

THE MOSLEM WORLD

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AFTER TWENTY YEARS

The lights that pierce the lace-like tracery of foliate design on the doorway of the tomb-mosque of Sultan Barquq, and the shadows that fall darkly inside the doorway are typical of the world of Islam. In 1386 Barquq built a remarkable *madrassa* in Bain-al-Kasrain, Cairo, which has recently been restored; and his tomb-mosque, with its two domes, begun by himself, was completed by his son Sultan Faraj in 1410; but the father's name and titles are carved over the door.

So we greet our readers, on the threshold of a new year, with a picture of a gate-way more than five hundred years old! One's imagination is kindled in recalling the history of that Mameluke dynasty celebrated for its magnificent art, noble architecture, lavish hospitality, literary talent, meticulous learning, but also notorious for barbarous inhumanity, savage cruelty, and the extortion, flogging and torture of Jew and Christian. Then, indeed, minorities in Egypt had no rights; now all classes enjoy every right, except that the religious liberty for those who forsake Islam still hangs in the balance.

The world of Islam has always been, and is now, a world of lights and shadows. The late Dr. Henry H. Jessup once spoke of it as "the mightiest system of monotheism the world has ever known, shadowing with wings the great continents of Asia and Africa, having in its progress stamped out of existence tens of thousands of

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Christian churches, and riveted upon two hundred millions its doctrines, polity, ceremonial, and code of laws, and imbedded itself in the Arabic language like the nummulite fossils in the ledges of Jebel Mokattam, until it stands today like a towering mountain range whose summits are gilded with the light of the great truths of God's existence and unity, and whose foothills run down into the sloughs of polygamy and oppression and the degradation of women."

For twenty years our Quarterly has recorded the story of those who climbed the mountain ranges, of those who lived in the foothills or voiced the inarticulate cry of those in the slough of despond. Islam and Moslem lands have experienced many changes in the past twenty years. These are recorded in the history of current events, in the literature and the thought-world of Islam. To turn the pages of Volume I, No. 1 of THE MOSLEM WORLD brings some of these changes vividly to mind. Then we asked the question, Is there a place for a new quarterly concerning the Moslem world? And mentioned the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, and *Der Islam*, both of which have now ceased publication. The Moslems in Russia, described by Sophy Bobrovnikoff in 1911, are still a great unoccupied field; but the conditions which she described are utterly different. The German National Colonial Conference and its opinions on Islam, with some of the Edinburgh deliberations of 1910, seem to have been abrogated by the World War. Old Turkey has disappeared, the caliphate is a thing of the past; Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt and North Africa are in the throes of a new nationalism, while Pan-Islamism is practically dead.

When the first number of our Quarterly appeared, "missionary leaders felt that the church was called to a deeper study of the problem, as well as to a more thorough preparation of its missionaries and a bolder faith in God, in order to solve it." That deeper knowl-

edge and more thorough preparation is still greatly to be desired and to that end missions among Moslems need a common platform, a common forum of thought, a common organ for investigation and study.

Our columns are open to all who have special knowledge of Islam or special experience in evangelism. THE MOSLEM WORLD is not a magazine of controversy, nor of compromise. While we speak the truth we desire to do so in love and we are willing to hear what educated Moslems have to say. Our chief task has been to interpret Islam to the Christian public as a world-wide religion in all its varied aspects and its deep needs, ethical and spiritual; to point out and press home the true solution of the problem, namely, the evangelization of Moslems; to be of practical help to all who toil for this end; and to awaken sympathy, love and prayer on behalf of the Moslem world until its bonds are broken, its wounds healed, its sorrows removed, and its desires satisfied in Jesus Christ.

We are facing a new day, and the youth of Islam, a new world. Like the Egyptian lad sitting in the doorway of the half-ruined mosque of Barquq (perchance unconscious that turban and fez are no longer in style) they are bewildered by the lights and shadows of the past, the glare and glitter of today. Everywhere there is unrest, disillusionment, yearning. Young Islam is on trek. But whither? The Moslem world is in revolution, but no one can foretell the result. We can only stand on our watch-tower and answer the challenge of the wayfarer of Seir: "Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh and also the night: if ye will inquire, inquire ye: turn ye, come." This is "the burden of Arabia" and "the burden of the valley of vision." (Isaiah 21, *passim*).

Princeton, N. J.

S. M. ZWEMER.

TO THE BRITISH READER

At a banquet given in London in 1909 in honor of delegates from the restored Ottoman Parliament Lord Curzon observed that the British King ruled over a greater number of Moslems than any other potentate except the Ottoman Sultan. It was surprising that so well-informed a statesman could have made such a slip; for the Moslems of India alone were three times as numerous as those of the Ottoman Empire. In the series of disastrous wars which started soon after, the Ottoman Empire broke up, and large numbers of its Moslem subjects came under the control or protection of Italy, France, and Great Britain; and the last of these is in a sense at the present time the greatest Moslem power in the world. How long it will remain so is indeed a question; in general it appears to be easier for a European invader to enter an Oriental country than to quit it.

Now if Islam were simply a religion, *i. e.*, a system of doctrines and observances, its study would be of interest but scarcely of importance to the British voter. It was, however, as conceived by its founder, a scheme of world-conquest; and as late as the sixteenth century this scheme came near realization. The wheel of fortune has since then revolved with constant acceleration, so that just now the independent Moslem states are few and thinly populated; the Caliphate, or titular headship of the whole Moslem community, is no longer claimed by any potentate of the first or second rank. If human action were mechanical, Islam would be abandoned by a majority of its adherents, since a system proved to be true by victory in the field would be shown to be false by defeat. But human action is not mechanical, and few are influenced by this logic.

The British voter who has responsibilities for the minorities in countries where a majority of the population is Moslem, ought before handing these over to a Moslem government to be able to form an opinion as to the probable results of the change. And he has responsibilities also for the well-being of the Moslem communities, hence he ought to know something about the sects into which they are divided, and the relations which exist between those sects.

The only periodical known to me which can furnish him in an easily intelligible form with the information which he requires is the MOSLEM WORLD. For though it is closely connected with Christian Missions, its contents are largely non-controversial in character, being records of observations made by trustworthy residents in Islamic countries, or the results of researches conducted by serious students of Islamic literature. Hence among the contributors we find European scholars who are unconnected with missions and at times adherents of the Islamic system itself. The editor has exhibited laudable skill in rendering the magazine a mirror of both actual practice and the process of thought in the vast territories wherein Islam is the dominant religion, while by no means neglecting the propagation of the Gospel.

I should hope therefore that with the commencement of its twenty-first year the MOSLEM WORLD would find its circulation steadily increasing among British readers who realize the responsibility which their inheritance of empire entails, and will find in its pages stores of information enabling them to visualize the problems which confront their government in Islamic countries, and to choose between the various solutions of them that are offered.

Oxford.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

FOLK-MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

Last year's medical congress in the Egyptian capital, coinciding with the celebration of the centenary of the Cairo School of Medicine, directed the attention of the world to the advances made by the modern Egyptians in medical science. The latter are justly proud of their achievement. Yet, in spite of these progressive signs, Egypt is still the haunt of the age-old superstitious practices of village "wise women" and itinerant quack doctors. The ignorant *fellāhīn* suffering from some physical infirmity, chronic or otherwise, have recourse often to the local "old wife" or "seeress," whose "prescriptions" are generally weird in the extreme. If they were as innoxious as they are fantastical all might be well, but in most cases they constitute a distinct danger to human life, as may be gathered from actual instances.

Examples are legion. Practically every foreign resident in Egypt has had occasion to be shocked by the story of some native "operation," performed by a healing-man or woman, in which diabolism and folly were the main concomitants. Such recitals of cases seen and heard would occupy volumes. Several attempts have been made to record certain typical specimens of such current superstitions. As in most other matters pertaining to the life and habits of the Modern Egyptians, we find the beginnings of exact information in Lane's classic work (chap. X, *et seq.*). Dr. Klunzinger, formerly physician at Kosseir on the Red Sea coast, was also able to record a few instances in his book (translated into English as "Upper Egypt: its people and its products," 1878). Numerous persons stationed in the provinces of Egypt, particularly missionaries, have at various times contributed articles

to periodicals, including THE MOSLEM WORLD, dealing with phases of this subject of folk-medicine, while a work like Zwemer's "The Influence of Animism on Islam" contains many incidental examples. The most complete account of recent years, however, has been the treatment by Miss Blackman in her "Fellāhīn of Upper Egypt." This lady is at present enthusiastically spending her time in the Nile Valley gathering data regarding the domestic remedies still surviving amongst the credulous peasantry. She is perhaps the sole serious investigator at present in this particular field of study, and her investigations deserve the highest commendation. It is no light task to amass and sift such a heterogeneous pile of traditional material. In the interests of ethnological studies she is doing laudable work.

But a foreigner—even an experienced Arabist like Lane—has always been handicapped in any attempt to penetrate the veil of a people's mentality. For this reason it is valuable to acquire information more directly from the experience of an educated native. There are two such attempts to throw light on this subject known to me; both undertaken by Egyptian doctors. In 1860, Dr. Chafey Bey contributed a lecture to the Institut Egyptien, entitled *De la médecine des empiriques en Égypte* [reported in the *Bulletin* No. 4, pages 25, 44-46; and Arabic text (pages 505-512) and French translation (pages 513-524) of the *Mémoires* (1862)]. But a far more spirited conspectus of the subject is that found in an Arabic publication (in two small volumes of 158 pages) printed in Cairo (1310-12-1892-4). The author, 'Abd al-Rahmān Ismā'il, was a graduate of the Kasr al-'Ainī medical school, and he called his brochure *Tibb al-Rukkah*, which may be rendered "Old Wives' Medicine." I have translated this work into English, and hope to be able to publish it in the future. Meanwhile the references in the present article are made to the Arabic text. The attitude of the Egyptian doctor is one of natural denunciation of the whole crew of old crones and quacks and their nightmare recommendations.

It is very satisfactory to find Egyptians themselves, especially medical men, interesting themselves in such unscientific practices, even though their method of approach may be one of condemnation and antipathy. No doubt there is every justification for their professional indignation, considering the nature of some of the "cures" worked by the wandering quacks and "wise women" of the villages. Yet for ethnological purposes it would be better if they collected and recorded information, in an unbiased manner, concerning the forms of remedial craft employed. Valuable human documents would thus be at hand for students of comparative customs and tribal beliefs, and for the psychological history of mankind. It has to be remembered, too, that it is not altogether derogatory to Egyptian national pride that such malpractices should exist in their land; similar queer curative eccentricities are not unknown even in more civilized countries, although they are more effectively concealed beneath the veneer of culture. Black's "Folk Medicine" (published by the Folk-Lore Society in 1883) shows the teeming mass of superstitious belief imbedded in the mentality of country people even in Great Britain, especially in the Celtic fringe, though, of course, there is nothing like the same appallingly ruthless treatment as is administered not infrequently by the empirics of Modern Egypt.

I propose here to summarize the diseases commonly treated in Egypt by quacks (*dajjālīn*) and their "cures." Figures within square brackets refer to the pages of the Arabic text of *Tibb al-Rukkah*.

Catarrh [8]. The patient's head is violently squeezed; his chest and stomach are rubbed strenuously, and he is choked until unconscious. Half a lemon, dipped in a mixture of oven ashes, salt and pepper, is also given.

Fevers [10]. The "bone of the unbeliever," one of the bones of the metatarsus, is employed, when procurable; otherwise the *Sheikhah*, or healing-woman, orders a friend of the invalid to go in the second part of the eve

of Friday alone to the graveyard and take away a brick from a disused grave, and place it under the patient's head. In the case of a relapse, a spell is muttered over twelve dry cakes of cattle-dung, which are flung in the face of a woman carrying a sieve who approaches the sick-room calling out: "Is there anyone here in a relapse?" The cakes collected in the sieve are afterwards cast into an old well at night.

Barrenness and ophthalmia are "prevented" by the use of a prophylactic necklace, called the *Mushāharah*, composed of a number of colored stones and pieces of gold and silver [13]; the same troubles are "cured" by the use of the *Kabbās* stone [14]. This latter is rubbed on a mother of pearl shell containing a little water. The whitish liquid which results is drunk, or used as an eye-lotion. This is the stone mentioned by Miss Blackman, only under a different name (p. 203).

Leprosy, syphilis and elephantiasis [16]. The flesh of the patient's back is split and pieces of the muscles and sinews extracted. Then the wound is sprinkled with blue tutty powder. Such was the method of a quack in the village of Balkamūnah in the Gharbīyah Province.

A leprosy "cure." Eat the heads of scorpions, dried over the fire, for ten days every morning.

Piles and dysentery [18]. The following is the procedure of one of the "old wives" in rooting out hemorrhoids. "She takes between the tips of her fingers a special medicine which she puts in the *anus* of the patient. Next she moistens them with oil and puts them a second time into the rectum (*mustaqīm*) until, when she has succeeded in mixing it (*i. e.*, the oil) with the first special medicine, she draws out her hand, which has become smeared with flowing blood, which has coagulated, resulting from the morbid local inflammation. Then the wretched patient thinks that these bloody lumps are the piles, and so it is noised abroad . . . that such a woman tears out piles by the roots, and brings them out in her hand like the liver of fowls." Another quack

actually used orpiment, one of the compounds of caustic arsenic, known popularly as "ratsbane" (*samm al-fār*).

Sunstroke [20]. The old wife procures the key of a door facing east, which is opened with the left hand, and by its means wraps cords of wool round the patient's head. She also bites the skin of his forehead to the effusion of blood.

Granular ophthalmia or "splitting of the eye" [22] is cured as follows: a piece of fleshy red meat is hung in front of the affected eyes. A red bead will also do.

Meningitis [24]. Incense is burned; the patient's toe is tied with a silk thread, while he himself is soundly beaten to drive out the harboring demon.

Convulsions. This is also regarded as demoniac possession. Every male child is supposed to have a sister (*ukht*) among the Jinn, and every female child a brother (*akh*). Some of the Bedouin bore the child's ears as a "cure." (See Zwemer, *ibid*, pp. 117-119).

Diphtheria. The "prescription" is often cauterization of the frontal and terminal crown or scarification with a razor.

Barrenness [46]. Walk over a person who has been killed. Some Egyptian women carry a silique of wool dipped in natron as a "cure." A popular belief among them is that barrenness is caused when a woman who has just weaned her child visits another woman. The latter may have no children until she carries a rag of wool wet with milk of a woman who has recently weaned her child. A similar spell is cast by the egg-plant (*bādingān*). When such is the case the woman concerned must visit a field of such plants.

Introversion of the eye-lid (trichiasis) [54]. A piece of bamboo stalk in split and the eye-lid inserted. The result of this is often most serious as the lid is sometimes fore-shortened if not affected with gangrene.

Cataract [56]. The following "remedy" was imparted to 'Abd al-Rahmān as a great secret: One drachm of the liver of a cock with ten claws (*dik mu'awshar*),

one drachm of clarified fluid from the eyes of an old hoopoe (*hudhud*), five drachms of black cummin seed (*shuniz*). Boil the whole over a slow fire until it becomes dry and powdery. Use as an eye-salve.

This is sometimes called in the vernacular *habbat-al-barakah*, the "seed of the blessing," because its other name, the "black seed" is not propitious. (See the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xii, 207.)

Acute headache [61]. The village barber is often the operator; the operation being called the "cutting of the vein" of the temple. Tattooing a cross on the temple is another method; while a less painful "cure" is to draw a cross on the temple of the patient with saliva.

Sciatica [65]. A small shrub about the size of the patient's side is chosen by the quack. After due incantation it is uprooted and carefully cauterized, and finally buried in the ground. The invalid's recovery is complete, as the evil spirit, the cause of the pains, has been imprisoned in the buried shrub.

Tonsilitis [66]. Red stones are suspended round the throat. Another mode of treatment is to order the patient to swallow a boiled hen's egg at one gulp without chewing.

Decay (caries) of the bones [79]. Cauterization is commonly resorted to. Some use a poultice of doves' dung.

Skin-disease or impetigo [81]. A common belief is that this disease is brought about by a viper blowing its poison into the body. Recourse is had to the reputed snake charmers, the Rifā'i and Sa'danī Dervishes, who charm away the evil by means of oil, into which they spit.

Venereal disease and jaundice [82]. The "Fear Cup" (*Tāsāt-al-Tarbah*) is used. This is a brass bowl engraved with Koranic verses, and having forty keys suspended inside. It is filled with water, or exposed to the dew by night at an auspicious moment, and the patient must drink from it. (See Zwemer, *ibid*, p. 179 *et seq.*)

Incensing is also used for this, as well as for other serious diseases.

Rheumatism [85]. The patient must climb the door of a room facing the east, upside down, with his feet above and his head below, and touching the ground with his palms. Before this he must have filled his mouth with water, and in this position he must remain for about ten minutes, until he becomes giddy.

Pulmonary consumption [87]. The "horn of the rhinoceros" (*qarn al-khartit*) is placed in a vessel exposed to the dew all night, and the patient drinks from it upon an empty stomach in the morning.

Diseases of the spinal marrow and colic of the stomach and kidneys. The sick person is tied upon the back of a she-ass that is beaten until it jumps violently [88].

A recipe for fattening [91]. The womenfolk believe that there is in the neck of some cows a piece of suet which has a wonderful property of producing fat. They call it the "bead" of the cow (*kharzat-al-baqarah*). Butchers have been known to receive ten guineas for it. Another well-known substance, called *Mufattaqah*, is used for the same purpose. It is said to have forty ingredients, one of which is believed to be the fat of black beetles.

Eczema [92]. The person is cauterized upon the metatarsus of his feet opposite the tops of the last three toes, and he must not go near water for forty days.

Antidote against the Evil Eye [94]. The "old wife" kindles a fire, on which she throws pieces of alum (*shabb*) and *fasūkh* (sweet-smelling pine resin). When this melts it evaporates and some of the vapor assumes various forms, which the "old wife" declares are the figures of those who had cast the "evil eye." She stabs these with a pin saying, "May God put out their eye!"

To protect a camel from "envy" an old shoe is hung upon its temple; while on the breast of a horse the tooth of a hyena is hung. A wolf's tooth is hung on a donkey;

while children have a piece of *fasūkh* put in their hair, and bones of eagles and shells hung around their necks. When a milch cow refuses to yield milk, the seeress orders its halter to be placed in a forsaken grave until the cow recovers.

Measles [11, 20]. The fellāhīn clothe their children who are smitten with measles, in a red shirt called the Alexandrian (*al-Iskandirānī*). As each village will probably have only one such garment the danger of infection is augmented.

Scabies [33]. A child so affected may be taken to a sewer of the mosque and dipped in the muck, which is allowed to remain for two days.

The above examples are but a selection of the ailments treated by the "old wives" and their ridiculous "prescriptions." Many of the recipes are of great age and forgotten origin; the marvel is that with the steady extension of educational facilities and the establishment of village hospitals and dispensaries in the land, the modern Egyptian still retains any faith in the efficacy of such crudities.

Benha, Egypt.

JOHN WALKER.

THE SHIAH DOCTRINE OF THE IMAMATE¹

The expression, "the Shi'ahs," signifies companions or followers, and its reference in legal and theological terminology, ancient and modern, is to the partisans of 'Ali and his sons. They are agreed in the assertion that the Imamate is not an ordinary matter, to be left to be determined by an assembly of the people, but the Imamate is a pillar of the faith, in fact the very foundation of Islam. It is not regarded as permissible to think that the prophet could have been unmindful of it, or that he would have left it to the people to determine. It was necessary rather for him to appoint the Imam for the people, that the Imam himself should be without sin, great or small, and that 'Ali was indeed the one whom Mohammed designated. Their opinions they base on statements which they have received by the authority of traditions, and to these traditions they give meanings which are in accord with their doctrines. Many of these traditions are not recognized by those who follow the *Sunna*, who know good money from bad, nor by the writers of Law. For the most part they are statements that are ambiguous, or that are uncertain in their transmission, or that are essentially different in their meaning from the Shi'ite interpretations of them.

These statements they are accustomed to divide into two classes, the Clear and the Concealed. An example of the Clear declarations is found in the words of the Prophet, "He to whom I am Master, 'Ali is also his Master." This they take to mean that the right of Master or Lord in Islam belongs to 'Ali. 'Omar therefore

¹ (Translated from Ibn Khaldun, Prolegomena, in *Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale*. Arabic Text, vol. xvi, Part II, p. 355; Traduction, vol. xix, p. 400.)

said to him (derisively), "So you have the mastery of all the Moslems, both men and women!"

Another saying of the Prophet, "The best judge between you is 'Ali," they say means that the Imamate has no other significance than this, namely, the right of judging according to the commands of God. The same idea is expressed again in these words, "invested with authority," which they find revealed in the command, (Koran iv; 62, Rodwell), "O ye who believe! obey God and the Apostle and those among you invested with authority." This authority is the right to judge and to decide. And they say that in the deliberation of the *Saqifah*, in order to determine the question of the Imamate, 'Ali was the only one who could bring about a decision.² Observe also another of their texts, "Whoever pledges loyalty to me, even at the risk of his life, will be my *representative*, charged to exercise authority after me." And no one else took such a pledge of loyalty except 'Ali.

Here is an example of the class of statements where the sense is Concealed. They say that when the Prophet had received the Sura of Immunity (Koran ix) during the pilgrimage at Mecca, he first commanded Abu Bakr to explain it (to the Arab idolaters), when he received a further revelation to assign the duty of delivering this message to some one of his own family. It was in compliance with this command that he commissioned 'Ali to take this Sura and to recite it to them. This indicates, they say, that 'Ali had obtained the preferred right. They point out in addition to this that the Prophet is not known to have placed anyone over 'Ali in command, whereas he did place 'Usama ibn Zaid over Abu Bakr and 'Omar on one expedition, and 'Amru ibn al-'Aas over them at another time. They consider that all of these things go to prove that 'Ali and no other was intended for the Caliphate. Some of their proof texts,

² According to the orthodox account 'Ali was sick that day in the house of Fatima and did not assist in the discussion which took place in the *Saqifah*.

however, are unknown (to orthodox Moslems) and others are far from being subject to the interpretations they put upon them. There are some of the Shi'ahs who consider that these texts point to 'Ali definitely and personally, and that they also indicate the right of his successors. Those who hold this opinion are called the *Imamis*, and they reject the two Shaikhs (Abu Bakr and 'Omar) because they did not acknowledge the supreme command of 'Ali, and did not give allegiance to him as these texts required. They have therefore scoffed at Abu Bakr and 'Omar in their office as caliphs. But we will not pay any attention to the way in which some of the more bigoted of their party have slandered these two Caliphs, for the Shi'ahs, as well as we, have already refuted these accusations. Another group among them say that these texts indicate that the appointment of 'Ali was required on account of his unique qualification and not on mere personal grounds. They claim that people fail in their purpose when they do not give the matter of qualification its rightful place. This group are known as the *Zaidis*. They do not reject the two Shaikhs and do not object to their caliphates (literally imamates), while they say that 'Ali was the better qualified. They held that an imamate that was based on the preference of the people was valid, even though one better qualified might have been available.

