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THEODOR NOLDEKE AND EDUARD SACHAU

In the latter part of last year Arabic and Moslem studies suffered two great losses, greater than any since Goldziher passed away, almost greater than any since Fleischer died.

On September seventeenth Eduard Sachau died in Berlin in his eighty-sixth year and on December twenty-fifth, Theodor Nöldeke died in Karlsruhe in his ninety-fifth year. Sachau was almost the last of the pupils of Fleischer, and Nöldeke was certainly the last of the pupils of Ewald. They, between them, summed up, expanded and passed on to new generations the Semitic and Moslem learning of the nineteenth century. Besides Nöldeke's specific greater contributions—his History of the Koran, his part in the great edition of Tabari, his study of Persia before Islam and of the Shahnama, his work in old Arabic poetry, several fundamental grammars of Aramaic dialects—his interests were of the widest in the life and literatures of the Moslem peoples. He knew their theology and law, but their lighter literatures, their *Märchen* and popular beliefs and ideas, lay nearer to his heart. And so he wrote and published an immense mass of little articles and studies bearing on all these. He was unwearied, too, in the writing of Reviews, that were articles of the first value in themselves, of all the books that appeared in that whole wide range. He was a letter-writer, too, on whom the entire younger world of Orientalists drew for advice, guidance and correction.

We all of us, it is safe to say, have a bundle of those closely written post-cards of his in which he gave without stint from his vast learning. The tradition of helpfulness to younger scholars which De Sacy had founded and Fleischer carried on he inherited and expanded. He thus became a referee for the languages and literatures of all Semitic peoples, except the Assyrians and Babylonians.

Sachau was not a frequent writer of Reviews or even of separate articles, except as bearing on his own larger works, but the list of great undertakings which he carried through and the width of his field of learning it would be hard to parallel. The index to his monumental edition of Ibn Sa'ad's Biographies he had just finished when he died. After editing some Syriac and Arabic texts in his younger years, and publishing some studies in Zoroastrian literature, he came to what was, perhaps, his greatest labor, the study of Albiruni, and he published, in Arabic text and English translation, the "Chronology of Ancient Nations" and the "India" of that great man of science. Another and very different side of his labors was in Syriac-Roman law and in Mohammedan canon law. Yet another dealt with Semitic inscriptions—Mesha, Panammu, Palmyra, Zebed—and, of the first importance, the Aramaic papyrus fragments from Elephantine. His journeys in the East brought intimate contact with archeology and also with the surviving Christian communities there, and the results of this appeared in yet another side of his work and publications. Still another was the direction for long years of the Berlin Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, and the production of the many Lehrbücher for that Seminar which he had to oversee.

The present writer owes to Sachau the thanks of a personal student for constant help and kindness through forty years. To Nöldeke he is indebted for letters of advice and correction through at least thirty years. To both he renders now the deepest homage of heart and mind.

Hartford, Conn. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

A PERSIAN APOSTLE: BENJAMIN BADAL

The beginnings of Christian work in any land require men of a special rugged type. The experiences of breaking ground for the Gospel bring out traits of character that might have been unsuspected had they not been revealed by the adventures of pioneer work. Benjamin Badal stands forth as the man who made the sale of the Bible possible through the length and breadth of Persia.

Today colporteurs work throughout the country, and as long as they are tactful meet with little opposition, even in fanatical places. In no small measure this result is due to more than forty years of consecrated labor that Benjamin Badal devoted to Christ and the Word in this Moslem land. In a very real sense all of us who circulate the Gospel in Persia today can look to this Apostle of the Word and say, "The chastisement of our peace was upon him (also), and with his stripes we are healed." He bore the beatings of robbers, the bloody trial of the bastinado, and abundant afflictions, that the Gospel might have free course. In all these things he counted it a privilege to participate in the sufferings of Christ.

The Nazlu river rises in the mountains of Kurdistan and flows down across the fertile plain to the great salt lake of Urumia. Some three miles from the lake, on this small river, is the village of Ada. It was here, in northwestern Persia, that Benjamin Badal was born, in the year 1844. His parents were Nestorian Christians of the Assyrian race. These Christian people have maintained their faith through the centuries, though pressed upon from every hand by Islam. Their history has been a succession of tragedies, they have been a nation of martyrs to the name and cause of Christ. At one time Nestorian

missions extended the Gospel to the far-flung frontiers of Asia.[1] The spirit of these great missionaries seemed reborn in Benjamin Badal. With a consecration and zeal like that of his ancient forbears he labored toward the ideal of recapturing Persia for Christ.

Benjamin grew up as other boys of his village. He worked in the fields and vineyards, and during four or five months of the winter season attended the school maintained in Ada by the American Mission. As a youngster he is reported to have been active and full of mischief. When bringing in the cattle from the field he was wont to turn a somersault from the back of one of the lumbering old buffaloes that are so much used in the Urumia region for plowing. As he followed the plow during his boyhood he probably little thought that he would be called to prepare ground over all of Persia for the seed of the Gospel.

