commentators presume to write into the platform of Christian missions, and to read into the present status of Christian-Islamic relations, an erroneous interpretation derived from a one-sided reading of history. For the world mission of the Church is not to be identified with the rise to power of Christian nations. No hypothesis—historical or otherwise—grounded in the phenomena of the rise, decline and fall of earthly kingdoms, and their economic, geographic, and political vicissitudes, can ever explain the cathartic function of the Christian Church in the personal and communal life of the non-Christian world.

A still more sinister frame of mind displays its faithlessness in the Good Cause. It calls attention to the fact that in their impact on society and the body politic, Christian missions in Moslem lands have a corrosive character. But

this school of critics is likely to go even farther than that. It equates the missions with what in the Western Democracies has recently been called a subversive activity, engineered from the outside by an alien, hostile authority, aiming at the overthrow of organized government. This accusation, sometimes veiled and seemingly innocent, is discredited on the grounds of its double evasiveness: It ignores the unique character of the Church, in its prophetic, sanctifying, and sacerdotal function: it blunderingly fails to inquire whether the Islamic political theory as such has either the vitality or the right to live in the modern world without some radical amputation and emendation.

An archaic religio-political system that denied non-conformists the right of participation in the free life of the community is not compatible with the spirit of an age that has twice risen in revolt against regimentation of men's souls. Nor does the twentieth century any longer tolerate that Moslems arrogate to themselves exclusive prerogatives at home, including the power to restrict the exercise of man's natural right to choose his own religion, while demanding and receiving abroad the right both to profess and propagate Islam without molestation or interference.

Let it be said in addition that no code is safe that blocks the flow of healthy, fruitful thought and dynamic, spiritual ideas. The Christian doctrines of humility and self-denying love can endanger the welfare of no society. Christian ethics and morality as well as ecclesiastical polity and order gravitate around the Person of Jesus—the only perfectly luminous figure in Whom ageless Eternity and perfect Humanity are tabernacled. Around His blessed Name converge all the spiritually creative movements of time. He whose divine nature glistens snow-white and dazzling, reëchoed in the unforgettable words: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends", has left engraved on the heart of every believer His image of love and goodwill toward all men.

Difficulties, objections and astute distinctions in no way alter the realities of the case. They ought not to be allowed

to deter the ongoing Church of Christ. Are they not part and parcel of a demonic fifth column program, sweeping the Christian homelands like wild fire, boring from within, often succeeding in sabotaging the evangelistic home front?

III

It is one thing to prove an easy target for the "high pressure" tactics of those prophets of doom who propose nothing less than a general demobilization of Christian missions to Moslems; and quite another, obdurately to reject the lessons born of costly experience, and adamantly refusing to admit our current failure to win the Moslem heart. In all events, a Christendom that has lost faith and consecration to the extent where it did not provide an appropriate witness to the Revelation of God and the means of spiritual insight in the faltering Moslem world is hardly worthy of the name. There is no heart so stony that it does not somehow respond to the approach of Christ-like tenderness.

Syncretism and synthesis, together with their sugar-coated but really diabolical foster sister—the principle of religious continuity among the world living faiths—are categorically precluded by the orthodox affirmations of Christianity. Yet nothing is lost if we admit that in other religions are seen the broken rays of the light of Him who is the Light of the world. Nor that the Koran is the spiritual pilgrimage of a man who undoubtedly embarked upon his career with sincerity and who brought about in the static and thankless social wilderness of Peninsular Arabia a reformation which hardly anyone else had achieved. No one need deny, furthermore, the existence of Moslem piety, ethical righteousness and prayer life. The day may not be far off when the Church will come to recognize the relative proximity of Islam to herself, having discovered in it an altar inscribed: To an Unknown God.

We cling to the historic belief that has kept the Church alive, even in its hour of cruel trial and ordeals, as in the case of the ancient Eastern communions that have withstood sword and fire and persecution. That belief is grounded in

the knowledge that the cleansing of the individual and the healing of the nations cannot come from man, only from God by the light of His Revelation. In this light nothing shines out more brilliantly than the regal and divine freedom of His mercy and love, that love which pours its sunshine and its rain on the just and the unjust, which is "no respecter of persons". That love will not be hemmed in by any earthly constraints, but seeks out and surprises every individual soul. The cosmic, redemptive fact that Christ, through the sacrifice of Himself on Calvary, made satisfaction for us, and once for all paid the price of redemption, is the postulate and cornerstone of all subjective Christian piety and of our personal faith.

To "bear branded in the body the marks of Jesus" is the highest profession of a Christian. It is to have one's gaze permanently fixed on the Cross and to see "the very dying form of one who suffered there for me". It is unashamedly to bear witness to the unsearchable riches of Christ in every quarter of the globe. The two wonders one confesses as he surveys the rugged Cross, amidst the misery of this world's tears and havoc are "the wonder of Redeeming love" and "my unworthiness". Not until these divine realities shall come to possess their God-ordained meaning to the Moslem, may the Church cease agonizing. Meantime the day of destiny is to be prayerfully awaited, till the night pass and the morning break and every knee bend before one who tenderly beseeches men saying: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest". Not until the encounter is perfected with that Man of Galilee can the sword of sin be shattered or the darkness of souls dissipated.

"Man and Christ face one another as question and answer, as desire and fulfilment. Only he who sees in Christ the answer to his question and the fulfilment of his desires is redeemed," wrote Karl Adam of Tübingen in *The Son of God*. "There is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved", save the name of Jesus.

For nigh on two thousand years the Gospel of Christ, the Redeemer of the world, has been spread among men. Its

power is the greatest single sustainer of the noblest qualities of man. It is responsible for the apprehension and conviction of all blemishes that mar the career of irascible man. By feeding on Him who is the Bread of Life men feed on God. Since He is God, He is our Life, for what is God but the Life of men. That is the incontrovertible core of Christianity which no one has the right to barter away, sell or adulterate. That is the note of jubilation that puts a song in the heart of man. That is the music of heaven played to the Moslem ear.

The fight of belief and unbelief is ever the true theme of history. In this sense Christianity is not a reconciliation but a dividing of souls, not a universal appeasement of the world but a destruction of its Temple whose rebuilding will follow the divine pattern. "And this Gospel of the Kingdom shall be preached to the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations." When therefore one beholds the abomination of desolation in the world the role of the Church must be recalled. Is she not the salt wherewith it shall be salted? So has it been from the beginning, is now, and ever shall be.

Nonetheless, "there's a wideness in God's mercy, like the wideness of the sea". In the infinite treasury of divine pity and compassion, there lies an abounding wealth of fathomless grace by which the Redeemer may approach those souls who live their lonely lives without the city walls. Those seeds of the Divine Word, which fall everywhere even in non-Christian hearts, are also life-giving germs of redemptive grace, born and nourished by Christ's blood. Those visitations of His grace are as individual and countless as there are men on earth. Under the shadow of some baneful legend or false teaching, entangled in a filthy growth of error and corruption, nevertheless they find soil in some honest heart longing for truth, virtue and blessedness.

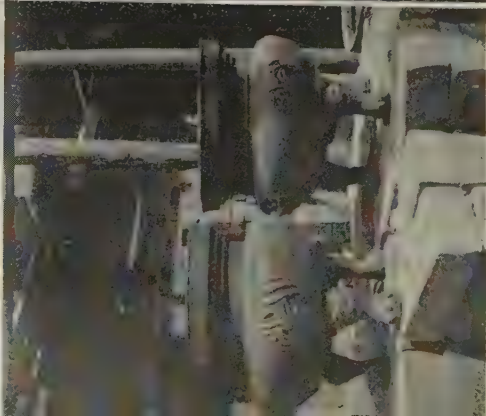
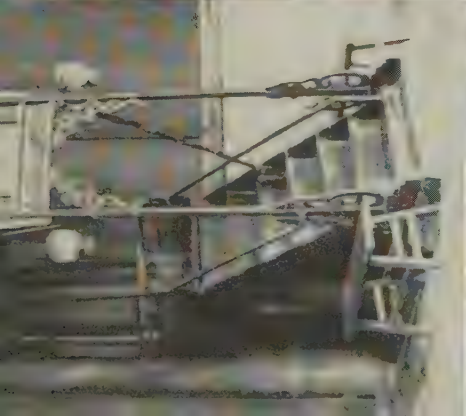
"I am inquired of by them that asked not for me. I am found by them that sought me not. I said: Behold me, behold me, unto a nation that was not called by my name."

EDWARD J. JURJI.

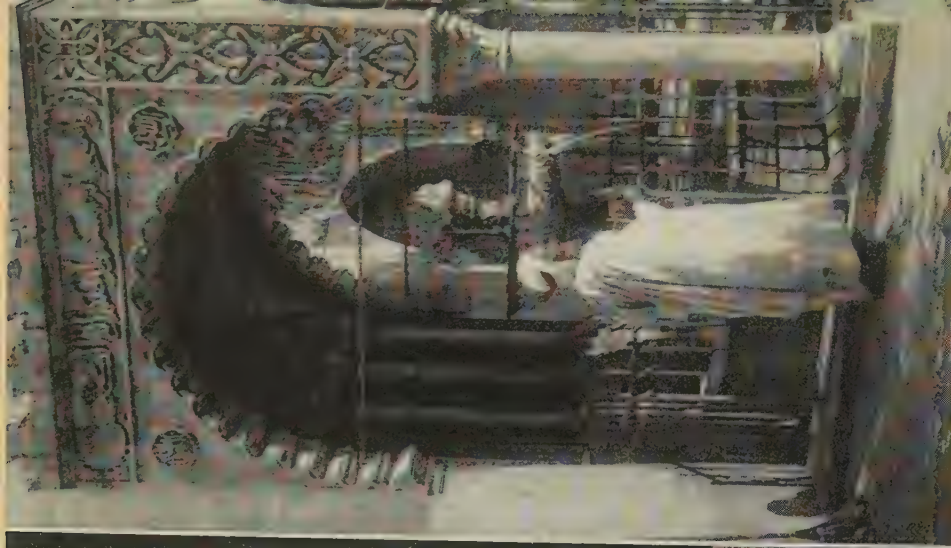
Princeton, N. J.



THE QADHI-MUJTAHID, SULTAN-AL-'ULEMA
KERMANSHAH (1928).



PULPIT IN MOSQUE AT SIAN
N. W. CHINA (1933).
INCENSE VESSELS IN MOSQUE,



IMAM AT THE ABLUTION-FOUNTAIN
MOSQUE IN ALGIERS (1922).

THE CLERGY AND PRIESTHOOD OF ISLAM

According to the Century dictionary a priest is primarily "one who is duly authorized to be a minister of sacred things; one whose stated duty it is to perform on behalf of the community certain public religious acts, particularly religious sacrifices". And, in a secondary sense, "a priest is one who is ordained to a pastoral or sacerdotal office; a presbyter; an elder" (so also the Encyclopædia Britannica, xiv ed., Art. *Priest*).

As for the word clergy, it derives from *clerk* and although used now, in distinction from the laity, for a body of men set apart for the public worship of the Church, its original meaning was a cleric or clerk, a learned man, one who could read (Chaucer). In fact, Webster defines clergy, "The priesthood or body of adepts of *any* religion". He defines *Imam* as "The priest who performs or leads the regular service in a Mohammedan Mosque". So much for etymology.

Every religion has had its clergy or priesthood by whatever name called; no one denies that there were Jewish priests and Levites, or that there are Hindu priests and Buddhist priests. But in the case of Islam a curious opinion to the contrary has arisen. Dr. Zaki Ali, an Egyptian Moslem, writes: "Islam has no clergy nor Church organization, and the office of priesthood is rejected altogether. Any Muslim may suffice to conduct the ritual, and none is invested with sacred character. The theologians are merely those who know the Divine Law; they do not compose a clerical caste".¹ Another, writing of Persia, states: "The mosque is tended by no sacred priesthood as are the temples farther east, and to a less extent, the churches of the west".² Still more definite is the recent statement of Professor Thomson: "Unlike Christianity, then, Islam did not found a church with an independent constitution and a recognized relationship to the

¹ *Islam in the World*, p. 21. So also the Sheikh-al-Islam to Dr. Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems*, p. 59.

² Elgin Groseclose in *The Persian Journey of Rev. Ashley Wishard*, p. 118.

state. . . . And it devised no interpretative authority. . . . Like [modern] Judaism, if for a different reason, Islam has no priesthood. A class of religious officials arose, indeed, as a result of a felt need, preaching sheikhs, Koran reciters, Imams, or leaders in prayer, and muezzins. But these officials do not form a closed profession. They have no especial obligations. They are not guides and keepers of the public conscience. They are seldom teachers of the young. Their functions can be performed by any other Muslim just as well, and they themselves are free to adopt any other business or profession. For there is no bond of consecration, no ordination that joins them with the founder of their faith in a spiritual union. All believers are equally priests, or there are none."³

Dr. Thomson's statement is true in the sense that Islam has no priests "who have authority to administer sacraments or pronounce absolution" (Oxford Dict. definition). The clergy in Islam and its priesthood are Protestant rather than Roman Catholic in their authority and function. Since Islam denies the Crucifixion and the Atonement, it has no altar or mass, yet the *mihrab* in every mosque is an imitation of the altar niche in churches. (Becker, *Islam Studien*, p. 493). How then, we ask, did Islam become totalitarian? "Church and state are so completely identified that the religious life is made subject to the supervision of the courts of law; and the constitution of society and the government is supposed to be the result of a series of Divine enactments. All spiritual development is treated as a crime against society and punished accordingly."⁴ In fact, Osborn's careful study of early Islam is even entitled, *The Church of Islam*, and he devotes two chapters to an account of "this inflexible theocracy". That Islam is totalitarian was pointed out in the pages of our quarterly by Dr. Charles R. Watson and Dr. E. E. Calverley.⁵

But a totalitarian system needs an Ogpu or a Gestapo to enforce its claims. We hold that from the days of Omar at

³ THE MOSLEM WORLD. Vol. xxxiii, pp. 101, 102.

⁴ Osborn, *Islam under the Caliphs of Baghdad*, p. 71. So also H. Lammens in *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, p. 94. "The 'Ulema are the heirs of the prophets." They decide spiritual issues. "The masses have nothing to do with these questions."

⁵ THE MOSLEM WORLD. Vol. xxviii, pp. 6-21.

Medina to those of Al Azhar in modern Cairo, it is the clergy, the priesthood of Islam that have been the legislative, judicial and executive departments of this church-state—of what some have even called the democracy of Islam. Let us go back to the beginnings.

Among the nomadic Semites there was no developed priesthood. With the beginning of a settled state, however, the local sanctuaries (*bethels*) rose in importance and at these shrines there was not only sacrifice but an oracle. The Canaanite-Phoenician name for priest is, in fact, identical with the Arabic *kahin*, a soothsayer (Hebrew, priest). According to Wellhausen, the early Arabian *kahins*, or priests, not only were custodians of the sanctuaries, e.g., at Mekka, but gave out oracles in rhymed prose similar to the short chapters of the Koran. The *kahins* were soothsayers; they gave imprecations and benedictions; they alone offered special prayers for rain (*istisqa*) with peculiar ritual; their garments and saliva had healing power; their hair was sacred and potent. In all these respects Mohammed, even during his lifetime, was a *kahin* (priest) as well as prophet. It was he who took the pagan-sacrificial ritual of Mecca and made it the central feast of Islam. This was the act of a *kahin*. After giving a list of these pre-Islamic *kahins* (priests), Wellhausen goes on to show at some length that Mohammed himself unwillingly followed in their footsteps: "*Muhammad wollte zwar kein Kahin sein konnte aber doch nicht von ihrer Art lassen.*"⁶ He would not be a *kahin* but could not forsake their art.

So far as "the idea of priesthood being abhorrent to Islam", Mohammed met Christian monks and priests (*ruhban*, *ḳissīs*, *ahbar*) and received from them directly or indirectly some of his "revelations". (Tor Andrae and Margoliouth). In the Koran there is a beautiful tribute to them and it is the *only* reference to the Christian clergy of his day: "Thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say, We are Christians; that is because there are among them priests and monks, and because they are not

⁶ *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*. Berlin, 1897. pp. 137-140. Cf. also Ignaz Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Vol. 1: 237-260. The facts he cites are a remarkable commentary on this statement of Wellhausen. At any rate priest (*kahin*) and (*nabi*) prophet were closely related. One is reminded of the lines in Milton's sonnet: "New presbyter is but old priest writ large". Priest, presbyter, elder, sheikh, are really synonyms for types of clergy.

proud" (Surah 5: 85; and compare the comment of Zamakhshari, Vol. I, p. 262). Wensinck says that the title *rāhib* was given to various pious individuals in the earliest history of Islam, and Goldziher tells of one, Abu Bekr al-Mahzumi, who had the title, *rāhib-Quraish*—the Quraishite Monk—because of his constant devotions (II: 394).