The Shi'ahs are not agreed as to the succession of the Imamate (literally, caliphate) after 'Ali. There are those who maintain that the succession belonged to the children of Fatima, one after the other, by special designation (from 'Ali). We shall have more to say about this opinion later on. They are called *Imamis* because they taught as an article of faith the necessity of recognizing the Imam and his designation, which is the central principle in their beliefs. The other chief division of them accepted the succession of the children of Fatima, but subject to the choice of the Shi'ah community. They insist that the Imam be learned, abstemious, liberal and

brave. He must be ready to take up arms and establish his claim to the Imamate. These are the Zaidís, and they get their name from their leader, Zaid ibn 'Ali ibn al-Husain as-Sibt (the grandson). In a discussion with his brother Muhammad al-Baqir, Zaid held to the opinion that the Imam was obliged to justify his cause (if necessary) by the force of arms. Al-Baqir objected to this on the ground that on that principle their father, Zain al-'Abidin, would not have been an Imam, for he never took up arms to assert his rights, and did not attempt to do so. He went on to accuse Zaid reproachfully of having accepted doctrines of the Mu'tazilites from Wasil ibn 'Ata. The Imamís had had controversy with Zaid on the subject of the "Imamate" of the two Shaikhs, and as he declared that it was valid, and that he did not deny them the right to that office, they repudiated his authority and ceased to count him in the number of their imams. For this they were called the *Rafizah*, or the Repudiators, (Cf. Friedlander, *Journal American Oriental Society*, vol. xxix, p. 140 ff.).

Others considered that the Imamate passed from 'Ali to one or the other of his sons, the two grandsons (of the Prophet). But they were not in entire agreement about this, for some considered that it belonged to Muhammad, the "son of the Hanafite woman," the half brother of Hasan and Husain, and that it should then follow the line of his children. This party were called the Kaisanís, but we will omit the disagreements among these people for the sake of brevity.

One group among them are called the Ghulát, or those who go beyond the bounds of reason or of faith in claiming the divinity of the Imam, saying either, "he is a man who has acquired the qualities of divinity," or, "he is an individual in whom divinity has been established." This belief corresponds to the Christian claim for Jesus. But the fact is that 'Ali "burned with fire" whoever made this assertion about him. And Muhammad the son of the Hanafite woman was exceedingly

angry with al-Mukhtar ibn Abu Ubaid for speaking to him in such a fashion, and cursed him and refused to have anything more to do with him. Ja'far as-Sadiq acted in the same way towards anyone who addressed him in that manner.

Some of them asserted that the Imam has a perfection that no one else can have, and that when he dies his spirit passes to the Imam succeeding him, who is then the possessor of this peculiar perfection. This is a doctrine of transmigration. Among the Ghulât there is one group who say that the Imamate ceased to be transmissible when it passed to the individual who was destined to be the last of the Imams. They are called the Waqifis, and some of them say that the last Imam is still alive; for he did not die, but is only concealed from the eyes of men. They undertake to prove this by reference to al-Khidr (Koran xviii; 64). The same claim is made in regard to 'Ali, with the added details that he is in the clouds, and the sound of the thunder is his voice and the lightning is his whip. The very same sort of thing, also, they say about Muhammad ibn Hanafiyyah, and that he is in Mount Razwa in the land of the Hejaz. The poet Kuthayyir (723 A. D.) has written the following verses in this connection:

"Four complete are the Imams of the Quraysh, the lords of Right:
 'Ali and his three good sons, each of them a shining light.
 One was faithful and devout; Kerbala hid one from sight;
 One, until with waving flags his horsemen he shall lead to fight
 Dwells in Mount Radwa, concealed; honey he drinks and water
 bright."³

The Ghulât of the Imamís, and particularly the "Twelvers," hold this doctrine also, for they maintain that the twelfth of their Imams, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Askari, whom they call al-Mahdi, (the rightly guided), when imprisoned with his mother, entered a sort of well or pit in the house his family occupied at Hilla. There he disappeared, but he is to come forth at the end of the age to fill the earth with justice. In proof

³ Translation by Professor Nicholson, L.H.A., p. 216.

of this they refer to a tradition which is found in the book of al-Tirmidhi in regard to the Mahdi. Even up to the present time they are confidently expecting him, and they call him *al-Muntazar*, the one they are waiting for. Every night after the evening prayer they stop at the gate in front of this well or pit. As they approach they call out his name and beseech him to return, until the stars come out. Then they disperse and come again the next night to repeat the same performance. This also they have kept up until the present time.

There are some of the Waqifis who say that the Imam who died will return to life in this world. They substantiate this claim by what they find in the Koran concerning the People of the Cave, (The Seven Sleepers, Koran xviii;8); and concerning the "man who passed by a city," (Koran ii;261); and concerning the Israelite who was murdered, whose corpse was struck with the bone of a cow that they were commanded to sacrifice, (Koran ii;68; Cf. Numbers xix and Deut. xxi: 1-9), "The cow was to be sacrificed in order that a murderer might be discovered through the miracle to be wrought by a piece of her flesh," (Rodwell, op. cit.); and from other such references to extraordinary things that are like miracles, but which serve as proofs only in their proper connection. As-Sayyid Himyari, (Nashwan ibn Sa'id al-Himyari, d. 1177 A. D.), wrote verses about them.

We have written enough about these Ghulát of the Imamis, for the teachers of the Shi'ah do not credit them, and have themselves pointed out the futility of proofs of this sort.

As for the Kaisanis, they considered that the Imamate passed from Muhammad ibn Hanafiyyah to his son Abu Hashim. Hence they were also called the Hashimis. At this point there was division, for some of them held that after the death of Abu Hashim, the Imamate should pass to his brother 'Ali, and afterwards to 'Ali's son, al-Hasan. Another group maintained that before Abu Hashim died, in the region of ash-Shirát, on his return

journey from Syria, he appointed Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Abdullah ibn 'Abbas, and that this Muhammad had designated his son Ibrahim, who was known as "the Imam"; and that Ibrahim had appointed his brother Abdullah ibn al-Harithiyya, who was called as-Saffáh; and that he in turn had appointed his brother Abdullah, Abu Ja'far, who was called al-Mansur; and that so the Imamate passed in his line, by succession and by agreement, one after the other, to the last of them. This is the sect of the Hashimís who were supporters of the dynasty of the Beni 'Abbas.

Among them were Abu Muslim, Sulaiman ibn Kathir, Abu Salmat al-Khallál, and others. To have a better proof of the rights of the Abbasid dynasty, there were some of this sect who declared that the Imamate had come from al-'Abbas (the uncle of Mohammed), for they said that he had survived the Prophet and that he was the man best fitted for that office.

The Zaidís followed and interpreted the Imamate according to teachings of their own. They held that it was to be determined by the choice of the legal authorities (literally "the leaders in the loosing and the binding") and not by designation. To the imamate of 'Ali they agreed, as also to that of his son al-Hasan, and of al-Hasan's brother al-Husain, then of al-Husain's son, 'Ali Zain al-Abidin, and of his son Zaid ibn 'Ali. The latter was the leader of this sect.

He took up arms at Kufa, declaring his claim to the Imamate. He was killed, however, and crucified at the Kunásat (a place for refuse near Kufa). The Zaidís then claimed the imamate for his son Yahyá, who went to Khorasan and was killed at al-Juzjan, after he had designated Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Hasan ibn al-Hasan the "grandson" (of the Prophet). He was called *An-Nafs az-Zakíyya*, "the Pure Soul." He took up arms in the Hejaz and assumed the title al-Mahdi. But the troops of al-Mansur came against him at once, and he was defeated and killed. But he had given the authority to

his brother Ibrahim, who succeeded in starting an uprising in al-Basra. Associated with him was a certain 'Isa ibn Zaid ibn 'Ali. Again al-Mansur, or his commanders, marched against them with the troops, and they defeated and killed both Ibrahim and 'Isa. Ja'far as-Sadiq had forewarned them of the consequences of this uprising, and they count his forewarning them among his miracles.

There were some among them who said that the Imam who succeeded Muhammad ibn Abdullah, an-Nafs az-Zakiyya, was Muhammad ibn al-Kasim ibn 'Ali ibn 'Ali ibn 'Omar. 'Omar was the brother of Zaid ibn 'Ali. Muhammad ibn al-Kasim took up arms in Taliqan, but they came against him, and he was led in captivity to al-Mu'tasim, who put him in prison, where he died.

Others of the Zaidís said that the Imam after Yahyá ibn Zaid was his brother 'Isa, the same man who was along with Ibrahim ibn Abdullah, when they were both killed by al-Mansur. They traced the imamate to him, and on his right the claims of the Zanj are based, as we mentioned in our account of them. And there were others who held that the imam after Muhammad ibn Abdullah was his brother Idris, who fled to the Maghrib and died there. His son, Idris ibn Idris, rose up in his place and founded the town of Fez. After him certain kings succeeded him in the Maghrib until they became extinct, as we mentioned in our description of them. After this the Zaidís were entirely disorganized.

But from among those who remained there was a missionary who gained authority in Tabaristan, *i. e.*, al-Hasan ibn Zaid ibn Muhammad ibn Isma'il ibn al-Hasan ibn Zaid ibn al-Hasan, the "grandson," and his brother was Muhammad ibn Zaid. An-Nasir al-Atrush (the deaf defender) also announced his claim to the imamate in Daylam, and the people became Moslems through him: his name was al-Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn 'Omar. This 'Omar was the brother of Zaid ibn 'Ali, and his descendants held the government in Tabaristan. It

was by their help that the Daylamites gained the authority and supremacy over the caliphs at Baghdad, as we showed in our account of them.

The Imamís traced the imamate from 'Ali, the *wasí*, to his son al-Hasan by *designation*, then to al-Hasan's brother al-Husain; then to his son 'Ali Zain al-Abidin; then to his son Muhammad Baqir; and then to his son Ja'far as-Sadiq. But from this point there are two lines of descent. One division traces the imamate to Ja'far as-Sadiq's son, Musa al-Qazim. They are the Ithna 'Ashariyya, the "Twelvers," who stop with the twelfth imam, and adhere to the doctrine of his *concealment* until his return at the end of the age.

The Isma'ilís hold to the imamate of Isma'il, as the imam by the clear statement of his father Ja'far as-Sadiq. From their point of view his designation was adequate, for even if he did die before his father, nevertheless, the imamate remained in his line of descendants, as in the story of Aaron with Moses, (Koran xx;31 and xxv;37). They say that the imamate then passed from Isma'il to his son Muhammad al-Makhtum, and that he was the first of the imams to be concealed. For, according to them, as he did not have great strength, his missionaries held forth the hope of his return as an appeal to the people. When he gets the needed strength he will appear and make known his claim. They say that Muhammad al-Makhtum was succeeded by his son Ja'far al-Musaddiq, and he in turn was followed by his son Muhammad al-Habib, who was the last of the concealed imams. For he was succeeded by his son 'Ubaidullah al-Mahdi, whose missionary, Abu 'Abdullah, the Shi'ite, appeared among the Kitama, and the people responded to his invitation. The missionary then brought him out from his place of restraint in Sajilmása and he ruled over Kairwan and the Maghrib. His sons after him ruled over Egypt, as is shown in the records about them.

The Isma'ilís got this name on account of their belief in the imamate of Isma'il. They were also called Batinís

on account of their adherence to the doctrine of the hidden or concealed imam. Again they were called the al-Mulhida-ratahida because of some of their sacrilegious teachings. While some of their doctrines were old, there were others that were new, which al-Hasan ibn Muhammad as-Saba preached in the end of the fifth century (after the Hijra). He gained certain strongholds in Syria and Iraq, and he did not lose his hold there until the general destruction distributed them between the Turkish rulers in Egypt and the Tatar rulers in Iraq.⁴

The *Ithna 'Ashariyya*, who are often spoken of as the Imámís, are among the more modern representatives of that sect. They assert the imamate of Musa al-Kasim ibn Ja'far, claiming that he succeeded to the imamate on the death of his older brother, Isma'il, who was imam while their father was still living. But before he died, Ja'far had also designated Musa for the imamate. Then his son 'Ali ar-Rida became the Imam. He was the one to whom al-Ma'mun bequeathed (the Caliphate), but who died before Ma'mun, so that the bequest was not carried out. Then his son, Muhammad at-Taqi, became the Imam, and he was followed by his son 'Ali al-Hadí, and then came his son, al-Hasan al-Askarí, and finally his son, Muhammad al-Mahdi al-Muntazar (the one they are waiting for) as we have described.

But in regard to each of these doctrines the Shi'ites have many differences of opinion besides the ones I have mentioned. Whoever wishes to study and examine them in detail has the "Books on Religions and Sects," *Kutub al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, by Ibn Hazm, Shahrastani, and others. "He causeth whom He will to err, and whom He will He guideth," (Koran xvi; 95, Rodwell).

Meshed, Persia.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

⁴ The doctrines taught by this as-Saba are mentioned in the book, *al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, "The Religions and Sects," by Shahrastani, (Cureton text, p. 150; Haarbrücker trans., p. 225).

DID MOHAMMED KNOW SLAVONIC ENOCH?

[We prefix a note to this account of the Slavonic Enoch from the text of W. R. Morfill (Oxford, 1896).]

"The Book of the Secrets of Enoch" in its present form was written about the beginning of the Christian era. Its author or final editor was a Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it exercised a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries.—*Editor.*]

While the pseudepigraphic writings have been extensively used to illustrate the New Testament, they have not as yet perhaps entirely come into their own as sources for Mohammedan tradition. The parallels between Koran and Hadith, and the Slavonic group of pseudepigraphic writings are many and striking. This is especially true of the work known as "Slavonic Enoch," or "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch."

In the following study we shall use the text given in Dr. Charles' "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament," and use the same labels A and B to define the two recensions.

Let us commence with Enoch himself. In Koran 19.56-57 we read, "And mention Idris in the book; for he was a great person, a prophet, and we exalted him to a high place." This Idris is one of the elusive personalities of the Koran. Sura 21.85 mentions him along with Isma'il and Dhu-l-Kifl as one of the patient ones; and Nöldeke suggests, not unreasonably, that Idris is none other than Andreas, Alexander the Great's cook. Post-

Koranic Moslem writers, however, will have it that he was Enoch. As for the exaltation, some commentators understand this to refer to the honor of the prophetic office, and his familiarity with God; but others suppose that his translation is meant, for they say that he was taken up by God into heaven at the age of three hundred and fifty, having first suffered death, and been restored to life; and that he is now alive in one of the seven heavens, or in Paradise.

While in the above tradition Enoch was taken up at the age of three hundred and fifty years, the book of the Secrets of Enoch agrees with Gen. 5:23 in making it three hundred and sixty-five years. The idea that he revisited the earth, and then again went either to Paradise or to one of the heavens, agrees with Slavonic Enoch.

Traditionally it is said that books were sent down to prophets before Mohammed (Cf. Koran 2.4), and thirty such are attributed to Enoch by Al-Baidawi. Enoch has the books of the former prophets (33.8-10) where books of Adam, Seth, etc. are mentioned. The books written by Enoch himself are referred to in a number of passages. "Bring out the books from my storehouses, etc." (Enoch 22.12).

Idris appears in Moslem legend as initiated in science and arts, and was also credited with being the first astronomer and chronologist, and with being skilled in medicine. This agrees with Slavonic Enoch in that he is shown the mysteries concerning the heavenly bodies and their times, and in the fact that there is a great deal of chronological matter in this book. Chapter four introduces the angels ruling the stars; chapter eleven the course of the sun and moon; chapter twenty-four the mystery of creation; chapter 40. 2-7 (A only), "I know all things—the heavens, and their end and plenitude—I have measured and described the stars, etc."; chapter forty-eight the sun's passage; and in chapter fifty-four he instructs his sons to hand down his books for the instruction of posterity.

Finally we note that his association with arts is confirmed by the introduction of recension A, which commences with: "There was a wise man, a great artificer."

The traditions which link Enoch with astronomy, and which look towards a solar myth in the background, may have partly arisen by deriving the name Enoch from *chanack*, to initiate, and from his three hundred and sixty-five years corresponding to the days of the solar year. Moreover the emphasis in Slavonic Enoch on the sun's course would have no little influence on the Mohammedan tradition, if we grant that they are indeed indebted to this work.

In Moslem tradition Enoch was the first to use pens. With this compare Slavonic Enoch 22.12: "The Lord said to Pravuil, 'Bring out the books from my store-houses, and a reed for quick writing, and give it to Enoch ——'"

Two other points of contact with regard to Enoch himself may be noticed in passing: the Moslems claim that the angel of death visited Enoch in the form of a man, while the Slavonic work tells of two angelic beings in the form of men; furthermore, the Islamic belief that Enoch went through Hell is again in accordance with the Jewish Pseudepigraph.

What has been cited above may appear inconclusive as a proof that Mohammed personally knew and used the earlier writing, but it makes it tolerably certain that this book has had no little influence upon the tradition of Islam as a whole. Other arguments and parallels make the cumulative argument stronger. A slight variation here and there between the two sets of authorities is inconsequential, in view of the general carelessness of Moslem writers, and their notoriety for inexact citation.

The belief in seven heavens appears in Sura 41 and Sura 65, which agrees with our B text: the A text of the Secrets (21.6 to 22.3) which introduces an interpolation, bringing the number up to ten, may here be disregarded. The four rivers of Paradise occur in Sura 108

and Sura 47.2, and in *Secrets of Enoch* 8.5-7. Heaven as a garden of fruitful trees, as in Sura 2.25: 2.41: 69.23, finds its counterpart in *Enoch* 72 and 7.8.

Traces of direct imitation of *Enoch* are to be found in the fact that both *Enoch* and the "prophet" make a tour of the heavens. The Moslem version appears in *Koran* 17.1 and in the *Mishkatu'l-Masabih*. Again Gabriel encounters both Mohammed and *Enoch* (Cf. Sura 2, "Whoever is an enemy of Gabriel: for he hath caused the *Koran* to descend on thy heart, etc."; Sura 53, "One mighty in prayer, etc.")). He also saw Gabriel another time by the lote tree, beyond which there is no passing; near it is the garden of eternal abode.

This tree, say the commentators, stands in the seventh heaven, on the right hand of the throne of God; and this is the uttermost bound beyond which the angels themselves must not pass: or, according to others, beyond which no creature's knowledge can extend. The parallel here is in the idea expressed in *Slavonic Enoch* 21.3, where at the end of the seventh heaven Gabriel is sent to *Enoch*, and says to him, "Have courage, *Enoch*—Come with me."

The well known eschatological theme of the casting of Satan out of Paradise figures both in the *Koran* and the Jewish apocryphal writing. Compare *Koran*, Sura 7, "Get thee down from Paradise—give me respite till the day of resurrection," with *Slavonic Enoch* 29.4-5 (A).

The figure of the balance is less decisive, by reason of its wide circulation. Thoth guards the scales (in a papyrus from an Egyptian tomb of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty) while *Rashnu* presides over the scales at the bridge of destiny, in old Persian teaching. Michael, Hermes, and Mercury are shewn to have held the same office. Here the *Koranic* references are 7.8-9: 23.102: 55.7-9: 42. 17. *Slavonic Enoch* talks of a set of scales to weigh the winds, in 40.11. Nearer is *Enoch* 44.4-5, where the judgment of the righteous is compared to the weighing in the scales of a market place. Best of all is

the passage in Enoch 52.15, where it is written, "For all these things will be laid bare in the weighing scales and in the books, on the day of the great judgment."

Let us now glance for a moment at the idea of Hell entertained by our authorities. Koran, Sura 22, tells of beating with maces of iron, and Enoch 10 of angels, fearful and merciless, bearing terrible weapons. Koran 22 relates that boiling water will be poured on the heads of the condemned, while Enoch 10 expatiates on a fiery river coming forth. According to Mohammed the condemned will suffer in Hell from both heat and cold. This theme is well worked out in the recently recovered Apocalypse of Peter, but we must look for the Koranic doctrine elsewhere. We find it, in fact, in Slavonic Enoch 10, where we read that the whole place is fire, and everywhere there is frost and ice. (Koran, Sura 61 and 77.)

The doctrine of Islam concerning the guards of Hell (Cf. Sale. *Preliminary Discourse*, p. 73) is found in Enoch 18, in the soldiers there called Grigori. The same belief is, however, expressed in the Talmud (*Midrash Yalkut Shemuni*, part 11, fol. 116).

The investing with the garment of Paradise, which is such an old theme with Gnostic writers, and mystics generally, finds a place in both our writings. Compare Koran 76, "Upon them shall be garments of green silk, etc.," with Enoch 22.8, "Go and take Enoch from out his earthly garments, and anoint him with my sweet ointment."

In conclusion we may compare the reference to looking on God's face in Koran, Sura 10, etc., and the parallel idea in Enoch 22.1.

In this preliminary study there is doubtless much that has been overlooked, and possibly other parallels between the Koran and the Secrets of Enoch may be discovered. Yet even from so much as has been here brought forward it appears that most probably, either at first or second hand, Mohammed did know Slavonic Enoch.

Bombay.

E. J. JENKINSON.

SUFI MYSTICISM IN ISLAM¹

Attempts have been made by some Sufis to show that the term has been derived from the Arabic word (*safa*). Some have related it to the Greek (*sophos*), and numerous other etymologies have been suggested, but it is now quite certain that it is derived from the word (*suf*) "wool," which view is confirmed by the equivalent (*pashmina-push*) applied to these mystics in Persian. Al-Sufi, as an individual surname, first appeared in the second half of the eighth century A. D.

We note the following theories as to the origin of Sufism, based on the bibliography given below.

1. *The "Esoteric Islam" Theory.* This is not as absurd and untenable a hypothesis as is often assumed, though it can hardly commend itself. There are verses in the Koran which may lend themselves to a mystical interpretation, and such is the view taken by the moderate Sufis, and by al-Ghazali. But as Massignon points out: The mystical *tafsir's* on the Koran and the mystical *hadith's* of the inner life of Mohammed, about which we know so very little, are comparatively late and therefore suspect.

2. *The "Aryan Reaction" Theory.* This is the view that Sufism is the reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion imposed upon it by force. It takes two forms: Indian and Persian. The resemblances to Indian thought are superficial, says Browne, and there is no historical proof that India ever had any considerable in-

¹ A Summary based on Browne: *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. I and III. Hughes: *Dictionary of Islam*, article: *Sufi*. Macdonald: *Aspects of Islam*. The Religious Life and Attitude in Islam. Massignon: *La Passion d'Al-Hallaj*. *Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane*. *Encyc. of Islam*, article: *Tasawwuf*. Nicholson: *A Literary History of the Arabs*. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*. The mystics of Islam. Zwemer: *A Moslem Seeker After God*.

fluence on the early Sufis. The Persian theory cannot explain the whole situation, for some of the early mystics were not of Persian nationality, and some of the later notable mystics, as Ibn al-Arabi, were pure Arabs.

3. *Theory of the Neo-Platonist Origin.* Browne thinks that this theory explains the origin of Sufism more adequately, but he asks the question: What elements of their philosophy did the Neo-Platonists originally borrow from the East, and especially from Persia?

4. *The Theory of Independent Origin, or Spontaneous Growth.* As Nicholson well observes: The identity of two beliefs does not prove that one is generated by the other; they may be results of a like cause. And Massignon adds: The tendencies to mystical life, which are of all countries and of all nations, were not lacking in the Islam of Arabia of the first two centuries after the Hijra. But as Nicholson again shows, Sufism is an eclecticism, and owes its origin not to any one definite source. **So much on their origin.**

The earlier (Arabian) type of Sufism was quietism and asceticism, which was influenced by Christian monasticism. The later (Persian) type, a thorough-going pantheism, is superadded by such great Persian mystics as Bayazid of Bistam. Al-Hallaj taught the doctrine of incarnation (*hulul*), and had no use for the orthodox teaching. At a later period (the latter part of the eleventh century A. D.) Sufism was gradually moulded into a more or less philosophical system by al-Ghazali and others, and was to a considerable extent brought into alliance with orthodoxy, and it is a notable fact that Sana'i, Attar, and Jalaluddin Rumi, the three greatest of the older Persian mystical poets, were all Sunnis.