The venerable Dr. Justin Perkins of the American Mission made periodic visits to Ada, and it was under his influence that Benjamin found a new birth in Christ. He was converted in 1864, when he was twenty years old. Throughout his life he bore the imprint of those early conversations with Dr. Perkins, and always referred to the missionary as "that holy man of God."

Mr. Robert Bruce, who had been sent to Persia by the Church Missionary Society in 1869, sent a request for a national helper to the American Mission in Urumia. Shamasha Sayad was selected for this work. He had been Benjamin's teacher in Ada, and when he left to join Mr. Bruce in Hamadan, he took his pupil with him as a companion. The two joined Mr. Bruce, and made the journey with him from Hamadan to Isfahan. Mr. Bruce finally established his residence in Julfa, the Armenian suburb which lies across the river from the city of Isfahan. It was there he did much in the translation and revision of the Persian Bible, and came to be known as Canon Robert Bruce, D.D.

1 Cf. "Nestorian Missionary Enterprise," John Stewart.

After a year, Shamasha Sayad left Isfahan to return to Urumia, but Benjamin Badal remained in the employ of Dr. Bruce as servant and general assistant in the mission. A kindly Providence had led Dr. Bruce to Isfahan at this time. During the terrible famine of 1870–1872 he was able to provide food for thousands, who must otherwise have died of starvation. Relief funds came to him from England, Germany, Switzerland and from India. Benjamin gave himself to this work of charity in the spirit of Christ, and administered the relief in a way that revealed traits of character that were later to stand out in bold relief. Bread was provided for Moslem, Jew and Armenian alike. Benjamin made daily distributions of food, and clothing was also provided for many made entirely destitute by the terrible touch of famine.

These years of contact with Dr. Bruce were to mean much in Benjamin's future, and in addition to the spiritual growth, God had thus provided the means for him to learn Persian, which was the language used in much of his later work.

After the famine years, Benjamin returned to his village of Ada. Since remunerative work is hard to obtain in Persia, the Assyrians of Urumia often went to the Caucasus region of southern Russia to find employment. Benjamin made several trips to Russia, returning to Ada with his savings. At one time he visited central and northern Russia, even going as far as Archangel. Here again he acquired a knowledge of the Russian language. By this time he had become something of a linguist. His native tongue was Syriac, and he was also fluent in Azerbaijani or Tartar Turkish, which is spoken by people of all races in northwest Persia. He had learned Persian, Armenian and Russian, and later acquired Arabic while engaged in colportage work in the Baghdad district. These six languages were a divinely ordered preparation for his work of selling the Word to each man in his native tongue.

After several trips to Russia, Benjamin opened a small shop in his native village. He was thus employed when Mr. James Watt, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society for Southern Russia, visited Urumia in 1878. He had come to Persia to investigate possibilities of Bible work in this country and if possible to find a young man to work as a colporteur in the Caucasus. The American missionaries in Urumia recommended Benjamin Badal for this service, because of his Christian character and his knowledge of Russian, Turkish and Persian, in addition to his experience in Christian work in Isfahan. In consequence he was engaged and sent to Tiflis, where he began his first work of selling the Word in September, 1878.

Mr. Watt went on from Urumia to Isfahan, where he met Dr. Bruce, and decided to establish an agency in Persia under the supervision of the latter. Consequently a young Armenian of Julfa-Isfahan, George M. George by name, was chosen as an assistant to Dr. Bruce, and went to Odessa in August, 1879, for training in Bible work. Passing through Tiflis Mr. George met Benjamin, and the two young men made a covenant that if God should open the way they would devote their lives to the distribution of the Word in Moslem Persia. After a few months in Odessa, George returned to Persia, and at his suggestion the transfer of Benjamin Badal to the Persia agency was proposed to the Bible Society.

In 1880 Dr. Bruce and Mr. George went to Mesopotamia with a view to opening Bible work in that country. Under normal conditions thousands of Persian pilgrims each year visit the important Shiah shrines at Najaf and Kerbela. It was with a view to reaching these visitors as well as the native population that the work was begun in the storied city of Baghdad. In March, 1881, Dr. Bruce returned to Persia, leaving George in charge of the new work—a month later Benjamin Badal arrived to join him, after a very difficult journey from Tiflis. Those of us who have travelled through Persia in the

spring following a hard winter, before the construction of hard surface roads, have a fellow feeling for Benjamin on that trip!

The next two years were spent in Mesopotamia, in Baghdad and along the Tigris to Basrah and the Persian Gulf. Benjamin is described as an aggressive and indefatigable worker. He visited the streets and bazaars, prisons and government offices, offering the Bible for sale. Often the books were taken by the Turkish officials to be examined by the department of education. At times, in spite of all remonstrances, they were kept days or even weeks. Benjamin was instant in applying for the return of his Scriptures in these cases, and finally they would be given back to get rid of the annoyance of his visits. It is said that the colporteur preserved a spirit of loving patience in spite of the procrastination and prevarication for which the officials of that time were notorious.