The pre-Islamic poets refer to the *rāhibs'* hospitality and their light which guides the wayfarer by night. There is, it is true, a late and un-orthodox tradition, "*La rahbāniya fi'l Islam*"—There is no monasticism in Islam. *But this does not occur in the canonical collections.* And Surah 57: 27, which speaks of monasticism; *should* read, according to the older exegesis and the context: "We put in the hearts of those who followed Jesus, compassion and mercy and the monastic state. They instituted the same only out of a desire to please God, etc." (So Massignon, in the article *Rahbāniya*, Encyc. of Islam). "This older exegesis calls monasticism a divine institution; the younger one expresses a feeling hostile to monasticism and coined the tradition, no *rahbāniya* in Islam" (*idem*).

The borrower is servant to the lender. Mohammed himself borrowed Koran material from his Christian and Jewish neighbors and the researches of Goldziher, Caetani and Lammens only emphasize the fact pointed out by Horowitz: "The Prophet had to enter into the heritage of his predecessors and wrap himself round with their mantle of saintship. His erstwhile heathen countrymen transferred to him the powers which they had formerly ascribed to their *Kahins*; the new converts from the old (Christian) civilizations assigned to him the attributes of their former saints" (THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. 12: 312). Such were the swaddling-clothes of the new religion. As for Mohammed himself, Michel d'Herbigny has thrown new light on his career in a remarkable study, *L'Islam Naissant; Notes Psychologiques* (Rome, 1929). How even the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice, rejected in the Koran, became the chief corner-stone of popular Islam in Persia is told by William A. Shedd and S. G. Wilson.⁷ The blood of Hussain at Kerbela took the place of

⁷ *Islam and the Oriental Churches*, by W. A. Shedd, pp. 75, 76 and *The Atoning Saviour of the Shiah*, by S. G. Wilson in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, XIII: 51 ff.

the Kaaba blood of sheep and camels, to atone for sin, in the annual festival.

Now where did authority rest when Islam, under the first four caliphs, sprang from its cradle in Medina? Who instituted the *masjid* and the *minbar*? Who appointed the first *muezzins*, *khatibs*, *imāms* and *qādhis*? What is the origin of the Islamic hierarchy and of its monastic orders of dar-wishes? When did the royal Quraish family first assert its prerogative of hereditary prestige, perpetuated to this very day in ten thousands of *Seyyids* and *Sherifs*?

Priesthood is not a matter of etymology (priest, presbyter, sheikh, elder) but of actual spiritual and temporal power over those who acknowledge its function. The religious and political development in Islam went hand in hand. In the course of the first century, the Koran readers (*qāris*) arose, and these were succeeded by the men of tradition (*ahl-al-hadith*), by canonists (*faqīhs*) and other learned men who held office. "They laid claim to an interpretative authority concerning the divine law which bordered upon supreme legislative power; their *Ijma'* (agreement) was that of the infallible community."⁸ "The four earliest caliphs", says Macdonald, "were very happily called *ein Mönchischen Imperium*, by Sachau. After this original 'monkish empire' the first Abbasid Caliph appointed his first *vizier* or helper; as Aaron, the priest, in the Koran is called the vizier of Moses" (*Mohammedan Institutions* in Ency. Brit., 11th edition). Again and again Dr. Macdonald in this article speaks of the Church of Islam. In this church, religious endowments, *waqf* (mortmain) waxed larger and tended to absorb the greater part of the national wealth. The power of the Caliphate went further in its religious control and domination, until even an Inquisition (*Miḥna*) existed for nearly two decades under Al Ma'mun in Baghdad, with torture and capital punishment for those who denied the creation of the Koran! (W. M. Patton: *Ahmad b. Hanbal and the Miḥna*. Leyden, 1897).

On the power of the '*Ulema* (clergy) in general, D. B.

⁸ Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 97. Cf. Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islam. Gesetzes* Vol. I. p. 84.

Macdonald says, "It is plain that their organization was the solid framework of permanent government behind the changing dynasties [in the history of Islam]. They had the ultimate decision on all questions of constitution, law and theology." (Art. *Ulema* in Encyc. of Islam).

A very able and extensive article on the *Masjid* (Mosque) in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, by Joh. Pedersen, devotes an entire section to the *personnel* of the mosque. This alone would be a perfect reply to those who say there is "no priesthood in Islam"; for the list of mosque personnel is a regular hierarchy. Here are some of the "clergy":

1. *The Imam*. Each mosque throughout the vast world of Islam has its *Imam*.⁹ The word goes back to the Koran itself, where it signifies a pattern or leader in religion (Surah 2: 118; 17: 73; 25: 74). It was used in early days for the *Imam* or *Khalifah* of the Moslem people. Later it was used of a patron saint or theologian, e.g., Abu Hanifa and the other three *Imams* of orthodox Islam. The Shiah speak of their twelve *Imams*—a hierarchy of religious leaders far more sacred to them than the Twelve Apostles of the early Church were to Christendom.

But here we speak of the ordinary *imam*. In the earliest days he was *imam* in holy war as well as in prayer. The Friday service could only take place under those qualified to conduct it; who could punish and impose duties (Makrizi iv, p. 7). He was appointed and paid by the local governor out of the mosque-treasury (*Bayt-al-māl*). He had to maintain order and was in charge of the divine services daily, but especially on Fridays (Pedersen). In India, we are told that sometimes the *maulāwi* and *imam* are combined in one, "and the *maulāwi* who possesses the mosque pays the *imam* as his curate" (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 329). Hughes goes

⁹ Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 204. For example, in South Africa:

"As the outcome of the Cape Malay Association Conference, recently held at Cape Town, one of the resolutions agreed to was that the general executive be instructed to approach the Minister of the Interior with a view to getting his recognition to the appointment of a Chief and a Deputy Chief Priest for the Union. A deputation waited on Dr. Malan, who said that he was prepared to recognize such appointments if the names of the priests appointed were submitted to him.

"In order to get the opinion of the Emaums on this question, the general executive summoned a meeting of all the Emaums in the Peninsula last Sunday in the Trades Hall, Plein-street, Cape Town. Forty-one Emaums attended."

Cape Times, July 29, 1925.

on to say, "The Imam or priest of the mosque is supported by endowments (*waqf*). In towns or villages there is a parish allotted to each mosque, and the people within the section can claim the services of their *imam* at marriages and funerals." It is true that a religious ceremony is not obligatory for marriage, but it is usual in Arabia, Egypt and India. It consists of a confession (*istighfār*) by the *Imam*, repetition of the creed, the joining of hands and a closing prayer. (L. Bevan Jones, *Woman in Islam*, p. 82; Hughes, Dict., p. 318). What more does a Christian priest do at a marriage ceremony?

Those who doubt the existence of clergy or priesthood in Islam should read Westermarck's two volumes on *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*. A reference to the index alone would show that even the Moslem schoolmaster (*faqīh*) stands apart from the laity, receives the first-fruits, washes the dead, presides at funerals, performs the first sacrifice at the Great Feast, and inculcates the principles of Islam. All education is in his hands and all education is religious. Secular education came only after the French occupation. It is from such an exhaustive study as Westermarck's (see index for *Scribes and Shereefs*) that we learn how priest-ridden Morocco was.

While the *imam* conducts the marriage ceremony, it is the *qādhi* who leads prayers at funerals. (Hughes Dict., p. 58). The offices of *imam* and *qādhi* are not necessarily hereditary, but it is usual in Mohammedan countries for them to pass from father to son. (*idem*). In China the *imam* is called *ahung*, i.e., religious teacher.

The importance and special functions of the *imam* of a mosque are indicated in scores of traditions. He must be the best Koran reader, an elder or presbyter (*sheikh*), must not assume office against the will of the people (parish); but, once chosen, his authority is clear. People must not even leave the mosque before he does.¹⁰ The *imam* has the power not only to receive converts into Islam and welcome them, as is the case in Arabia and Egypt today, but also exercises the power of excommunication. As in Judaism, the apostate

¹⁰ Wensinck, *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, pp. 109, 110.

is "cast out of the synagogue" and it is the priesthood which cast him out. Klein, who resided in Egypt for many years, writes: "A Muslim who apostasizes is to be brought before the *Imam* and called upon by him to give up his unbelief and return to Islam. If he does not recant he is to be killed."¹¹

At the two great religious festivals of Islam, the *imam* or *qādhi* presides at the public services and initiates the sacrifice and the proper prayer ritual (Juynboll, *Islamisches Gesetz*, p. 127; Herklot's *Qanoon-e-Islam*, pp. 261-269).

The ceremony of the *Hajj* at Mecca opens with a sermon at the great mosque, by the *imam*, which all pilgrims must attend. In how many ways the laity are instructed and led through the perplexing ritual of the *Hajj* by the Moslem clergy (*muqaddam*), one may learn from Hurgronje's *Mekka* or Burton's story of his pilgrimage.

In Morocco and elsewhere, at the 'aqiqa sacrifice for the new-born child, it is the *faqîh* (*mullah*) who presides, slays the victim, offers an extraordinary *vicarious* prayer and receives his fee (*Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, Vol. II, pp. 391-397). At circumcision, the *imam* has an important place in Turkey, Egypt and among the Achinese (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Khitan*, p. 958). He offers prayers and takes part in the procession and the family feast. The rite of circumcision is considered the act of reception into the religious community (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*).

2. The *Qādhi* (or Judge) holds a religious-political office and often exercises the functions of *imam* as well. In some Moslem lands he is appointed by the secular power. Even as is the case in some State Churches of Europe. He alone is competent to give decisions in matters of *fiqh* (canon-law). He also determines the punishment in every case.¹² Every Moslem village from Morocco to China offers abundant illustration. The local *qādhi* is the court of appeal, even for non-Moslems in case of trouble. If he is friendly, many a Jew and Christian in the Near East has

¹¹ Klein, *Religion of Islam*, p. 181. Cf. Zwemer's *Law of Apostasy*, ch. II and VI.

¹² Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, Vol. I. p. 145.

escaped mob fanaticism. Those who say there is no priesthood in Islam should read Doughty, or go out as pioneer missionaries or travellers to Arabia, Morocco or Central Asia. There they would soon experience the power of the priesthood. Let a paragraph from Doughty suffice: "The Imam's mind was somewhat wasted by the desolate Koran reading. I heard in his school discourse, no word which sounded to moral edification! He said finally—looking towards me!—'And to speak of Aysa bin Miriam,—Jesu was of a truth a Messenger of Ullah; but the Nasara walk not in the way of Jesu,—they be gone aside, in the perversity of their minds, unto idolatry!' And so rising mildly, all the people rose; and every one went to take his sandals. The townspeople tolerated me hitherto,—it was Zamil's will. But the Muttowwa, or public ministers of the religion, from the first, stood contrary; and this Imam (a hale and venerable elder of threescore years and ten) had stirred the people, in his Friday noon preaching, in the great mesjid, against the Nasrany. 'It was, he said, of evil example, that certain principal persons favoured a misbelieving stranger: might they not in so doing provoke the Lord to anger? And all might see that the seasonable rain was withheld?' (Vol. II: p. 369).¹³

Dr. Duncan B. Macdonald gives the duties of the *qādhi* as follows: "He examines into disputes brought before him and enforces his judgments; he names administrators of the estates of minors, the insane, etc.; he supervises the *waqf* property of mosques and schools in his district and inspects highways and public buildings; he watches over the execution of wills; he inflicts the due legal penalties for apostasy, neglect of religious duties, refusal to pay taxes, theft, adultery, outrages, murder; he can inflict the penalties of imprisonment, fines, corporal punishment and death." (Encyc. Brit., *Islamic Institutions*, Vol. 12, p. 713). For ten years, while I was a missionary in Bahrein, East Arabia, my friend and neighbor, the Qādhi, Sheikh Jasim, exercised each and

¹³ A similar experience is related by H. F. Ridley in N. W. China, where an *Ahung* cursed him publicly in 1929. *Friends of Moslems*, Vol. III, No. 4.

all of the above functions. I witnessed the amputation of hands for theft, the public execution of a murderer, corporal punishment for adultery, imprisonments and high-handed appropriation of property at his behest. The *qādhī* of every Arabian village and city is feared above all other men because of his religious authority. It is true that when the ordinary, illiterate Moslem stands before God he is conscious of a personal relationship. For him, as for the average Protestant, "there is no priesthood" to intercede or offer sacrifice. But in his daily life and relation to society—a totalitarian society of Islam—he knows the power of the *qādhī* to make life intolerable, because of his learning, his multitudinous functions and his popular religious prestige. Even as the Roman Catholic priest in the confessional, so the *qādhī* in his daily *majlis* learns the secrets of the common people. He has the power of attorney over orphans and imbeciles; he confirms or forbids marriage and divorce. For details one may consult L. Bevan Jones, *Woman in Islam* (1941) where we learn how the *mulla*, the *pīr* and the *qādhī* dominate women's life in India (pp. 56, 82, 83, 96, 155, etc.) Dr. J. Christy Wilson, who spent many years in Persia, writes:

"In Iran, the Mullahs are known by the white turban they wear. The size of this is increased according to their rank until a Mujtahid of high rank wears a turban that makes him stoop shouldered. These men are educated in certain schools and when they complete their education and are inducted into the office they have the white turban placed upon their head. I think it is quite the same as the special clothing worn by a priest. (See illustration.)

"The number of priests who are allowed to wear the white turban, the old Abba or cloak, and the distinctive dress of this office was recently limited by government order and the number was very largely reduced, others were forced to conform to the new European dress. The priests who were acknowledged for a certain district or village were allowed to continue to wear the tunic, or long inner garment, the Abba or outside cloak and the white turban. Others not ac-

known by the government as holders of this office were not allowed to wear this dress and these men like doctors were required to show proof of where they had been educated and how they could claim the office of Mullah.

“Furthermore the government maintains a school of theology in Teheran which has been visited by the Shah and which prepares men for the priesthood. It is a regular part of the government educational system and is called a College of Theology ‘*Ilm Ilāhi.*’ As to preparation, distinctive dress and functions it seems to me the Shiah’ clerics of Iran are quite as much priests or clerics as those of the various forms of Christianity.”

3. The *Khatīb* is the preacher of the Friday sermon. Frequently in smaller mosques he is the same as the *imam*. But, as Pedersen points out, his office is higher. The Prophet himself had a *khatīb*, namely, ‘Utārid b. Hādjib.

He preaches and pronounces a prayer for the temporal ruler or *Khalīfa*. He has high honors, often high emoluments. In Mecca he was once a very imposing figure, ascending the pulpit in black robe trimmed with gold and a tasseled turban; and accompanied “by two servants who carried banners, and one who walked before him cracking a whip. After he had kissed the Black Stone, the chief Muezzin went quickly in front of him with the sword with which he girded him on the *minbar* (pulpit).¹⁴ A preacher with whip and sword and a pulpit at Mecca and yet—“there is no priesthood in Islam”! It is not generally known that in every mosque, according to orthodox tradition, from West Africa to Western China, a sword, or staff, is kept near or in the *minbar*, and it is required that the *Khatīb* hold it when preaching the Friday sermon. In some cases it is made of wood—but the symbol is always present. Balādhuri explains its use in a short but weighty sentence: “Every land or district was conquered by the sword except Medina, which was won by preaching.”¹⁵ Dr. C. H. Becker made a careful study of the pulpit (*minbar*) in Islam, and concludes that in Mohammed’s time and by his own example, the earliest

¹⁴ Quoted from *Ibn Battuta* by Pedersen, *Encyc. of Islam*, p. 372.

¹⁵ *Futuḥ-al-Buldān*—Opening chapter.

mosque pulpits were intended for seats of authority, not primarily for preaching; for judgment, where the *Imam* sat and exercised rule.¹⁶ The pulpit and the staff went together. From the year 7 A.H. to the present day, the *minbar* of every great mosque in the world of Islam is "the seat of the mighty". From such *minbars* the *Khatib* has exercised the power of eloquence, roused the multitudes to new fervor, or even *jihad*, and pulled down princes from their thrones. The history of al Azhar University in Cairo for a thousand years offers many examples. Lord Cromer knew the power of the Moslem clergy in his day;¹⁷ and the mosques of Achin in Sumatra or of Turkey, even in the days of Abd-ul-Hamid, could tell the same story of the enormous power of the '*ulema* (clergy) in Islam. They are indeed a "royal priesthood, a peculiar people".