The Sufi who sets out to seek God calls himself a traveller (*salik*); he advances by slow stages (*maqamat*) along a path (*tariqat*) to the goal of union with the Reality (*fana fi'l-Haqq*). The three-fold journey, by means of which this object is achieved consists of: The Path, The Gnosis, and The Truth.

The Path, as expounded by the author of *Kitab-i-Luma'*, consists of the following seven stages: repentance, abstinence, renunciation, poverty, patience, trust in God and satisfaction. Among the positive elements in the Sufi discipline are: (1) recollection (*dhikr*), (2) meditation (*muraqabat*) a form of self-concentration.

The whole of Sufism rests on the belief that when the individual self is lost, the Universal Self is found, or, in religious language, that ecstasy affords the only means by which the soul can communicate and become united with God. Asceticism, purification, love, gnosis, saintship—all the leading ideas of Sufism—are developed from this cardinal principle.

The organs of spiritual communication, as distinguished by the Sufis, are three: the heart (*qalb*), which knows God; the spirit (*ruh*), which loves Him; and the inmost ground of the soul (*sirr*), which contemplates Him.

The Gnosis. While ordinary knowledge is denoted by the term *'ilm*, the mystic knowledge peculiar to the Sufis is called *ma'rifat* or *'irfan*. The *ma'rifat* of the Sufis is the "gnosis" of the Hellenistic philosophy, *i. e.*, direct knowledge of God based on revelation or apocalyptic vision. It is not the result of any mental process, but depends entirely on the will of God and His favor, who bestows it as a gift from Himself upon those whom He has created with the capacity for receiving it. It is a light of divine grace that flashes into the heart and overwhelms every human faculty in its dazzling beams. Niffari distinguishes three kinds of people who seek God:

1. The worshippers, to whom God makes Himself known by means of bounty, *i. e.*, they worship Him in hope of gaining Paradise, or some spiritual recompense such as dreams and miracles.

2. The philosophers and scholastic theologians, to whom God makes Himself known by means of glory, *i. e.*, they never find the glorious God whom they seek, wherefore they assert that His essence is unknowable.

3. The Gnostics, to whom God makes Himself known by means of ecstasy, *i. e.*, they are possessed and controlled by a rapture that deprives them of the consciousness of individual existence.

The Sufis conceive the Universe as a projected and reflected image of God. The divine light, according to this conception, streaming forth in a series of emanations, falls at last upon the darkness of not-being, every atom of which reflects some attribute of Deity. He knows that only God really exists and acts: therefore if evil really exists, it must be divine. The conclusion is false because the hypothesis is false. Evil has no real existence; it is not-being. It should be noticed that all Sufis are not Gnostics. Most of the great mediæval Sufis lived saintly lives, dreaming of God, intoxicated with God. Ibn-al-Arabi declares that no religion is more sublime than a religion of love and longing for God. Love is the emotional element in religion, the rapture of the seer, the courage of the martyr, the faith of the saint, the only basis of moral perfection and spiritual knowledge. In proportion as the Sufi loves God, he sees God in all His creatures, and goes forth to them in acts of charity.

Love, like gnosis, in its essence is a divine gift, not anything that can be acquired. Jalal-ud-din teaches that man's love is really the effect of God's love.

Whatever terms may be used to describe it, the unitive state is the culmination of the simplifying process by which the soul is gradually isolated from all that is foreign to itself, from all that is not God. Unlike Nirvana, which is merely a cessation of individuality, *fana*, the passing away of the Sufi from his phenomenal existence, involves *baqa*, the continuance of his real existence. He who dies to self lives in God, and *fana*, the consummation of his death, marks the attainment of *baqa* or union with the divine life. Absorption in the ecstasy of *fana* is the end of their pilgrimage. In short, deification is the end towards which the Moslem mystic strives.

Finally this doctrine (if it may be called a doctrine) was carried to its logical conclusion by al-Hallaj, who declared "*Ana'l-Haqq*," "I am the Truth," and who taught *hulul*, incarnation.

We have followed a sketch of the pilgrimage of the Sufi in his quest of Reality to a point where language fails, and here: "Silence is my guide and support." (Jalal-ud-din). These have been the representative teachings of the Sufis, but they differ among themselves. In a paper like this we cannot enter into their individual teachings and ways.

The language of their literature everywhere abounds in mystical expressions: wine (*khamr*) interdicted by the law in this world and reserved for the Paradise of the elect, the loving-cup (*ka's al-Mahabba*) which the cup-bearer (*saqi*) sends round and gives them, detailed allegorical descriptions.

Most of the literature is in poetry. Indeed the very essence of Sufism is poetry. Among such poems the following are specially famous: in Arabic are those of Ibn Farid and of Shushtari; in Persian, the quatrains of Abu Sa'id, the long *mathnewis* of 'Attar and Rumi, the *ghazel* of Hafiz, and the various poems of Djami; in Turkish the works of Nasimi and Niyazi.

In conclusion it must be admitted that some Sufis make their mystical creed a cloak for gross sensual gratification. Some sects maintain the doctrine of community of property and women. Many such individuals or sects do not hold themselves in the least responsible for sins committed by the body, which they regard only as the miserable robe of humanity which encircles the pure spirit. However, it is obvious that the true Sufi is not such—he is an earnest seeker after truth; he endeavors to perfect his soul; his sole object is to lead the wandering soul, stage by stage, until it reaches the desired goal—perfect union with the Divine Being.

Princeton, N. J.

MUHAMMAD I. M. BAHMAN.

AN INDIAN FAKIR

In the crowded bazaar, donkeys were jostling camels. Sacred cows were stealing their breakfasts from the open vegetable stalls. Beggars and lepers were calling, "*Baksheesh, Baksheesh!*" at every corner. Eager voices were raised in bargaining; and the noise and smell of this Indian mart with its sweating coolies; fat, contented shopkeepers; greasy, fly-inhabited food and open sewers, made one forget that it was spring in the Panjab. Here and there, elbowing his way along with the crowd, was a saffron-robed fakir, a holy man of Moslem faith, peering into the faces about him through the dirty black hair of his goat's skin wig. Most conspicuous in Rawal Pindi are the signs of Islam—not only in the glistening minarets, but in the wild eyes of the fakirs who write amulets for ignorant mothers and sell charms to the superstitious.

The missionary's young wife had declared one day, "Really I shall cross the street rather than face the wild eyes of these saffron-robed fakirs." The elder missionary with his white hair and deep voice had smiled and said, "You'll get used to them as part of India some day." Her missionary husband had told of a village to the north, where a holy man had come forth and met the missionary party, inviting them into his hovel to preach. And after the service, to which he was inattentive behind his hairy wig, this fakir had showed them a hole in the ground where he meditated.

The missionary's first-born son was oblivious to the existence of fakirs, and slept profoundly beneath his net on the shady verandah. The traffic of the busy bazaar surged past the quiet garden. Coming out to see if all was well, the missionary's wife was confronted by a dirty

saffron-robed fakir leaning against the baby's carriage, his head and shoulders were beneath the net and his wild eyes and face were close to the baby's own pink and white. For one paralyzing moment mother instinct battled with modern missions, and the white-faced mother turned and ran into the house calling—"Come quick—a fakir is in the baby's carriage!" And the deep voice of the elder missionary answered with a chuckle, "Now that's a queer place for a holy man!" But the missionary's wife ended with a wail, "The baby is in the carriage, come, please hurry." And when they both reached the carriage, the vermin-filled wig was still over the sleeping baby's face. Three times the elder missionary touched the saffron shoulder—so deep is the mystic concentration of the East. The fakir raised himself to his feet, and with a cry of pleasure, he enveloped the elder missionary into the cheek to cheek embrace of a Panjabi hug, and over the saffron shoulder the missionary murmured, "This is the fakir your husband and I met in the village." With a shudder of relief the missionary's wife picked up her baby and entered the house. Carefully she washed out the little eyes and rebathed the baby, and finally with a prayer that no disease might have touched this helpless little one, she placed him in his bassinet behind a closed door.

She was interrupted by a knock at the door, and there stood the elder missionary upon whose face was etched the years of unselfish witness to the saving power of Christ, and he was saying, "Could we have this fakir to lunch? He has come a long way, and is footsore and no doubt hungry. If we break bread with the man, I can talk to him of spiritual things." The missionary's wife thought of her spotless wedding linen and shining silver, and with a puzzled look she answered, "May I think just a minute?" Never was such a luncheon guest; and kneeling beside her baby's crib she prayed for grace to keep an open door in the land of the Prophet. The missionary's wife had dreamed rosy dreams in college of the

service of a home with an open door—now on her knees with the beat of India on her heart she opened her door to this sensual-eyed man with his wig of dirty black hair and a greasy begging bowl. With a quiet smile she called the elder missionary and said, "I'll put an extra plate on for luncheon, but I'd rather let you men sit with him and eat—I'll just take my lunch in the bedroom with the baby." The elder missionary quickly replied, "If you do that, this fakir will go back to his village and say that you are like a Moslem woman who eats the scraps left from the men's plates in a back room." So it was that four people sat at the lunch table—the fakir ate with his fingers and a sucking sound; the white-haired missionary ate as usual; the young missionary, who never minded the odors of chemistry laboratories in America, ate sparingly; and the missionary's wife merely went through the motions of eating.

Two years rolled swiftly past, as years have a way of doing when one is young and busy. Other strange guests had broken bread over the missionary's wife's silver and linen, and the door of the household, where the golden-haired baby boy laughed and played, had opened many times to frontiersmen of wild mien but hungry hearts. The young missionary and his wife were located again in Rawal Pindi at the cross roads of the frontier. The first Sabbath they went to Saddar Church, and it was whispered that a new convert was to be baptized. At the altar stood the elder missionary and the native pastor, Padri David Das. Down the aisle came the convert, evidently clothed and in his right mind. To the missionary's wife his voice and walk were vaguely familiar. The beautiful baptismal service drew to a close with the convert's every profession clear and true. As he came back to his seat there was a hush in the little congregation—a Moslem had become a Christian, and with a shining face. After the service, as the people passed into the courtyard, the new convert came straight over to the missionary's wife and grasped her hand saying, "How's

the baby? How did you ever feed me that day when I wore the goat's wig? That meal began my search for salvation—pray for me,—I, who sat in darkness, have seen a great light.” His face was clean, his eyes sane and shining with the cleansing power of the crucified Christ,—for this was the fakir of the luncheon, who had been taught at the feet of the elder missionary. The young missionary and his wife bowed their heads and the Master seemed to say, “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me.” In a moment the new convert stepped out of the sheltered courtyard into the noisy bazaar, to face ridicule and persecution, he who in a saffron robe and dirty wig was “holy.” Even as the power of Islam surged to meet him, even so the prayers of the missionaries and the little Christian Church encompassed him about. The fakir of the luncheon squared his slim shoulders and entered the crowd to live the Christ life in the land of the Prophet.

(MRS.) MARJORIE WARD ALTER.

Rawal Pindi, N. W. P.

THE PATRIARCH TIMOTHY AND THE CALIPH AL-MAHDI

In *Woodbrooke Studies*, Volume II, 1928, Dr. Mingana published the Syriac text of a dialogue, which took place about 782 A. D., between Timothy the Nestorian Patriarch and al-Mahdi the Moslem Caliph, together with an English translation. The text is found in a single MS. of about the thirteenth century, of which four copies have been made in recent times. Dr. Mingana says that the colloquy naturally took place in Arabic, but he assumes that the Syriac text published is what was written by Timothy himself.

In 1923 Fr. Cheikho of Beyrouth published a brochure consisting of three Arabic texts previously printed in the review *Al-Machriq*, entitled *Trois Traités Anciens de Polémique et de Théologie Chrétiennes*. The first of these three is the dialogue between Timothy and al-Mahdi, copied from a MS. in Beyrouth. Other Arabic MSS. of the dialogue are said by the Editor to be in existence in various European libraries; and he suggests that perhaps it was originally written in Syriac and translated into Arabic.

If these texts represent a dialogue that really took place in the year 782, it is one of the earliest extant pieces of Christian polemic against Moslems, the only earlier one being in the works of St. John of Damascus who died before 754 A. D. The well known apology of al-Kindi would be half a century later, and Ali Tabari's defence of Islam against Christianity would be about three-quarters of a century later. It is, therefore, most important that we should if possible determine which is the true text of this early document.

The two texts, the Arabic (A) and the Syriac (S) differ considerably, the latter containing much matter which is absent from (A). I shall attempt to show that this extra matter consists of additions by (S) to a text similar to (A), though of course it will still remain possible that (A) is a translation of an original Syriac text.

In two places (S) has omitted words necessary to the sense which occur in (A). On page 10 (A) has, "I was (seeing in a dream of the night, and lo, with the clouds of heaven) one like unto a son of man came." (S) on page 33 omits the words in brackets. Then, on page 37 (S) abruptly introduces a new subject with the words, "And our king asked, Who is then the rider on an ass and the rider on a camel?" This question is preceded in (A), pages 12-13, by three extra lines introducing the subject and giving the reference to Isaiah.

On page 41 (S) has several quotations from the Old Testament very much confused. He quotes part of a verse from Jeremiah (which he mistranslates) and with it a verse from Isaiah, and attributes them to Isaiah; and he mistranslates quotations from Daniel and Zechariah. (A) page 18 on the other hand has the quotations correctly attributed and translated.

On page 10 (A) says, "I never saw a single verse in the Gospels or the Prophets or elsewhere bearing witness to Mohammed," which answers the claim of the Caliph that Mohammed is prophesied both in the Old and New Testaments, whereas (S), page 33, only refers to "testimony either from Jesus Christ or from the Gospel," which, by omitting the Prophets, does not meet the Moslem claim. Again (A), page 24, says, "And since all the teaching of the Messiah is embraced in the Torah and the Prophets, for what reason should we have altered it?" The context consists of quotations from the Old Testament only, but (S), page 56, evidently wishing to vindicate at the same time the New Testament also from the charge of corruption, has altered it to "the Torah and the Gospel."

On page 55 (S) has an additional sentence about the second coming of Elijah before the return of Christ, which is absent from (A) page 23, and which anticipates the argument with which the paragraph ends.

A curious divergence between the two texts is seen in (A) page 18 and (S) page 41. The subject under discussion was whether the prophets had been right in foretelling the death of Christ, and, in accordance with this context, (A) proceeds, "Then our king said to me: The prophets thus made ambiguous statements (i. e., caused misunderstanding) about Christ in this way," and makes the Patriarch go on to ask whether God or Satan caused the prophets to make this supposed error, and whether God or Satan caused the apostles wrongly to record the death of Christ. The Arabic words translated "made ambiguous statements" are from the verb *shabbaha* which means originally "to make similar," and occur a little earlier in the well-known quotation from Sura iv. 156, "they did not crucify him, but one was made to appear to them like him." Taking his cue from this verse, (S) translates the king's statement as, "He made a similitude for them in this way," omitting all reference to the prophets, and then makes the Patriarch proceed to ask whether God or Satan caused the apostles to make this supposed error in their record of the death of Christ. Thus in (S) there is no connexion with the preceding discussion.

The consideration of these passages is probably sufficient to prove that in each case (S) is the later text. I have only found one instance of (S) preserving a better text: on page 33 (S) has, "He spoke to His disciples as follows: When I go away to heaven, I will send unto you the Spirit-Paraclete," where (A) page 10, has, "The Christ said to His disciples when He ascended up to heaven, I will send unto you the Spirit the Paraclete." To say "when He ascended" instead of "when I shall ascend" was a careless slip in (A), but such as might easily be made by a scribe.

We will now turn to a few places where there is a doctrinal change.

On page 4 (A) has the crude statement, "So Christ is one, and He has two parents, one of them eternal and the other temporal," in place of which (S) pages 20-21, has a long section of more than a page, obviously intended to express the truth more carefully. It is scarcely conceivable that (A) could have had before him the careful statement of (S) and could have summarized it by so crude a sentence.

There are three passages where the Nestorian bias is more evident in (S) than in (A). (A) page 3, says, "The Christ . . . is of two natures, divine and human, since He is the Word of God and took a human body and became man," while (S) page 19, has, "There are in Him two natures, one of which belongs to the Word, and the other, which is from Mary, clothed itself with the Word-God," to which Dr. Mingana adds the note: "Note the semi-Nestorian expression of 'putting on, clothing oneself with' as applied to the union of God with man in the Incarnation." The expression appears several times in (S), but only once in (A), and that negatively, in the sentence on page 7, "It is never said of the Father and the Spirit that they clothed themselves with a body together with the Word."

On pages 29-30 (S) has a long addition. The first part of it is concerned with the debt owed by men and angels to God, which was paid by Christ, and of this Dr. Mingana says, "This teaching is that of Theodore of Mopsuestia."

On page 17 (A) says, "Jesus, in that He is God, did not die; but He died in His human nature, in that He is man. And as the dishonor is attributed to the king himself when his purple is torn in dishonor or his royal garments rent in pieces in contempt, so the death of Christ (on Him be peace) which befel Him in the body is attributed to His divine person." In this statement (A) accepts the orthodox doctrine known as the *communicatio*

idiomatum, a doctrine which was definitely rejected both by Theodore of Mopsuestia and by Nestorius, e. g., the latter said, "Search all the New Testament and you will never find that the death is attributed to God, but to Christ or to the Son or to the Lord" (Tixeront, *Histoire des Dogmes*, III, page 33). In place of this sentence (S), page 40, has substituted an abbreviated sentence in which the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* is carefully obscured: "The Son of God died in our nature, but not in His divinity. When the royal purple and the insignia of the kingdom are torn, the dishonor redounds to the king; so also is the case with the death of the body of the Son-God."

It appears then that (A) represents far more nearly than (S) the original text of the dialogue, and that the editor of (S) enlarged and embellished the original work, in some places showing a stronger Nestorian bias than the original author. It is difficult to decide whether the second day's debate, which occurs in (S) alone, is original. Two pages of it, pages 61-62, are also found in (A) on pages 15-16. This section contains a rather amazing eulogy of Mohammed and Islam by the Patriarch, and one might surmise that it originally occurred in the first dialogue where it stands in (A), and was omitted by the editor of (S) as being too favorable to Islam, but was afterwards incorporated by a subsequent author who composed the second dialogue.

Taking then only the Arabic text as being the part in whose genuineness we may feel the greatest confidence, what can we say of this presentation of Christianity which was written within a century and a half of Mohammed's death?

The case for Christianity is made to depend almost entirely on the prophecies of Christ found in the Old Testament, and on the miracles of the Old and New Testaments. There is in the whole Arabic text no reference either to the character of Christ or to that of Christians, though (S) in the second dialogue does con-

tain a passing reference in the saying that those who possess the true faith may be known by good works and pious deeds and by the wonders and miracles that God performs through them (page 89). The extent to which reliance on prophecy can go is shown by the Patriarch's amazing statement, (A) page 12, "But I say the truth, if I had found a single prophecy in the *Injil* concerning the coming of Muhammad, I would have left the *Injil* and followed the Quran, and I should have gone over from one to the other, just as I have gone over from the Torah and the Prophets to the *Injil*." There is here no consideration whatever of the moral teaching of Mohammed compared with that of Christ. This lack is the more evident in the section already referred to in eulogy of Mohammed and Islam, in the course of which the Patriarch says, "As all the prophets turned men away from wickedness and sins, and led them to integrity and virtue, so Mohammed turned the children of his people away from wickedness and led them to integrity and virtue," (A) page 15. Moreover there is no conception of a different moral standard in the Old Testament and the New Testament, and Mohammed is praised for fighting for the sake of God not with word only but also with the sword, and for slaying the infidels just as Moses slew those who worshipped the golden calf.

The reliance of Christian apologists on prophecy and miracles as their props for the faith, instead of on the life and character of Christ and the witness of the life of Christians, had as a result the "discovery" of numberless prophecies of Mohammed in the Bible, and the fabrication of Mohammed's miracles. We see in this dialogue already the beginning of the attempt to find prophecies of Mohammed: he is the one riding on a camel in Isaiah, he is the other prophet to be raised up like Moses, he is the Paraclete foretold by Christ; but later writers carried the process much further, so that for instance Ali Tabari, in the *Book of Religion and Empire*, found the Old Testament simply strewn with prophecies of him.

Even taking into account the fact that this dialogue was intended as a battle of wits, one feels that the presentation of Christianity was moving on altogether too intellectual a plane, for while (perhaps out of politeness) the Patriarch says he would forsake the Gospel for the Koran on the evidence of a single prophecy, yet when he comes to a dogma he says, (A) page 16, "Verily I have learnt the belief in one God from the Torah and the Prophets and the *Injil*, and I will stick to it, and for it I would die," and he regards the Patripassian beliefs of the Monophysites and Melkites as sufficient explanation of God's allowing them to be subjected under the foot of Mohammed.

The chief value of such an apology as this for us is that we should take warning from it, remembering that the Church which rested its faith on such arguments as these not only failed to bring Moslems to Christ, but gradually lost its members, who deserted Christ for Mohammed. How differently history would have been written if they had kept in the forefront of their thought the historical Jesus, and Him living and working amongst them.

A historical point of some importance arises out of the charge repeatedly made in this dialogue by the Caliph that the Christians had perverted the Scriptures. Goldziher dealt with the subject exhaustively in an article in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. XXXII, 1878, "*Ueber muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl al-kitab.*" From that article it appears that the idea that the Jews and Christians had removed the name of Mohammed from places where it occurred in the Scriptures was never widely held in theological circles. Ibn Qayyim al-Jauziyya is quoted as saying, "It is an entirely false idea when it is asserted that Jews and Christians have agreed together to expunge this name out of their scriptures in all the ends of the world wherever they live. No one among learned Moslems asserts this." It is, therefore, interesting to find the

Caliph in the dialogue saying, (A) pages 12 and 23, "There were existing in your books many proofs and witnesses concerning Muhammad, but you have spoilt the books and altered them," and, "If you had not changed the *Torah* and the *Injil* you would have borne witness to Muhammad along with the other prophets," the words used for corruption of the Scriptures being *taghyīr*, *tahrīf* and *ifsād*.

Of other theological ideas in the dialogue, we might draw attention to the statements by the Patriarch that "God is incomprehensible in all His qualities," and, "God is a Spirit, single (*i. e.*, undifferentiated), pure and not composite," (A) pages 2 and 4. These statements are a surrender to the sheer monotheism of Islam, and abandon the philosophic truth that God is not formless. They come perilously near the orthodox attitude of Islam that nothing can be predicated of God, which is really agnosticism. The result of admitting that God is undifferentiated is seen in a question of the Caliph, (A), page 6, "How is it that the Son is not the Spirit and the Spirit is not the Son, since there is not found any difference in God . . . because you said, 'He is simple and not composite'?" Another dangerous statement is found in (A) page 14, "After Christ there is no prophecy and no prophet," which is equivalent to denying the continued operation of the Holy Spirit in one important direction, even if prophecy be taken in the narrow sense of foretelling the future.

In view of some of these statements of the Patriarch, we perhaps would scarcely endorse the judgment of Fr. Cheikho that, "Le Patriarche répond aux questions du prince et réfute victorieusement ses objections."

Lahore, India.