Not only was the Word sold during the day, but many people came in the evenings to the rooms of George and Benjamin to talk of eternal things. Benjamin was always an evangelist as well as a distributer of the Scriptures. A number found a new life in Christ as a result of those conversations, and three of the men who came in those days later became colporteurs for the Bible Society.

The work among Arabs and Turks was a baptism of fire for Benjamin, but the more severe the opposition the stronger became his spirit, for he not only sold the Bible, but drank from its eternal springs himself. He was enabled to witness with power before governors on the one hand and before criminals and "thieves of Baghdad" on the other.

In those two years Benjamin sold twelve hundred copies of Scripture in the city of Baghdad and the towns and villages along the Tigris. This was by no means a sales record when compared to his later work, but it represented no small labor in those days, in a virgin and fanatical Moslem field.

In the spring of 1883 George M. George and Ben-

jamin turned over the Bible work in Mesopotamia to a depot-keeper and two new colporteurs who were placed under the direction of a Church Missionary Society worker who had just come out from England to establish a station in Baghdad. These two friends made the trip back to Persia *via* Bushire and Shiraz, as they had been asked to meet Bishop French of Lahore and accompany him on his way to Isfahan.

More than seventy years before this, Henry Martyn had arrived in the city of Shiraz to work on his translation of the New Testament into Persian.[2] Now Benjamin Badal went forth to offer that book for open sale in the streets and bazaars. Great interest was created, and the stock of books that had been brought from Baghdad was soon exhausted. Thus began the work of this pioneer Apostle of the Word in Persia! He often said in those days that he hoped that God would give him the power and the opportunity to circulate seven thousand copies of the Word in Persia before he died. The perfect number seven probably appealed to him, but as a matter of fact God was more willing to grant such a request than he was to ask, for the total circulation of Benjamin's years of work in Persia amounted to nearly thirty thousand copies; and he was a man who sold the Word with utmost care lest it should fall into some unworthy use.

After the trip to Isfahan with the noted Bishop French, Benjamin returned to Shiraz with a large supply of Scriptures. In one week he sold more than six hundred copies—an unprecedented record for Persia. But the opposition of the *mullahs* was soon aroused. People were forbidden to purchase the books. This was followed by the posting of notices through the town threatening both the one who sold the Scriptures and those who purchased them—with death! Under one of these notices, on one of the main gates of the bazaar, Benjamin stood and sold his books. People looking first at the notice and then at the fearless apostle of the Word, stood astonished.

2 Henry Martyn arrived in Shiraz June 9th, 1811.

How could this lone man defy the intrenched hosts of Islam? It was an object lesson in the courage that comes from the fear of God, which dissipates the fear of men.

Soon after this, Benjamin left Shiraz to tour the larger towns of the surrounding district. In some of them he met opposition and persecution, but perseverance won out, in so much that during this first year of direct colportage work in Persia his sales mounted to two thousand four hundred copies of the Word.

His character always shone forth above what he did or said. Bishop French said of the days that he and Benjamin spent together in Shiraz, "In my whole missionary career I have never spent twelve more interesting and encouraging days." But the work was fraught with greater difficulties as time passed. There were long, dark seasons when the most assiduous labor could accomplish only small sales, and then would break forth again the sunshine of great opportunity; but through light and shadow alike Benjamin worked "as seeing Him who is invisible." Ever before him were the words of the Apostle, "It is required in stewards that a man be found faithful." Faithful to self, faithful to Christ, faithful to the Word, faithful to his high calling!

There followed a tour of ten weeks to Yezd—in the midst of the desert—and on as far to the south as the district of Lar. Dr. Bruce wrote of this trip: "Formerly if sales to Persians covered the expenses of the journey I was quite satisfied, this time Benjamin has sold one hundred and two *tomans* worth of books at a cost of seventeen *tomans*. . . . He is a valiant soldier. Oh for more like him!"

In the fall of 1884, Benjamin was making an itinerating trip westward from the base at Julfa-Isfahan. He came to the town of Nahavand, and went to the home of a *Mujtahid* to show his books. This man had violently opposed the work of Bible distribution, and when he saw Benjamin with the Scriptures in his hand, he ordered his servants to knock him down and beat him to death. The

colporteur was thrown face downward, his feet were fastened for bastinado, and after shoes and socks had been removed the servants began to beat the soles of his bare feet with heavy rods. Under this cruel punishment Benjamin three times lost consciousness and each time, as his senses returned, he heard the *Mujtahid* still commanding the servants to beat him until life was gone. But to turn from the terrible torture to the entry in Benjamin's diary is like lifting a fevered face to a breeze from the Spirit of Christ. He writes, "When I think of those who will come after me and be able to sell the Holy Word freely, for I hope there will soon be religious liberty in this country, I feel very glad and comforted in this suffering for Christ's sake. The same day by God's grace and help I was able to sell eight copies in that bigoted town." Helpless, crippled, in agony, still selling the Word and thinking vicariously of those who would follow! When we look upon such a spirit should we not reconsecrate ourselves to the task of distributing God's Word?