4. *Qaşş* and *Qāri*. These also belong to the personnel of the Mosque (Pedersen). Sermons were not only delivered on Fridays by the *Khatib*, but there were Koran-readers who chanted and had special seats in the mosques. In Baghdad, we are told, one mosque had twenty. (Ibn Djubair, pp. 219-222). There were also clerics "lay-preachers" (*Quşşās*); these were appointed to deliver edifying addresses or tell popular religious stories both in mosques and elsewhere (Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, II.: 161). Macdonald gives a lengthy account of their origin and their religious influence: "The *Quşşās* gave to Islam its permanent type as one knows it today. Their spontaneous movement, preaching to the populace directly in rhymed prose, pointed with religious legend, was the first apologetic and catechetical of Islam". . . . "In Ramadhan the daily preaching in the mosques is still of this character." (Art. *Kişsa*, Encyc. of Islam, p. 1043-1044).

5. *The Muezzin*. This office was instituted by the Prophet in the second year of the Hegira, when Bilāl was appointed to call believers to prayer. His apostolic succession covers three continents and thirteen centuries! "About the year 1900, there were in the Mosque of the Prophet at

¹⁶ *Islam-Studien*, pp. 450-470.

¹⁷ Cf. K. Vollers article *Al Azhar* in Encyc. of Islam. Especially the history of what took place in 1884, 1909 and 1914.

Medina fifty muezzins and twenty-six assistants" (Pedersen).

In the earliest period they were assistants of the ruler. Their function was threefold: the assembling of the people, the summons to the *imam* for prayer, and the *iqamah* or announcement that prayer was about to begin. The mosque in the early centuries was also the training ground for *jihad* warriors (Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, p. 76). Those who refused to hear the muezzin's call were whipped (*Al Madkhal* 111: 4); as was still the case at Zubair, Arabia, in 1902. This special whip, kept by the muezzin or other servant of the mosque, is called *dirrah*, also *ṣaut* or *jaldah*. Hughes' Dictionary (p. 85) gives an illustration of the one used at Peshawar. I have a specimen of one used in a mosque at Hankow in 1933, (Princeton Museum). The muezzin is also the *muhtasib* or public censor of morals (Pedersen). Dr. M. T. Titus specifies his duties in the organization of Sunni Islam. "He was clothed with authority to put down heretical teaching and to punish Muslims who neglected the five daily prayers or the fast of Ramadhan." (*Indian Islam*, pp. 69, 70). The *muezzins* also summoned to night-prayers and special litanies (*Zikr*). They repeated the words of the *imam* from raised platforms, called *dikkas*, in all the large mosques of Syria and Egypt. "In other ways also", says Pedersen, "the *muezzins* could be compared to deacons at the service. The *khatib*, on his progress to the *minbar* at Mecca, was accompanied by them and girded by them with the sword." The office was sometimes hereditary. They had guilds and received their regular pay from the religious treasury (*waqf*). The position they still occupy can be seen from the part they play in public processions (Hurgronje's *Mekka* II: 322, and Lane's *Modern Egyptians*).

Most astonishing of all is that these "deacons" in the Church of Islam were at the outset acolytes to carry incense! The Prophet had incense burned in the mosque at Medina (Lammens' *Mo'awiya*, p. 367, note 8). 'Omar followed his example, and his client 'Abdullah carried the censer to the mosque in the month of fasting. In Fustat, Egypt, incense was used in consecration of the Sakhrah mosque. The con-

sumption of incense in the mosques became very large, especially at festivals (Pedersen). There were artistic brass vessels used as incense burners. In Java and China such incense-pots with Arabic inscriptions are still a part of the regular mosque furniture, and are in charge of the *muezzins*. I have specimens from China dating from the Ming dynasty (1490). (See illustration.)

6. *Shaikh-al-Islam and Muftis*. The former honorific title, for a spiritual office, appears in the second half of the fourth century A.H. Other honorific titles compounded with Islam are many, but often relate to secular offices; *this* has always been reserved for the *'ulema* and *mystics* (Encyc. of Islam). It was given in Syria and Egypt to canon-lawyers of the highest rank who had attained fame or the approval of other jurists. In Egypt and Russia, to the present day, *muftis* (canon-lawyers) of importance may be given the title. It gained most glory, however, when applied to the *mufti* of Constantinople, a religious and political importance without parallel. In the reign of Suleiman, the Sheikh-al-Islam acquired undisputed authority over all the *'ulema* of the empire. This was possibly in imitation of the Christian hierarchy under the Ecumenical patriarch (Kramers). His high position was indicated by special ceremonials of installation, dress and the exercise of political as well as of spiritual functions. It was the Sheikh-al-Islam who authorized the drinking of coffee in Turkey by *fatwa*, and also the establishment of a printing-press in 1727. Coffee as beverage had been under suspicion for a long time (see *Kahwah*, Encyc. of Islam). On the functions and prerogatives of all *muftis*, see Juynboll *Islamischen Gesetzes*, Vol. I, pp. 54-56.

When we read the history of the Sheikhs-al-Islam in Constantinople (the biographies of 124 are carefully recorded), it is no wonder that western travellers of the sixteenth century (Ricaud, Volney and other writers) compare them to the Popes as representatives of the spiritual power of the whole Moslem world (Kramers in the Encyc. of Islam, p. 277). A full description of the powers of this high official in the world of Islam is found in the *'Ilmiye Salnamesi*, pub-

lished in 1916 at Constantinople. They included even the superintendence of the printing of the Koran and religious books, the department of religious education, of archives and of religious endowments. The office was eliminated about the time when the Caliphate was abolished, March 3, 1924. But the history of the office is a striking witness to the absolute power of the Moslem clergy over the laity, in a totalitarian religion, through many centuries. It was the *nihil obstat* of this official that first permitted the free circulation of the Bible in Turkey; and such statement appeared on the title page of every copy sent from the Beirut press before the Turkish Revolution.

7. *The Darwish Orders. (Ṭarîqa)*. "Islam like Christianity", says Dr. M. T. Titus, "has its monastic orders and saints, the underlying basis of which is the mystic interpretation of the religious life known as Sufism. No matter where one goes in India one finds their influence powerful and active." These "Confrères Mussulmanes" (Coppolani) are found in every part of the world of Islam. They have their organizations (*Ṭarîqas*), hierarchies, special dress, initiation-ceremonies, rituals, (*zikr*) and monasteries (*zāwiya*). "Their home is the mosque, and there they gather the circles who hang upon their words. In the fourth and fifth centuries of Islam, oratories are built for them. Their sanctity becomes an asset to the community; living or dead, their presence is a protection; whom they bless, prosper; whom they curse, are doomed" (Margoliouth, *Mohammedanism*, p. 199). The Lives of these Saints form a vast, popular library and their miracles before and after death are manifold. To become a Sufi is the Islamic equivalent of entering the monastic life. We are not concerned here with their origin, teaching or mysticism, but with the fact that there are such religious orders in Islam, and of Islam, as powerful and numerous as the various orders of Monks in the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁸ Dr. Macdonald says that the parallel between Romanism and Islam in "the way" of salvation "could

¹⁸ M. T. Titus, *Indian Islam*, pp. 110-130.

be worked out". (*Religious Life and Attitude in Islam*, p. 219). I have attempted it thus:

<i>Popular Romanism</i>	<i>Sufi Islam</i>
The Pope	Khalifa-Mahdi-Qutb
Religious Orders	Darwishes
Pilgrimage	Pilgrimage
Rosary	Rosary (Wird)
Prayers and fasting	Prayers and fasting
Miracles of Saints	Miracles (Karamât)
Saint-worship	Saint-worship
Salvation by works	Salvation by works
New Mediators (Mary and Saints)	New Mediators (Mohammed and Saints)
Spiritual Hierarchy	Spiritual Hierarchy

Different hierarchies belong to different systems; the lowest rank of one of these consists of three hundred "heroes", while the "Pole of Poles" constitutes the head (Margoliouth, p. 206).

The Encyclopaedia of Islam lists over one hundred and fifty orders and sub-orders of these Islamic fraternities, who live in monasteries, wear special dress and are initiated into the order as brethren. The principal orders number thirty-two. Massignon gives an extensive bibliography on these Religious Orders (*Tarîka*, Encyc. of Islam), and the curious reader will find in the beautifully illustrated work of Dupont-Coppolani (Algiers, 1897) many parallels to the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. If these saints and darwishes are not "clergy and priests", what are they? Goldziher devotes one hundred pages to saint-worship in Islam. He traces its origin to the first century, portrays its character, extent, its extravagances, its strange hierarchical nature, in the "state-church" of Islam, so as to create "a bridge of mediators for intercession". (*Muh. Studien*, Vol. II, pp. 285 ff.).

From the seventh century these orders were gathered in monasteries or convents called *khanakas*, *tekkes* or *zāwiyahs*. There were convents even for women, in Syria, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Every Order included a Grand-Master or *Pîr* who had absolute authority over the other members. They were sworn to be as inert in his hand

“as the corpse in the hands of those who wash the dead”.¹⁹ And it is interesting that Louis Rinn in his standard work on the *Marabouts et Khouan* of Algeria entitled his second chapter, “Clergé investi et salarié, Mofti et Imam”. He writes: “La première catégorie, comprend le clergé musulman, investi et salarié au même titre que celui des autres cultes reconnus par les lois françaises. La seconde catégorie, marabouts, exerçant les devoirs du sacerdoce . . .”.

George Swan, writing on Saintship in Islam (THE MOSLEM WORLD, Vol. V., pp. 232 ff.) gave a complete table of the spiritual hierarchy of the Sufi orders, their grades, functions and spiritual attainments. In regard to saint-worship, E. Montet, Professor in the University of Geneva, wrote (THE MOSLEM WORLD, July, 1913): “The worship of saints, often described by the terms *marabouts* in North Africa, is a generally established practice in Islam. Wherever this religion exists, there saints are honored and invoked as mediators. Without doubt this form of religious expression is more advanced in North Africa than elsewhere, and the farther one travels toward the west of the continent the greater becomes the number of saints and the more zealous their devotees, until in Morocco we find the most highly developed belief in the power of *marabouts*.”

And it was from these societies especially that there arose the *walîs*, the “friends of Allah”. That they are chosen of God above their fellow men appears from manifest tokens of a miraculous nature (*karamât*). Their prayers can heal the sick, their blessings brings happiness for time and eternity, and their curse, misery. These influences are believed to issue from their graves after their death; hence vows are made at, and presents brought to their holy tombs.

In the popular belief, their mediation with Allah (who is of course too exalted to occupy himself with the small wants of his creatures), is almost indispensable, and the request for their good offices differs little from a prayer. (*The Achenese*, p. 154).

¹⁹ Henri Massé, *Islam*, p. 212, 213 and L. M. J. Garnett, *Mysticism and Magic in Turkey*, ch. vi and viii. According to Westermarck (Vol. II, p. 57) it is at the shrines of these saints that *istikhâra*, divination, is asked by dream or rosary. Like the Urim and Thummim of the Jewish priest.

The *Wali* (plural. *auliya*) is fully treated by Goldziher in Vol. II of his *Muhammedanische Studien* (pp. 287-295). The word is used in the Koran in the sense of "friend of God". The title was given to the Prophet and even to God himself in the list of ninety-nine names. It is almost a synonym of the Hebrew *goel*, redeemer, so writes Goldziher. Today the word signifies a Moslem saint. Not only, as Hudjwiri says, "has he influence with God, he can bind and loosen, but he also has the gift of miracles (*karamāt*). He can transform himself (*tatawwur*), transport himself to a distance, speak diverse tongues, revive the dead, exercise levitation." Hudjwiri even goes so far as to say that the *auliya* govern the universe, bring rain from heaven and influence the tide of battle (Encyc. of Islam, *Wali*, by Carra de Vaux). Goldziher mentions instances of all these spiritual powers on the part of the *wali*, under twenty categories, in such saints as Ahmad-al-Bedawi of Tanta, Ibrahim-al-Dasuki and several others in North Africa and the Near East. "As in Roman Catholic worship, saints are patrons of towns, villages, trades and corporations". While living, the *wali* blesses, intercedes, heals and helps. When dead, his grave becomes a shrine that often rivals Mecca in its annual pilgrimage. Goldziher states (p. 290) that "soon in the circles of saint worship the *walis* received higher rank than the prophets." The orthodox theologians naturally opposed this teaching but saint-cult waxed stronger down the centuries. Even oaths were sworn *by the saints*, as by Allah (p. 339); intercession and forgiveness were sought at their shrine (p. 309), the reliques of the saints worked miracles (p. 356); and most astonishing of all, this saint-worship, by the dogma of *Ijmā'*, finally received the stamp of approval even of Al-Ghazali in orthodox Islam (p. 368-377). So everywhere, from Morocco to China, from Turkey to Capetown, it is the *wali*, alive or dead, who exercises such priestly functions between Allah and the Moslem laity, of whom *ninety per cent are illiterate*. (Lammens, *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions*, p. 222). "Every Moslem village, nearly, has its patron saint; every country has its national saints; every province of

life has its own human rulers *who are intermediate between the Creator and common mortals*" (Hurgronje, *Mohammedanism*, p. 79).

8. *Sharîfs and Seyyids*. From the first century of Islam, there arose a special veneration for the descendants of the Prophet (*Ahl-al-bayt*), Surah 33: 33). To be able to show kinship with the Prophet was an important claim to *Sharf*; and this made one a member of a spiritual aristocracy.²⁰ The word *Seyyid* was an alternative term for the same genealogical honor. 'Ali was called "Sayyid of this world and the next" (Encyc. of Islam, *Sharîf*, by Van Arendonk). Later on, the terms were applied not only to the descendants of Hasan and Husain, but to all who could claim even indirectly to be of the *Ahl-al-bayt*. Special religious officials (*naqîb*) were appointed by the Abbasids to keep registers of this nobility. The chief *Naqîb* had other religious duties and honors; this is true even today. The *Sharîfs* wore green turbans or badges and distinctive dress, because green was the color of the garments of paradise (Koran 18: 30; 76: 21). In Persia and India they also wear distinctive dress. "The sharing in the *şadaqa* is forbidden them." That is, they are immune from payment. A *sharîf* should marry only a *sharîfa*. None of the descendants of the Prophet will suffer the punishment of hell; they *all* are included in the *âl-Mohammed* who receive a benediction in daily prayer; and it is expressly laid down that one should treat them with the same distinction as a governor, and give them anything they wish, even a daughter in marriage without dowry (Van Arendonk, quoting from al-Sha'rāni). It is simply impossible to read of the religious prestige of this class of hereditary saints and deny that they are "priests" among the common people.

Hurgronje traces their origin and growth (*Mohammedanism*, pp. 93, 94). They ruled Morocco for nearly a thousand years, and Mekka for centuries. "In practice it may be said that the Achenese fear the *sayyid* more than the Creator. This is due to his believing that Allah reserves his

²⁰ Cf. George Percy Badger, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman by Salih Ibn Razik from A.D. 661-1856*. Translated with introduction and notes (London, 1871).

punishments for the hereafter and is illimitably merciful in the enforcement of his law against the faithful, whereas the curse of the *sayyids* takes effect here below without any hope of mercy. No Achenese will readily so much as lift a finger against a *sayyid*; one who would dare to take a *sayyid's* life would not hesitate to cut his father's throat."²¹

Genealogical tables can be manipulated and extended. Today there must be tens of thousands of *Sharîfs* and *Seyyids* in the world of Islam. A perfect, up-to-date illustration is given (1943) by Major R. A. B. Hamilton from Aden, Arabia: "We next come to the holy classes. The first of these are the Sharifs and Seyyids, the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. They live in settlements and elect among themselves in each family a head-man. They have great influence in the community, but it varies, of course, with the amount of their riches. Most Seyyids—the only Sharifs are those in Beihan—do not bear arms and take no part in tribal warfare. They are peacemakers, and derive considerable income as such, and as dispensers of the Sharia or holy law of Islam. They are treated with veneration and respect and, after death, are frequently treated as saints. They marry tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right."

"The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title *Sheikh* and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of 'Holy Sheikh'! In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy

²¹ Hurgronje, *The Achenese*, p. 158. There are over three score references to the functions and spiritual powers (*baraka*) of the *Sharîfs* in Westermarck's *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*.

Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint, and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men."²²

Are such pedigreed-saints in Sumatra and Arabia and everywhere, who are so holy that they inspire fear, and so powerful that they exact tithes (Melchisedek), not "priests" in every ordinary sense of the word? (Cf. Gen. 14: 18; Heb. 7: 1).