L. E. BROWNE.

NUBIA, THE LAND OF SHADOWS

Egypt is a land of tourists; in the big hotels of the country or on Cook's Nile boats the traveler expects everything modern civilization can give him at home, and perhaps a little more. When the gong sounds for dinner, and the guests assemble in the dining-hall to eat a luxurious meal, dark brown waiters, clad in white, do their service. In the dazzle of the electric light, among ladies in the costliest of garments, those dark brown men move silently about. They notice everything and criticise it mentally, and sometimes they have much reason for criticism. Not always is the impression they get of Europe and Christianity a good one.

Most of these waiters are Nubians (or Berberin), and so are most of the servants in private houses in Egypt, many of the doorkeepers and, in recent times, many of the drivers of cars and taxis. Thousands of Nubians live in Cairo in that way, also in Alexandria, Ismailia, Port Said and Suez. Even in Palestine you will find them as servants in European houses. If you have once got to know the type of these people, you will recognize it at every corner in the big towns of lower Egypt. Sometimes you can see even quite small boys wearing the white waiter's costume. In the Ma'rut quarters in Boulac and in other parts of Cairo, as well as in other places of lower Egypt, they have their cafés and their own clubs, where they meet, and these places are crowded at almost every hour of the day. There are many dangers in this kind of life; by it the Nubian nation can become a kind of proletariat in the big cities, it can lose its nationality, and with it the ideals of morality and honesty which have still a hold on the soul of the people. Work among this class

of men is an urgent necessity. Though most of them live among Europeans, scarcely any of them have come in contact with living Christianity, except those few who are servants in the houses of missionaries. So much about the men—but what about the women? Some of them live in Cairo or the other cities. We tried to find out something about these a few months ago. When we were making the first visit, we were led through dirty little by-lanes into a house which seemed to be tumbling down. A filthy, somewhat dangerous staircase led us to a very clean little room, where we found a young woman who had come to Cairo only a few months previously, and she left for her own village about a week after our visit. She did not know Arabic, and lived quite by herself, a very solitary life. We found some other women in similar surroundings, in a clean little room in the midst of the dirty slums of Cairo. Some of them had come to stay for only a short time in Cairo; others had lived there for several years, and these mixed to some degree with the Arabic women of the neighborhood. In former years it was not usual for a Nubian servant to bring his wife to Egypt, but at present more and more families are living there. In Heliopolis quite a settlement of Nubians exists, but I have not yet visited the women there. Generally speaking the Nubians do not like their women to mix with the people of the towns, and they do not want them to come into contact with European civilization; they have seen too much of certain sides of it. For this reason most of the Nubian women are left in their little villages south of Assuan, and many of them have not even seen much of their own country.

Some twenty years ago a narrow strip of fertile soil existed in Nubia on both sides of the Nile. The steep banks of the river were sown with beans; a little higher up *durrah* or wheat was cultivated, according to the season of the year. Fine groves of date-palms were the most important possession of the country. As the banks of the river were very steep in most places, the water-wheels had

to lift the precious gift of the Nile to a considerable height and were therefore carefully built; day and night their strange music could be heard. And so the diligence of the Nubian fellah got as much produce from his scanty little field as was possible; without all this hard work even this narrow strip of green would have been desert like the rest of the country, because it does not receive a drop of rain in many years, and only seldom do clouds give shadow from the parching rays of the sun. The villages were built on the edge of the desert so as not to occupy any ground that could be cultivated.

I myself did not see the country in those happy times, but there still exist pictures of the island of Philæ, showing groups of palm trees surrounding the temple of Isis, which for many centuries has been a Christian church, like most of the old Egyptian temples in Nubia. In the beginning of our century the great dam at Assuan was constructed, in order to provide Egypt with water at the time when the Nile is low. Large areas of desert land have been cultivated since that time and modern civilization is proud of this work. But Nubia has gained nothing by this wonder of modern science. On the contrary, it has lost nearly all its cultivatable soil, as it has been flooded by the backwaters of the dam, and it will soon lose more, as the dam is going to be heightened by nine metres.

I have been told that when the dam was being built, the Nubians in the districts affected were offered a choice by the Government of an indemnity either in money or in land. Most of them chose the money, because they wished to remain in their own country. Even when they had to leave it in order to earn money, they wanted to be able to return home again in their old age. For this reason, too, they like to leave their womenfolk in their villages, where they take care of the little property, which means home to them. When the country was flooded by the rising water, the inhabitants took their scanty furniture and the wooden doors (a very precious article in a

country without trees) with them, and erected a new village a little higher up among the barren rocks. The mud walls were left to crumble to pieces, and many of these ruins are seen to this day.

A few years ago the Egyptian government established schools in nearly every village. A floating hospital travels on the river between Adendan and Umbarakab; government doctors are stationed in Allagi and in Dirr, but as the inhabited country is long and narrow, it is difficult to reach every little hamlet and its lonely inhabitants.

Until now the influence of the dam has been felt mostly in the northern part of Nubia, in the district inhabited by the tribe of Kunuzi; but when the heightening is completed, it will be felt as far as Wady-Halfa, and even a little farther south. In Lower Nubia there live (according to a government census of 1924) about 77,000 people, nearly 43,000 belonging to the tribe of Kunuzi, which live between Assuan and Madig. South of Madig the Nile valley is inhabited for a short distance by an Arabic-speaking population of about 5,000. From Korosko to Adendan there live about 30,000 Nubians of the Fiyadija tribe. The southern parts of Nubia—Mahass, Sukkot and the fertile province of Dongola—belong to the Sudan. As far as I know, the numbers mentioned above are only the number of people actually living in those parts. Many others consider the village to be their home. Owing to a certain national pride, the Nubians have kept their own tongue and their racial individuality through the centuries, though they are surrounded by an Arabic-speaking population. Since the Moslem conquest of Egypt they have had only some short epochs of national independence. The old Christian capital of Nubia was Dongola. The dialect spoken there is very similar to the Kunuzi dialect, while the Fiyadija speak a dialect similar to that of Mahass and Sukkot. Generally the Kunuzi and the Fiyadija do not mix with each other. Until now our Mission has chiefly had to do with the Kunuzi. The larger tribes are divided into

quite a number of clans, which cling close together. It is significant that the Nubian address to a stranger of his own tongue is "*ann ehel*," which is partly Arabic and means "my kinsman." They will tell you proudly, that theft is something unknown in their whole country; also that no immorality is tolerated among the women. When the Nubian nation gets lost among the other inhabitants of Egypt, these qualities, which give some kind of moral standard to the individual, will get lost, and indeed they are beginning to disappear even now.

The important question, which is discussed at present in every village, is this: What are we going to do when all our country is submerged? Are we going to settle down in Egypt? Will it be possible to irrigate some new districts in our own country, so that we can remain there? The heightening of the dam has begun, so the critical time is near.

I do not think any inhabited country can possibly be poorer than Lower Nubia is now. If you travel by steamer from Assuan to Wady-Halfa in winter, you get the impression of traveling through the land of death. Until you reach the village of Koshtamne you will very rarely find a green spot; perhaps here and there you see a tiny garden where a side valley opens towards the river. There the women have brought a little of the Nile mud to a level place, which is watered by a *shaduf*. Farther south there is a little more cultivated soil, and in the country of the Fiyadija, where the backwaters of the dam are not felt quite as much, even the palmgroves still exist and the soil may be tilled the whole year round. In other places a scanty crop is obtained once a year, but most of the time the fields are submerged, and then the villagers can live only on some dried foodstuffs preserved from the summer-harvest, and one wonders what food can possibly be given to the cattle.

The district of Abu-Hor looks especially desolate. Formerly they had quite a nice tract of cultivated soil on both sides of the river. Now the little hamlets, which

occupy a distance of some kilometres, lie on the barren rocks. Here and there you find small clusters of huts, which can scarcely be discerned from their surroundings. If the traveler gets interested in these poor little human residences he will find that they are not badly built. Some kind of primitive artistic instinct is clearly to be recognized. With very simple means the houses are made to look as pretty and homelike as possible, and, what is even more important, they are kept clean. In some districts they have lately been whitewashed for hygienic reasons by order of the Government.

Nearly every day large steamers pass by those villages, but they do not stop, except the one slow service boat whose coming is the great event of the week. Though there is only a distance of about 350 kilometres between Assuan and Wady-Halfa, the villages between these two places seem to be out of the world altogether. When I first came to live in Koshtamne I had the impression of coming from the "Orient" to "Africa."

In these desolate surroundings the Nubian women pass their lives. They have some vague idea that far away at the end of the world there are some places called Alexandria, Cairo or even Syria, and from there the men send parcels with tea and sugar to their people, sometimes a garment too and some money. Some women who have accompanied their husbands will tell you proudly: "I have seen Cairo." But I doubt that they really have enjoyed the life in those dirty little back-streets, being accustomed to a comparative freedom and to much sun and fresh air.

These women in the villages have to care for the property of their husbands. When the dam at Assuan is opened and the water above it sinks (at the time of high Nile in Egypt) they have a very busy time, tilling the ground. In those months you meet scarcely a single woman in the village, they are all in the fields, which look green once more and are alive with busy women and children and their cattle. When the dam is closed

again after a few months, everything remaining in the fields is collected, not the smallest leaf of *kashrengay* (beans) is left behind; everything is stored for the time of want. The water rises quickly, and soon the country is as dead and barren as it looked before. But the women are not idle; as the men are away, with the exception of a few elderly sheikhs, who are in charge of public affairs, all the work to be done is in the hands of the women. They plait the mats necessary for the household, they make their own simple pottery, they even plaster the walls of the houses with mud, or whitewash them. Of course they also prepare the food. Generally a very coarse kind of durrah-bread is eaten. The corn is ground with a handmill, then it is moistened and ground once more on a flat stone, the simplest kind of mill that is possible. After the dough has risen, cakes are baked on the *doka*, which is a flat piece of iron lying on four stones between which the fire has been lit. For the men a similar kind of bread is made, but it is very thin, nearly as thin as a handkerchief. With this bread a little sour milk is eaten, sometimes two or three eggs are boiled for the whole family and put in sauce of hot clarified butter. Generally the nutrition is very poor, so the little children look miserable and ill. Tuberculosis and dysentery are the great scourges of this country, where the sun could so easily kill all germs of infection.

As long as there are only a few men in the villages, the women move about freely for their work. But when the tourist season is over and the hotels are closed, many men come home, though there are some who do not come back for years. Then the whole character of the village is changed. The men coming from Cairo are the masters of the place; they walk about in their long robes, and in the evening they sit together in the guest-rooms of the sheikhs, while the women keep out of the way and are only the servants of their husbands.

A few years ago Egypt passed a law prohibiting the marriage of a girl under sixteen. In many cases this law

has proved to be a great blessing, but Nubia is so far out of the way that it is difficult to enforce a regulation like this. So we still see quite a few little child-wives; these are under the strict control of the elder women, and most of them look very timid and shy. Marriage has come into their lives like a dark shadow, for there are old customs in the country, which lie like a curse on womanhood. Nubian parents do not like to give their daughters to strangers. The nearest relative, generally the first cousin, is chosen to be the bridegroom. Polygamy is very frequent. Many men have a little property in one village and a wife to take care of it, and in the next village another wife has to take care of his second house or both even live in the same village as neighbors. Of course quite a few of the men have still another family at the place where they do their work. Divorce is also very frequent, and the women are often quickly married again. So when they begin to talk about family-relationships (always a favorite topic) you will hear the most surprising things. Step-parents do not generally feel any responsibility towards children of a previous marriage. In the Nubian folk-lore the bad stepmother plays a very prominent part.

Many of the women are very pretty, not of the prognathous negro type. They like to wear much gold: large earrings, a similar ring in the nose, and a large medal fastened in the hair and hanging on the forehead; these may look strange to the European eye, but not ugly on those dark brown faces. The hair is worn in many tiny plaits, sometimes more than a hundred on a single head. Some time ago the women wore a large white cloth as their only garment, now most of them have an Egyptian *galabiyah* underneath the white *shugga*.

In March, 1926, our Mission opened a station at Koshtamne, and three lady-missionaries began to work there. When we left the ship, which had carried us so far, the men of the village were standing on the river-bank, and welcomed us politely. To our great surprise

one of them addressed us in German; he had been a waiter in Karlsbad. Of course no woman was to be seen, but when we entered the little house which had been rented for us, dozens of them streamed in at the back door. They all wanted to have a look at those strange white women who had come to live among them. This reception was a very encouraging beginning for us, and in the next days, yes ever since, the women have kept coming and going. But we were soon to perceive that a strong feeling of distrust was there too. Any little mistake we made would increase this feeling. The experience we had gathered in Assuan and its neighborhood was of little use; we had to deal with quite a new mentality, and so we had to adopt an attitude of learning. Once I tried to take a photograph, but the women were so much afraid of this, that I burned the film before the house. I was told that some time ago some tourists who were visiting the temples of Nubia had photographed a group of women. Unfortunately some Nubians working in Cairo saw these photographs and recognized their wives, and divorced them for this crime, though I am sure that they, poor things, probably did not understand what those strangers were doing with that funny little black box.

The work in Koshtamne is not easy, because the place is so very far out of the way. I was stationed there when we began the work, but I had to leave after a few months. From the very beginning we tried to win the hearts of the people through medical help, which was given at first by a nurse, then later on by a lady-doctor. Often patients came to her from a great distance. They arrived in their sailing-boats, and a little hut had to be rented to give them shelter. Now the doctor is working in Assuan, but again and again old friends from Koshtamne find their way to our hospital there.

We would have liked long ago to build a new house in Koshtamne in order to improve the sanitary conditions. But we have to take into consideration the probability of the shifting of the whole population and therefore we

could not invest so much money in that place. One of the greatest difficulties was the question of the water, because it is stagnant when the dam at Assuan is closed, and then it gets very bad. Therefore we have sunk a well in order to be able to carry on the work in Kosh-tamne as long as possible. The whole village is very much interested in the well, so this affair too may help us to win their confidence, and to prepare the way for the message which we have to give.

The Nubians are generally very fanatical Mohammedans, but their women do not know much about their religion. They proudly call themselves Moslems, but practically they are animists. To them the whole world is alive with ghosts and demons; everything happening seems to have a magical cause, which is far more real to them than the natural cause is. If a little child falls, some water is poured on the spot where it fell in order to protect it from the spirits of the place. In cases of sickness, or of a childless woman, magic is used. Even if somebody wants to do harm to an enemy he has recourse to magic.

In a world like this, strange things may happen. In the Nubian quarters of Assuan there is an old well inhabited by *mesheikh*, a whole family of water-spirits. The women go to them if their children are ill, or if they want to have a child, and they offer a kind of sacrifice if their prayers are granted. They bring a dish with unleavened bread or sweet milk to the well, and throw seven morsels of the food to the spirits; the remainder is given to the children who are playing about. This family is of a kindly disposition towards mankind, but they expect to be treated politely. Some time ago one of the daughters of the family appeared and sat beside the well. She had a human face but the body of a bird. Many people are said to have seen her, and the women stood about and prayed for a blessing. One of the men wanted to frighten the spirit, and tried to approach stealthily, but he became ill and, through the old woman who acted as interpreter

of the spirits, he received the message: "Do you not know that our girls are afraid of men?"

The Nile, too, is said to be alive with different kinds of water spirits, called *dogir*. They too sometimes appear to mankind, and they are only recognized by the pupil of the eye, which is vertical. Some of the *dogir* are of human origin. By the power of their magic they went to live in the water, but there are still people of their tribes living on earth. Sometimes the *dogir* chose a wife among the girls of the Nubian villages. Very recently the following incident is said to have happened: A woman was working in the field near the river and her little daughter accompanied her. The girl disappeared, and as she could not be found she was mourned for, as being dead. Some years later she appeared again to some of her friends, and told them that she had been taken into the water by a *dogir*, who had married her. After having seen her friends she returned to her children who were living in the water.

The life of the *dogir* has many of the hardships which human beings have to endure. They have to till the ground underneath the water; when their crops fail they encounter difficulties, because they cannot pay the taxes to their government. In such times they have even come to the villages and borrowed some gold from the women.

In the village of Umberakab there is the tomb of a sheikh called Bahar. He is said to have been originally one of the *dogir*, who left his native element. Now he is held in great veneration, and is believed to help even in very difficult cases.

Sometimes the water-girls are mentioned; they seem to be the friends of the women, and are said to help at the time of childbirth, and remain with the mother for forty days. In the meantime childless women will come to the house and implore the spirits to grant them the gift of a child too. On the seventh day and on the fortieth day food is thrown into the river as an offering for them.

A very dangerous monster is the "*saluwe*" or were-

wolf. In autumn 1929 such a monster killed some children in one of the Nubian villages, but happily the police were able to get hold of it. For some weeks, I was told stories about this *saluwe*, and even men were frightened by these tales. Many of the Sudanese are believed to be able to transform themselves into wild beasts. I have been told that about six or seven years ago the police raided the Sudanese quarters of Assuan and expelled all those who had a tiny little tail. Since that time the Sudanese are afraid of using their witchcraft in order to appear as *saluwe*.

There is something rather uncanny about twins too. All over Egypt the soul of a twin is believed to wander about in the shape of a cat, when the child is sleeping. In Nubia I have been told that the soul of a twin may also "ride" on a dog or a bee. Once a little boy, who was one of twins, was asleep and nobody could awaken him. So the anxious father went about and asked all his neighbors if somebody had done anything to a cat, and thereby to the child's soul. But nothing of the kind had happened. At last it was found out that a man had filled some large jars with honey and had closed them with clay and taken them away on a camel. As the child was still sleeping as if he were dead, the father followed the camel. The jars were opened, and out of one of them there came a little bumble-bee, which had nearly been drowned in the honey. As soon as the little animal was set free, the boy awoke, for his soul had been riding on the bee.

We who have lived in Christian homes under the influence of Western civilization can scarcely realize what a strange world it is that these people are living in. Unseen dangers are threatening everywhere, and by the force of magic, anybody can instigate the powers of darkness to do harm. Only the other day a woman in Assuan (though in this case one of Egyptian origin) said to me: "My enemy stole my kerchief (for the head) from me, and she took one half of it to a magician, and now she

wants me to become mad, oh I am so much afraid!" Surely our Nubian sisters are "through fear of death all their lifetime subject to bondage."

There was a time when the Nubian people were living in the light of the Gospel. For about a thousand years the country was Christian; it remained so for many centuries after Egypt had been conquered by the Moslems. Christianity was lost because Nubia was isolated and cut off from all intercourse with other Christians. Now the Nubians are exceedingly fanatical, but they all know of their Christian past, though they do not like to speak of it. But there remain still some traces of the past; one of them is the name of the Sunday, which is called Kiraguay. In this name the old Greek name of the Lord's day survives; Saturday is called Samtay, and this is an old Nubian form of the word Sabbath or Sabt. In the out-of-the-way villages, the Nubian women still wear the *dinar*, a golden coin, which is fastened in the hair and hangs on the forehead, and this coin shows the cross. About twenty years ago I saw this *dinar* even in the neighborhood of Assuan, but now it has disappeared; though I have been told that the women still possess it, but they do not like to show it.

In Koshtamne I heard of an old tradition, that in a far-away future a Christian conqueror coming from the south will make himself master of Nubia. Nubia has come in contact again with the rest of the Christian world, but the first gifts it received meant ruin to her instead of life, for these gifts were the Assuan dam and the demoralizing influence of the great cities. The Nubian nation is in a crisis now, so we have a special responsibility to bring them the Gospel. May God help us not to lose this opportunity, for it may prove to be the last.

GERTRUD VON MASSENBACH.

Assuan, Upper Egypt.

CONDITIONS FOR BAPTISM

What are the conditions for baptism? Whom should we baptize? When should we baptize? Questions easily asked, in theory not hard to answer, in practice most difficult.

As a boy of eleven I presented myself to the session of a country church in America for admission to membership. I recall very distinctly that the examination consisted of just one question—"How old are you?" I always felt that the elders were too easy-going: perhaps the fact that my father was pastor of the church was a sufficient guarantee to them of the genuineness of my faith, but this single question on a matter quite apart from religious conviction or experience was all the investigation made before accepting me to full membership in the Christian fellowship.

I cannot but contrast this with the examinations given by the session of our church here in Persia to a Moslem convert who was baptized and received into full communion at our last baptismal service on Easter Sunday. He was a young man in his twenties, a tradesman, born and brought up in the atmosphere and teachings of Islam, living amid all the temptations to which Persian youth are subject. There were three examinations in the course of a period of probation extending over two years and a half. He was questioned as to his reasons for leaving his former faith, as to why he accepted Christ as his Savior, as to the meaning of baptism and the Lord's Supper, as to his personal habits—e. g., whether he used liquor or opium, as to the change in his own life that had come from his faith in Christ, as to his habits of Bible study and prayer, as to his endeavors to lead his friends to Christ, and as to other things.

These two illustrations present two extremes of requirements for baptism—though in my case, as I had been baptized in infancy, it was admission to full church membership; but the point is the same, however lax we may regard the one and however strict the other. No hard and fast rules can be laid down as to conditions for baptism. Circumstances vary; backgrounds vary; environments vary. A man that has given up Islam or Bahaism to accept Christianity presents one problem: his children, trained in the Christian faith, will present another. Some who apply for baptism have been well known by the Christian group for years: others are comparative strangers. Some have had years of instruction in the Bible and Christian teaching in schools, in classes, in meetings, before they seek baptism: others have had no such opportunities. Some are well educated, others altogether illiterate; some have a bad past, others a name above reproach; some are self-supporting, others dependent and hence open to suspicion of mercenary motives. If all candidates for baptism were just alike, the conditions of acceptance would long since have been fixed by the Church, and there would be no further problem. It is this difference in people, their backgrounds and circumstances that constitutes the practical difficulty.

I said at the beginning that the theoretical answer to the question of conditions for baptism was easy. We get that from the New Testament. The requisites there set forth are clear—repentance from sin and faith in Christ. On the day of Pentecost, Peter emphasized repentance (Acts 2: 38); more often faith is stressed, as in Jesus' final commission (Mark 16:15, 16), Paul's reply to the Philippian jailor (Acts 16:31-33), or the case of the Corinthians (Acts 18: 8). Since repentance is implied in faith, the theoretical answer to our question would then be: the one condition of baptism is a genuine commitment of the life to Christ, a real acceptance of Christ as one's own and only Savior. Beyond a vital faith in Christ the

Apostles asked nothing. Have we the right to require either less or more?

But practically the question is not so easy to answer. The Ethiopian eunuch said to Philip: "What doth hinder me to be baptized?" And Philip forthwith baptized him. A Persian comes before our church session and says: "I have accepted Christ: what doth hinder me to be baptized?" And we reply: "It's too soon." What is the difference? Doubtless in the early days of the Church the fuller possession by the Holy Spirit gave clearer insight into men's hearts: the Apostles were sure where we hesitate. Or perhaps the Church, through centuries of missionary experience with many examples of backsliding and apostasy, has learned to be more wary, to demand closer acquaintance, longer probation and fuller instruction, in order to secure the requisite assurance. Or again the present method of missionary work—sending foreigners with high standards of living into countries where life is far more simple, with the consequent prevalence of the impression that Christianity and comfortable living go together, the establishment of schools and hospitals with benefits of education and health to be obtained therein, the employment of a large force of paid workers and servants—this method of work offers appeal to mercenary motive such as was impossible in the days when plain folk went about preaching the Gospel to the people of their own empire.

The whole difficulty of the problem hinges on the word "genuine." How may we know that the faith professed is genuine? That is the crux of the matter. Does the candidate have a sufficient knowledge of the way of Christ to make his acceptance of it real? Has he made a genuine break with the past? Is the new faith really carrying over into life? Will it last? If we could only have the insight into human hearts to be able to answer these questions, the problem of acceptance for baptism would be easy. How often has one of the elders of the church here, at the close of an examination for baptism,

exclaimed: "God only knows his heart. What shall I say?"