After some time Benjamin's feet healed so that he was again able to walk, the fierce suffering had not dampened his ardent spirit and he went on with his work. A well-known missionary from India, the Rev. G. Shirt, wrote home in a letter from Baghdad: "I count it a matter for gratitude to God that the leading colporteur connected with the mission at Julfa, supported by the Bible Society, is a man of no ordinary Christian spirit. He knows nothing of education as it is known in the west, but he has a heart full of love, a faith that God can work great wonders now as in the past, and a zeal which persecution and suffering have only served to increase. I met this man and his helper at Shiraz, and I will not presume to state that I tried to encourage him in his good work, for he is one of those bright spirits who seem to bring sunshine wherever they go, but I must say that I greatly enjoyed my intercourse with him and our mutual commendation of each other to the safe-keeping of our God, when we knelt before the throne of Grace."

While on a tour to the south, Benjamin and his assistant visited the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. It is said that the colporteurs were in some danger, but Benjamin did not notice it; he rather rejoiced at the opportunity to work among these Arabs, and said he would be glad to return to the island again. Dr. Bruce writes in his report to the Bible Society for 1886 concerning the visit to the island of Bahrein, "I feel sure that there, as in other places, his safety was owing, under God, to his spirit of calm trustfulness and entire absence of anything like fear."

The few years following were marked by faithful work, and you might have met Benjamin anywhere along dusty road and desert trail in the heat of summer, or on snowclad mountain and rocky path. He covered most of southern Persia. At times his work went on without molestation from authorities either ecclesiastical or civil, then again persecution and trouble would be encountered. Several visits were made to Kermanshah and the western provinces. In two instances Benjamin was threatened with death, but tact and a willingness to move on to other places when things got too hot, brought him through safely.

The attitude of people and authorities toward the sale of the Scripture was not at all consistent. The Shiah Mohammedans object to anyone of another faith entering their mosques. Benjamin on one occasion nearly got into serious trouble by entering a mosque in Bushire, where he wanted to offer the Gospel to a *mullah* and his pupils of the mosque school. On another occasion in Ardistan he placed his Bibles on the very *minbar* or pulpit from which the *mullah* was speaking, and for six hours sold books from this point of vantage without a word of opposition.

With a companion, a long journey was made into southeastern Persia and into the wild deserts of Baluchistan. There was no way to send word as to where they were or their condition, and at times there was apprehen-

sion as to their safety, but finally they returned after months in the desert, as hard and brown as athletes. Benjamin always rejoiced in the fact that abundant health and physical vigor resulted from the outdoor life of itineration and the great amount of walking, as well as riding horses, donkeys and camels from place to place.

In 1894 Benjamin was promoted to superintendent colporteur. This new responsibility was granted after sixteen years of service, and gave him an opportunity to train and inspire younger men in the work of distributing the Word, that they too might profit by his wisdom and experience.

There followed a very interesting trip to the nomad tribes of Luristan. Those who have seen the motion picture "Grass" or have read the book with that title will know something of the wild, primeval life of these people. The trip may best be described in the words of Benjamin from the report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1894:

"Luristan *via* Kal-hor and Pusht-i-kuh; this part of the country has never been visited by colporteurs, and therefore it seemed necessary to go there in obedience to our Lord's Command. 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations—and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world!' We had little hope of being successful among these wild Lurs. But our surprise and joy was great when on our arrival at Khurramabad we found we had only two copies left out of eighty which we had brought from Kermanshah.

"At Kal-hor the head-man, though not able to read, yet purchased seven copies which he distributed among his followers. We had loaded our horses and were on the point of starting when several people came to buy books and compelled us to unload. We sold them some thirty copies and they tried to persuade us to stay a few days longer, but we told them we wished to keep some of our Scriptures for Pusht-i-kuh also.

"At Pusht-i-kuh the chief is surnamed 'Father of the Sword,' and is guardian of the frontier of that part of Persia bordering on the Turkish province of Iraq-Araby. His summer residence is at Amleh, where he has a castle; in winter he and his people live in tents and migrate to the borders of Turkish Arabia. The valley of Amleh was black with tents, and we were told that fifty thousand people occupied them. We went to see Hussein Guli Khan, who received us with great hospitality and ordered one of his chiefs to act as our host, and he gave us a tent and other necessaries. All our wants were well supplied during our stay of three days, and we sold the greater part of our remaining

stock of Scriptures. The reason of our success was that this was the first visit of the kind. When we went to take leave of the Chief he again spoke kindly to us and gave us guards to bring us safely to Khurramabad. Thus we had good protection through that dangerous country. On the way a man came up to us who expressed a great desire to have a Bible. When he found he had not sufficient money to pay for it he brought us, in addition to his money (which was two *krans*) a copper vessel, and I very gladly let him have the Bible. Khurramabad is the capital of Persian Luristan, and although the inhabitants have the reputation of being rude and barbarous, yet we have always been able to work freely among them without hindrance or opposition. We returned to Julfa *via* Sultanabad, rejoicing that this year again the Lord had guided and protected us and had enabled us to take His Holy Word to the dark places of this country."