And Harold Ingrams remarks (*Arabia and the Isles*, London, 1943, p. 177): "Before the Seiyids came in to Hadhramaut the Sheikhs were the principal *ecclesiastical* influence, and they probably took the place of an earlier hierarchy formed by the *priesthood* of the old religion. Nowadays they take precedence after the Seiyids, but they have much the same privileges." The italics are ours and call attention to the use of such terms by one who knows Arabia and Islam thoroughly and practically.

In every Moslem land there are these saints, *walis* and *sayyids*, with shrines and tombs. "In Persia a visitor to a shrine will kiss the lock of the door and put his forehead to other parts of the building", wrote Miss Holliday. "He gives salaams to the saint and speaks of him *as if he were alive*. Tablets containing prayers to the saint are hung on the walls; if the pilgrim can read, he reads these audibly; if not, someone else will read them to him. They burn votive lights. They ask permission to enter or leave the shrine of the saint. In common life they are always calling on the saints for help and blessing. Akin to this are the superstitions connected with their *holy living men and their families of which I have seen most among the 'Ali Illahis who consider their sheikhs as mediators between them and God, and of a race set apart.'*"

²² *The Social Organization of the Tribes of the Aden Protectorate in the Royal Asiatic Society Journal*, May, 1943.

We omit the detailed mention of the strange periodic appearance in the history of Islam of religious leaders who arrogated *still greater* powers and authority in things spiritual than all the classes mentioned. The *Mahdis* of both Shiah and Sunni Islam are striking examples. So also is the Agha Khan, spiritual head of the Khojas of India, who poses as an *avatar* or incarnation and receives enormous tribute (THE MOSLEM WORLD xx: 407). The Babi-Behai movement, whatever else it be, was undoubtedly the exaltation of the Bab and his successors above the laity. The Ahmadiya Movement, with its new Messiahs both at Qadian and Lahore, is based, not upon the parity of all believers before Allah, but upon *soi-disant* high-priests and prophets of a new Islamic dispensation. All of these spiritual leaders came from Islam and claim to be Moslems.

Thus in life and in death these *mahdis*, *seyyids*, *'auliyā*, *imāms*, *faqîrs*, *pîrs*, *ahungs*, *mullahs*, etc., exercise a ministry of intercession and authority in religion, constitute a special class and have spiritual prestige above the laity.

* * * * *

In conclusion, this is not a strife about words, but correction of a too common misunderstanding, sometimes due to an attempt at idealizing Islam. Islam was from the outset a military, totalitarian church-state. "In the main, then", says Margoliouth, "the original Moslem system was to make its adherents soldier-priests, i.e., to combine the sacerdotal with the warrior caste."²³ An Indian missionary writes: "While it is true that Islam's priests and clergy have not been consecrated or ordained in the spiritual succession of the founder, none the less they are authorized, appointed or set apart to perform the same or similar functions in a way or manner peculiar to Islam. Since, therefore, these recognized religious functionaries perform the same duties as the priests and clergy of the Church . . . we may well hold that the old formula that things equal to the same thing are equal to each other, holds here as well as in mathematics!"

²³ *Mohammedanism*, pp. 76-79.

Although Islam never developed any institution *entirely* similar to the clergy of Christianity, it had from early days and has now three religious classes quite comparable to "priests" and "clergy". The one class, as we saw, are appointed for public worship and preaching. The second are theologians and masters of canon-law. The third class are hereditary saints and Holy-men. All have prestige, receive honors, and their emoluments are from the religious treasury. No priest or clergyman in Christendom is more duly "authorized to be a minister of sacred things or perform on behalf of the community certain public religious acts", or has more power over the laity.

Of course the Caliphate, as Hurgronje has shown, is in no way to be compared to the Papacy. Islam never regarded the Caliph as its *spiritual* head. So the disappearance of the Caliphate after the Turkish revolution was a blow to Islam's temporal power, not to its spiritual heritage. "The spiritual authority in Catholic Islam reposes in the legists, who in this respect are called in a tradition, 'the heirs of the prophets'. Since they could no longer regard the Caliphs as their leaders, because they walked in worldly ways, *they have constituted themselves independently beside, and even above them.*"²⁴

Therefore, the political decay of Islam, the increasing number of Moslems under foreign rule, the rise of a secular Nationalism and Modernism only serve to emphasize the fact that "the clergy and priesthood" are the custodians of whatever remains of the spiritual essence of Islam.²⁵ It is, therefore, the clergy and the priesthood of Islam that demand the respect and loving approach of all those who would preach good tidings in the Moslem world. It is from this very class that some of the strongest and most distinguished Christian converts have come, both in the Near East and India, since the days of Henry Martyn.

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²⁴ Hurgronje's *Mohammedanism*, p. 113.

²⁵ *Idem*, p. 116. Cf. Lammens' *Islam: Beliefs and Institutions* on the present crisis in Islam (pp. 205-225) and the "Ulema of the future."

THE SAMANIDS: A LITTLE-KNOWN DYNASTY

This dynasty, which ruled Transoxania for a period of one hundred ten years, 279-389 (892-999), according to the historian Qazwini, claimed descent from a noble family of the Sassanian court.¹ It is difficult to trace the genealogy of the Samanids before Saman-i Khudat, the grandfather of Isma'il, for the genealogical trees given by later Muslim historians conflict in many instances. Ibn al-Athir claims Baḥram Jashnash, or Gushnasp, the marzban of Azarbaijan under Chosroes Anushirvan, as the ancestor.² Most authors consider Saman the founder and ruler of the village of the same name in Balkh province, although others place the village of Saman in the vicinity of Samarqand.³ The story of Saman is told by various Muslim authors in much the same guise. It seems he fled to the Arab governor of Khurasan, Asad ibn 'Abdallah al-Qushairi (or Qasrī), who, recognizing his noble rank and ability, appointed him governor of Balkh. Saman, from gratitude towards his protector, adopted Islam and named his son Asad.⁴

It is only through his four sons that we know anything of Asad, although Qazwini says he served under Ṭāhir Dhū'l Yamīnain.⁵ It is probable that Asad gained the attention of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, when the latter was sojourning at Merv.⁶ When the caliph returned to Baghdad he appointed a new governor of Khurasan, Ghassān ibn Abbād, in 204/819-20, about the same time Asad died. Ma'mūn then directed his governor to give the four sons offices in the government. They may have been active in the service of the caliph prior to this time in the army of Harthama, when he suppressed the revolt of Rāfi' ibn Layth in 810.⁷ Nuḥ, the eldest, received the governorship of Samarqand; Aḥmad

¹ Gantin, J., *Tarikhe Gozide* par Qazwini, Paris, 1903, 21.

² Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kāmil fī'l-Ṭārīkh*, ed. Tornberg, C. J., Leyden, 1865, v. 7, 192.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Narshakhi, *Description de Boukhara*, ed. Schefer, C. Paris, 1892, 57.

⁵ Gantin, *op. cit.*, 23.

⁶ Defrémery, C. M., *Histoire des Samanides* par Mirkhond, Paris, 1845, 113.

⁷ Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 74; Tabari III, 775.

ruled Farghana; Yahya had Shash, while the youngest, Ilyas, went to Herat.⁸

In 822 Ṭalha ibn Ṭāhir succeeded his father as governor of Khurasan, and confirmed the Samanid brothers in their posts. The governorship of Khurasan passed from hand to hand, but the subordinate posts were more stable. When Nuḥ ibn Asad died, Ṭalha gave the government of Samarqand to both Yahya and Aḥmad, although the latter was the more aggressive of the two.⁹ Almost nothing is known of Ilyas, although Ibn al-Athir claims that his son, Muḥammad succeeded him in 242/856.¹⁰ Yaḥya died in 855, and the administration of Shash was assumed by Aḥmad, who placed his eldest son, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb in power.¹¹ His second son Naṣr ibn Aḥmad was placed over Samarqand, and was confirmed by the Ṭāhirid governor of Khurasan. In 261/874 the caliph Mu'tamid conferred the governorship of all of Transoxania on Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, setting a precedent in removing Transoxania from the direct jurisdiction of the governor of Khurasan.¹² In the same year Naṣr appointed his brother Isma'il governor of the territory of Bukhara.

Friction soon developed between the two brothers. We are uncertain whether it was Isma'il's attempt to incite the aristocracy against Naṣr,¹³ or the friendship between Isma'il and Rafi' ibn Harthama, the representative of the Ṭāhirids in Transoxania, which initiated the rift.¹⁴ Rafi' was able to reconcile the brothers, however in 275/888 Naṣr again marched on Isma'il, but was defeated and captured.¹⁵ The conduct of Isma'il towards his brother was a rare example of kindness, for he gave high honors to Naṣr who returned to Samarqand, while Isma'il remained governor of Bukhara under the jurisdiction of his brother. Naṣr died in 279/892, leaving sole dominion to Isma'il, and it is with the latter that Muslim historians date the real beginning of the Samanid dynasty.

⁸ Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 213.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, v. 7, 193.

¹¹ Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 80-1.

¹² Gantin, *op. cit.*, 23; Tabari III, 1889, 11.

¹³ Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 80.

¹⁴ Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 115.

¹⁵ Narshakhi, *op. cit.*, 81.

Isma'il received a diploma of investiture from the caliph, confirming him in possession of the lands across the Oxus. At the same time al-Mu'ta'qid recognized Amr ibn Layth as governor of Khurasan, and the latter considered Transoxania a mere appendage to his domain. There is no evidence that Isma'il recognized the suzerainty of Amr, for the name of the Samanid prince appeared in the khutba in the year 874.¹⁶ Niẓām al-Mulk says that the Saffarids had adopted the Isma'īlan heresy (a Shi'ite sect), so the caliph sanctioned war against them. He also claims that the caliph sent secret agents to Bukhara to incite the Samanid against Amr.¹⁷ The ensuing struggle was of short duration. Isma'il probably assumed the offensive immediately for all of the battles were fought south of the Oxus. The decisive struggle took place near Balkh in 288/900, and Amr was completely defeated and captured. The victor sent his captive to Baghdad, and received in return investiture over Khurasan, Seistan, Rayy, Isfahan, and Tabaristan.¹⁸

Isma'il sought to consolidate his realm by subduing the most recalcitrant part. He marched against Sayyid ibn Muḥammad ibn Zayd, ruler of Tabaristan and Jurjan, despite the remonstrances of the envoy of that ruler at the Samanid court. Zayd was defeated and his head was sent to Bukhara.¹⁹ The victorious general then revolted against Isma'il, but was driven into the mountains of Daylam, and peace was restored over the entire Samanid territory. The effective rule of Isma'il was partially due to his capable associates,²⁰ although his personal genius is apparent. Ibn Isfandiyyar says, "Isma'il administered such justice as was almost unknown in Tabaristan. . . . He also restored the possessions of the poor and reduced their taxes, and so won the affection and support of all."²¹

The Samanids were generally well-liked by the people

¹⁶ Vambery, A., *History of Bukhara*, London, 1873, 57.

¹⁷ Schefer, O., *Siasset Nameh* par Nizam oul-Moulk, Paris, 1893, 14.

¹⁸ Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 122.

¹⁹ Browne, E. G., *Ibn Isfandiyyar's History of Tabaristan*, London, 1903, 193.

²⁰ He had bitter opponents as may be seen from some poems written against him, cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Tableau Littéraire du Khorassan et de la Transoxanie*, *JA*, 1853, 173, 185-6.

²¹ Browne, *op. cit.*, 194.

of Transoxania, for they were of Iranian stock and did not favor the Arabs over the local population. We do not know the status of the Samanids in regard to the caliphs. There is no evidence that they ever paid tribute to the caliphs, although the latter continued to address the Samanid princes as their viceroys, while the Samanids stamped the name of the caliph on their coins, and placed his name in the prayers. When the Buyids came to power, however, these practices ceased.²² The early Samanids were patrons of Iranian culture, and Persian seems to have been the official language of the court till the reign of the pious Aḥmad ibn Isma'īl, who changed the language of documents and decrees to Arabic.²³ Arabic never completely displaced Persian, the spoken language of the people. All of the Samanid rulers welcomed both Persian and Arabic poems and prose works, and the number of literary men at the Samanid court was always large. Khurasan and Transoxania remained centers of culture for several centuries.

The people of Transoxania were Sunnis for the most part, as well as their rulers. The piety of Isma'īl was well-known.²⁴ The Hanifite school at Bukhara was a famous center of learning, and scholars were attracted from far and wide. Shafi'ites were numerous on the frontiers, converting the Turks to their beliefs.²⁵ Yāqūt claims that the majority of the people of Khwarazm were Shafi'ites.²⁶ The Shi'ites were active in Ṭabaristan and Seistan, and even extended their proselytizing endeavors to Transoxania. One of their leaders, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Nakhshabi, was able to convert many persons at the court of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, and even the amīr himself lent an ear to the discussions.²⁷ These tendencies of Naṣr were sufficient to incite the Turkish soldiery to revolt, and the ruler was only saved by the intervention of his son, who persuaded his father to abdicate in his favor. The new amīr, Nuḥ ibn Naṣr, after gaining the

²² Ibn al-Athir, *op. cit.*, v. 8, 381.

²³ Gantin, *op. cit.*, 29.

²⁴ Schefer, *op. cit.*, 12.

²⁵ Maqdisi, ed. de Goeje, M., Leyden, 1906, 323, 9.

²⁶ Wüstenfeld, F., *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1869, v. 2, 512.

²⁷ Schefer, *op. cit.*, 275.

confidence of the Turks, dealt swift punishment to the heretics; henceforth orthodoxy held sway at court.

The frontier of Islam was extended considerably under the Samanids. In the year 349/960 Turks of 20,000 tents accepted Islam.²⁸ The Qarakhanid or Ilek Khans, who ruled from Kashgar and Qarabalsaghun, were also converted about this time. The success of Islam robbed the *ghazis*, or frontier warriors, of their *raison d'être*, so they left Transoxania for more fruitful areas of action. In 355/965 a large number of *ghazis* passed through northern Iraq, bound for Anatolia and war against the Byzantines.²⁹ Gardizi tells of 10,000 *ghazis* who came from Transoxania to help Maḥmud of Ghazni against his enemies in Nishapur,³⁰ while 'Uthi says that thousands of *ghazis* from Transoxania joined Maḥmud in his Indian campaigns.³¹ As a consequence of this depletion of fighting men in Transoxania the Qarakhanid Turks did not meet strong opposition when they advanced against the Samanids.

The Samanid kingdom began to crumble at the beginning of the reign of Nuḥ ibn Mansur, 976-997. Revolts occurred in all parts of his domain, and he was only able to regain Khwarazm. All the provinces south of the Oxus river, except a small portion of Khurasan, were lost.³² A lieutenant of the Samanids, Abū 'Ali Simjūr, ruled most of Khurasan practically independent.³³ It is probable that he intrigued with Bughrā Khan of the Qarakhanids and induced him to invade the Samanid domain. Bughrā Khan defeated the Samanid army and took Bukhara, but was obliged to retreat, due to an illness which caused his death in 992.³⁴ Nuḥ, with the aid of Sabuktagin and his famous son Maḥmud, was able to regain his throne and defeat Abū 'Ali Simjūr. The power of the Samanids, however, had van-

²⁸ Ibn Miskawayh, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, trans. Margoliouth, D. and Amedroz, Oxford, 1920, v. 4, 240.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, v. 6, 283.

³⁰ Yakubovskii, A., *Makhmud Gaznevi, Ferdovski*, Leningrad, 1934, 80.

³¹ Elliot, H., *History of India*, v. 2, 41.

³² Sachau, E., *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwarizm, Sitzungsberichte Akad. Wiss. zu Wien*, 1873, 499.

³³ DeFrémery, *op. cit.*, 160.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

ished. The dynasty continued in existence till the death of the last claimant to the throne, Isma'il ibn Nuḥ in 1004.

The Samanids in one respect marked the end of an era, for Turkish dynasties ruled the land ever afterwards. There was no abrupt change in the population, for there remained nomads and settled folk, Turks and Iranians, orthodox and heretics, before, during, and after the Samanids. The Samanids tried to make a unified, centralized, orthodox state, but it could not endure, for Transoxania was the crossroads of Asia, the link between currents of thought and trade from the Far and Near East. The statement of E. D. Ross is hardly accurate,³⁵ because the border between Muslims and infidels lost its importance under the Samanids when Islam was extended into the mountains and steppes. The impetus to advance disappeared and the reverse process began. The people of the steppes sought the wealth of the settled, and they didn't stop till they reached the Bosphorus.