But decisions must be made, and since we do not have omniscience, we have to set up certain standards by which to determine as best we can whether the comprehensive condition of a genuine faith in Christ has been fulfilled. From our experience in Persia I should say these standards were four. They are:

1. *An adequate understanding of Christian truth.* Without an adequate understanding of the content and implications of the Christian faith, there can be no real acceptance of it. In some cases a decision for Christ has been made after months or years of study and thought; in others there has been a long period of contact with Christians and attendance at Christian classes and meetings before getting up courage to take the more public step of receiving baptism. In such cases the convert may have a thorough knowledge of Christian truth when he applies for admission to the Church, and special preparatory instruction may be unnecessary. More often, however, the acceptance of Christianity has come as the result of some experience (such as a dream—a surprisingly common occurrence in Persia), a friendship, or a series of conversations, and there is as yet no adequate conception of the teachings of either Islam or Christianity, of why Christ is the Savior from sin, or of the meaning of prayer or baptism. In such cases careful instruction will be needed.

And here arises the question of preparing converts for baptism. How much instruction should be given? What constitutes an "adequate" understanding of Christian truth? Here again differences in people will require differences in the content and amount of instruction given. We should not expect the same knowledge of the Christian faith from an illiterate carpenter as from a high school graduate. One who has been saturated in Moslem doctrine and tradition will have a start in some things, in others a handicap that will have to be overcome. The

most that can be said here is that the minimum requirement for an understanding of the Christian truth adequate for baptism should include a general knowledge of the Gospel story; of the meaning of sin, salvation, the Church and the sacraments; of the saviorhood and supremacy of Christ; and of the standards of Christian living. The convert must be able to give the reason for the faith that is in him, else the reality of that faith may be justly questioned.

2. *The expression of faith in life.* If there is a genuine faith in Christ, it must express itself in life. "Faith without works is dead." Just as necessary as adequate understanding is adequate living. There is no better way to test the genuineness of a profession of faith than to ascertain what transformation it has wrought on the life. And so one of the first questions we ask of the candidate for baptism is, What effect has your faith had on your life? Or to be more specific, What change do you see in yourself or your conduct since your acceptance of Christ? If there is no sense of change, one may reasonably conclude there is no real faith; if a superficial change, a superficial faith.

I always look forward with great interest to the answer the candidate will make to this question. If a worthy answer, it will usually mention one of three things or a combination of these—a securing of peace of heart, an overcoming of bad habits and a growth in character, or a grasping of ideals of service. One of the best replies I have ever heard—and I have heard it more than once—was to this effect: "Before I became a Christian I hadn't the slightest desire to help a person whom I saw in trouble. I was content that he should stay as he was. But now, if I see some one in trouble, I at once want to help him." Such an answer surely indicates some power at work in the life.

Sometimes we have to probe to find out whether there has been real repentance from sin, or whether there are habits that still need to be changed. As untruthfulness is

so prevalent, we occasionally ask a man if he has the habit of lying: if he says he has greatly improved in this regard, but still slips once in a while, we are more likely to trust his reply than if he claims to have become flawlessly truthful. And though we may lay down certain vices that would prevent acceptance for baptism, such as the use of liquor or opium or irregular sex life, yet it is of course impossible to adopt any fixed standard of character as a prerequisite. The essential thing is that the Spirit of God be at work in the life bringing about transformation, that there be genuine and determined progress toward the Christian ideal.

3. *Witness to the faith.* Not only should a genuine faith express itself in a changed character, but as well in a witness before others. There are doubtless earnest adherents of the Christian religion who keep their faith secret, but they are not ready for baptism, for baptism is itself a confession of faith. *Taqieh*, or dissimulation in regard to one's religion, is considered a permissible practice in Shiah Islam and strategy in Bahaism. Consequently in Persia, the center of these two sects, we must be especially on our guard against anything that seems to savor of it. Hence we ask converts from other faiths who apply for baptism such questions as these: To what extent are you free to confess your faith? Does your family know you are a Christian? Outside your family who knows you to be a Christian?

We do not consider it requisite for converts to make a widespread proclamation of their faith: in some cases that would bring about unnecessary personal hardship or even organized opposition. But there are two things we do consider essential. One is that baptism should be performed in the presence of the church, not in private. This is not in meetings open to the public, but restricted to the Christian group: there is not yet sufficient religious liberty in Persia for public baptism. Every Christian has a right to know who his fellow-Christians are: only thus can a proper *esprit de corps* be maintained. In the

church here women as well as men are baptized before the whole group. The second essential is that the new Christian be endeavoring to win his acquaintances to Christ. This is a clear teaching of Jesus, and a Christianity that is not propagative is not very vital. So one of the things we insist upon before admission to membership in our church is that the applicant shall previously have endeavored to interest others in his new faith.

4. *The nurture of the spiritual life.* A living faith can be maintained only by the nurture of the spiritual life. If it is going to develop in the face of an environment that is operating to wither it up, intimate relations with God must be maintained. To that end there must be regular habits of prayer and Bible study. Some converts, to be sure, cannot read, and for such private Bible study is impossible. But we always expect candidates for baptism to be faithful in daily prayer and, where possible, in study of the Bible: and hence we always make it a point to inquire as to their habits in these two matters. Another question we frequently ask is, What are some of your favorite verses or passages of Scripture? Their answers to this give us some glimpse into what hold the Bible has on them and what kind of an appeal it is making. If there is considerable hesitation in answering this question, we doubt if God's Word has as yet gripped the life.

If then I may briefly summarize—there is one condition for acceptance to baptism, a genuine faith in Christ. For faith to be genuine, (1) it must be rooted in truth, and hence we demand an adequate understanding of the Christian way; (2) it must express itself in life, and hence we require evidence of transformed character; (3) it must testify to what it has found, and hence we demand witness before others and to win others; (4) it must maintain fellowship with God, and hence we insist on the faithful cultivation of the devotional life. It must reach down and in and out and up.

In addition to these four tests of the genuineness of

faith there is one other contingent already hinted at that often enters in to affect the decision regarding acceptance, though it is not a determining condition. It is the possibility of ulterior motive. Is the candidate so situated as to be "after something"? Is he in need or unable to support himself? Is he out of work and looking for a job, possibly hoping to secure employment with the missionaries? Is he a pupil in a mission school and trying to stand in well with the management in the hope of getting good marks or ensuring a diploma? We cannot say that a student in school or a person not earning his own living should never be accepted to baptism: we ought not to make such things conditions. At the same time we should give due weight to such considerations and make doubly sure that the faith is genuine, and often it will be wise to lengthen the time of probation when such circumstances prevail.

The term of probation is a question closely related to conditions of baptism. Here again no definite rule can be laid down. Some candidates, as above indicated, apply for baptism only after years of contact with Christians, attending during this time both public services and private classes, and are intimately known by some of the Christian group. In such cases no term of probation is necessary, provided they have given evidence of genuine faith during this time, for those who have the decision to make as to their acceptance are well able to decide at the time of application. Three such Moslem converts have been accepted into the church here this year, and all three were well worthy of membership. On the other hand most applicants are not so well known and do not give such clear evidence of genuine Christian faith. In such cases a delay is needed in order to provide instruction and training for the convert and an opportunity of acquaintance for the church. The length of it depends upon the individual. Of the last two Moslem converts to be baptized in the church here one was on probation for two years and a half and the other for four years, but these

were exceptional instances. From six months to a year and a half should ordinarily be sufficient. The difficulty is to find the golden mean between too short a probation with a resultant high per cent of unworthy church members requiring dismissal or discipline, and too long a probation with a demand for too mature a Christian experience, with a resultant high per cent of those dropping out by the way. "On the one hand there is the danger of chilling the zeal and eagerness of new believers, of changing Christianity from an energy to an instruction, of banking the fires of a little church till they go out. On the other hand is the peril of the hasty admission of instability and insincerity, of bringing ignorance and unworthiness into the Church when it is too weak either to carry or to throw off such a burden." (Speer: Report on India and Persia, 1922, p. 458.) In the eagerness to build up a church the tendency is to err on the side of too hasty acceptance: after a few failures the tendency is to swing to the opposite extreme. At all events it is interesting to note that the Persian Christians are on the whole more strict in their requirements than missionaries. I remember a convert from Islam telling me how he was kept waiting for seven years and could not understand why; yet, as he looked back upon it, he felt the decision had been wise.

Shall we urge converts to be baptized? Or shall we leave it to them to request it on their own initiative? Our experience is that they should not be urged. The purpose and value of baptism should be explained to a convert, but ordinarily it is much better that he should feel a sufficient desire for it to request it himself. An inward urge is better than outward urging. The rite will mean more, and should there later be a falling away, the responsibility rests less heavily on the church. Yet there are circumstances under which it seems to me quite legitimate to inquire of converts if they do not contemplate baptism or to suggest that the time for it is ripe. One is the case where individuals, otherwise ready for church

membership, are somewhat timid or naturally reticent; here a word of persuasion, or at least suggestion, may help to give the needed courage. Or again there are converts of long standing who have not sufficiently sensed the necessity of allying themselves with the Christian group, and for them the value of such a step needs to be pressed home. But in most cases it is far better for the convert that the matter be left to the work of the Spirit of God in his heart, and far more satisfying to the Christian worker to feel the thrill of joy that comes from an unprompted request for admission to the Christian fellowship.

And we must always keep in mind that baptism is not the goal, nor must it be made to seem the goal, of Christian attainment. It is not a "graduation ceremony," marking the completion of study and effort, but the matriculation, after successfully passing the entrance requirements, into the school of Christian research and life and service.

Hamadan, Persia.

C. H. ALLEN.

THE PANTHAYS OF YUNNAN

Panthay is the term applied to the Moslems living in the province of Yunnan, especially the southern portion of that province. The word Panthay is the Burmanized form of Pan-si, the name these people use for themselves. For this reason we would not expect to find the term Panthay used in provinces of China other than Yunnan. It might at first be thought that a Chinese Moslem differs from other Chinese only in religion, and not in race. However it may be in the Eastern provinces, this is not the case in western China, at any rate. The Moslems in Kansu are known to be of a racial strain distinct from the Chinese about them, and the same is true to a certain extent of the Panthays of Yunnan. These Panthays themselves claim to be descended from the Arab and Tatar invaders who came in, led by the great Mongol conquerors, Genghis Khan and Kublai Khan. Not only their religion, but in many cases their physiognomy would lend support to this theory, although of course their race has been much mixed with the Chinese since that time. We are prepared even to accept the Arab ancestry to a certain extent, for not only does their appearance indicate ancestry other than Chinese, but it would seem that there is a racial strain which is not even Mongolian. The aquiline cast of countenance which these people often have, with eyes not obliquely set, would indicate some such ancestry as they claim.

As is the case with Mohammedans throughout China, the Panthays are to a great extent engaged in trade. This predilection of Chinese Moslems for traffic and commerce has been ascribed by certain writers to the fact that

the Moslems cannot eat in common with the Chinese. It is argued that as all workmen engaged in one shop or manufactory, or upon one job, mess together, the Moslems are shut out from such occupations, on account of the regulation against the eating of pork. For this reason, it is claimed, they go into trade, where a man is master of his own habits. This reasoning would hardly seem wholly valid, but the point is not worth arguing at length.

The Panthays are a virile, sturdy and aggressive race, even more so than the true Chinese. Caravaneers and muleteers on the Yunnan trade routes are very likely to be Panthays. The men who guide the long trains of mules and ponies through the wild mountain passes of Yunnan and the Burmese frontier, must be rugged in constitution and resolute in spirit to endure this rough life, filled with hardships and dangers. The scanty and ill-cooked food, the long marches, the exposure to all kinds of weather—drenching rains, scorching heat, or, in season, the bitter frost and raw damps of the mountain slopes—would indeed daunt any but men of iron mould. Add to all this the rough hard work of the pack-saddle, the occasional bite or kick from a refractory mule, the constant danger of attack by armed robbers, and we are ready to admit that the Yunnanese muleteer is by no means a mollicoddle.

As to the danger from wild animals, whether tiger, panther, or bear, there is no doubt that great fear of these beasts is expressed by the people of the mountains themselves. Bears are occasionally vicious, and are perhaps more feared than tigers. One hears strange tales, too, of monsters not listed in any encyclopædia.

Speaking of tigers, I well remember starting out from a village high up in the mountains to ride over to another village a half day's journey away over the rugged mountain trail. As we rode along, my schoolboys and I, we were compelled to rein our horses over to the bushes, and wait while a long caravan, the longest I think I have ever seen, with scores of mules and horses in line, went by.

They passed, as is usual, with a quick, swinging pace, the muleteers going along beside the animals at a kind of half-trot, with their shouts of command and encouragement. The creak of pack-saddle and girth, the not unmusical cries of the caravaneers in tonal Chinese, the mellow notes of the bells, all mingled together, were as pleasing to the ear as were the quick movements to the eye. However, when the caravan had passed, we were surprised to notice one man prone upon the ground, either fast asleep, or deep in the stupor of opium—more likely the latter. That evening, when we came back again, we were told that the lone muleteer whom we had seen that morning stretched upon the ground, had been carried away during the day by one of the tigers that were known to be prowling about the vicinity. That the region abounded in tigers there was no doubt, for we had seen the huge paw prints too often ourselves, in the dust or mud of the trail, and while a tiger will not perhaps molest a man who is upright and walking around, a prone and solitary figure motionless upon the ground, might well become the prey of some beast.

In order to make the quick forced marches demanded of them, the muleteers use opium to give themselves a false and temporary energy; under this influence they are indeed able to accomplish distances in a day's march which other men could not think of accomplishing, being inured neither to the rigors of the journey, nor to the power of the drug.

That the Panthays are stronger and more vigorous than the Chinese themselves, is the impression gained by various travelers, and indeed the fact that so many Panthays have served among the Chinese troops, proving very efficient, and even rising to high position, like the famous general Ma, would indicate their vigor and energy.

Those who know anything of the history of Yunnan during the nineteenth century need no argument to be convinced of the courage and energy of the Panthay race, however misdirected these qualities may have been.

Never willing to admit that they are Chinese by race, or that they should be governed by Chinese, they sought in a long and bloody war to free themselves from Chinese rule, even though that would have meant that great numbers of true Chinese would have to come under Panthay rule. In 1855 the Panthays declared themselves independent, and set up their own kingdom. They first captured Talifu, the second city of the province, and then secured Yunnanfu, the capital. Their leader, Wen-soai, took the name and title of King Suleiman, and declared himself ruler over a population of several millions, only a minority of whom were Moslems. In 1866 the Chinese government recognized the independence of this Panthay kingdom, and Suleiman sent his son on an embassy to European powers. However, the Chinese reopened the war, and succeeded, through the treachery of a Moslem officer, in taking Talifu. The Panthays surrendered on the promise given by the Chinese officer in command of operations that they would be spared. However, there was treachery again, but in another way, for after peace had been concluded on the terms mentioned, a Chinese general still higher in rank came up, and declaring that the promise was not his, had the Panthays slaughtered by thousands. Visitors are still shown the pool in the Teng-Yueh River, below the Falls, where great numbers of them were thrown.

Traveling in Yunnan, one frequently lights on some reminder of this terrible war—a blockhouse in a fair state of preservation, or sometimes even a good sized fort, built of solid stone. The tremendous effort put forth by the Panthays, and the fact that they so nearly succeeded, evidence their vigor and courage.

Many of these Panthays are strict in their religious observances, but others are notoriously lax with regard to prayers, the keeping of Ramadan, and such other matters. In fact, about all that distinguishes some of them from the Chinese around them is their refusal to eat pork.

I well remember a young Panthay who went with us

on a six weeks' journey as pony groom. During all that time I never observed anything to indicate that he was a Moslem, except his refusal to eat food which might be contaminated with pork grease. When, his own victuals having run low for some reason or other, he sought to borrow food from us, he was very strict on this point, even in the face of actual hunger. Instead of admiring him for this resoluteness, however, my schoolboys were inclined to be scornful. "That's all the religion he has," they said. Indeed, this seems to be the opinion often held regarding the Panthays by those around them. It may be quite unjust and unfair in many cases. In some regions, for example, where Panthays are sufficiently numerous to have a community life, there is a real observance of Mohammedan precepts. One occasionally finds a Panthay layman who reads the Koran.

There are quite a number of schools in Yunnan for the study of the Koran, and theological institutes for the preparation of *Mullahs*. Occasionally also one hears of visiting professors from such western lands as Turkestan, India and Persia, who have come to instruct the students in these institutes. A few of the *Mullahs* have a real knowledge of Arabic, and in the northern part of Yunnan there may be some who know Persian. Mosques are rare among the Panthays, no doubt because these people are often so scattered from each other. It would be interesting to know if any of them ever make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

It is sad indeed to think of how little attention is given to these people by any mission organization. We know that the number of missionaries in Yunnan, working for any race, is small enough. In general, effort there is largely directed to non-Chinese races—the Tais, or Chows as they are often called, the mountain peoples such as Lahus, Was, Lisus, and others. These races have proved themselves so responsive to the gospel message that mission societies are more and more giving their efforts to winning them. The American Baptists are

wholly engaged in work for the Lahus and Was; the Presbyterians devote themselves to the Tais or Chows; the China Inland Mission, in addition to its great work among the true Chinese, have also had large and encouraging results among the Lisus and others.

We think it fair to say that no definite effort is being made by anyone to win the Panthays, although these Panthays probably outnumber either the Lahus or Lisus, and are perhaps equal in numbers to the Myinchas or Was. Some years ago there was one China Inland missionary in Yunnan who gave special attention to the Panthays, but since his departure from the field, we doubt if anything special is being done for them.

The present writer cannot help feeling that, for a young missionary who has not yet chosen his field of labor, hardly any more attractive suggestion could be made than the opening of work among these Panthays. The towering mountain ranges of Yunnan have isolated them and cut them off from relations with other Moslems even in China, not to speak of lands where Islam flourishes and is dominant. Free from bigotry and from fanaticism, they are probably the most approachable of any who profess the Moslem faith.

Until a few years ago there was no railroad in Yunnan, and the one railroad that has now been built, leads, not westward towards Mecca, but southeastwards to the Pacific. Only by the most distant and roundabout of journeys can the pilgrimage to Mecca be made, and thus what is perhaps the greatest incitement to zeal in their religion, and strictness in its observance, has been highly impracticable. Travelers agree that the Panthays are much more friendly to foreigners than the Chinese about them. Probably the greatest obstacle which would be encountered in an effort to win them for Christ, would be, not a zealous adherence to the faith of Islam, but a love of worldly success and prosperity, desire for gain, and absorption in business.

Princeton, N. J.

A. C. HANNA.

AS OTHERS SEE US

[This "Open Letter" addressed to Dr. Zwemer by Mr. H. G. Sarwar, formerly a district judge at Singapore, was published in England in the July issue of the Ahmadiya magazine known as *The Islamic Review*. We reprint the letter in order that our readers may understand more clearly that in these days there are many sincere and earnest followers of the Arabian prophet who are thoroughly educated in the English language, and competent to defend Islam, not only as a religious faith, but also as a great civilizing power. Mr. Sarwar has a mind thoroughly trained in legal arguments, and knows how to use effectively quotations from the Koran and from Christian writers to support his own position, and to expose what he considers to be the weak spots in Christian civilization; such weak spots being due, of course, to the fact that western civilization is not now and never has been thoroughly Christian. We believe, however, that the Occident is now more Christian than it ever has been, and that Christianity has had the major part in helping the non-Christian world to live and to treat others in a more Christ-like spirit. The extent to which the Moslem civilization in the Middle Ages was dependent upon the Greek and Christian civilizations which preceded it, is evident from "The Arab Civilization," by Joseph Hell, which has recently been translated into English by a Moslem, Mr. Khuda Bukhsh, of Calcutta. The Ahmadiya Movement is itself in some measure a result of the influence of the Christian movement in India, and so is also the Ahmadiya interpretation that Mr. Sarwar gives to the Koranic passages dealing with the "holy war," which of course is different from the orthodox Moslem interpretation.—*Editorial Note.*]

*An Open Letter to Dr. S. M. Zwemer
The Editor of the MOSLEM WORLD, New York*

Namazie Estate, Singapore.

April 16, 1930.

DEAR DR. ZWEMER,

My son, who sent you a copy of my translation of the Holy Qur-án from Woking and who asked you to send us the January number of the *Moslem World*, and myself are obliged to you for your favour.

We have both studied your publication with great care, and I hope that this letter may prove to be of interest to Muslims and Christians alike.

You, dear doctor, and your fellow-missionaries are in my opinion acting towards Islam as Joseph's brothers

acted towards him. The stratagem of Joseph's brothers was the means of the realization of Joseph's dream and of his greatness. Similarly you and your brother missionaries are indirectly serving the cause of Islam: "And God prevails in His command but most men know it not" (Holy Qur-ân, 12. 21). I will show you how, by going through your own publication and by pointing out its admissions in favour of Islam. . . .

The maps of the world showing Muslim countries, their population, drainage, and various other details which form the frontispiece of this issue are of great value to us as they show at one glance that the Muslim world is a solid compact mass spreading north, south, east, and west of our holy city Mecca. You are unwittingly doing a service to the cause of Islam and showing all humanity how well our Holy Prophet's mission has succeeded. Islam sunders the globe into two, dividing the "irreligious Europeans" (the words are used by your own correspondents, see p. 83) from our neighbours the Chinese. The population of Muslims in China is shown by you as 20 millions, but it is at least 40 millions.¹ I speak on this subject with authority, as I have lived in China, studied Chinese language and literature, and met hundreds of Chinese Muslims. However, that is a small detail. The fact remains that from Gibraltar to Peking we Muslims are a wall representing the Unity of God against the Trinity of the West and the multiplicity of the East. We are truly the Middle Community.

"And in this way, We have made you a just [lit. Middle] people
That you may be witnesses over mankind,
And that the messenger (Muhammad) may be a witness over you"
(2. 143).

The *Moslem World* is a witness to the fact, and you and Mr. Isaiah Bowman are its unpaid missionaries.

"And in this way have We revealed to thee this Arabic Qur-ân that thou mayest warn (the people of) the

¹ Latest estimates make it less than twelve million!—Ed.

mother city [Mecca] and all those round it" (42.7). It is a strange fact that even a Christian publication of the type of yours should go under the name of the *Moslem World*. It may be that the future maps of the world would show the continents of Europe and America under the influence of Islam as they do now the continents of Asia and Africa, and that God will spread the knowledge of Islam through the agency of its professed opponents. It has happened before and seems likely to happen again. Those who persecuted Muhammad (Peace be on him!) at first, were his supporters later on, and their children and grandchildren were the preachers of the Holy Qur-án in foreign lands. Your children and grandchildren may do the same in Europe and America, especially when they come to know what you preached under the name of religion and Christianity. The fact that Christian missionaries have for decades been deluding the world about the Turks is proved by your own writers: "There is one aspect of the situation, however, which should not be neglected. For almost a century American public opinion concerning the Near East was formed by the missionaries. If American opinion has been uninformed, misinformed, and prejudiced, the missionaries are largely to blame" (p. 71 of the issue under discussion, the quotation being from an article by Mr. Edward Meade Earle, Associate Professor of History at Columbia University).

Dr. Bowman is misinforming the world as his brother missionaries² have done before when he says:

"For Mohammedanism does not concern itself merely with religion, but takes as one of its cardinal principles war against the non-Moslem world and the extension of Moslem authority" (*vide* p. 1 of January number, 1930).