In April, 1896, Benjamin left with another colporteur intending systematically to work the city of Shiraz and the whole Province of Fars. The Shah had been assassinated, and the whole country was in a state of uproar and violence. The travellers with several other caravans were held at the village of Deh-bid for eleven days. They were hemmed in by nomad Arabs who kept up constant rifle fire for days at a time. At last, accompanied by government horsemen, the caravans were able to proceed to Shiraz. Here they had good work for some three months and then went out to tour a number of towns.

At Firuzabad sales were good, and the governor gave the colporteurs a place to stay in his own house. *Mullahs,* however, ordered the people not to read the books, and a number had to be taken back and the purchase price refunded. Word against the workers was sent ahead to Mehman, and they were not able to sell a single volume there. In Jahrum they worked for about a week among Jews and Mohammedans, and then went on to Lar. The day after their arrival there the *Mujtahid* of the place called the colporteurs to him and sent men to bring their stock of books. He began to tear the Scriptures to pieces and ordered the Bible workers and the people to do the same. The *Mujtahid* tore the cover from a Bible and pretending to throw it away put it in a place where he could later get it. Benjamin saw that the two sons of the ecclesiastic each concealed a New Testament, and many

in the crowd were hiding books in their clothing. The *Mujtahid* then ordered the fragments of the Scriptures thrown into a well. As the two workers left to return to their room in the caravanserai stones were thrown at them and several blows from behind struck Benjamin on the head. The *Mujtahid* was still not satisfied, and gathered another crowd and was on the way to the caravanserai to renew the attack on the workers. A young man came to warn them, as Paul the apostle was warned of the plot against his life; they made haste to the house of the governor, and he kindly took them in and kept them for four days. He inquired into the matter of their treatment, and gave them a present of ten *tomans* and some tea and sugar when they left, in addition to an escort to see them safely on their way.

The *Mujtahid* of Lar sent word to religious authorities in Jahrum to destroy the Scriptures if any were offered for sale there. A crowd came to the caravanserai, broke open the boxes and carried off or destroyed the whole stock of books. The colporteurs returned to Shiraz. The newly appointed governor there heard of the disturbances and forbade the sale of Scriptures in the province, so Benjamin and his associate returned to their base at Julfa-Isfahan.

From this time troubles seemed to multiply. They culminated when, on January 29th, 1897, a Moslem mob came to Julfa aroused by the fact that a C. M. S. teacher had taken some Mohammedan boys to an Armenian bath. Benjamin was endeavoring to quiet the disturbance, when a stone aimed at him by a Mohammedan missed its intended mark and struck another Moslem on the head. The wound was not severe and was practically healed, when it happened some sixteen days later that the man died. Doctors attributed the death to natural causes, but feeling was running high, and Benjamin was accused of having thrown the stone, and word was passed about among those on the street that the man had died as a result of the wound. A mob having gathered, they deter-

mined to carry the corpse across the river into Julfa and attack the Christians there. In order to prevent trouble and a possible massacre, Benjamin voluntarily gave himself up to the authorities. He was imprisoned for eighteen days with a heavy chain about his neck. The ecclesiastics of Islam demanded that he be turned over to them for trial. The Prince-Governor refused to do so, but instead remanded him to Teheran for trial. Through the good offices of the British Chargé d'affaires in the capital he was finally released, but was an exile from his home until July of the following year, when a "firman" was issued allowing his return.

I am indebted to Benjamin's companion in service, Mr. George, for many notes on the life of the great colporteur. Mr. George is still living at this writing (1931). We may well understand how he would write in his annual report for that year, "1897 may be said to be the record year of troubles and difficulties for the Persia agency."

In spite of the fact that his family must have seen very little of the husband and father, Benjamin was a man who loved his home. He had been married in January, 1890, to a woman named Miriam, and eleven children were born of this union, seven of whom are still living. Benjamin's permission to return to his home after the imprisonment and exile did not mean that he stayed there long. Someone has remarked that he was an authority on all parts of Persia except his own home town.