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Religious Freedom in a Post-War World

"In the post-war world there will be abundant stress on political freedom. As this column has been saying for two years, the battle for Indian political freedom has been already won—provided that Germany loses. . . . But the case for religious freedom in Russia, and India, China and Japan is an entirely different matter. There will be slight stress on that. Indeed, in an effort to grant complete political freedom and to steer clear of the suspicion that the issue of religious freedom is being used as a cloak to retain political power, religious freedom may be soft pedalled. Christians must see that such is not the case. Freedom to preach and bear witness to one's faith, freedom to educate one's children in one's faith, freedom to change religion without harassment, and as many times as necessary, all these must be promoted actively from now on. Nations must not be freed to oppress minorities. Moslem India must not be free to kill apostates from Mohammedanism. Russia must give the Churches an equal chance with the Society for the Godless. Any freedom less than this is a mockery. In the universal society to come the only assurance of peace is that all points of view are given equal opportunity to propagate themselves. Truth will issue victorious."—Donald McGavran, Ph.D., "Things New and Old," *The United Church Review*, December 1942. p. 288.

³⁵ Ross, E. D., "The Invasions and Immigrations of the Tartars," *J. Central Asian Society* 1928, 137; "At the end of the 10th century when this Hindenburg line of the Syr Darya had been in existence for nearly 300 years there came a sudden counter-push from the Turkish side."

AL-GHAZZALI'S EPISTLE OF THE BIRDS

A TRANSLATION OF THE RISĀLAT AL-ṬAYR

Students of al-Ghazzālī are constantly confronted by his use of previous material with or without acknowledging its source. The pages of his major work, the *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*, for example, echo with the words of the *Qūt al-Qulūb*¹ of abu-Ṭālib al-Makki.² Furthermore, its physical divisions follow previous patterns of literary composition. Desiring to insure for his ideas the widest circulation possible, he modelled his work, only in form, after the most popular books of the day. These dealt with jurisprudence, and were always divided into four parts, one for each of the component parts of the discipline, namely the Koran, the usage of the Prophet (*al-sunnah*), catholic consent (*al-ijmā'*), and analogy (*al-qiya's*). He was not the first Moslem writer to employ this device. He himself alludes³ to the *Taqwīm al-Abdān* (Tables of Physiology) of ibn-Jazlah⁴ (d. A. H. 493/A.D. 1100), which, like the earlier *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* (Tables of Health) of ibn-Buṭlān⁵ (d. A. H. 455/A.D. 1063), was a medical work modelled, for the purpose of gaining a wider audience, after the then very popular astronomical tables. A man with a mission, he felt impelled to use all available material and methods to drive home his point. What is true of his major work is true of his lesser works and pamphlets. This is particularly so in the case of the present tract, the *Risālat al-Ṭayr*.⁶ For a model he must have had before him a pamphlet by the same title⁷ written

¹ Edited, Cairo, 1351.

² Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-'Aṭīyah, d. A. H. 386/A.D. 996; see ibn-Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Cairo, 1299), vol. ii, p. 297; al-Sam'ani, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (Leyden, 1912), f. 541a.

³ *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo, 1334), vol. i, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Ibn-Khallikān*, vol. iii, pp. 255-6; ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-A'ibbā'* (Cairo, 1299), vol. i, p. 255.

⁵ *Ibn-abi-Uṣaybi'ah*, vol. i, pp. 241-3.

⁶ The translation has been based on the text edited by L. Cheikho in *al-Mashriq*, vol. iv (1901), pp. 918-23, and that published in Cairo, together with nine other tracts by al-Ghazzālī, A. H. 1353.

⁷ *Risālat al-Ṭayr*, also known as *Risālat al-Shabakah w-al-Ṭayr*; ed. by L. Cheikho in *al-Mashriq*, vol. iv (1901), pp. 882-7.

by ibn-Sīna (d. A.D. 1037), whom al-Ghazzālī considered an unbeliever.⁸ Throughout his career, al-Ghazzālī sought to refute the philosophy of ibn-Sīna and to discredit his school. He, therefore, addressed himself to the same problem, and used the same literary technique, only to set forth another solution. Both tracts treat of the salvation of man. But while ibn-Sīna develops the theme that man works out his own salvation by his own hands and efforts, al-Ghazzālī contends that salvation is by faith. In fact he believes in election. The trials and tribulations which visit man in this life prepare him for the life to come. But whether he is saved or not depends upon the will of God, the sovereign ruler of the universe. In the case of ibn-Sīna, he must have had in mind the parable of al-Ḥamāmah al-Muṭawwaqah from the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*. The stories are developed along parallel lines. But while the intent of the Pidpai fable is ethical and moral, that of ibn-Sīna's is philosophical. Al-Ghazzālī elevates it to the religious and spiritual. He had tried ethics and philosophy, but found them wanting. They had their place and utility, but had failed to supply man with a unifying principle for life, or illumine his path to salvation. Religion on the other hand transforms life from one disunited, useless, and unhappy to one which is united, useful, and happy. It is "the light which illuminates the threshold of all knowledge".⁹

* * * *

THE EPISTLE OF THE BIRDS

Once upon a time the different species of birds gathered together in order to select a king to rule over them. They agreed that the phoenix was the bird best fitted for that purpose. They had heard that the phoenix lived in the west on a certain island. They, therefore, decided to proceed hence, to stand in its court and have the pleasure of placing themselves at its service.

⁸ *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (Cairo, n.d.), p. 11.

⁹ *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl*, p. 6.

Come let us go to Layla's house,
 And gain admission and announce:
 Our purpose is to see her there,
 And our homage and love declare.

Thereupon their latent yearnings surged in their hearts,
 and inspired them to wax poetic and say:

In what part of the world can we ever meet,
 If, like a king, access to thee is barred?

As they were about to start, they heard a voice from beyond the clouds say, "Throw not yourself with your own hands into ruin;¹⁰ rather, stay where you are and leave not your place; for if you depart from your native land you will double your anxiety and add to your sorrows. Beware, therefore, of exposing yourselves to danger and of playing with fire."

Safety from Su'da's choking clutches,
 And freedom from her neighbour's grip,
 Depend on shunning their lure and bait,
 And keeping far from their hearth and home.

But when they heard this warning from the unseen world of might, their longing increased, and they became restless, perplexed, and sleepless.

If all the doctors should prescribe,
 For your love-lorn and aching heart,
 Anything but Layla's soothing words,
 Their effort is worthless from the start.

For it is a fact that:

Nought shall satisfy his loving heart,
 Or soothe its aches and flaming anguish,
 Except that he and his only love
 Shall live and love 'neath one single roof.

Their hearts swelled with grief and anguish, and their heads were filled with folly and madness. The joys and ecstasies of expectation drowned all thoughts of hesitation and doubt, and they embarked upon their hazardous journey, without counting the cost. Indeed they were warned

¹⁰ *Sūrah* ii: 191.

that before them lay extensive wastes, high mountains, and deep treacherous seas, frigid regions and torrid zones—insurmountable obstacles which lead to destruction and death. They were urged to be content with what they had, lest they be driven to ruin by greed. But all was in vain: they would not listen or heed the warning. Instead they set out on their journey saying:

Whenever a person is lorn and lonesome,
And his need is great, the help is scant.

Then each and every one of them mounted ambition, bridled with longing and saddled with love, and pushed on saying:

O'er creg and vale, by day and night,
My mount and I press on and on;
The thought of union with my love,
Sustains my will to fight and win;
To stand before her radiant face,
And with my arms her neck embrace.

They deviated from the paths of freedom, and were drawn into the lanes of necessity and compulsion. Those who hailed from the torrid zone died of cold in the frigid region, and those who came from the frigid region perished of heat in the torrid zone. They were struck by thunderbolts and lashed by storms. Only a few escaped and reached the island of the king safely.

They then sought audience with the king; but when audience was denied them, they begged that someone tell the king of their presence on the island. Upon hearing of their presence the king ordered one of the royal attendants to inquire of them concerning the nature of their mission. When they informed him that they came in order to invite the king to rule over them and be their sovereign lord, they were told, "In vain have you troubled yourselves, for whether you like it or not, whether you come or go, we are your king and sovereign lord, and we have no need for you." When they saw that they were not wanted, they felt embarrassed and ashamed, and became discouraged and downcast. A feeling of bewilderment encompassed them,

and a sense of awe terrified them. They then realized that it was impossible for them to return to their native land. They had no strength left in them. In despair they wished to be left alone to die on the island.

Would the desert folk take in this humble guest
Whom night has overtaken by their camp?
He would be content if they would extend
To him a gracious look and kindly word.

But plague spread among them, and they were on the verge of complete annihilation. They, therefore, resorted to prayer, their only hope.

Drunk and dizzy of love's bitter cup,
Each to his neighbour was a nurse.

Then just as they sank into the depths of despair, and became sick of life itself, a ray of hope suddenly broke upon them, and they heard a voice say: You need not lose hope, for no one "despairs of the mercy of God except those who are doomed to perdition."¹¹ For while the limit in wealth results in pride, and turns down all requests, the beautiful quality of generosity demands benevolence, and heeds all petitions. And now that you have known the extent of your ignorance regarding our rank and position, it behooves us to give you shelter. For this our house is the abode of generosity and the dwelling place of munificence. It seeks out the poor who have shunned security and ease. But for this dwelling place, the lord of all creatures and the foremost among them would not have said, "Grant me a life of poverty, O Lord."¹² Furthermore he who becomes aware of his lack of merit is worthy to be accepted by the king, the phoenix, as his peer and companion.

When at long last hope displaced despair in their hearts, and cheer replaced dejection therein, they felt sure of the outpouring of generosity, and certain of the downpouring of grace. Thereupon they inquired about their companions saying: What has become of those with whom we have

¹¹ Based on *Sūrah* xii: 87.

¹² Al-Tirmidhi, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Zuhd*: 37.

traversed extensive wastes, and in whose company we crossed valleys deep and wide? Has their blood been shed in vain, or would it be compensated by mulct or bloodwit? "Not in the least", was the reply, since "if any shall leave his home and fly to God and His Apostle, and death overtake him—his reward from God is sure."¹³ They were chosen by the hand of fate after they have been proved and tried. "And say not of those who were slain on the path of God that they are dead; nay, they are living!"¹⁴ Again they asked: What has become of those who were drowned in the deep, and failed to reach their destination? And again the reply came, "And repute not those slain on the path of God to be dead; nay they are living!"¹⁵ For he who has brought you here and caused them to die, has also brought them back to life; and he who has stirred in you the feeling of longing, so that you embarked upon this tiresome and hazardous journey in search of your goal, has called them unto himself, and carried them away, and brought them nigh unto him, and favoured them with proximity to him. They are the veils of majesty and the curtains of power. (They recline) "on the seat of truth, in the presence of the potent king."¹⁶ Thereupon they said: Is it at all possible for us to see them? In reply to this request they were told, "No. For you are (separated from them) by the veils of majesty and the curtains of humanity; you are the chained prisoners of time. But if you fulfil your purpose and depart from your homes, you will then exchange visitations and meet." They then asked: And what has become of those who were detained by greed and negligence, and, therefore, did not embark upon this journey? In answer to their question, they were told, "Had they been desirous to take the field, they would have got ready for that purpose the munitions of war. But God was averse to their marching forth, and made them laggards."¹⁷ If we wanted them we would have called them; but we were averse to them, and consequently, we

¹³ *Sūrah* iv: 101.

¹⁴ *Sūrah* ii: 149.

¹⁵ *Sūrah* iii: 163.

¹⁶ *Sūrah* liv: 55.

¹⁷ *Sūrah* ix: 46.

drove them away. Did you yourselves come by yourselves, or did we ourselves call you? Did you yourselves long to come, or did we stir the feeling of longing in you? We ourselves have moved you, and carried you and them over land and sea." When they heard that, they rejoiced at the fulfilment of providence and the pledge of care. Thereupon their joy became perfect and their trust complete. They felt secure therein and tranquil, and faced the substance of faith with steadfastness, and were freed by continual calm from vacillation and change.

I wonder, is there any difference between the person repairing to the island and the postulant (*mubtadi'*)¹⁸ who has resolved in his heart to do so. For the postulant says, "We have come to our king." But he who returns to his original life ("O thou soul which art at rest, return to thy Lord"¹⁹) returns to hear the call. When he is told, "Why have you come?", he replies, "Why have I been called?", nay, "Why have I been carried to that land which is the land of favoured proximity?". At any rate, the reply depends upon the question, and the question upon the amount of insight, and accomplishment upon aspiration.

He who is disposed to relish such witticisms had better renew his acquaintance with the language of the birds and the realms of the spirit. For the language of the birds is not understood except by him who belongs to the kingdom of the birds. To renew the acquaintance therewith entails the constant use of ablutions, faithful observation of the appointed hours of prayer, and the spending of at least an hour of solitude in remembrance. This is the sweet renewal of acquaintance. In fact there are only two ways. "Therefore, remember me: I will remember you";²⁰ or, "They have forgotten God, and He hath forgotten them."²¹ Therefore, to him who persists in the path of remembrance shall be said, "I am the friend of him who remembers me"; and

¹⁸ For the definition of *mubtadi'*, see al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, ed. R. A. Nicholson (Leyden, 1914), p. 341.

¹⁹ *Sūrah lxxxix*: 27-8.

²⁰ *Sūrah ii*: 147.

²¹ *Sūrah ix*: 68.

to him who follows the road of neglect and forgetfulness shall be declared, "And whoso shall turn away from the remembrance of God, we shall appoint a devil for him, and he shall be his companion."²² Every single person is a follower of one or the other of these two categories. On the day of resurrection each will have one or the other of the two marks: the criminals will be known by their mark, and the righteous by theirs. "Their marks are on their faces, because of the effect of prostration."²³

May God, by His good favour, save you, and guide your footsteps into the way of truth.

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The Westernization of Arabia

In a paper on the possibility of union among the Arab States (*American Historical Review*, July, 1943) Professor Philip Hitti points to the contrast between the Arabs of the Fertile Crescent and those in Arabia proper. From Syria to Iraq there is a strong westernization movement. But he goes on to say:

In this respect the Arabian quadrilateral stands in marked contrast to the Arab crescent, especially to its western horn Syria-Palestine and Lebanon. The emergence of the ultraconservative, puritanical Wahhabis under ibn-al-Sa'ud as the leading community in the peninsula after the first World War represents the extremity of the pendulum swing in that direction in Islam. The swing toward the other extreme of Westernization and secularization is represented by the Kemalists Turks. *The Turks and the Wahhabis* represent opposite extremes in modern Islamic movements. If the post-war Turks proved to be the "protestants of Islam," the Wahhabis proved to be the greatest conformists—the sporadic and superficial attempt at modernization by ibn-al-Sa'ud notwithstanding.

Equally immune to European secular ideas are the Zaydis of al-Yaman, whose Imam, Yahya, is even more provincial than his rival to the north. Rivalry between these two, the strongest potentates of Arabia proper, deep-seated hostility between the Ikhwan followers of the one and the Zaydis of the other, together with the low level of culture throughout and the narrow horizon and particularism of political life, preclude the possibility of any immediate *rapprochement* and a gravitation toward a common center of Pan-Arabism. The rest of Arabia, including the Trucial Coast on the Persian Gulf, has been for decades weaned from the motherland and, under British influence, oriented India-ward.

²² *Sūrah* xliii: 35.

²³ *Sūrah* xliii: 29.

THE TURKISH THEATRE

THE MISSING LINK

In the historical chain of the development of the Turkish theatre one link was omitted by the scholars who studied this problem. The classic mime was the origin of the Turkish popular, not westernized, theatre, *i.e.*, the Orta oiunu, Karagöz and Meddah; this is a well-known common place, as I indicated some years ago in my book "The Turkish Theatre", New York, 1933, (pp. 13, 14, 23, 30). Of course, the Ottoman Turks could not receive directly this influence of the mime. Chronologically, historically and geographically Byzantium had to be an intermediary step, but the traces of it have not been found. At the time of the publication of my above-mentioned work I, myself, was not yet well enough equipped for the solution of this question. During the last few years I have carefully examined corresponding material and read the necessary literature. Some bibliographical information was kindly given to me by Professor A. A. Vasiliev of Wisconsin, who is now "the father" of Byzantine studies. These sources were as follows:

Krumbacher, Karl. *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches* (527-1453). Zweite Auflage. München. 1897.

Paparrigopoulo, C. *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique*. Paris. 1878.

Montelatici, G. *Storia della letteratura bizantina*. Milano. 1916.

Bardenhewer, O. *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur*. 1912-1924.

Saidak, Jan. *Literatura bizantynska*. Warszawa, 1933.

Wright, F. A. *History of the Later Greek Literature*. 1932.