Now the cardinal principles of Islam are: (1) Belief in one God, His angels, His books, and His messengers without distinction:

"Each one believes in God, And His messenger-spirits, And His books, And His messengers:

² Dr. Isaiah Bowman is not a missionary.—*Ed.*

'We split not between any one of His messengers.'

And they say, 'We hear and we obey' " (Qur-án, 2. 285).

This is the first cardinal principle of Islam. As to practice, there are four others, namely:

- (2) Five daily prayers, including the Friday prayer.
- (3) Payment of the stated alms.
- (4) Fasting at daytime during the month of Ramadan.
- (5) Performance of the pilgrimage to Mecca once in one's lifetime if one has the means to do so.

These five principles, so well known to all writers on Islam, are called the Five Pillars of the Faith. Where does Dr. Isaiah Bowman find "war against non-Moslem world" in these? The laws of war are well known and repeatedly described in the Holy Qur-án:

"And fight in the way of God, those who fight you; but exceed not the limit: for God loves not those who exceed the limit. And kill them where you find them, and turn them out from whence they have turned you out, for persecution in faith is worse than war. And war not with them near the sacred mosque, unless they war with you therein; but if they fight you, then fight them. Such is the reward of the disbelievers. But if they desist, then surely God is Forgiving, Merciful. And fight them until there be no persecution, and the judgment be God's. But if they desist, then let there be no hostilities save against the unjust" (2. 190-193).

From this you would see that your correspondent is not right in what he says. The war prescribed here is purely a defensive and an equitable war.

"Permission (to fight) is given to those against whom war has been declared, Because they have been wronged" (22. 39).

Your contributors would, perhaps, like to see the Muslims annihilated, but as long as God wishes otherwise you are bound to be disappointed. It is quite true, however, that a Muslim sacrifices his life in God's way and considers it one of the greatest of God's blessings. There is no doubt about that. If you quarrel with that, then your easy ways be with you and our martyrdom be ours. "To us our deeds and to you your deeds." But please stick to the truth. The fact is that Dr. Bowman, like most other Christian missionaries, would like to see Muslims kept under European guns, and this is what he says (*vide* p. 4):

"I have advocated a policy of marginal control because such control can be exercised at those points where railways, battleships, and the machinery of power can be most economically brought into play."

Exactly. The cat is out of the bag. It is not Muslims

fighting the Christians, but the Christians exercising control by means of "railways, battleships, and the machinery of power."

I now pass on to the article on "Islam in Central Asia," by Mr. G. W. Hunter. He says (p. 20): "They [Muslims] had their own kings, and their own laws. So that during all these centuries Islam had opportunity to show the world what it could do for the tribes of Central Asia." His answer to his own question is in the negative and worse, but fortunately for us and unfortunately for Mr. G. W. Hunter the positive answer is contained in the next article on "The Story of the Early Turks," by Lee Vrooman (pp. 24-36). [He then quotes at length to show what one Turkish dynasty did for themselves and the world.]

This, then, is a bare sketch of what Muslims (one dynasty only) did for Central Asia and for the world. We are entitled to ask: What did Christianity do for Europe during its first thousand years? The progress that has been made during the past five hundred years is due directly to the teachings of Muslims. But for the introduction of paper, gunpowder, and mariner's compass, European civilization might have stood where it was in the fifteenth century. All these three discoveries were introduced by Muslims into Europe (see article, "Civilization," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th Edition). We may further ask as to what Christianity has done even after nineteen centuries of its rule in Europe with regard to improving the morals of the people who profess it. I will not attempt an answer, but let the Archbishop of Canterbury speak for me. I copy the following from the *Singapore Free Press*, Wednesday, April 16, 1930:

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY WARNS YOUTH

LONDON, April 5th.

"Multitudes of our young people of both sexes who are supposed to be perfectly respectable are indulging, sometimes habitually, in a manner which would have shamed men's consciences in the past and would have brought most disastrous consequences to girls," declared the

Archbishop of Canterbury, speaking on rescue work at the Mansion House. He deplored "the new insidious poison" in the relationship of the sexes as a result of modern devices and discoveries whereby over-indulgence is possible without shameful consequences.

"Truth has come and falsehood has disappeared. Surely falsehood is bound to disappear" (Qur-án 17.81). It pains me to point out the existing moral chaos of Europe and America, but one is forced to do so as the Archbishop of Canterbury himself is obliged to warn people. I have lived in London, Paris, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other towns of Europe and America, and the moral condition of the people there, in spite of modern civilization—or rather on account of it—is most deplorable. Russia, which was once the stronghold of Christian Orthodoxy, is now openly atheist. Germany has just paid the price of its ambitions. France and Italy have their houses of fame, or ill-fame, as you like to call them. There are night-clubs all over Europe, and Christianity is helpless against drunkenness, gambling, adultery, bootlegging, and a thousand other evils. The missionary has failed in the land of his own birth, but goes on trying to impose his creed on innocent people; and drunkenness, adultery, and gambling increase wherever the Christian powers get control and wherever "their railways, battleships, and machinery of power" are able to enforce their will. The flag follows the Bible and drunkenness follows both. May Allah protect all humanity from the curses of drink, gambling, and modern devices and discoveries alluded to by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his speech at the Mansion House. Salvation can only come when people embrace Islam and reverence God as He deserves to be revered. But Christian missionaries are so prejudiced against Islam that we have one Mr. E. J. Jenkinson of Byculla, Bombay, saying (p. 55): "In concluding this brief sketch of the history of anti-Christ in Moslem tradition we may note that while the Moslems have in a sense adopted him into their religion and theology, not

a few Christian divines have identified the gentleman in question with either the Prophet himself or with Islam in general, and can we say that they were entirely mistaken?"

Suggestions like these are entirely disgraceful in the eyes of all just people. If Mr. E. J. Jenkinson really believes in what he says, let him come out with his sword or dagger of argument, whatever he has. But he has none.

Muhammad (Peace of God ever be on him!) came to confirm Jesus son of Mary (Peace of God ever be on him!); and his professed followers are calling the confirmer an anti-Christ. Who is the anti-Christ? The man who confirms or the man who disobeys Jesus? Are the followers of Christianity carrying out the commandments of God even as they understand them? Are they true to their own Bible? Your correspondent, Mr. Will. H. Duff from Rangoon, Burma, in the article "Islam in Burma" (pp. 72-74), supplies an answer. Speaking of the Muslims of Burmah he says (p. 74): "Their religion is a virile one, and in their faithful performance of such duties as the Qur-án lays upon them these Moslem people can teach us some lessons which we need to learn."

"And peace be upon him who follows the Guidance."

Yours very sincerely,

HAFIZ GHULAM SARWAR.

(Translator of the Holy Qur-án.)

CURRENT TOPICS

Islam in British Guiana

In the small country of British Guiana, separated from sacred Mecca by a few thousand miles, over 18,000 Mohammedans still claim allegiance to the great prophet. They are all of the East Indian race and form six per cent of the total population, which numbers 300,000. With thousands of other East Indians they have migrated from India in past years under indenture to labor on the sugar plantations of the only British possession on the South American continent.

The semi-Christian civilization of British Guiana has had the effect of weakening their allegiance to Mohammed and of Europeanizing them in clothing and habits. Even the dominant language is English. Child-marriage is also gone, the average age of marriage being sixteen years for women and nineteen for men. Polygamy, however, continues. A prosperous man usually has four wives and two or three concubines. Separations from these wives are the rule, sometimes within twenty-four hours after marriage. Inter-marriage between Moslems and Hindus occurs frequently, usually with the result that the Hindu becomes Moslem. It is very rarely, however, that a Christian will consent to marry a Moslem; while the Moslem is overjoyed if he can procure a Christian, for the sake of the prestige thus gained.

Economically, the Mohammedans, as well as all the East Indians of British Guiana, have been benefited by migrating, inasmuch as more opportunities for prosperity are to be found in British Guiana than in their native land. Among the merchants, the Mohammedans rank with the cleverest. Others are successful farmers and tailors. Some few are worth at least \$100,000. The Moslems, on the average, are far more prosperous than the Hindus and Parsis. Yet, there are many who are pitifully poor, especially among the farming class, who are paid only 48 cents or 60 cents per day, and get only about four days' work each week. Under these conditions, child-labor is considered necessary and is, therefore, prevalent.

The living conditions provided on the estates differ. Some workers are comfortably housed and fairly well provided for generally. The majority, however, live in ranges of small, dark rooms with damp, mud floors, one room to a family, with an unsanitary water supply, and miserable conditions in general. On account of these conditions, the government of India has put a stop to the indenture system, as far as it concerns British Guiana.

The Mussulman is very keen about education, more so than the Hindu. When the parents are prosperous, the boys, particularly, are given a good secondary and college education. The average boy, however, gets only as far as fifth or sixth standard in elementary school, while fourth or fifth standard is usually the limit for the girls.

The literature of the Moslem consists almost entirely of only two

books—the Koran and the Bible. Favorite theological disputes concern the truth of the Old and New Testaments and the validity of Jesus' death.

Christian evangelization among them is conducted by several denominations, including the Wesleyan Methodists, the Canadian Presbyterians, the Church of England, the Lutherans and others. Of the East Indian population, which numbers 125,000, 8.77 per cent is Christian. The most promising possibilities lie before the Christian missions which work among this race. The separation from the native land, the decreasing number of priests, the influence of public education and of Christian missions are all gradually lessening their zeal and weakening their conviction. The great majority now can give no reason for their faith, except that of loyalty to their forefathers. This superficial hold must break in time if Christians are faithful in their missionary responsibility.

ROBERT H. DAUBE.

Sir Thomas Arnold

Islamic scholarship has sustained a great loss in the death at the age of sixty-six of Sir Thomas Walker Arnold on June 9th, 1930. His work on Islam began when he joined what is now the Muslim University of Aligarh. After ten years' work there he became Professor of Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore, and afterwards Dean of the Oriental Faculty of the Punjab University. In 1904 he was appointed Assistant Librarian at the India Office, and for a number of years was Educational Adviser for Indian students in England. From 1921 till his death he held the chair of Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies in London. His earliest work, published 36 years ago, was *The Preaching of Islam*, which emphasized, perhaps too strongly, a side of Islam which had been unduly neglected. In 1924 he published a most valuable study entitled *The Caliphate*. He also wrote a number of books on Islamic art. As joint editor he took part in a work which will stand as his most enduring monument—the great *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

Professor V. Barthold

Another great loss to Islamic scholarship is the death of the great Russian Orientalist, Professor V. Barthold of Leningrad. Sir E. Denison Ross calls him "the Gibbon of Turkestan." We quote from an obituary notice in the *London Times* (Aug. 26, 1930):

Barthold was born in St. Petersburg in 1864. His father was a rich man who had the good sense to give his son every facility for pursuing his natural bent for Oriental history, not only providing him with books but also enabling him to travel in Turkestan. In 1900 he published the results of his explorations and studies under the title of "Turkestan at the time of the Mongol Invasion," which he offered as his thesis for the degree of "Magister"; it was, however, found to be so excellent that he was at once awarded the degree of "Doctor." This most important work, in which for the first time all the existing Arabic and Persian sources dealing with the history of Russian and Chinese Turkestan were examined and analysed, must always remain the chief monument to Barthold's memory.

Though he never enjoyed robust health, Barthold was an indefatigable worker and traveller. The list of his publications amounts to something like 400 books and articles; and he never published anything that was not a definite contribution to Oriental learning.

Barthold also wrote many articles on subjects of more general interest, among which may be mentioned a very important discussion of the origin of the claim of the Ottoman Sultans to have inherited the spiritual power of the Caliphs. Many writers have pointed out that there was no question of such transference of spiritual power having taken place when Sultan Salim conquered Egypt in 1517, but it was Barthold who proved that the idea of "Sultan-Khalifa" was really introduced for the first time in the text of the Küchük Kainarji treaty entered into by the Ottoman Sultan with Catherine II. Throughout the Moslem possessions of Russia Barthold's authority was accepted as final, and both the Kaza Kirghiz and the Turcoman Republics appointed him their official historian. He had read everything bearing on Moslem history, and remembered it all. His sound judgment and his powers of deduction were as astounding as his learning. His criticism, if sometimes hard, was always just, and he never allowed friendship to stand in the way of truth. With his death there has passed away the Gibbon of Turkestan.

The Saracens in Switzerland

Under this striking title Sir Percy Sykes writes in *The Nineteenth Century* for March, 1930. We quote a portion of this valuable historical study:

"Among the crowds of travellers to Switzerland who visit the hospice and pass of St. Bernard, how many realize that, early in the tenth century, Saracens seized this dominating position and held it with a stranglehold for half a century? Such, however, was the case, but before narrating these dramatic events we must turn for a while and examine the troubled state of Europe at this period which permitted the irruption. . . .

"We now come to the amazing episode of the Saracens in Switzerland. The rise of Islam, the religion preached by the Prophet Mohammed, was one of the greatest events in history. After his death in A. D. 632, the Saracens, as they were termed in Europe, landing at Gibraltar, conquered Spain, crossed the Pyrenees, and, destroying Lyons, Macon and other cities, marched as far north as the valley of the Loire. There they suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of Charles Martel in 732, exactly 100 years after the death of Mohammed. Gibbon, who perhaps exaggerated, estimates the importance of the Battle of Tours by remarking that, had the Saracens won, the Koran would have been preached from the pulpits of Oxford. . . .

"The state of Europe was pitiable at this period, as it was ravaged by Magyars, who were an even worse calamity than the Saracens, in view of their greater numbers and mobility. But, according to local tradition, there was a gleam of sunshine in 950. In this year Conrad, by promising his support to each side, contrived that the two hordes should meet on the field of battle. The struggle was long and bloody, and finally Conrad had the agreeable task of falling on the survivors. He did not, however, extirpate the Saracens, although their position must have become insecure.

"In 972 they filled the cup of their iniquity to overflowing by the capture of St. Mayeul, Abbot of Cluny, at the village of Orsières, situated near Martigny in the valley below the Mont Joux pass. The letter of the saint has been preserved and runs: 'I am a helpless prisoner loaded with chains; the torrents of Belial have surrounded me, and the snares of death have seized upon me.'

"This outrage stirred the conscience of the people, and from every quarter the Saracens were attacked. . . .

"It remains to inquire what was the impression left by the Saracens. It was deep, so deep that Guillaume de Nangis, whose chronicle deals with the latter part of the thirteenth century, actually heads one of his chapters with the words: '*Ci commencent les chroniques de tous les rois de France, Chrétiens ou Sarrasins.*' In other words, 'Saracen' is synonymous with 'pagan,' and this appears constantly in the *Chansons de Geste*. To go back further, the town wall of Avenches, the Roman stronghold Aventicum, is still termed *La Muraille des Sarrasins*, and as late as 1690 a deed describes the fishermen of Vallamand as Saracens."

A Famous Moslem Shrine at Cape Town

The following account of a shrine which is the center of pilgrimage for all South Africa appeared in a recent issue of the *Cape Times*.

"About two miles from Faure Station, across the Flats in the direction of the sea, is the Kramat or tomb of Saint Sheik Joseph and other Moslem saints and heroes, to which hundreds of Malays from Cape Town and other parts of South Africa make pilgrimages periodically.

"Some years ago the land, with the graves on it, was bought at a public auction by Hadjee Sullaiman Shah-Mahomed, of 164, Bree street, Cape Town, who decided to beautify the shrine. He consulted Messrs. Kendall and Mansergh, the architects, and for the past ten months Mr. Nicholas Klopdyk, a contractor, who occupies a house close to the site, has been at work carrying out the alterations recommended, which are to cost £7,000.

"The monuments are of striking appearance, and are situated on a *kopje* of solid rock. Access to the Kramat is gained by a flight of granite steps, at the base of which is a pair of wrought-iron gates. At the top of the stairway is the celebrated shrine of Sheik Joseph, where a copper-domed mausoleum has been built.

The grave inside is covered with a yellow cloth, and Malay visitors burn sticks of incense at the head of the tomb. The building is of solid concrete. The contractor, Mr. Klopdyk, says that Hadjee Shah-Mahomed's intention is to replace the present somewhat dilapidated tomb by a marble one. Just outside the mausoleum is the following inscription, 'The Kramat of Saint Sheik Joseph, who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1694. Departed this life 23rd May, 1699.'

"About fifty yards to the rear of the mausoleum there is a walled enclosure, with four granite graves, and a very handsome granite monument. Inscribed on the monument is the following:

" 'Here lie the remains of four of forty-nine faithful followers, who after serving in the Bantam War of 1682-83, arrived with Sheik Yusef at the Cape from Ceylon in the ship "Voetboog" in 1694. This tablet was erected by Hadjee Shah-Mahomed, Senior Trustee.'

"In addition to these monuments there is a fine minaret erected 'to the memory of Sheik Yusef, Martyr and Hero' by Hadjee

Shah-Mahomed in 1925, and unveiled by Sir Frederic de Waal, on December 19 of the same year.

"The ground on the top of the *kopje*, between the various monuments and the tomb of Sheik Joseph, is being paved with dressed granite blocks, and granite steps lead to the lower parts of the enclosure.

"On the steep side, facing landwards, several concrete semi-circular gun emplacements have been made, and some old guns (said to have been purchased from some of the recently dismantled forts in Cape Town) have been placed there on teak gun carriages.

"Opinion seems to be divided among the Malay residents of Faure, as well as among pilgrims from other districts, as to whether the improvements being carried out are desirable, and there has been some friction between the contractor and some of the Malays.

"The contractor is naturally anxious to hand over the monuments undamaged at the end of his work, but as a sign of disapproval, an indelible black mark was recently placed on the white granite of the posts of the gateway; a corner of the design of the yellow cloth covering the tomb of the Sheik Joseph has also been torn off. Mr. Klopdyk has been threatened with personal injury if he proceeds with the work, and he has obtained police protection."

Our Debt to Kordofan

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is the chief market of distribution for gum arabic. The center of production is the Province of Kordofan. Dr. T. F. Chipp writing in the *Geographical Journal* (London) on the Forests and Plants of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan says:

"As has just been indicated, the important tree from which the gum arabic of commerce is obtained occurs in this belt and in that previously described, the Thorn Scrub. Gum arabic has been an export of the Sudan from the first century of the Christian era. The Hashab (*Acacia senegal* Willd), from which this gum is obtained is found right across the continent from Senegal to the Red Sea. The tree is twelve to fifteen feet high, with a spreading crown and lightly made branches, furnished with hooked thorns. It is found on sandy soils as well as on the black cotton soils. Besides occurring as a natural constituent in the thorn-scrub vegetation it is found extensively on land which has been subject to 'rainland' cultivation but abandoned for a fallow period. On these areas its numbers are considerably increased by sowings, as the natives are fully aware of its economic importance. These areas are locally known as Gum Gardens.

"The yield of gum varies considerably with the weather conditions of the season. Tapping is begun when the leaves wilt and are ready to fall off. The bark is nicked with a small axe, and a strip about one and one-half inches broad and two feet long pulled off the tree. A different part of the tree is tapped each year. The gum gradually exudes and forms hard nodules or tears which are collected some three to nine weeks later according to the season, collections being made about every ten days. The collected gum is brought by camels to the gum markets, the chief of which is at El Obeid.

Converts from Islam in Java

The magazine called *De Opwekker*, published in Java, contains exceedingly interesting material from month to month. In a recent issue we find statistics of the number of Christians and baptisms for the year 1928. It is astonishing to learn that there are more than a million indigenous Christians (Protestant) in the Dutch East Indies. The most fruitful work during recent years has been among the Battaks in Sumatra, and among the people of the Island of Nias, but it is Java that is of special interest to our readers, as the population of Java is principally Mohammedan.

Society	Total Christians	Increase	Missionaries	Native Workers
In West-Java (N. Z. V.)	4210	217	11	19
In Mid-Java (G. K.)	7585	707	8	83
(D. Z. V.)	1630	125	5	17
(Sal. Z.)	3230	241	11	28
In East-Java (N. Z. G.)	18574	1517	11	31
(I. C.)	5159	291	2	11
	40388	3098		

"A Preface to Morals"—A Moslem View

We think it will interest our readers who know this book, to read a review given from the standpoint of the liberal Moslem. This is what Mohammed Aslam, B. A. (Cambridge) says of it in *The Sunrise* (Qadian):

A PREFACE TO MORALS. By Walter Lippman. The Macmillan Co., New York. 348 pp. \$2.50.

"The problem that Mr. Lippman has set himself to solve in this book is the problem of those sceptical, un-adjusted, and un-oriented individuals who have lost faith in religion but who are anxious to save their moral instincts from decay. The problem is no doubt a very real one. Though religion, or certain forms of it, have been grounded in superstition, everybody will agree that religion has served and continues to serve to preserve our faith in moral values and to sustain the conviction that life is worth living and its ideals worth striving for. But now with the decay of religious faith occasioned by the extension of the intellectual realm of man, the decay of all that religion stood for and helped to preserve is equally threatened. The many men and women all over the world who regret the loss of their faith in religion, but who regret the loss of their faith in morality even more, are the people who have called forth this bracing intellectual effort on the part of Mr. Lippman. What he sets out to show accordingly is that morality can still be grounded in a satisfactory view of the world and that reasonable men and women can still have cause to carry on this moral struggle.

What measure of success the book is likely to have still remains to be seen. It may be read widely indeed, but will it help to relieve the vagueness and uncertainty of those who want something to stand on, to feel secure in the conviction that the moral struggle is worth while?

One of the cardinal points overlooked in the book is that man in practical life is an extremely suggestible creature and that this suggestibility may operate both positively and negatively in respect of a given ideal. It may rouse human beings to active imitation of the pre-

sented ideal, or it may turn them away from entertaining the ideal as at all worth contemplating. One of the reasons for the decay of religion and the concomitant decay of morality in the civilized world is that the Christian churches have no historic personality—a human personality that is to say—who should embody in a perfect, yet a convincing manner the ideals which human nature cherishes and which it considers worth living for. Jesus the centre of western religion is revealed in the available records of his life, as only a partial embodiment of human ideals. A good character, no doubt, but one which fails to exhibit the perfection of which the multifarious capacities of man are capable. It is certain that philosophy cannot save morality. If it could, our civilization would have solved its moral problems long ago. Only religion can. And religion itself would fail to do so except in so far as it can offer a human exemplar who embraces in his perfection one and all the different sides of human nature; who towers above all others yet strikes everybody as his own kith and kin—only such a religion can save morality.

Nowhere but in the person of the Holy Founder of Islam do we have a historic and human example of this ideal character.

Objectives in Western Arabia

In the April Number of the MOSLEM WORLD, Dr. Dame gives us a picture of the goal and difficulties of the work on the Persian Gulf coast of Arabia. This fascinating article mentions the western coast line as being still without a representative of the Gospel. It is.

On the Persian Gulf there are several centres, and while missionaries there agree that the occupation is inadequate, at any rate there is a living message going out to hundreds of Arabs every month. During a recent visit to some of those stations, one marveled that there could be any occupation, and even more at the strong, glowing message of life that was being given forth by doctor and *pādre*.

But in Northwestern Arabia the situation is different. Shortly after the British occupation, the Christian and Missionary Alliance, which had been for a quarter of a century in Palestine, was able to send missionaries to southern Transjordan. Stations were opened—important in themselves, but perhaps even more important as they enabled the missionaries to form contacts with the interior. It was hoped at that time that the line might be continued on to the south and into the East—to Hejaz and to Nejd. This has not yet been possible.

Literature has been sent in, and contacts formed with those Arabs who live in and about the centres of population in both these countries, but we have never been able to locate a missionary anywhere beyond the borders of Transjordan.