Sometime later we find Benjamin returning to Nahavand and seeking an audience with the *Mujtahid* who had sixteen years before ordered him bastinadoed. Through a Jewish physician he endeavored to get an appointment to call, desiring to repay the *Mujtahid* for his cruelty by presenting him with a Bible; the latter replied, however, that he was ill and could not receive the colporteur. With his companion he worked for two days in Nahavand with good success, then the *mullahs* made complaint to the *Mujtahid* mentioned above, and as a mob began to gather,

he sent servants to drive the Bible workers out of town, and threatening to punish them as he had done before if they did not leave immediately. Benjamin sent back the reply that they could not leave just at that time since the following day was Sunday, the Christian day of rest, and they could not travel on that day. They would not sell Bibles on Sunday, however, and would leave on Monday morning. The *mullahs* who had made the complaint were not willing to accept this and urged, "This man has again brought his erroneous and blasphemous books and is spreading them here." The *Mujtahid* sent again commanding them to leave, but finally on the intervention of the Governor and another *Mujtahid* they were allowed to remain quietly over Sunday.

Now the scene shifts to the wild road between Behbehan and Naseri in the province of Khosistan, down near the Persian Gulf. Benjamin and a companion were set upon by robbers. They were terribly beaten, and all their clothing stripped off and their possessions stolen. Bound and blindfolded they heard the highwaymen discuss as to whether the prisoners should be killed or not. One argued that it would be better to murder them, as "dead men tell no tales," and since they were unbelievers it would be no crime to kill them. Better counsel prevailed, however, and the two were released. They spent the night without clothing or bedding, and suffering from the cold. It is typical of Benjamin's tenacity and courage that the next day he sought out the village where the robbers lived and frightened the head-man into making them return the horses and loads they had stolen.

Benjamin Badal possessed a masterful ability to understand men and meet their particular needs; it came from the love of Christ that filled his heart and his constant nearness to the Master. He tells of meeting an old Persian who was a Babi teacher. On his second visit Benjamin realized that he had put aside his pride and was in grave doubt as to the truth of Babism. He finally burst out with the age old question as to what he must

do to be saved. Benjamin replied, "Since you are asking me I must tell you the truth, there is salvation neither in Islam nor in Babism; only believe in Jesus Christ, who is the one Mediator between God and man, and ask God to grant you His grace and read the Word of God constantly and prayerfully, and you will be guided to the truth. God is merciful and He will not leave you without hope." In the end the two parted company, the old teacher with a Bible in his hand and peace in his heart.

This pioneer colporteur of Persia seemed to be attracted as by a magnet to the place of adventure. Hence we find him in the capital city, Teheran, during the constitutional revolution. Cannon and rifle fire reverberated through the city for days. Those of us who have been through revolutions in Persia know that there is at least a subconscious uneasiness when rifle and artillery fire echo through the streets. Benjamin had a narrow escape when he went out to the bazaar to buy bread. A Persian Cossack, taking him for an Armenian revolutionary, lowered his rifle to shoot, but was dissuaded by a companion who said, "We must get on with our work," which was looting! Another soldier took him for one of the Armenian troops of the attacking forces, and threatened to disembowel him with a sword. A quick bit of repartee saved him, and he was allowed to go on. At another time Persian Cossacks came to the room of the Bible workers and accused them of firing on the barracks and killing a soldier. Since these soldiers spoke Turkish, Benjamin understood what they were saying among themselves, but his companion did not. On going to the door, one of the soldiers proved to be an old friend of Benjamin, and they were cordially invited in to search the room for arms; but finally, after much discussion, they left without making a search of the premises.

In 1910 the opportunity came for Benjamin to visit his old home in the Urumia region. The work in the northwest of Persia had been under the charge of the American Bible Society, but an agreement had been made

whereby the British and Foreign Bible Society took over the whole of the Persia area. Benjamin toured the mountains of Kurdistan and sold Scriptures in the city of Urumia and the villages of the plain. He spent some time in his native village of Ada. My colleague in service, Rabi Stephen Khoobyar, was a boy at the time, and remembers Benjamin's complaining at the wildness of the younger generation and how they spent money. Benjamin himself was always meticulous in his expenditures. Stephen remembers the talk on the price to be paid for the horse to take Benjamin and his books from Ada to the city of Urumia. One of his friends suggested that he ought not to make such a fuss about the money, as it would be paid by the Bible Society and not by himself. Benjamin replied that this was God's money and a sacred trust to be administered with more care than his own funds.

After his return to Julfa, Benjamin and another colporteur named Mardanian worked for six months in the city of Isfahan. The days of the revolution had been a dangerous and trying time, but an era of greater freedom was dawning. Benjamin said of his work in Isfahan on this occasion, "Those who have read previous reports of our work in this city are aware of what hardships we have suffered. Several times we have been beaten by order of the *mullahs,* and our books thrown into water tanks. On many occasions we have been dragged to the court, and we used to turn our faces to avoid the sight of a *mullah;* whereas now, on the contrary, when the *mullahs* meet us in the bazaars with the books in our hand, they pretend not to see us." Although Benjamin was now nearing seventy years of age—a battle-scarred veteran—he is described as wonderfully active and capable.