The role of the theatre in Byzantium is known a little, because these classic ancient traditions were in decline (Krumbacher, p. 17). The old themes and subjects were

seldom used (*op. cit.*, pp. 526, 532) and the real drama was forgotten (*op. cit.*, p. 644). Under the influence of the Church the stage performances were almost forbidden and it was shameful and even sinful to frequent them in any way. The religious mysteries took their place and were recommended (*op. cit.*, pp. 643, 644, 746). The people who looked for amusements, distraction, pleasure, turned themselves towards the circus which, besides this role, began to have a political significance (Paparrigopoulo, p. 169).

If it is difficult to find in the Byzantine performances the remainder of the traces of the classic inheritance, nevertheless we can see easily some exact parallels in the Byzantine epoch with its Turkish successor, *i.e.*, the Turkish popular theatre. We can compare with it the works of Tzetzes (the twelfth century) where a democratic cast appears, like everywhere in Turkey, or the dialogues take place, like those of Karagöz with Hadjeivat, or we often see an imitation and parody and even some scandalous and obscene elements when the tales of Procopius (the sixth century) are performed, just as in Meddah or in the sentences of Karagöz (Krumbacher, p. 534; Paparrigopoulo, p. 169).

Thus if the Byzantine popular performance is an heir, perhaps corrupt, of the classic mime (and this is perceptible), the Turkish national popular theatre is the descendant of the Byzantine ancestor. And the missing link is inserted in the chain.

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LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY, A BRAKE ON EVANGELISM

Webster defines a "brake" as a "mechanical device for checking the motion of a vehicle." It would not be easy to find a better definition of "Liberal Christianity" as related to the missionary work of the Christian Church. It substitutes a non-miraculous Christianity for the historic miraculous Christianity. It builds on human experience instead of divine revelation. It denies every miraculous claim of Christianity. It says that miracles do not occur and never did. This robs Christianity of the divine character which is its only excuse for being a missionary religion. It denies its claim to be the carrier of superhuman values. Evangelism is at the heart of the missionary enterprise. The Evangel is the good news of the Incarnation, Christ's atoning death on the Cross, and His glorious Resurrection. But these are the very truths of our faith which Islam categorically denies.

1. *Historic Christianity is based on the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ.* That supernatural occurrence was its first credential. The New Testament record is that the first thought of the Disciples, when the Risen Christ appeared to them in the "Upper Room" was that it was His Spirit. Jesus corrected this false impression: "Look at my hands and feet. Feel me. Does a spirit have flesh and bones as you see me have?" He called for bread and ate it to prove that He was physical, not spirit. Later He told Thomas to feel the nail prints and the spear thrusts in His body to prove that it was a physical form and not a spiritual appearance. Paul based the claims of Christianity upon this material Resurrection. "If Christ be not risen then is our preaching vain and we are false witnesses of God because we have testified that God raised up Christ." If Jesus' Resurrection was simply His continued spiritual existence, as Liberal Christianity claims, He purposely deceived the Disciples. Any system which denies the physical resurrection of Christ is a contradiction of the Apostolic Christianity of the first cen-

tury, the Christianity which changed the world. Dr. Fairbairn said: "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ created the Christian Church. The Risen Christ made Christianity and with that fact it stands or falls. If no living Christ issued from the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, that tomb became the grave, not only of Jesus but of the religion built on it." The Modernist theory of the resurrection of Jesus was invented by the German Rationalists to destroy the power of Christianity. It was the most powerful idea ever invented against the Christian faith. Wherever it is accepted it weakens the missionary propaganda of the Church. It is a greater enemy of Christianity than infidelity or any heathen system. Half truths are more dangerous than whole falsehoods.

2. *A few days before His death, Jesus said to His disciples: "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me."* He did not say that the story of His "lifting up" would draw all men, but that He, lifted up, would do so. It is not the story of the Cross but the continuing life of the Crucified and Risen Christ that wins men. By His death as an Atonement, not only the way of salvation was opened, but the transition from the bodily to the spiritual stage was effected, by which His light was released into the spiritual sphere and became the possible possession of every living soul. By His death and Resurrection a new type of life was let loose upon the earth to enter the souls of men and transform them by its omnipotent power. The power of Christianity is that of the living and enthroned Christ, drawing mankind to Himself. It is this that has given Christianity its place among the forces of time. The transforming power of the Gospel is not the thrill that comes from the remembrance of an heroic deed, but the entrance into human life of a living transforming power.

3. *The third claim of Christianity is that this divine power creates a new man: "if any man be in Christ Jesus he is a new creation."* Dr. Glover reminds us that it was the changed lives of the early Christians that carried the belief of a living Christ to a hostile world. This was the evidence of the miraculous power of Christianity. The testimony of

Tertullian, a pagan lawyer, later a Christian apologist, explained to the Roman emperor the secret of the marvelous progress of the new faith by saying, "Everyone who witnesses these changed lives is struck with misgiving. He is set on fire to look into it, to find the cause of it, and when he has learned the truth, at once, he follows it himself." This is the reason and the only reason for the missionary propaganda of Christianity and this reason is belittled and denied by Liberal Christianity.

4. When leaving the earth, the Risen Christ commissioned His followers to carry His teaching to all nations, promising to accompany them and pour His conquering power through them. He said that through this power there would be produced a "New Man," and out of this would come a "new world."

This is the incentive of the Christian missionary movement and this is denied by Liberal Christianity. The writer would not deny the values that exist in other systems of religion. As teacher of Comparative Religion in a theological seminary, for years, he studied other systems and found values in all, but more than ever was convinced that the new world for which the race is longing can come only through that religion which produces a "New Man." The new man is the only foundation upon which we can build a new world. Christianity is the only religion which can solve the questions that are agitating the world. Christ and He alone can bring order out of our industrial order by creating a New Man. He and He alone can take away the pride of blood and wealth, the envy of poverty and the hate of both. Only the Gospel of Christ can solve the social, industrial, and racial problems of the world, because the source of all these evils is the selfishness which dominates the "old man" and only Christ can produce the "new man," who is to bring in a new world, a world of righteousness and love. All other religions have a fundamental defect. They do not change man's character. Christianity supplies that defect. At its heart is a regenerating force. It transforms society by regenerating the individuals who constitute it. In Christ Chris-

tian civilization was wrapped up as are unborn forests in an acorn's cup. Tides of civilization have flowed from Him producing the best in human history. They penetrated civil society, infused into governments the ideas of justice and brotherhood, redressed social wrongs and lifted the masses to a higher plane of industrial and social life. The work has not been completed but the new world is on the way.

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Moslems of Kelantan and Trengganu, Malaya

Dr. Raymond Firth in *The Geographical Journal*, June, 1943, tells of the coastal tribes in Malaya:

There are other smaller scale ceremonies too, regulated by the Moslem calendar: *Hari Raya Poso*, the end of Ramadan, the month's fast, when fine clothes are worn and every family makes presents of the rice sweetmeats known as *kětupat* to their friends; *Hari Raya Haji*, the celebration of the high point of the annual pilgrimage in Mecca, when cattle and goats are killed, and neighbours, friends, and religious teachers are invited to meals; *Suro* (*Ashura*), the celebration of an incident in the life of the Prophet (when he had to make a meal from scraps) by cooking in a large iron cauldron a rice porridge compounded with chicken meat and spices, and sharing it among the people who bring raw materials and take part in the work. One of the most dramatic ceremonies is the *gěrbang* (*kurbān*, sacrifice), with its ritual killing of bull or cow, followed by gifts of the meat to friends and by ceremonial meals. The bull is usually bought by subscription from several people, and the price must be made up in seven shares. A person can take up one, two, or more shares, but the total number must always be seven. The transfer of the bull to the purchasers is a formal matter, each partner taking the halter rope in his or her hand and affirming that he is buying it according to legal form. The slaughter takes place ritually, under a white prayer-cloth, and the meat is then cut up for distribution. The local interpretation of the *gěrbang* is that over a period of years a person gradually accumulates a complete set of seven shares in an animal. He has then sacrificed a whole bull, as it were. Then on the Day of Judgment, when all the Faithful appear in procession before Tuhan Allah, the Lord, he can appear in the parade, riding his bull. For this reason the animals selected for killing are of good size and appearance. I asked one old man if goats or fowls were never killed for the *gěrbang*. He answered with some scorn, "No. How could a man appear on the Last Day before Tuhan Allah riding a goat or a cock?"

A GARSHUNI MANUSCRIPT

Through the generosity of Mr. Paul Butterworth, of West Hartford, Connecticut, there has come to me a rare little Garshuni manuscript of Psalms and Prayers. The leaves, brittle with age, are sewed together in somewhat irregular folios, from which a few pages, especially at the beginning, are now missing. The binding, of leather-covered boards, 8 x 10 cm., seems once to have been adorned with metal clasps, now lost. A note in Arabic, written inside the back cover and up-side-down in relation to the book, may identify one devoted reader:

“George. O esteemed (reader): George came to Bitlis to build a church, but the Muslims would not allow it. In the year 2016 Syrian style. (i.e., 1704 A.D.) May thy grace have mercy upon me!”

In still another hand on this back cover is the formula, “There is no god but God.” Did some unitarian thief thus try to remove the poison of the book’s bold trinitarianism?

The present binding of the book, in which these interesting notes appear, is not original, as the text shows. The major part of the manuscript consists of Psalms, in the Arabic language but written in Syriac characters (i.e., “Garshuni”), with many added sentences of prayer and creed, some in Arabic and some in Syriac. The Lord’s Prayer is frequently repeated, with numerous abbreviations, in Syriac. The Psalms are of course numbered as in the LXX, but the Arabic is unlike that of Walton’s Polyglot Bible of 1657 A.D. Marginal notes, in rather careless Arabic hand, deal with a variety of subjects: the note beside the First Psalm encourages women to have large families. After 143 pages, at what seems once to have been the end of the book, three pages that apparently were originally left blank contain, in Arabic language and characters, rules for health, particularly for the avoidance of catching cold. The good advice has an ascetic quality that may come from a monastery: be-

ware of excess of talk or sleep, food or sex. All of this first and major part of the book shows, by the trimming of the pages, that the manuscript is not now in its original binding. To this original collection have been added thirty-two pages of prayers, in Garshuni, the first page of which begins in the middle of a sentence.

The history of the manuscript I judge to be somewhat as follows: A Garshuni book of Psalms and Prayers was written in the seventeenth century, or perhaps a little earlier. To it was added an Arabic note on health. This book suffered the loss of its covers. There were added some folios of prayers, and the whole, newly sewed, was trimmed so closely that a few lines of the original book were partially cut away. Perhaps this last collector was rather superstitiously desirous to possess a prayer-book than piously eager to pray, for a literate person would have observed that the added folios were incomplete. This larger book was bound with boards, leather, and metal clasps. After some fate had removed the clasps, a note, dated in 1704 in Bitlis, near Lake Van, was scratched on the back cover. Later, probably in the nineteenth century, some Muslim bought or stole the manuscript, put the first words of his creed upon it, and sold it to a western dealer. The dealer, respecting the manuscript but wholly ignorant of its nature, made for it a box cover of boards and buckram, and neatly marked the back, in English, THE KORAN.! In this form it came into the hands of Mr. Butterworth, whose generosity makes possible this study.

MOSES BAILEY.

Hartford Theological Seminary.

BOOK REVIEWS

Dictionary of World Literature. Edited by Joseph T. Shipley, with the collaboration of 260 scholars. New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1943. pp. 633. \$7.50.

This book needs only to be examined to be commended. It defines terms used in the literatures of the world for literary realities. It describes the national characteristics of various literatures with their historical developments and even movements and influences that were local and temporary. It seems to give special attention to language analysis, for the terminology of rhetoric is richly presented. The variety of literary forms is also well covered.

A dictionary of world literature in a single easily-handled volume is sure to have its disappointments; each specialist will wish for more about his own subject. Probably the authors will be the first to declare the inadequacy of their articles. But the book is a dictionary, not an encyclopædia, and experts in one field will find brief, useful and often adequate information about other fields. A friend saw the book and expected nothing good in it. But he is interested in Welsh literature, and when he examined the article on the subject, he was agreeably surprised.

Those interested in Islamic literature will find the articles on Arabic poetry by Professor G. E. von Grünebaum and on Persian prosody by Dr. M. A. Simsar well worth while. The article on travel literature reveals several unexplored fields of research on contacts with Islam and the subject of comparative literature opens up a two-way avenue of understanding and influence that advocates of literature for missionary purposes will do well to explore.

E. E. CALVERLEY.

Al-Asās: Tariqah muḥtakirah li-tadrīs al-luġhat al-'arabiyyah (The Foundation: A First Book for Teaching Arabic). By Dalil Safadi. The Ittihād Press, Detroit, Michigan. pp. 66. \$1.25.

This booklet was prepared when text-books suitable for instruction in Arabic were difficult to secure from abroad. No publisher in America is equipped to undertake the composition of fully vowelled Arabic books. So this text, like a similar venture printed at an Arabic newspaper office in Brooklyn, New York, is in unvowelled Arabic script. Students using such a book need not be illiterate in the language.

Only part of this booklet provides formal grammar and the rest consists of selected and original material. A teacher such as Miss Safadi, having a thorough knowledge of Arabic and ability to expand the lessons as required, is indispensable for the successful use of this earnest effort to promote the knowledge of Arabic among Americans.

E. E. CALVERLEY.

Twentieth Century Philosophy. Edited by Dagobert D. Runes. New York. Philosophical Library, 1943. pp. 571. \$5.00.

This volume attempts to present in twenty-two essays the living schools of thought (to use its own language) and it does so quite satisfactorily. The contributors include such men as James H. Tufts (Ethics), Roscoe Pound (Philosophy of Law), John Eloy Boodin (Philosophy of History), Alfred N. Whitehead (Philosophy of Life), Douglas C. Mackintosh (Theology and Metaphysics), Bertrand Russell (Philosophy of the 20th Century), George Santayana (Transcendental Absolutism), Marvin Farber (Phenomenology) and John Dewey (The Development of American Pragmatism).

While there is no doubt that the editor, Dagobert D. Runes, has succeeded ably in giving a comprehensive view of recent philosophical trends, yet readers of *The Moslem World* will regret that no mention has been made of modern Islamic thought as we find it, for instance, in the Indian Muslim philosopher, the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal. On the other hand one of the essays is devoted to the philosophies of China in which Wing-tsit Chan describes in an interesting manner the origin and development of modern schools of Chinese thought, of which there are many.

Naturally, it is hardly possible to present all modern schools of thought in an adequate manner when the space is so limited. We miss certain outstanding American and European thinkers. Yet we readily acknowledge that here is as fine a summary of 20th Century thought as we have been able to find in one volume. Most of this book is so well written that it will appeal not only to the serious student of contemporary philosophy but also to any intelligent mind with only a casual interest in philosophy.

C. HANS EVANS.

Newark, New Jersey.

British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement. A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations 1826-1853. By Frank Edgar Bailey. Harvard University Press, 1942, pp. xiv, 312. \$3.50.

This neat volume is the latest addition to the Harvard Historical Studies series. Students of Turkish history will recall that A. H. Lybyer's famous volume on *The Government of the Ottoman Empire* appeared as Volume xviii in this series.

Prof. Bailey of Mount Holyoke College chose his subject, pursued his research, and wrote this book largely under the inspiration of Prof. W. Leonard Langer of Harvard University. He admits that his "subject is highly specialized and for that reason of no significance for the general reader." In spite of this apology, it must be asserted that anyone who would acquire a point of view from which to appraise at their true worth the reforms which have been sponsored by the Turkish Republic in recent years, should read this book. Recent reforms are not as new as they sometimes seem!

The author has maintained his "focal point" throughout the book: "the influence of the British Government on the reforms promulgated by Sultan Mahmoud II and his successor Sultan Abdul Mejid," 1826-1853. He successfully resists temptations to wander up many an unexplored, alluring historical byway. His conclusions are not as interesting to the general reader as the processes by which he arrives at them. He is scrupulously careful, almost unwilling to

state clear-cut conclusions lest he do injustice to such great political figures as Lord Palmerston and Sir Stratford Canning, but he leaves you with the impression that only very indirectly did Great Britain during this period aid the cause of Turkish reform. Britain's chief interest lay in promoting trade, in blocking Russia, and in maintaining her Mediterranean route to India. The bare bones of self-interest are obvious. Only by comparison with Russia and France does Great Britain seem humane and generous.