As we look around us we cannot see that we are nearer to occupying Northwestern Arabia than we were in 1925, yet we are really five years nearer, for Arabia must eventually be occupied—it is one of those nations to which “this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached for a witness.” And as we mark time on the border we look forward to that day—may it not be far distant—when we shall meet the missionaries from the Persian Gulf somewhere in Central Arabia.

Jerusalem.

W. F. SMALLEY.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Literary History of the Arabs. By Reynold A. Nicholson, M.A., Litt. D., F.B.A. Cambridge University Press, London, 1930. pp. xxxi, 506. 21s. net.

A Literary History of the Arabs by the Sir Thomas Adams Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Trinity College in the University of Cambridge, "celebrates its majority" by appearing in a second edition, dedicated to Professor A. A. Bevan, after having been reissued without alteration twice since 1907. The new edition has allowed the author to remove several mistakes from the original text and make other corrections and additions in an appendix as well as to bring his bibliography up to date.

The book is an introduction to the history of Arabian political, intellectual and religious ideas and events for young students of Arabic. There are sixteen pages of Introduction, ten chapters of Literary History, six pages of Appendix, a Bibliography of 128 European works, and a splendid Index. Three chapters deal with pre-Islamic Arabia, and the rest bring the story to the time of the first Wahhabi Reformation. The work does not claim to do equal justice to the whole field of Arabic literature, and omits the modern period entirely. It "is a sketch of ideas in their historical development rather than a record of authors, books and dates," and the aim is "to set forth what the Arabs believed rather than to examine whether or no they were justified in believing it."

Orientalists have devoted much time and labor to the collection, translation and appraisal of Arabic literature. Their task has been immensely facilitated by the work of Eastern authors, who have preserved the source material and have criticized after their own fashion what they collected. It is a commonplace of Islamics that traditions are unreliable, that history has been written to suit doctrine, that the literary sciences have been devoted to the service of a sacro-sanct Koran. Western scholarship has accepted some results of Eastern literary and historical research and gone beyond in others. Until a complete and balanced survey of Arabic literature, the historical genuineness, literary excellence and vital influence of the authors and their works appears, Professor Nicholson's book will remain the best volume in this field. It is as interesting as it is indispensable to its special class of readers.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

Around the Coasts of Arabia. By Ameen Rihani. Constable, London. pp. XI and 364, 32 plates. 21s.

This is a book of travel and a distinctly disappointing one. From it we learn that an imaginative writer can see lovely color effects in the Red Sea, and that Hussein and his sons are tiresome and futile persons. The reader also learns, what apparently the author never has, that the whole game of politics in Arabia is a kaleidoscopic shifting of incidental trifles. The significant currents run underneath.

A flippant superficiality mars some really fine descriptive passages, and a disjointed fragmentation makes almost useless the very considerable information that in one place or another the book contains. The narrative would gain enormously in unity and coherence by a frank discussion of the purpose and results of these wanderings, even though later developments have shown the enterprise to have been as visionary as Ford's peace ship.

The book is tinged with an unreasonable dislike for the British, as on page 258, where they are stated to have slaves in their entourage, a statement which is utterly false, and on page 22, where the author complains that they failed to redeem their promise to help the Arabs achieve unity. It would be equally intelligent to criticize the Japanese for failing to achieve the union of the Catholic and the Christian Reformed churches in America.

The Orientalist whose interests have centered in Arabia will find this book of value. It contains a good deal of real, even though superficial, information. The general reader will get little out of it. If he buys it, he will not read it through.

P. W. HARRISON.

Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain; being *La Musica de las Cantigas*. By Julian Ribera. Translated and abridged by Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell. H. Milford, Oxford University Press, London; Stanford University Press, 1929. pp. 283. \$7.50.

This volume is a translation. A notice of the original Spanish work appeared in our Quarterly. Although the Spanish text has been condensed, the work is in every sense complete, and is perhaps the fullest and best account of music in Arabia and Spain. The translator's Foreword gives the summary of a volume that will prove of the deepest interest to all who love Oriental music. "The first two chapters are introductory in character, and review previous publications in the field of Oriental music. Chapters iii, iv, v, and vi begin the historical portion, and cover the territory of western Asia, from the death of Mohammed to the decadence of the art, during the ninth and tenth centuries. Chapters vii and viii deal with the technical side of music during that period. Chapters ix, x, xi, and xii treat the subject of Arabic music in Spain and its evolution there. Chapter xiii describes the earliest known Spanish music that was written in easily understood notation, that of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and shows that this as a rule followed the classic Arabic models.

"The remainder of the book outlines Senor Ribera's method of attacking the problem of still more ancient songs, *Las Cantigas*, which because of their notation had always been supposed to be Gregorian music. His knowledge of Arabic models of the best period showed him that these songs fitted the Arabic patterns and in their turn became the models of much later music and verse. The whole book reveals sources of information hitherto unavailable, and puts many facts of musical history in a new light."

A large selection of Arabic rhythms is given in notation at the end, and the index is complete. Z.

Turkey and Syria Reborn. By Harold Armstrong. The Bodley Head Co., London. 15s.

In the publisher's advertisement of this book by Captain Armstrong it is described as "a dramatic narrative of many months of travel and

a frank exposition of the present conditions of those countries." The author in his preface disclaims making "an encyclopædia of facts or a logical study of politics, antiques or history" and he leaves it to the reader "to paint his own pictures and form his own opinions." With his wide knowledge of the language and customs of the people among whom he traveled and his advantageous position as a commissioner for assessments of war damages, the author gives many and attractive glimpses into the lives of a people who have been rudely awakened from a sleep of centuries and forcibly thrust into a world filled with contending political ideals and shot through and through with post-war materialism. He shows a good deal of insight into the problems of the country when discussing the political situation, and more particularly the French administration of Syria. He realizes "the folly of the dream of an Arab empire which was to include all the Arabs in one great state," and he sees "the drab uselessness, the brutality and the incompetence" of the Arabs.

The description of the evolution of the new Turkey as seen in Angora is highly interesting and true to facts. However, after some of his criticisms of Turkish officials who are "no more efficient than they used to be under the Sultans" and his references to "the mass of the people as yet untouched, unmoved; perhaps untouchable, unmovable," one is almost persuaded that the title of the book should be "Turkey and Syria Stillborn"; yet the author seems to have faith in the countries he describes. On page 198 he refers to Turkey as "just born, a babe in swaddling clothes and without distinctive characteristics," adding that "no one could prophesy into what sort of man the child would grow." On page 207 he speaks of the hope found in the hearts of all the peoples of the East at the time of, and after, the Lausanne conference as an "unborn child, only just stirring in the womb of history, which will grow to be a man who will shake the world."

The chapter on the death of Islam is interesting to students of Missions. The author indulges himself in some very sharp criticisms of missionary work, and calls attention to problems already apparent to the missionary, but he does not offer any constructive suggestions to remedy matters. In spite of his evident sympathy with the people of whom he writes, he breaks forth at times in rather intemperate language, revealing a cynical disgust at their attitudes toward life, as on page 46, where he says, "If man be fashioned in the image of God, then the world had better become godless—for from Alexandretta to Alexandria whether they be Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Levantines or Egyptians these tradesmen of the coast towns have not one virtue, not one lovable characteristic, mental, moral or physical."

In spite of its good qualities the book would be better and more in keeping with its title were it not marred by the many unnecessary and fulsome descriptions of women. Aside from these blemishes this is a very readable book and full of valuable information.

H. E. PHILIPS.

Translation of the Holy Qur-ân from the original Arabic text, with critical essays, life of Muhammad, complete summary of contents, by al-Haj Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, B.A. (Cantab.) Singapore. cxix + 377 pp. 12.6d.

After he had received his education in the Panjab, where he obtained the degree of M.A., Mr. Sarwar went to England and passed the examination for the Malayan Civil Service, in which he has served

for thirty-two years, attaining the honorable position of judge of a district court. Besides being a graduate of Cambridge University, he is a scholar of the Imperial Institute in the Arabic language, and his title of Hafiz, of course, indicates that he has memorized the entire Koran. In the Introduction, Mr. Sarwar tells us that for four years (1890-1894) he was a fellow student, at the Government College, Lahore, of Maulvi Muhammad Ali, whose well-known translation of the Koran was published in 1917. It is remarkable that this year a third translation of the Koran into English by a Moslem has been published, namely, by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall. Mr. Sarwar devotes thirty-five pages of his Introduction to a discussion of the demerits and deficiencies of the previous English translations by Sale, Rodwell, Palmer and Muhammad Ali, and he is particularly violent in his denunciation of Sale's translation. He accuses Sale of purposely mistranslating (page xii), and of perpetrating forgeries (page xvi), and states that "the Christians know the truth but go on repeating a lie in the hope that it may take the place of the truth." Palmer's translation is called by Mr. Sarwar "a rough and careless piece of work" (p. xxvii), "done with such haste and hurry that it is almost beyond my power to narrate its defects (p. xxviii)." He goes on to say, "Out of the three English translators, Rodwell alone had due respect for his task. . . . It is the habit of these translators (especially Sale and Palmer) to give the worst possible aspect to the verses of the Holy Qur-ân, *i. e.*, to make them look harsh, unreasonable, or unintelligible. Having done that, they add notes pretending to clear up the mess they make in the translation, but with the intention of piling up further ridicule on Islam and the professors of Islam" (p. xxxii). "As to Rodwell's translation," says Mr. Sarwar, "I have not words enough to praise its literary beauty or its painstaking accuracy (p. xxxiv);" but he condemns Rodwell severely for placing the suras in an order different from that in which they are found in the Arabic text, saying, "He has taken the 114 chapters of the Holy Qur-ân, disrupted their order and rearranged them according to what he calls the chronological order—as if Muhammad (peace be with him) sat down and wrote one *sura* and when he finished it he wrote another, somewhat like Shakespeare's plays. Nothing could be more foolish to imagine. The verses of the Holy Qur-ân were revealed according to God's pleasure and not according to Rodwell's timetable or Nöldeke's chronology" (p. xxii). Mr. Sarwar then explains that "Apparently the original order of revelation was for the training of Muhammad's mind (peace be with him), but the arrangement, as it is now, is for all mankind . . ." and after showing the sequence of the subject matter, he adds, "To reverse the order of the *suras* of the Holy Qur-ân is to reverse the order of the spiritual growth of mankind. It is like feeding a baby just born, on tough beefsteak instead of the natural milk meant for it. If a baby were born with its bones all complete first, it would never grow any further. Rodwell puts the baby's flesh inside its bones rather than outside. The Holy Qur-ân is a natural growth like that of a man or of a tree. You cannot cut a man into his bones, flesh, hair, and rearrange them and say, 'Lo! this is man according to his chronology!'"

After having thus roughly disposed of the translations of his predecessors, Mr. Sarwar describes in two pages "The main features of this Translation," and in six more pages deals with "Some technical points."

Then follow two essays on the Life of the Prophet, after which forty-eight pages are devoted to a summary of each *sura*. The actual translation of the text occupies 377 pages. The verses are all marked, following the Indian verse numbers, and each verse (except the very short ones) is divided into several short phrases; as the translator says, "Wherever there was a natural stop in the recitation of the original I have closed my line and started a new one with a capital letter, as is done in poetry." This makes the translation more readable. The English is generally good, better than Muhammad Ali's translation, and the printing and the paper are far better. Another important distinction as compared with the translation of his compatriot is that Mr. Sarwar has given us no commentary on the text; in fact there are no notes or comments whatever except those contained in the introduction. Thereby the translator has avoided many difficulties, and has made it more difficult for a reviewer to appraise the real value of the translation. We hope, however, in a subsequent issue of this journal to indicate some of the peculiarities of this new translation, and perhaps incidentally we may be able to show that Sale's work is not so totally unreliable as Mr. Sarwar would have us believe. W. G. SHELLABEAR.

Asie Occidentale. By Raoul Blanchard. **Haute Asie.** By Fernand Grenard. Librairie Armand Colin, Paris. pp. 400. 111 fr.

This magnificent volume is the eighth in a Universal Geography series. It is of special interest to our readers because it covers that part of Asia which is predominantly Mohammedan, namely, the Caucasus, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Chinese Turkestan. If "the end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise," as Livingstone said, then this volume comes as a challenge to occupy the unoccupied fields.

The first part of the book is by Professor Blanchard of the University of Grenoble. The second is by Fernand Grenard, who himself explored Central Asia under tragic conditions. The physical, commercial and political geography of this entire area is admirably presented, but there is scarcely any reference to the religions of the people, save in the case of Tibet. The work is illustrated with 149 superb photographs and 59 maps. Each chapter has its own bibliography, and the index is remarkably complete. The author has a special chapter on the geographical unity of Western Asia and its influence on the history of civilization. His conclusion (page 234) is: "La régénération en cours de l'Asie Occidentale n'ira pas sans secousses, car la fatalité des conditions géographiques en fait une région de passage, de fusion d'idées et de races, trop variée pour constituer un solide groupement de défense, trop bien placée pour ne pas provoquer les convoitises et les invasions." Z.

L'Empire Arabe d'Ibn Séoud, par Jeanne Broucke, avec une carte, pp. 89. Bruxelles, 1929.

This work by Jeanne Broucke, Docteur en Droit, Assistante à l'Université de Bruxelles, contains eight chapters on the Wahhābis. Two chapters deal with their doctrines and the rise and fall of the first Wahhābī kingdom at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The other chapters describe the life and activities of Sultan 'Abdul'azīz Ibn Séoud since 1900, in reestablishing the Séoud dynasty. The book is a summary for French readers of the first-hand information contained

in such works as those of Philby, Rihani and British official publications, supplemented by remarks from a few French books and articles.

The newspaper report, included on the last page, of the death of the rebel *shaikh*, Faisal al Duwish, was in error. He surrendered, and was delivered alive to his sultan.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

The Lost Tribes a Myth. By Allen H. Godbey, Ph.D. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C. pp. 802, illus. \$7.50.

The author is thoroughly qualified for his task, and has spent years in the completion of this study. He brushes aside the Lost Tribe theories, shows that traditions of Israelite antecedents do not prove genealogy, and then chapter by chapter tells of the condition of the diaspora after the great schism, and describes the status of these deported Israelites. His conclusion is that the idea of the pure-blooded Jewish race is a fiction of the imagination (page 550), and that we must give heed to the diffusion of ideas rather than to direct genealogical descent. The two chapters that are of special interest in connection with the rise of Islam and its early spread are IX and X, which treat of the Yemen Jews, the Falashas of Abyssinia, and the Berber and Negro Jews of North Africa. The author's standpoint in regard to the Bible records is liberal, but one need not agree with all his conclusions to benefit from his investigations. The work is well documented, and contains a bibliography of over 800 titles, and a 33 page index.

Hebrewisms of West Africa. By Joseph J. Williams, S.J. The Dial Press, N. Y. pp. 443 illus. \$7.50.

The sub-title of this book is "From Nile to Niger with the Jews." The author was for many years a missionary of the Society of Jesus in Jamaica, where he made a special study of the West Indian negroes who are descended from the Ashantis of West Africa. In this volume also there is a chapter on the so-called Lost Tribes and the Diaspora. The careful investigation and the study of a wide literature lead Father Williams to believe that: "A Jewish element is to be found in the parent stock of the Ashanti, whether that parent stock is to be associated with the Songhois or not. This element, too, has every indication of being lineally connected with the Hebrews of pre-Babylonian days, presumably through the refugees in Egypt." This theory, the writer admits, is as yet only a theory, but it has, he declares, been conclusively proven that: "Hebrewisms, real or apparent, actually do exist among the Ashanti." He believes that many of the Jews who remained in Egypt gradually migrated thence "further and further inland, ever carrying with them their perverted and divided worship of Yahweh, and gradually through intermarriage with the natives came to exercise a widespread influence in many parts of Africa." Among the traditions of the Songhois themselves are many which would seem to indicate "a long trek," perhaps even as far as "from Nile to Niger," and seem, too, to indicate that it was they who carried the current of Hebrew influence to West Africa. Father Williams believes this the more probable because the history of many peoples is, in his opinion, one of retrogression, especially in matters of religious belief. He holds that the Rev. Philo L. Mills is correct in stating that "It is the all-Father belief which precedes the totemic or animistic cult by indefinite ages."

There are numerous references to contacts of early Islam with the Jews. Z.

Das Leben Mohammeds. By F. Buhl. Translated by N. N. Schäder. Quelle und Meyer, Leipzig. pp. 329. 20M.

This book is not a reprint of the Danish original, which appeared in 1903, but a new work. By many corrections the data of the original have been brought up to the present standard of Oriental science. The well-known Orientalist, Dr. Buhl, professor at the University of Copenhagen, follows in his work the only available method of safe investigation on Mohammed's life. Basing his work on the Koran, he pays some attention to the traditions without taking full responsibility for their historical reliability. His summary of Arabian history shows that ancient Arabia, though not playing an important part, disturbed the neighboring states by various emigrations. Even at the time of Christ Jews lived in Arabia, and in the fifth century they had a decisive influence there. In order to understand the age of Mohammed, we must take into consideration not only the life of the desert Bedouins, but also the towns, which were already centres of civilization. Dr. Buhl gives a careful description of the conditions in Arabia preceding the time of Mohammed, of the various encounters between the tribes, of the position of woman, of family life, of jurisdiction, and, last but not least, of the religious state of Judaism and Christianity. He thinks it most likely that Mohammed, being a merchant, knew how to write, as the art of writing was widely known among Jews and Christians in Arabia. Among Southern Arabs it was, at any rate, not unusual for a man to be able to write. Buhl's statements about Christianity in Arabia are of special interest. Besides the highly educated Nestorians, Arabian Christianity chiefly consisted of communities of inferior intelligence. There were also mixed forms and gradual transitions between Heathenism and Christianity. It is certain that there were men who were searching for a religion superior to Arabian Christianity. They lived among the Sabians and Hanifs. As Mecca was an important centre of trade and commerce, Mohammed's view was being widened, especially after his marriage with a rich widow. After his conception of his prophetic mission, his idealism must be acknowledged. His heroism in suffering for his convictions is as faithfully reported as his political intrigues and the manifold untruthfulness of his Medina period. Mohammed is an ambiguous character and therefore difficult to understand. Buhl is opposed to the hypothesis of Mohammed's epilepsy, but he considers him as hysterical, which does not exclude his being an ingenious politician. He was neither an acute nor an original thinker, but he had a fervent religious power of persuasion. His moral defects are not denied, and his powerful influence over men is strongly emphasized. This book is a ripe fruit from the full-grown tree of the aged Danish scholar's life-work, and is doubtless the best and most reliable of all biographies of Mohammed written in the German language. Whoever wishes to know the present standard of investigation into Mohammed's life must not fail to read this most significant work. SIMON.

Le Rôle du Juge dans le Droit Anglais et dans le Droit de l'Islam comparés. By Mohamed Fouad Ismail Mohanna. Rousseau & Co., Paris. pp. 408. 45 fr.

This is Volume XV in a series of studies on International law. The learned author compares the position of the judge in English common law with that of *Kadhi* in Islam. He is well qualified for his task, and his work is well documented. It falls into two parts, of which the first deals with the rôle of the judge in Great Britain, and the second with that of the judge according to orthodox Islam. Each part consists of three sections, viz: The organization of the Judiciary; the social and moral character and prestige of the judge; and third, his rôle in the domain of law, and the administration of justice. It is astonishing how much there is in common between the Anglo-Saxon ideal and that of ancient Arabia, except that, as the author points out, in Islam *everything* bears a religious character. All its institutions are religious; public and private instruction, administration of the State, common law, international relations, peace, war, commerce, the arts, charities, public security and public works—all have a religious basis. The only dissenting voice to this judgment, says the author, is that of Ali Abd al Raziq in his recent notorious book on Islam and the foundations of government.

Z.

Through Aman Ullah's Afghanistan. By Serab K. H. Katrak. Lunae & Co., London. pp. 145. 10s. 6d.

A book of travel sketches with illustrations and a map. The author enjoyed the friendship of King Aman Ullah, and visited him before his exile. As the maiden effort of a Parsi scholar the book is of interest, but its contents for the rest are not remarkable.

Z.

Die Staatenbildungen in den arabischen Teilen der Türkei seit dem Weltkriege nach Entstehung, Bedeutung und Lebensfähigkeit. Von Dr. Erich Topf. 244 Seiten und 4 Kartenskizzen im Text. 1929. Verlag von Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg. RM. 52.

The title of this work, and the fact that it is a prize essay issued by the University of Hamburg, emphasises its importance. Our Quarterly is not primarily interested in the politics of the Near East, otherwise we might designate this as one of the important books of the year. The learned author in the first part of the volume, pages 1 to 30, sketches the foundations of the Arab state and the revolt of the Arabs against Turkey. The second part, pages 30 to 130, deals with the three mandatory states—Syria, Palestine and Iraq. And a full account is given of the other states of Arabia, which are not under mandates, but where the political influence of England, France and Italy is not absent. The history is given until the summer of 1929. In an appendix (pages 145 to 252) we have the official documents and treaties. The work is based not only on a carefully selected bibliography, but on periodicals and the daily press.

Z.

Deux Sanctuaires Chiites d'Alep. By J. Sauvaget. Extrait de *La Revue Syria*. Paul Geuthner, Paris. 1928 (with plates).

This reprint gives a full architectural description of two ancient Shiah Mosques at Aleppo. The first was built about 1183; and the second about 1234 A. D. The inscriptions reproduced have nothing unusual.

The Future of the Negro, Some chapters in the Development of a Race. By Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Governor of British Guiana and late Governor of the Gold Coast, and A. G. Fraser, M. A., Principal, Prince of Wales' College, Achimota, Gold Coast. Student Christian Press, London. 153 pp. 4/6 net.

An authoritative statement on the development of the American Negro, both as an individual and a community, with conclusions regarding the education of the African peoples on similar lines. Chapter six points out the pitfalls that are to be avoided. The policy and the aim of true religious education is ably outlined. Missions are conducting four-fifths of the educational work in Southern Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Sierra Leone, while "in Northern Nigeria almost all government schools have Mohammedanism taught, and some boarding schools there have their own mosques." The *Times Literary Supplement* says "altogether a remarkable book, which will surely influence British colonial policy."

Annuaire du Monde Musulman, statistique, historique, social et économique, rédigé par L. Massignon. 484 pp. Librairie Ernest Leroux.

We welcome this third edition of an invaluable statistical handbook to the world of Islam. The first edition appeared in 1923, the second in 1926. The volume contains six sections. The first on the Mohammedan calendar and the principal feasts, together with an admirable summary of the present political situation and a chronology of events from 1926 to 1928. Section two consists of an index to the Moslem Press, and is arranged alphabetically according to the place of publication. It is inevitable that this section requires constant revision. Periodicals in the Near East have a high death-rate. Section three gives a list of the centers where Islamic studies are carried on, both in Europe and America.

The bulk of the volume is taken up by section four, in which we have detailed information regarding all Moslem lands under the sub-headings: population, government, administration, imports and exports, etc., together with brief bibliographies. Two brief sections give information on the *Tariqas* (of which sixty-nine are still in existence), and a list of recent books on Islam. Our chief criticism is that so many inaccuracies have slipped in, and that the statistics are not based on the most recent data. For example, the statistics for Bahrein, Arabia, are given for 1911-1913. On page 475 the biography of Mohammed by R. F. Dibble is strangely classified as "a manual of Christian propaganda." Aside from these criticisms, there is nothing to equal this book as a manual of reference. Z.

Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina. Gustav Dalman. Bd.1. Jahreslauf und Tageslauf. 1. part: Herbst und Winter. 2. part: Fruehling und Sommer. C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh i. Westfalia, 1928. Both parts together 698 pages. 1. part, 15 Mk.—2. part, 24 Mk. (With numerous illustrations in text, an appendix and a series of colored pictures.)

This most excellent work is of great importance for every reader of the Bible, as it gives reliable information about the natural history, plants and animals of Palestine, thus throwing light on many a Biblical account which otherwise would be unintelligible. But it is also important for all missionary workers in Palestine, whom it supplies with

detailed knowledge of the life and ways of the present population of the Holy Land. A great number of Arabian sayings are interspersed and explained by the relations between man and nature, and plenty of Arabian songs in addition serve to elucidate the character of the present population, their way of living and thinking.

SIMON.

Geschichte eines Mohammedaners, der Christ wurde. Von Johannes Awetaranian. Von ihm selbst erzählt, 2. Auflage. Nach seinem Tode ergänzt von Richard Schafer. Originalband, 176 Seiten. Mit einer farbigen und 26 Tondruck-Abbildungen. Preis: 4.50 Mk. Missions Verlag, Potsdam.

Mohammedaner-Mission. Von Richard Schafer. Sonderdruck aus "Der Orient, 1929, Heft 6." 8 Seiten, brosch. Preis: 30 Pfg. Missions Verlag, Potsdam.

We welcome the second edition of this striking biography of a converted Turk. He died in 1919 and the first edition was an autobiography telling the story of his early life and conversion, until 1905. Since that time Awetaranian was connected with the Lepsius Deutsche Orient Mission at Potsdam and engaged in literary work. Now we have the complete story of a wonderful life of sacrifice and service from Erzerum to Kashgar, the Balkans and Germany. The life of a Moslem mystic who found all he sought in Christ. The book is beautifully illustrated and issued in attractive form.

The pamphlet by Richard Schafer is a plea to continue the work among Moslems in Turkey and elsewhere. Z.

The Evangelisation of Pagan Africa. A History of Christian Missions to the Pagan Tribes of Central Africa. By J. Du Plessis, Litt.D., D.D., pp. 408. Price 16s. Juta & Co., Cape Town or G. E. Stechert & Co., New York.

This work is a complementary volume to the Author's "Christian Missions in South Africa," which appeared twenty years ago, and like the former endeavors to place the story of the missionary enterprise in its proper historical frame. Since the forces of Christianity and civilization move forward concurrently, the missionary undertaking stands in intimate relation to political and commercial movements, and can only be understood in its relation to them. The reader of this book will obtain, together with full information on the progress of Christian missions, a clear idea of the course of Central African exploration and colonization during the past three or four centuries. The work is encyclopedic in its character. It does not, however, deal with Moslem Africa, except for references to the Mohammedan Menace (Chapter IX) and the reasons for the spread of Islam. "The African cannot but regard the friendly attitude of Colonial Governments towards Islam as undisguised favoritism. His own religious beliefs and practices are firmly put down; the Government (he complains) will permit no trials for witchcraft, no poison ordeals, no human sacrifices. But the religious feelings of the Mohammedan, he observes, are treated with the greatest consideration. Moreover, the Government places all manner of restrictions upon the movements of Christian missionaries, and prohibits them from entering Mohammedan areas, but the emissaries of Islam have the full freedom of the road and the river."

The four main divisions of the work deal with early History, West

Africa, the Congo and Angola, and East Africa. There are important appendices and a bibliography of three hundred titles, carefully annotated.

Z.

Slavery. By Kathleen Simon. With a Preface by her husband, the Right Hon. Sir John Simon. Hodder and Houghton, London. pp. 284. 12/6.

This important work reveals the fact and the results of human slavery today in Abyssinia, the Sudan, Arabia, Sierra Leone, China, Burma and Nepal.

A total of more than five million slaves is the lowest estimate. Arabia still leads the list in the fact that it has open slave markets, and that religion endorses slavery. Commander Woodward of the Royal Navy is quoted as stating that no less than five thousand men, women and children are carried to Arabia for sale every year. We quote one paragraph regarding Arabia, and commend the book to those who would study the facts.

"The first essential is to collect the whole facts relating to slave-owning and slave-trading in Arabia. We need to ascertain the numbers of the slaves in the country, whether they be only 500,000 or, as seems more probable, nearly 1,000,000. But we also need exact and detailed information about the conditions of their bondage, so that civilization may be roused, and—to use the expression of Sir Arnold Wilson—we may bring about 'a revolution in public opinion' which will demand liberty for the slaves of Arabia."

Z.

Egypt's Past, Present and Future. By Dr. J. Morton Howell. Service Publishing Company, Dayton, Ohio. pp. 378. Price \$2.50.

A superficial account of Egypt's past, with many misprints, followed by many mis-statements regarding the present and (between the lines everywhere) an unreasoning and unreasonable dislike of the British and their "autocratic and despotic" rule. "When will Britain release its strangle-hold on these people?" Dr. Howell, however, pays high tribute to the American mission schools.

The Saviors of Mankind. By W. R. Van Buskirk. The Macmillan Co., New York. pp. 531. Price \$3.00.

This study in "Comparative Religion" consists of character studies of the following religious leaders, who are called "Saviors of Mankind": Lao-Tze, Confucius, Gautama, Zoroaster, Aakhnaton, Moses, Isaiah of Babylon, Socrates, Jesus of Nazareth, Saul of Tarsus, Mohammed. The author, altho a Christian clergyman, writes of Jesus Christ our Lord in a patronizing manner, minimizing His miracles and message. The reality of the resurrection is left in doubt. Mohammed is idealized. "Viewed from his social situation Mohammed's work takes on enormous proportions." We regret that we cannot recommend this book.

Mission und Evangelisation im Orient. By Dr. Julius Richter. Neuauflage, C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 294 pp. 11 M.

Since the publication of the first edition of this volume in Dr. Richter's *General History of Missions* there have been great changes in the Near East. We welcome the present work as in every respect authoritative and up-to-date. The author, it is true, has abbreviated the historical

material on the separate missions, but only in order to make room for the later history and to sketch the new conditions. An introductory chapter gives a survey of the world of Islam in its impact on the Oriental churches, and the result. The following chapters take up, in order, the history of missions in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Egypt and Abyssinia. An appendix gives an account of Bible Translations and of the work of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. Dr. Richter knows how to condense a mass of material and give all of his documentary evidence (in foot-notes) without becoming dull. Altogether an indispensable work for the student of missions.

Z.

The Modern Magic Carpet: Air-jaunting over the Ancient East. By Marie Beale. Furst & Co., Baltimore, 72 pp. \$2.00.

Valuable chiefly for its beautiful illustrations, this account of a forty-hour air-journey from Cairo to Basrah, Baghdad, Mosul, Aleppo and back, a distance of four thousand miles, proves how near is the Near East. Some of the short chapters appeared in the magazine, *Asia*.

The Pauline Eschatology. By Geerhardus Vos, Ph.D., D.D. Published by the Author, 1930. pp. vii, 319.

It is not because of its popularity that the author has written on this subject. In his preface he says, "Eschatology has become the large mountain of offense lying across the pathway of modern unbelief. . . . Paul divorced from his Eschatology becomes unfit for his Apostleship; Jesus divested of his Messiahship can no longer serve us as Saviour."

The earlier chapters of the book treat of the structure of Pauline Eschatology, its relation to Soteriology and its Ethico-religious Motivation. The Coming of the Lord and its Precursors and the Man of Sin are next discussed. The theme around which four chapters center is the Resurrection. The closing chapters discuss the question of Chiliasm, the Judgment and the Eternal State.

The viewpoint of the author is that of the Biblical Theologian, who seeks in the Scriptures themselves rather than in Jewish or Gentile thought that was contemporary with Paul the source and meaning of Paul's ideas concerning the last things. He fails to find proofs of chiliasm in Paul, and also discounts any alleged development in Paul's teaching concerning the Resurrection.

Missionaries in Moslem lands cannot ignore the large place that Eschatology occupies in the theology of Islam. In no field of religious conceptions has Islam borrowed more from Christianity and Judaism. The value of the book would be enhanced by a table of contents and an index.

E. E. ELDER.

Polytheisme et Fetichisme. Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses. By P. M. Briault. Bloud and Gay, Paris, 1929. 200 pages. 12 fr.

In the series of Bibliothèque Catholique des Sciences Religieuses this little volume covers a wide field. The chapters on the ancient polytheistic religions are too scrappy to be of much value, but the second part on Les Religions Fétichistes is in every way excellent, and to be highly commended. The author was a missionary in West Africa, and writes from the Biblical, not the evolutionary standpoint. He gives first hand

evidence, and his conclusion is "Devant ces considérations l'hypothèse de la Révélation primitive prend bien de la vraisemblance."

Z.

The Influence of Christ in the Ancient World. By T. R. Glover. Yale University Press, New Haven. 121 pp. \$1.50.

Multum in parvo, this volume shows how Christianity brought light, freedom and love into a society bound by slavery in every form; a society which had betrayed its own ideals and sunk into dark superstitions. The author asks a question which concerns every missionary today. "Did the Christian faith, or does it yet, win the world because it was or is so like the other religions of the ancient and modern world, or because it is so different from them?" And he answers it in masterly fashion. A book to be strongly recommended.

Z.

An Introduction to the History of Mysticism. By Margaret Smith, M.A., Ph.D. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. New York and Toronto: The Macmillan Co. pp. 121. \$1.60.

The significance of the fact that mystics of all ages and all creeds have pointed out a common path in finding God leads us to consider the matter sympathetically and seriously.

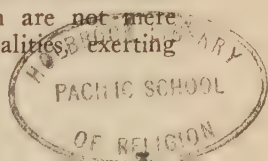
Mysticism, as the author tells us, is not to be regarded as a religion in itself but as the most vital element in all religions. "It is found, in a highly developed state, in the early religious doctrines of the East; in the Vedic literature; in Buddhism both in India and in China; in a form strangely attractive, considering the apparently barren soil in which this flower has bloomed, in Sufism, the mysticism of Islam, which has spread itself and taken firm root in Persia, Turkey and India as well as in Arab lands; in Judaism, again an unpromising environment, to all appearances; and finally, as we have seen it in Greece and the West."

This is not an age which values contemplation nor has it time for the long arduous road of self discipline. But it is an age for facing facts. And to those of us who have experienced the great gulf that still separates us from the heart and mind of Islam this thoughtful study of Mysticism comes as a challenge.

A. M. BILKERT.

The Heroines of Ancient Persia. By Bapsy Pavry, M. A., Cambridge University Press, London. pp. 111.

An attractive book in every way, and one that will interest all those who love Persia. This account of the Heroines of Ancient Persia, as portrayed in the epic *Shāhnāma*, the great historical "Book of the Kings," is an introduction to an important literature. The fourteen illustrations, reproduced in the book, are fine examples of Persian miniature paintings, and have been specially selected from Persian manuscripts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. References to the original Persian text, and a comprehensive Bibliography and Index are included. The author remarks that "It is the emphasis on the individuality of the heroines that sets the work of Firdausi apart from other epic tales. Homer and Virgil, with very few exceptions, portrayed a man's world, in which the women played at best a subordinate rôle. Firdausi leads us into a society where women are not mere shadows or reflections, but proud and strong personalities exerting



considerable influence in the world of their day. These living portraits of the heroines of ancient Iran are worthy of admiration throughout the ages, and the name of Firdausi lives on as one of the greatest bards that the world has produced." Z.

Some Living Issues. By Robert E. Speer. Fleming H. Revell, New York. pp. 280. \$2.50.

Everything from the pen of Dr. Speer is worth careful reading. Half of the chapters in this book deal with the person and significance of our Lord Jesus Christ; the other half with present-day practical issues in the life and work of the church. Some of the chapters, including the last, were delivered as addresses, but this adds to their interest. The book is a sort of confession of faith, sincere, convincing and out-spoken. The chapters of missionary interest are entitled Christian Ideals of Education, The true and abiding Basis of Christian Missions, Some recent Criticism of Foreign Missions, and Returning to Jesus. This last chapter might be considered an appendix to the Jerusalem Council Meeting reports. An indispensable appendix. Z.

Marokko. By Dr. Leo Wehrli. Rascher and Co., Zurich. p. 192. 12 fr.

A beautifully illustrated book of travel on Central Morocco, by a geologist who visited the country in 1923 and 1928. His sketch of Islam (page 159-166) is sympathetic. The same is true of his attitude toward the French occupation. There is a good bibliography, and the colored photographs are superb. Z.

L'Algérie Française, Un siècle de colonization 1830-1930. By Victor Piquet. Librairie Armand Colin, Paris. pp. 413. 35 fr.

In connection with the centenary of French occupation, this volume opens with a contrast of the condition of Algeria in 1830 and 1930. Such a comparison speaks volumes for the efficiency of French colonization. The bulk of the book gives an account of the resources, agricultural, industrial and commercial of Algeria, the present administration, public works, finance, and the rights of the indigenous races. Except for chapter twelve, which deals with Moslem law, there is no reference to religion. It is astonishing that education also receives no special attention, except a brief reference (pages 307-312). Z.

Shall Women Have Rights and Obligations Equal to Men? By Dr. Fakhry. A. Lencioni, Cairo. pp. 39.

This is the famous lecture delivered at the American University in Cairo last February, which caused criticism and awoke the fanaticism of the Moslem Press. We congratulate the author on his bold stand for women's rights. Z.

Die Legendäre Maghazi-Literatur: Arabische Dichtungen über die Muslimischen Kriegszüge zu Muhammeds Zeiten. von Dr. K. Paret. Z. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1930. R. Mk. 16.20.

The Maghazi-Epics are similar to the legendary Prophet biographies (*maulids*) about the history of Mohammed before his migration to Medina, and, on the other hand, to the poems about the great Moslem conquests after the Hijrah, few of them having an historical background, and most of them being fictitious, as they were intended to entertain

the unlearned masses. The writers are, moreover, anxious to see their religious, social, and political ideals realized in the history of the past. The poems were composed at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, and so are not to be looked upon as historical sources. We can see in them, however, what an idealized picture of the age of Mohammed the Arabian peoples of the Middle Ages had. Exactly as those writers saw history, the unlearned Moslem of today sees it. For this reason, Dr. Paret's investigation is not only of importance for the time of those writers, but also for the present, as it gives us an insight into the utterly uncritical spirit that animates Islam today. This is chiefly conspicuous in the part dealing with the religious standpoint of the epics. Anything beyond the pale of Islam is considered satanic. Converts are ideal men. The enemies of Islam are painted in the darkest colors. The prayers of the righteous Moslem are immediately heard. He who survives the combat prospers forever; the fallen martyr enters Paradise at once. God is enthroned at an inaccessible height, the angels as mediators praise Ali and his associates, the Archangel Gabriel is the celestial brother of Mohammed, who works by means of special powers bestowed upon him by Allah. The morality of the epics is very doubtful, all duties of fidelity are cancelled if crossed by the antagonism between Islam and Paganism. Christians have a deplorable fate; they go to hell like the heathen. These ideas and conceptions are well-known to every missionary among the Mohammedans. The book of Dr. Paret is instructive, and depicts the surprisingly unchanging character of Islam.

SIMON.

Die Religionen der Erde in Einzeldarstellungen. By Fr. Deudecke. Leipzig und Wien. pp. 263.

In this collection a number of discourses about the different religions is put together. About Islamism, D. Kraelitz gives a short sketch, which is mainly restricted to pre-Islamic Arabia, and to the history of the Prophet, but which deals briefly with subsequent history. Especially important is the treatise on the religions of the Primitives by Dr. Beth, the renowned psychologist of religion, and professor of Theology in Vienna; it is valuable for those who know how Animism has penetrated Islam.

SIMON.

The Growth and Development of National Thought in India. By Ishwar Nath Topa, Ph.D. Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg. 1930. pp. 176. 11M.

The writer dedicates this thesis to his German Professor, and although the book is written in good English style it betrays its German origin. Dr. Topa presents a historical argument for Indian Nationalism, and makes a strong case. The titles of some of the chapters indicate the outline of his plea for national independence: The Social Life and Politico-economic Institutions of the Hindus; The Historic-political Aspects of the Mohammedan Rule in India; The Significance of the Indian Village System and the English Reform-Ideas in the 19th Century in India; and The Indian Revolt of 1857 as a Factor in the Development of Political Ideas in India. Each chapter is well documented and the last tells of the political struggle for self-government from 1909-1918. So the story stops abruptly and too soon.

Z.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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

I. GENERAL.

EIN NEUES SUDTURKISCHES SPRACHDENKMAL. C. Brockelmann.
(In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 2. pp. 170-182.)

Critical notes on a fifteenth century volume containing some fifty-five Turkish poems.

NOTES SUR L'ARABE D'ARAGON. Georges S. Colin. (In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 2. pp. 159-169.)

Notes on documents dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, remarkable chiefly because written in colloquial Arabic, and with full diacritical marks for pronunciation.

THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL PRESS IN AZERBAIJAN. Jeyhoun Bey Hajibeyli. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. October, 1930. pp. 757-765.)

Notes the troubles attending the editing of newspapers for the Azerbaijani from the founding of the *Akintchi*, in 1875, to the appearance of the *Heyat* in 1905.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE WAHABI MOVEMENT. "Phoenix."
(In *The Journal of the Central Asian Society*, London. October, 1930. pp. 401-416.)

Chronicles the chief events since 1691. The appendices are of more value than the main article.

THE HEART OF THE ARABIC-SPEAKING WORLD. Elizabeth P. MacCallum. (In *The World To-morrow*, New York. October, 1930. pp. 408-411.)

A bird's-eye view of the effect of the last seven years on the Arabian peninsula and on the mandated territories of the Near East, emphasizing particularly the various stages of political development displayed there.

THE KUMZARI DIALECT OF THE SHIHUH TRIBE, ARABIA, AND A VOCABULARY. Bertram Thomas. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. October, 1930. pp. 785-854.)

Grammatical notes on a little-known dialect which, while largely a compound of Arabic and Persian, is yet distinct from them both.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

ARABIC DOCUMENTS FROM THE MONNERET COLLECTION. D. S. Margoliouth and E. J. Holmyard. (In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 3, 1930. pp. 249-271.)

A selection from a group of documents found on the bank of the Nile opposite Asuān, dating approximately from 1129, and dealing largely with magic and alchemy.

BERICHT UEBER DIE ARABISCHEN STUDIEN IN RUSSLAND WAEHREND DER JAHRE 1921-1927. W. Ebermann. In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 3, 1930. pp. 201-248.)

Previous parts of this study appeared in *Islamica*, III., pp. 229-264, and IV., pp. 121-158.

IV. KORAN—TRADITIONS—THEOLOGY.

THE HOLY PROPHET MUHAMMAD AND ZAID. Muhammad 'Ali Al-Hajj Salmin. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. September, 1930. pp. 323-337.)

A short sketch of the life of Zaid written to remove the unjust and sinister "imputations" cast upon it by the fanaticism of Christian writers.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE MUSLIM LAW. M. Ahmed. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. October, 1930. pp. 365-370.)

Comments on fifteen articles relating to everyday usage between individuals.

DAS WOETERBUCH DER DICHTER MU'AGAM-ASH-SHU'ARA' von Al-Marzubānī. F. Krenkow. (In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 3, 1930. pp. 272-282.)

The description, with numerous quotations, of one of the treasures in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

ZUR METHODE DER FIQH-FORSCHUNG. G. Bergsträsser. (In *Islamica*, Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 3, 1930. pp. 282-294.)

The legal bearing of an old problem.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

ABU ISHAQ KAZERUNI UND DIE ISHAQI-DERWISCHE IN ANATOLIEN. Köprülüze M. Fu'ād. (In *Der Islam*, Berlin. Bd. XIX., Hft 1/2. pp. 18-28.)

Translated from the Turkish, with an appendix by P. Wittek.

CANKERED CIVILIZATION. Al-Hajj Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. August, 1930. pp. 265-274.)

Considers some of the outstanding social evils of the Western world, and finds that the East is cleaner morally than the West, and among the Eastern races the Moslems live purer lives because of the supreme teachings of their religion.

LE DROIT DE CHEFA DANS L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. Octave Pesle. (In *L'Afrique Française*. Renseignements Coloniaux, Paris. Août, 1930. pp. 485-490.)

Brief notes on a prickly bit of Musulman law which has caused considerable friction between the French and the natives.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

BACK OF THE WAILING WALL IN PALESTINE. N. B. Parulekar.
(In *The Modern Review*, Calcutta. October, 1930. pp. 385-389.)

A study, from an Indian point of view, of the conflicting currents of nationalism and patriotism which are coursing through Palestine.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE IN EGYPT. Arthur Merton.
(In *The Near East and India*, London. September 25, 1930. pp. 351, 352. October 9. pp. 403, 404.)

Pictures clearly the fight between the protagonists of a sane constitutional régime and those of an absolute and dictatorial proletarian Wafd.

THE EGYPTIAN RIDDLE. A. R. I. Mellor. (In *The Nineteenth Century*, London. October, 1930. pp. 426-438.)

A discussion of the struggle between the Wafdist parliament and the Government of King Fuad, the thankless position of responsibility without power into which England has been jockeyed, and the necessity of reconsidering her task in Egypt.

IN THE LAND OF THE PRINCE OF PEACE. Charles D. Matthews.
(In *The Biblical Review*, New York. October, 1930. pp. 564-575.)

Paints the action and interaction of political Zionism, Arab nationalism, and British imperialism which go to make up the Palestine muddle.

IRAQ AND THE BRITISH TREATIES. Elizabeth P. MacCallum.
(In the *Foreign Policy Association Information Service*, New York. August 20, 1930. Whole number.)

Discusses the numerous interests concerned, the mandate and its workings, and the various events culminating in the 1930 treaty.

MOSUL OIL AND THE PIPE-LINE. Henry Dobbs. (In *The Nineteenth Century*, London. September, 1930. pp. 281-291.)

A clear presentation of the international complications involved in the decision as to whether the outlet of the pipe-line shall be at a Syrian or at a Palestine port.

THE RENASCENCE OF PERSIA. Sir Percy Sykes. In *The Nineteenth Century*, London. October, 1930. pp. 484-492.)

After a glance at the Persia of forty years ago, and at the resentment occasioned by the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, reviews briefly the progress effected by Riza Khan, paying especial attention to the country's foreign relations.

THE SITUATION IN TURKEY. J. Walter Collins. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. October, 1930. pp. 452-458.)

Discusses the effect on the political situation of the formation by Ali Fethy Bey of the Liberal Republican Party.

STABILITY IN EGYPT. Owen Tweedy. (In *The Fortnightly Review*, London. August, 1930. pp. 166-177.)

Discussed from the constitutional, administrative, and financial points of view.

ZIONISM IN PALESTINE. Owen Tweedy. (In *The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. October, 1930. pp. 548-556.)

Indicates how the Arabs have developed unity of spirit through their hostility to the foreign life and culture of the Zionist immigration, resulting in the existence side by side in the same country of two mutually repellent social states.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

SIDELIGHTS ON CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN PALESTINE. Alex. Paterson. (In *The Missionary Chronicle*, Melbourne. October, 1930. pp. 14-16.)

A suggestion as to the differences in missions here made by the war, the resulting British occupation, and the Zionist psychology.

STRAWS ON THE STREAM OF ISLAM. Thomas Warren. (In *World Dominion*, London. October, 1930. pp. 326-338.)

Incidents of missionary work among over one hundred thousand North Africans in France, particularly those in the Paris area.

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