The veteran colporteur after the work in Isfahan came north to the city of Qum, which is a fanatical shrine center. He was able to sell there seventy copies of Scripture and avoided trouble; he then went on to Teheran where he spent some time. Here he was joined by

Ephraim Shimoon, another colporteur, who was then young in the service. From Teheran the two came to Qazvin where they worked for one month; then down to Resht. They spent two months in the province of Gilan near the Caspian sea and below the general sea level of the world's great bodies of water. From Resht they travelled around the Caspian *via* Laijan to Mazanderan, where they worked for three months. Next they took ship on the Caspian and crossed to the city of Astarabad. They worked in the city and among the wild Turcoman tribes of the district for some six weeks. Then leaving Shahrud they made the trip by mule caravan to Nishapur, the city which is famous as the home of Omar Khayyam. Leaving Nishapur after a few days, they went on to Meshed by post.

In the great shrine city of Khorasan province they found Dr. Esselstyn, of the American Mission, tactfully laying the foundations for what was to develop into the great work of Meshed station, the outpost of Persian mission work on the border of Afghanistan. Some seven months were spent in Meshed, Nishapur and other districts of Khorasan, then the workers returned to the Caspian sea, visiting little-frequented places on the way. From Barafarush they made the trip to Teheran by mules, taking six days on the road.

Ephraim, who was his companion on this trip, describes Benjamin Badal as a confident Christian who lived very near to Christ and spent much time in Bible reading and prayer. The Bible was his one book, and he knew it thoroughly. His business everywhere and always was to lead men to salvation as well as to sell the Word. It is said that troubles never worried him, because he turned them all over to God. On long trips like the one just mentioned, when there was no opportunity to visit a church for the Lord's Supper, Benjamin scrupulously every three months prepared and took the communion himself, with only Christ to administer the sacrament.

Miss Mary Bird of the C. M. S. Mission met Benjamin, and writes home that he told her he was finding people everywhere less bigoted; she was struck by the following sentences from his conversation, "I did ask God to help me lift up Christ, that they might look to Him and be saved," and "They talk of these dark, troublesome times in Persia, but light and goodwill come with God's Word."

The veteran colporteur also possessed a ready tongue and a quick wit. At one time a young man was looking at a Testament, and several people were standing around. A *mullah* stopped, and finding what the books were, ordered the people not to read them lest they become infidels; he suggested that it would be better for the people to read the fable of the cat and the mouse. Benjamin at once asked the *mullah* if it were his desire to advise the people to read foolish tales and keep them in ignorance so that he could enlarge the size of his turban. In Persia the white turban worn by a Moslem ecclesiastic is supposed to increase in size in proportion to the knowledge and authority of the wearer. The *mullah* walked away without an answer, and the young man purchased the Testament.

In Teheran there were many Bahais, who had come to the capital city because of the comparative freedom there. Like the Sadducees, many of them deny the resurrection and any objective heaven or hell. At one time a Bahai asked Benjamin in derision, "You say your Christ ascended to heaven. Where is heaven? The blue sky we see is only the atmosphere!" Benjamin asked the man if he believed in a Creator and he replied that he did. He asked, "Then where is that Creator?" The man replied that he did not know; Benjamin rejoined, "Very well then, our Christ went to the place that you do not know."

On July 15th, 1915, Benjamin and a companion were robbed when about four miles from Ardistan. They suffered no personal violence, but lost all of their food and

clothing and a new leather colporteur's bag which Benjamin prized very highly.

The World War rendered conditions very unsettled in Persia. Though Benjamin had now passed three score years and ten, he was anxious to be about his work as usual. During the early part of the year 1916 work in most places was impossible; even in the city of Isfahan conditions were very bad until after the occupation of the place by Russian forces. As the summer began, however, we find the veteran and a companion setting out from the town of Nain—some fifty miles east of Isfahan. They were part of a camel caravan and planned, after crossing the central desert region, to spend as much as a year in a long tour of northeastern Persia.

About mid-summer they reached a place known as Hur-i-gaz, a mere spot in the desert where there was a salty spring surrounded by marshes. There was also a reservoir built to hold rainwater, since that from the spring was too brackish to drink. The leaders of the caravan halted at some distance, fearing robbers who were known to infest the region. Two men were sent on to bring water. They were spied by the lookouts of a robber band, who soon discovered where the caravan had halted. The company of fifty armed robbers, some on foot and some mounted, descended shouting upon the unfortunate caravan, which offered no resistance in the face of such a force. The men were all stripped and left for the most part naked and barefoot, being also mercilessly beaten with clubs and with the stocks and barrels of rifles. Benjamin's body was for a long while black and blue over the shoulders, back and arms; moreover, his head was cut by a blow from a rifle and he became weak from the loss of blood. The robbers systematically looted the goods of the whole caravan, they broke open the cases which contained Scriptures, but most of the books were left in the desert.

The captives were marched off, avoiding roads and villages, their feet cut and injured by rocks and thorns;

they were marched for some two days and a night, covering about sixty miles! Being thus far removed from the scene of the robbery the captives were released, the highwaymen divided the spoil and scattered in all directions.