Prof. Bailey documents his study very fully, giving one the impression of being a very careful workman. Occasionally he uses missionary sources, particularly annual reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the *Missionary Herald*, a publication of that Board, published regularly since 1805. He seems to reveal prejudice in saying that "missionary material must be used with caution" (p. 221) while accepting without caution such statements as that of Lybyer on p. 23, footnote, equally if not more critical of Mohammedanism than the statements of missionaries. In this connection scholars will be interested to learn that the American Board and Harvard University have recently concluded an agreement whereby Harvard University Library becomes the depository of the 1810-1865 archives of the Board for the purposes of research. These archives are said to be of unparalleled value as source material in the field of American relations with foreign countries and peoples for that period.

FRED FIELD GOODSSELL.

Boston, Mass.

The Gobi Desert. By Mildred Cable and Francesca French. London: Hodder and Stoughton, third reprint; New York, Macmillan Company, May, 1943. pp. 303, maps and 51 illustrations. 21 sh.

The far places of the world are gradually losing their mystery. No longer does Papua seem a strange place. To those who have been fortunate enough to follow the writings of the Misses Cable and French, even the land of the Tanguts and the Vigurs, the Black Gobi, the Taklamakan in their gems of green oases are receding from the realm of mystery. The authors have a warmth of feeling for the people who are part of the desert culture of China.

To the readers of *The Moslem World* this book opens up life on the periphery, but an important segment, for it links the home base with the eastern bastion of Islam in China. Herein is a record of three indomitable pioneering women who after twenty years of missionary activity in the Province of Shansi in North China, struck out on the long trek over the old Silk Road to Central Asia. Half a dozen times did they go back and forth. Up this high road, older than history, they passed through the Great Wall into the vast and always mysterious waste of Gobi, whose secrets tell of hidden cities, art treasures, and people who commanded the transport of the ancient world. Here for more than ten years they lived among the people, studying the succeeding cultures, and absorbing the very life of the Gobi. First and always they were missionaries unashamed of their message. They distributed thousands of Scripture portions in a score of languages.

Those parts of the book which have peculiar interest to the students of Islam are scattered, and difficult to dig out, for there is no

index. But there are sections of chapters which deal particularly with the social life of Islam. The first one is the account of "Life in a Moslem Inn", which depicts happenings at the sign of the tea-pot of the traditional Moslem inn. It brings back to me memories of what goes on in such a place. Here in Tunhwang are given all the details of the harem-life as only women visitors could see them. The "King of the Gobi" is the story of the hereditary king whose palace was in Harmi. Here again are intimate details of the old Islamic world, a picture of the last decaying days of a khanate which ruled over the Chantos, whom the Chinese call the Turki-Moslem people of the desert. In the "Transport of the Gobi" is an attractive picture of the stalwart Turki and his donkeys, dashing hither and yon as the short-haul carrier of the Gobi. Then under the "Homes of the Desert" an accurate picture is given of the difference between two Moslem homes; that of the Tungan, or the Confucian ancestor-controlled home of the Chinese Moslem, and the haphazard home of the Turki Moslem.

But by far the most valuable part of the book is the excellent account of the Mohammedan rising of 1930, in the chapter called "Revolt in the Gobi". The first section gives a clear summary of the facts of the rise and fall of the young Moslem rebel Ma Chung-ying. Sven Hedin portrayed his personal knowledge of this revolt in "The White Horse Flight", but not nearly so clearly and concisely. The second section tells of the authors' personal contacts with Ma and his followers, and is vivid and impressive. The third section contains an account of two Moslem personalities and gives thumb-nail sketches of individual followers of the Prophet.

Other books on the Gobi and Central Asia are well-known, but this one differs. With scholarly pen Sir Aurel Stein on his archeological trails gives a graphic picture of the historic past at the cross roads of Asia. The dash and adventuresome experiences of Sven Hedin thrill and stimulate the imagination regarding the highroads of the Taklamakan. But it is the enthusiasm of the writers of "The Gobi Desert" and their love for the inner life of the people of the oasis and the solitude of the desert that paints word pictures of charm and beauty for the reader. The book ends on a tragic note of despair for the people who are caught up in the invasion of machine-minded men. "They may conquer the desert spaces and shatter its silences, but they can never capture its magic charm, and those who have been disciplined and instructed by its austerity still find that the elusive spirit of the desert can call them at will, to roam again in the Gobi that once was."

CLAUDE L. PICKENS, JR.

New York City.

From *Jesus to Paul*. By Joseph Klausner, Ph.D. Translated from the Hebrew by William F. Stinespring, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. pp. 624. \$3.50.

Dr. Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth* was translated from modern Hebrew by Canon Herbert Danby of Jerusalem, now of Oxford University, in 1925 (Reviewed in our Quarterly, Vol. xx: 423). This companion volume is also translated by a Christian Old Testament professor; two remarkable illustrations of cooperation across the

chasm of two faiths whose disagreement since the days of St. Paul has been sharp theologically. There are two minor reasons why this scholarly historic study of the origin of Paul's religion and the success of his mission deserve the attention of those laboring in and for the Moslem world. The first is, that the author calls attention (p. 605) "to a very curious fact in the world. It is that Judaism has survived for thousands of years dispersed among *Christian* and *Moslem* peoples, but has not survived—at least as a proper national community fulfilling an important cultural function—either in India, China or Japan". Only in those places where the Hebrew tradition and Hebrew culture were recognized and assimilated had Judaism the soil to continue its life—so he believes. A second reason for a careful study of these pages is that Dr. Klausner draws a parallel between Paul and Mohammed (pp. 326-330) in holding that both were subject to epilepsy, hence their visions of Paradise!

But the chief importance of this book for every reader is that the relation of Paul to Jesus is not only a Modern Jewish but a Modern Islamic question. The book, which represents many years of study and meditation, attempts to answer two questions: "How was Christianity separated from Judaism, and why did Judaism not accept the teaching of Paul as it likewise did not accept the teaching of Jesus?" In his attempt to answer these questions and solve the riddle of *Anno Domini*, the author seeks for natural causes and finds them in the pagan world, the mystery religions, the downfall of Jewish temporal power, the stormy political events of the Roman empire and in Paul's paradoxical genius. Gibbon's reasons for the early spread of Paul's faith appeal to him more strongly than those of Harnack. The supernatural is eliminated at the outset. The Resurrection story in the Gospels originated with Mary Magdalen and other hysteric women (Renan) and the others, including Paul, saw Jesus only in dreams or visions (pp. 264-267, 322-325). The vision on the road to Damascus was a hallucination. The evidence in I Cor. 15 is passed over in silence. Christianity was founded on a fable. Jesus Christ did not arise from the tomb. But, as Dr. Latourette put it in *Anno Domini*, "This confidence in the Resurrection is based upon fact. Otherwise the universe would prove untrustworthy." To leave out the Resurrection compels the author to turn to secondary causes for Paul's message and mission and success as an apostle—as well as for his conversion and character. The chapters on the Jewish Diaspora, the Proselytes, the Religious syncretism of pagan philosophies and the influence of Hellenism are all deeply interesting and proof of much study. They explain the soil from which Christianity sprang but not its germinal Seed. One half of the book (pp. 303-611) deals with the life, work and teaching of Paul. Dr. Klausner believes positively that Saul-Paul met Jesus before the Crucifixion (p. 435), that the cruel death of Christ and Stephen's martyrdom preyed on his conscience and his peculiar psychological make-up. He sums up the factors that account for the rise and triumph of Christianity as follows: "Paul came to those yearning for salvation and preached an attenuated Judaism, from which had been taken the sharp edge of the Torah and the difficulties in the observance of the ceremonial laws; and in place of a dying and rising god, such as was common in the various pagan religions of that time, he added to this attenuated Judaism a dying and rising Messiah."

He pays high tribute to the greatness of Paul's personality. A man of complex polarity, passionate, with energy and courage; suffering from an inferiority complex and yet self-assertive and proud of his Jewish origin; with marvellous adaptability for compromise; one who combined delusion and rationality, mysticism and ideology; a clever politician and a man who because he was an appeaser made history (pp. 424-432). But even here Dr. Klausner fails to see originality! "Intensive research over many years has brought the writer of the present book to a deep conviction that there is nothing in the teaching of Paul—not even the most mystical elements in it—that did not come to him from authentic Judaism." And he attempts to prove this from Paul's epistles! Yet Paul, although a Jew at heart, "dares to place God and Jesus on the same footing", and "the essential things for Paul were Jesus' death and resurrection and his appearance on the road to Damascus."

Although Dr. Klausner leans heavily on Liberal interpreters of early Christianity, he states, "If there had been no 'primitive church' in which was born the resurrection story and apparently also the view that the crucified Messiah was the vicariously suffering Messiah, (Isaiah 53), then the very foundation stone of Paul's teaching would have been lacking (p. 581)." Nevertheless, not Jesus but Paul is the source and root of Christianity according to this Modern Jew. His final chapter, a comparison of Jesus and Paul, is painful reading—and yet it reveals the mind of Jew and Moslem who stumble at the word of the Cross. Dr. Klausner is clearly convinced of two things: the historicity of both Jesus and Paul and the impossibility of reconciling their teaching with orthodox Judaism. "From the end of Paul's lifetime onward Jews and Christians lived apart in two separate worlds, there being between them no relation except that of kinsmen who have grown apart; hence animosity and conflict between them increased." Yet the last line of this remarkable book (after stating how much the Jews owe to Paul for spreading the truths of the Torah across the gentile world) reads: "In this sense—and only in this great and deep sense—was Paul also, what Maimonides so beautifully called Jesus, a *preparer of the way for the King-Messiah.*"

S. M. ZWEMER.

New York City.

The Middle East: Crossroads of History. By Eliahu Ben-Horin. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1943. pp. 248. \$3.00.

A recent bibliography on conditions in Palestine since the first World War lists over thirty titles of books and pamphlets. The present volume deserves attention, although it is sure to awaken controversy because it is written from the standpoint of an educated Russian Jew who has had long residence in the Near East, is a confirmed Zionist, and definitely critical of the Arabs.

The book was reviewed at some length by Professor Philip K. Hitti in the *New York Times* for September 12, 1943:

"In the judgment of the reviewer 'The Middle East: Crossroads of History' renders a disservice to the cause which it is intended to promote. The Arab-Zionist question is fraught with dynamite and any approach that is not based on a sympathetic understanding of the rights and claims and aspirations of both parties is calculated to

do more harm than good. If the Arabs and Jews are going to be able to work out a *modus vivendi*—as all well-wishers of both peoples would like to see them do—it would be despite rather than through such contributions as Ben-Horin's."

In reply to this lengthy and somewhat caustic review the publicist George E. Sokolsky wrote a protest in the *New York Sun*, pointing out that the tough problem of Jew and Arab in Palestine was worthy of more consideration and that the *Times* Book Review section should have selected a less prejudiced reviewer of a book worthy of more serious consideration.

The volume is largely historical, and deals with the break-up of the Turkish Empire, the rise of new kingdoms in the desert, the influence of the French in Syria, and the outbreak of the first World War. The strategy of oil and the holy places in the struggle for the cradles of history is well described. The author has a great sympathy for the Jews and their tragic exclusion from Palestine because of immigration laws at a time when they were so sorely persecuted in Europe.

The chapter on Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism is not at all sympathetic to Arab aspirations, but contains facts and revelations not found elsewhere. Hitler's shadow was once heavy on the Middle East. It is now disappearing, thanks to the success of the Allied forces. The book, however, does not deal only with political and racial problems, but has an interesting engineering factor. The author proposes—and he seems to have knowledge of his subject—that the Tigris-Euphrates valley could be resurrected by irrigation, and that Transjordan might prove a place of refuge for the Jews of the world and a solution of the Jewish problem. We quote:

"I suggest that the Arabs of Palestine and Transjordan be transferred to Iraq, or the united Iraq-Syrian state. That means shifting about 1,200,000 persons. A larger number were involved in the Greco-Turkish exchange of population; many more in the internal shifts in Russia. In the words of Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson (in *The Problems of Lasting Peace*) 'in most cases the problem of mixed border peoples may have to be solved by the heroic remedy of transfer of populations. The hardship of moving is great, but it is less than the constant suffering of minorities and the constant recurrence of war.'"

Whether this cutting of the Gordian knot would be acceptable at any peace table remains a question.

The book is well written and in spite of some misprints and its pro-Jewish bias, well worth reading.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Samuel Jacob Enderlin—Ein gottbegnadigter Sendbote und unermüdlicher Pionier der Sudan-Mission in Oberägypten. By Margarete Unruh. Brunnen-Verlag Basel. pp. 78. Fr. 2.00.

This is a brief biographical sketch of the labors of an old friend, the German pioneer missionary to Moslems in upper Egypt, by one of his colleagues. Dr. Enderlin's death two years ago ended a long life of utter devotion to the Nubian people with whom he first came in touch at Cairo, and afterwards in Asswan. He contributed articles to our *Quarterly* and was an excellent Arabist as well as an ardent evangelist.

Z.

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam In Mikindani

Here at Mikindani Nyasas come to work on the sisal estates Their coming is like the cool Matlai breeze after the midday heat. They bring with them a happy spirit which is not to be found among my Moslem friends. Courteous and friendly the Moslems certainly are, and they know how to laugh, but they lack something which the Nyasaland Christians have in good measure. I don't think it is just a different temperament. You would recognize it if you were here. I have just had a visit from a gentleman from the London School of Oriental Studies, and he has travelled widely in all parts of Africa. He wanted to know how it was that, in spite of the beauty of these coastal towns in East Africa, yet he never felt at home in them. There was an atmosphere about these towns which he did not like. Why is it so?

Have you ever dreamed that you are running and yet that you are making no progress? You are putting all your strength into the effort of running, and yet it is all in vain. Well, these towns have the outward appearance of a comparatively progressive life, and yet they are really stagnant, crippled, and the thing that cripples them is the religion of the Prophet. It may be true enough that reformed Islam aims at improving the status of both men and women, but here in East Africa we don't find reformed Islam as it is, say, in Turkey. Here we have the old crippling, soul-destroying adherence to the outward practice of a religion, the inner meaning of which is unknown to the great majority of the people. Here in Mikindani, for instance, very few Moslems can give a meaning for the observance of their fasts and feasts. They simply don't know, and they are quite ready to admit it. They cheerfully admit the superiority of the Christian religion, but it doesn't occur to them to do anything about it. Not that they know very much about the Christian religion. They don't want to know, because, they say, it isn't the religion for them. It is the European's religion. When reminded that many up-country Africans have become Christians, they have nothing to say. In any case, the coastal Moslems always have regarded up-country as heathen, and so what could a Moslem expect of such people anyway!

Illiteracy, of course, is the greatest handicap to the development of such people, and these people are very illiterate. They have a great desire to know how to read and write. Men who were taught as children to repeat passages from the Koran in the "clear Arab tongue," but who cannot speak Arabic, now want to learn to read Swahili. But many of them have left it too late. And those who can read want to read only stories or Canon Dale's books on Islam. Show them Christian literature and they turn away.

A powerful weapon, perhaps more powerful than the schools, is the influence of the medical work of the Mission. Even the illiterate Moslems can understand that. Our dispensary at Mchicha, right in

the middle of a large Moslem population, staffed by African Christians and attended by some 2,000 out-patients every month,—they all know what that means. They admit that the Europeans' religion is "a religion of mercy." That means to them that it compares favourably with their own, for do they not call God "the Merciful One" (el-Rahman) in their reading of the Koran? My friend, Sheikh Ahmad, a highly respected and devout Moslem, tells me that this (el-Rahman) is an Arabic name for God, and that the conception of mercifulness is therefore a Muhammadan one. It would be easy to confound him by pointing out that it isn't an Arabic word at all, but Aramaic, and that the word was used by all Christian churches of the Yemen in Southern Arabia in pre-Islamic days. For the time being, though, I think it is better to keep quiet and say nothing. I do not think it kind or wise to approach prospective converts after the manner of the caterpillar who confounded Alice with the devastating statement, "You are WRONG!" Time enough when they begin to see that such ideas as mercifulness have no expression in their own lives. It is through the moral and spiritual life, rather than the intellectual one, that these people will begin to change their lives and turn to our Lord.

(L. P. H. in *Central Africa* for June 1943).

A Moslem on the British Conquest of India

Hassan Suhrawardy writes in *The Royal Central Asian Journal* (April, 1943):

The British did not conquer India from Muslims or from Mahrattas in a pitched battle leading an invading army. The British came as traders, became merchant princes and by force of circumstances gradually took the position of administrators and became rulers: the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were given to the East India Company by the Moghul Emperor in August, 1765. This enhanced the influence and power of the Company to such an extent that by the Regulating Act of 1773, the Governor-General in Bengal was given power of control over Bombay (Western India) and Madras (Southern India). The East India Company came into conflict with other European trading companies, particularly with the French. These two companies made alliances with independent Muslim sovereigns like Hyder Ali, Tipu Sultan, Nizam of Hyderabad, Nawab of Carnatic, Nawab of Oudh, Nawab Nazim of Bengal and others too numerous to mention. By assisting one party against the other the British finally stabilized their power and replaced the Moghul Emperors as the suzerain power, and established many Hindu states under British protection and also created states like Mysore, Kashmir. Rulers of some of the most important Mahratta states possess the significant titles of "Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia," "Farzand-i-Dilpizir-i-Daulat-i-Inglishia," etc., but many of these ancient Mahratta chiefs held honours of the highest dignity like the *Mahi Maratib* from the Mogul Emperors, which they display on State occasions, and still hold such honoured titles as *Mukhtiar-ul-Mulk*, *Umdat-ul-Umara*, etc. The Durbar ceremonies observed by the British Raj are also a replica of the Mogul ceremonies whom they have succeeded as the paramount power in India.

Shivaji and Balaji Bishwanath Bhatta took the precaution of never meeting the Muslim army in pitched battles. When in the flush of their power they risked the issue, Ahmad Shah Abdali broke their power for ever in the third battle of Panipat in 1761, and Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) finished the job, when Scindhia and Bhonsle were signally defeated in 1803 in the battle of Assaye. Further, it must be mentioned that the Mah-rattas were notorious for perpetrating "cruelties, blackmail and committing every sinful act" (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*. Patna. 1932).

Iraq's Economic Future

The last war brought wealth to some countries. The present war is doing far more in that direction in the Near and Middle East. When peace comes countries where our armies have been stationed will be in a position to give an immediate fillip to the trade revival by orders for all kinds of commodities. They will have the money to buy with, but stores of all kinds will be lacking. Is the Government fully prepared for the situation that will arise? British traders will have a unique opportunity, provided the rapidity with which demobilisation is carried out permits them to deliver the goods.

The rising currency circulation is a plain indication of Iraq's economic well-being. This country was making steady progress in the years before the war, largely owing to the oil royalties which enabled the Government to finance great development schemes out of revenue. There is much more to be done before Iraq can reap the full benefit from her fertile soil. New irrigation schemes are a need of the immediate future to bring extensive new areas under cultivation. In time Iraq should become the granary of the Middle East. It will be remembered that after the last war it was thought that Iraq had a great future as a cotton growing region, but there were disappointments in store. Eventually Iraq found a cotton strain suitable for the country, and it is quite possible that one day cotton may be one of her important products. But in the immediate future it would seem clear that her best course is to concentrate on grain production.

The war has been responsible for one good thing in the Middle East. It has made the countries alive to the advantages of mutual trade. Iraq can be the supplier of grain to neighbouring countries after the war, leaving countries like Egypt freer to concentrate on crops they have made peculiarly their own.

—*Great Britain and Near East.*

Atatürk and The New Turkey

The following is part of a paper written in French by one of Turkey's leading authors, Izzet Melih Devrim. (*The Asiatic Review*, July, 1943):

Imperturbable in faith and method, Atatürk destroyed the worn-out institutions which impeded the march of the people towards progress. First the temporal power was separated from that of the Khalif and the rôle of the latter was confined to spiritual affairs. Soon afterwards the Khalifate was abolished and the whole

Imperial family was exiled. With the adoption of the Swiss Code, the whole social outlook was entirely altered; there was no more legal polygamy; questions of divorce and inheritance were regulated; the woman took her share in the national polity; she became a workwoman, an employer and member of the municipal councils. Finally, she who according to the Sheriat law could only marry a Mussulman is now free to marry the man of her choice whatever be his religion.

Atatürk was one of those men who never overlook details, for whom no matter is too small; Napoleon I. dictated the rules of the Comédie Française at the height of the Russian campaign; Atatürk abolished the fez, which was inconvenient and out of date, in favour of the hat, when occupied with the serious question of Mosul.

We know the gifts of vision which he had. I myself assisted at an example of this mysterious force which unrolled the future before him; in 1928 he decided to replace our ancient script by Latin characters. Even the most progressive amongst us were afraid on the eve of this unheard-of step and envisaged a long period of transition. But Atatürk said: "You will see that the change will take place much sooner than you think; thanks to the new alphabet, everyone will be able to read and write in the space of a few years."

For many centuries the Turks used the Arabic alphabet, which consisted of thirty-four letters and, like Hebrew, is written from right to left. Since Turkish contains many Arabic and Persian words and since our literature was based on these two languages, the alphabet has to be capable of rendering all the shades of pronunciation of the foreign words. These shades were especially refined in the reading of the Koran. There were, for example, three kinds of "s" and four of "z." But in the current speech of Turkey these triplicated and quadruplicated letters ended by having the same sound and only served to complicate the spelling. Further, as the original form of the words borrowed from Arabic and Persian had been carefully preserved and as the spelling of these two languages has hardly any vowels, the pronunciation of each word has to be specially learned, so that those capable of reading the learned texts without mistakes of pronunciation were very rare.

The new alphabet, with its Roman characters, consists of twenty-seven letters and is essentially phonetic. It has no "q" and no "x," but contains a "j" which is the Latin "c," a "ch" which is written "ç," a "sh" written "s," and a "gh" which is simply a "g." Besides facilitating the teaching of Turkish, the reform has done away with a kind of Chinese Wall which separates our way of writing from that of most civilized nations.

British Institutes in the Middle East

In 1938 the British Council, with the approval of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, began its policy of founding institutes throughout the Middle East. In these institutes a direct attempt is being made to secure contact with the young men and women from amongst whom the future leaders of the countries will be drawn. No attempt is made to force British ideas or points of view upon the members of the institutes. It is, however, possible for those who are interested to find libraries and reading-rooms, to attend

courses on a variety of subjects, to hear lectures and to meet British people with a common interest—a common interest in the books or lectures or films which the institutes provide. For almost the first time, therefore, it is possible for Arabs to meet British people not as “the District Commissioner” or “the Bank Manager,” but as Mr. X or Mr. Y, a human being, not an official. The response to these institutes has been amazing, and the only criticism I have ever heard from the local inhabitants is that they should have been started twenty years ago.

The Four Freedoms in Indonesia

At the time of the Japanese invasion, the Netherlands East Indies were administered by a Governor-General, assisted by bodies known as the “Raad van Indie” (Council of the Indies) and the “Volksraad” (People’s Council). The last-named was originally an advisory body, but it gradually assumed certain executive powers. It is noteworthy that in the Volksraad the Indonesians and Chinese outnumbered the Dutch. Incidentally, the two million Chinese inhabitants of the Archipelago played an almost indispensable part in its economic life, and proved themselves first-class citizens, possessing high intelligence, an amazing capacity for work, and—what is more—honesty and loyalty in the widest sense of the words. All these capacities were appreciated by the Dutch. . . .

To return to the Indonesians. The broad principle of government was the government of the Indonesians by the Indonesians themselves, under the guidance and with the full co-operation of the Dutch. Indonesian officials ranged from “Soesoehoenans,” or Sultans (who were partners rather than vassals), down to “Wedanas,” or village headmen. This system worked admirably, and possessed the added advantage of imbuing the Indonesian officials with a sense of responsibility and duty to their fellow-countrymen. . . .

But it was not only in the administration of Asiatic territory that the Dutch excelled. The agricultural and mineral riches of the Archipelago were developed by scientific methods at least equal to those of any nation in the world. Vast estates were planted with rubber, sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, palm oil, quinine, and innumerable other tropical crops. Native agriculture (rice, rubber, tea, kapok, etc.), was encouraged and developed in every possible way. Great quantities of mineral oil were produced and refined, and their by-products extracted. The Netherlands Indies were also one of the great tin producers of the world.

Foreign capital was welcomed, and was, indeed, essential to the development of the Archipelago’s natural riches. Under the Netherlands Indies “open door” policy this capital was admitted on the same terms as that from the Mother Country. By agreements with other producing countries (mainly British), exports of rubber, tea, and tin were regulated to suit world demand, and thus prevent disruptive price fluctuations. The world at large had free access to the raw materials produced by the Archipelago, and it seems no exaggeration to state that this part of the Atlantic Charter was already operative as far as access to raw materials was concerned.

So much for the past—and what of the future? At long last a slowly brightening glimmer of light shines through the darkness of war.

Victory is adumbrated. World wide plans are already being made to deal with the many political, economic and social problems which will confront the victorious United Nations, in whose front ranks Holland stands.

—*Great Britain and The East.*

Wendell Willkie's Estimate of Missions

"There exists in the world today a gigantic reservoir of good-will toward us, the American people. Many things have created this enormous reservoir. At the top of the list go the hospitals, schools, and colleges which Americans—missionaries, teachers and doctors—have founded in the far corners of the world. Many of the new leaders of old countries—men who are today running Iraq, Turkey, or China—have studied under American teachers whose only interest has been to spread knowledge. Now in our time of crisis we owe a great debt to these men and women who have made friends for us.

"The preservation of this reservoir of good-will is a sacred responsibility, not alone toward the aspiring peoples of the earth but toward our own sons who are fighting this battle on every continent. For the water in this reservoir is the clean, invigorating water of Freedom."

Mr. Willkie does not emphasize the spiritual and Christian element in all this as strongly as you and I do. He is talking of the global Brotherhood of Man that Peace must bring, while we accept Christ's interpretation that this is the building of the Kingdom of God on earth. And thus our missionaries represent us in the most Christian work we know, at the very springs and sources of the new national life in many backward lands where our institutions are carrying on under stiff hardship. We are grateful to all those who bear witness on the radio and in the columns of the press to the exceeding value of the Christian work which we have maintained out yonder.

From The American Board News Bulletin.

Radio-sets in Transjordan

In *The Alliance Weekly* of April 10th on p. 235, under the caption of "Radios in Transjordan," I read this striking paragraph:

"Those who wonder how the Arabs get the radio broadcasts may be surprised to learn that in the oversized village of Amman, capital of Transjordan, there are 12,000 radios to 35,000 people."

This again brought very forcibly to mind the thinking and praying we have been doing on the question of a program in Arabic. Of course I do not know how many of the receivers mentioned above might be capable of receiving short wave. I do feel something should be done to get an Arabic program under way, which might only prove the beginning of a number of such programs on stations using long wave or whatever is best suited in the more populous Arabic sectors. Repeatedly it has come to me that the Arabic-speaking folk are very radio-minded and the above is just another indication of this.

—*Voice of The Andes.*

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

ARCHAEOLOGY DURING THE REPUBLIC IN TURKEY. Thomas Whittemore. (In the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Concord, N. H. April-June, 1943. pp. 164-170).

Under the dynamic influence of Atatürk substantial advances were made and, no doubt, will be continued after the war.

AMERICANS ON THE BARBARY COAST. Willard Price. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. July, 1943, pp. 1-31).

The A.E.F. has been learning of old and new civilizations from its contacts with the historic lands of North Africa and their picturesque inhabitants.

AŞ-SĀHIB IBN 'ABBĀD AS A WRITER AND POET. M. A. Mu'īd Khān. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April, 1943. pp. 176-205).

An account of a 4th century vizier, patron of learning, drawn from a manuscript collection of his poems in the Asafiya Library.

IRAN IN WARTIME. John N. Greely. (In *The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. August, 1943. pp. 129-156).

Describes the route from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea through which pours a steady stream of matériel to Soviet Russia from her American and British allies.

II. ARABIA

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE ADEN PROTECTORATE. Capt. the Hon. R. A. B. Hamilton. (In the *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London. September, 1943. pp. 267-274).

Continues a paper published in the May issue of the *Journal* and describes tribal organization in detail.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

THE ARAB ADMINISTRATION OF SIND. S. M. Jaffe. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April, 1943. pp. 119-129).

The conquerors won coöperation from the conquered by a policy of toleration and by the adoption of native practices whenever possible.

TURKS IN THE MIDDLE EAST BEFORE THE SALJUQS. Richard N. Frye and Aydin M. Sayili. (In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Baltimore. July-September, 1943. pp. 194-207).

Presents material to prove that quantities of Turks existed in this area before the Arab conquests.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

THE RELATION OF GOD TO TIME AND SPACE AS SEEN BY THE MU'TAZILITES. 'Abdus-Subhân. (In *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad. April, 1943. pp. 152-165).

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE JAZIREH. R. C. Byerly. (In *The Syrian News Quarterly*, Beirut. February, 1943. pp. 4-9).

Tells of work and life in this ancient section of the Near East.

THE NEW TURKEY. Izzet-Melih Devrim. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1943. pp. 320-324).

Outlines the progress of reform in Turkey from the days of Suleiman the Magnificent, culminating in the superb accomplishments of Atatürk which are being upheld by Ismet İnönü.

A SUMMER HOLIDAY IN TURKEY IN 1942. F. L. Billows. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1943. pp. 329-331).

Depicts scenery and living conditions along the Upper Euphrates and from Trebizond to Askale.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AFGHANISTAN IN THE MODERN WORLD. (In *Amerasia*, New York. August, 1943. pp. 264-268).

Discusses the foreign influences at work in this rugged land from early days to the present when the Afghans look to Turkey for guidance in modernization and nationalistic development.

AMERICA AND THE MOSLEM WORLD. (In *Amerasia*, New York. June, 1943. pp. 152-155).

A sincere application of the Atlantic Charter will help solve the problems raised by Pan-Arabism in the post-war world.

THE AXIS AND THE MODERN WORLD. Heinz Soffner. (In *Amerasia*, New York. April, 1943. pp. 80-89).

Detailed account of German and Japanese propoganda operating among the Moslems, who are shrewd enough not to be carried away by it.

ISLAM AND THE MUSLIMS IN THE FAR EAST. John G. Hazam. (In the *Far Eastern Survey*, New York. July 28, 1943. pp. 149-155).

Though still politically weak, Islam is fast becoming aware of its rights and newly-found powers throughout this district.

PERSPECTIVES OF THE NEAR EAST. Sir Percy Loraine. (In *The Geographic Journal*, London. July, 1943. pp. 6-13).

Presents a convincing argument for the desirability of putting strategical considerations before ethical and economic ones when planning the peace to come.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. C. A. F. Dundas. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1943. pp. 325-327).

Great Britain is being given an unusual opportunity for establishing favorable relations throughout an area where distrust and animosity flourished in pre-war days.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1942. (In the *Egypt General Mission News*, London. July, 1943. pp. 3-14).

The withdrawal of actual conflict from the borders of Egypt has given a great impetus to mission work and the future looks bright.

CHRISTENDOM'S LOST PROVINCE. E. L. Allen. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. July-August, 1943. pp. 207-210).

Will Christianity be able to regain the land where Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine made the church such a vital force?

THE CHURCH IN EGYPT IN WARTIME. S. A. Morrison. (In *The East and West Review*, London. October, 1943. pp. 99-102).

The war has made Egypt a meeting place for all nations, thus affording exceptional opportunities for witness bearing.

"COMPTEZ SUR MOI." L. J. Bocking. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. July-August, 1943. pp. 202-206).

Tells of the limitations put upon missionaries in North Africa during the Germano-Italian occupation.

THE DIRECTORS' 39TH ANNUAL REPORT AND FIELD REPORT. (In *The Lightbearer*, Herts. July, 1943. pp. 38-55).

A year of progress, untouched by actual warfare, has been spent with new mission stations opened and new workers in the field.

UNDER WAR CONDITIONS IN NORTH AFRICA. Thomas Warren. (In *World Dominion and the World To-day*, London. July-August, 1943. pp. 200-202).

Describes the natives' suffering from lack of food and clothing and the efforts being made to relieve their distresses.

✱ HENRY HARRISON RIGGS ✱

The sudden death in Jerusalem, Palestine, August 12th, 1943, of Rev. Henry Harrison Riggs took from our midst one of the most loyal and discriminating friends of Moslem people everywhere. Mr. Riggs reached Palestine the day before his death, within a few hours travel of his destination, Beirut, Syria. With characteristic unconcern for himself and his own comfort, he undertook the long and hazardous journey from Boston in order to return to the field of service where he was greatly needed. He had served as a missionary in Near Eastern lands under the American Board since 1902.

As secretary of the Near East Christian Council he had endeared himself to Christian missionaries and national Christian leaders throughout the Near East. The Committee on Work Among Moslems of the Foreign Missions Conference wishes to put on record both its deep sense of loss as this devoted servant of God passes to his reward and its deep sense of gratitude for all that he has been enabled to do to witness to his Lord and ours among Moslems.

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