Benjamin and his companion, seeing that they were free, thanked God and set out, almost naked as they were, to walk back to Nain. This took another two days and a night with only mulberries for food, until at a village twelve miles from Nain they obtained food and donkeys to take them on to the city. In Nain Benjamin was surprised to find many of his Scriptures around the town. It developed that one of the camel drivers had hidden in the reeds around the spring and had escaped capture. He returned to Nain as fast as he could, and gave the governor word of the robbery. Fifty gendarmes were sent to the scene; all they accomplished was to complete the looting of the books and other things that had been left by the robber band.

This beating at the hands of the desert band of robbers was the most severe Benjamin had ever received in his many years of devoted work for the Gospel. The added hunger and exposure would have broken the health of many a younger man, but Benjamin returned to his base at Julfa-Isfahan, weakened and still bruised, but praising God for his deliverance.

Conditions during the war years and the impotence of Persian authorities to cope with the situation made itineration almost out of the question a good deal of the time. Benjamin continued, however, in his beloved work of selling the Word, until on Sept. 20, 1919, he went home to be with Him for Whom and with Whom he had worked so long.

One who has not known Persian roads in the old days can scarcely appreciate the meaning of more than forty years of travel over these atrocious highways and byways. Burning desert and snowbound mountain road, perils of rivers, robbers, beatings often, nakedness, prison, and persecution. What were these physical hardships and diffi-

culties when matched against the sublime courage, faith, trust, surrender and joy of this apostle? He could indeed say: "Let no man trouble me: for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."

The annals of missionary service contain many stories of complete devotion. More of them should be told of the nationals in the respective countries of the missionary enterprise who have given themselves in entire consecration to Christ and His kingdom. In Persia we do not want to forget Benjamin Badal. His memory should be an inspiration throughout the Moslem world. We may count his name among those who followed the first great missionary apostle in partaking of the sufferings of Christ. His life will abide in the story of the Persian Acts of the Apostles.

He climbed the steep ascent of heaven
Through peril, toil and pain:
O God, to us may grace be given
To follow in his train.

Tabriz, Persia. J. CHRISTY WILSON.

THE FEAR OF GOD IN THE KORAN

The reader of the Koran, even if he is only a casual reader, cannot fail to be impressed with the constant appeal which Mohammed made to the motive of fear. In the earlier part of his career this is particularly so. In the exuberance of his first discourses, and under the pressure of the obstinate resistance which Mecca offered to his message, he not only refers often to the danger of hell which threatens unbelievers, but paints its tortures in the most vivid colors, and adds to this the most terrible and repellent details of which his fertile imagination can conceive. And the day of judgment is one of the chief things in which the faithful must believe (ii. 3, 172).

The word most frequently used for the idea of fear is *taqwā,* from the verb *waqā.* It often means "piety"; but one is left with the unpleasant impression that the fundamental thought in respect to piety itself is suggested by this choice of its designating word as fear. The dictionaries define *waqā* "to guard oneself against something" (Abu'l-Qasim, Lane) to which Lane adds the adverbs "exceedingly, or extraordinarily," from which the eighth stem and the derivative verb *taqā* come to mean "to fear." The noun is often used in the milder sense generally given it in the translations, the idea of reverence being its most prominent suggestion. But connected in the context with the mention of punishment, as it often is, the verb gathers to itself the connotation of "dread," as in ii. 192: "fear God, and know that God is severe (*shadīd*) in punishing" —Rodwell even translates it "terrible."

The other verbal roots signifying fear have substantially the same connotation with *waqā. Khaufun* is used frequently in a kind of refrain referring to fear of the

Judgment and the punishment of Hell: "there shall be no fear upon them, and they shall not be grieved" (ii. 36 and 12 other times). *Faza'* is intensified in xxi. 103: "the great terror shall not grieve them." *Khashiya* signifies *fear with reverence* (Lane). In xxiii. 59, "awed with the dread of their Lord," this root is used in close connection with the conditions a Moslem must meet if he will be saved, and with the word *wajal,* which means a *thrill* of dread. But generally speaking, the special shade of meaning of all these words must be decided by the context. They themselves convey no very distinct implications. And that context makes it quite plain that the Moslem must generally approach God not in the attitude of a loving child coming to a loved Father, but in fear.

This attitude has its explanation in the Semitic conception of God. Man judges the unknown by the known and gives it the name derived from this. The great authority to the Bedouin in earthly affairs has always been the Sheikh, a ruler possessing absolute power, and entirely without responsibility in its exercise. He conceives God as the great Sheikh. It is the infinite power of God and the inscrutability of his methods that impress him most in the solitude of the desert. Before the awful power of God, man is no more than the merest insect. God does with him what He will. To resist God is impossible, to question Him absurd. And to love Him is an idea which would never occur to the Bedouin. To transpose the words of the Apostle, perfect fear casts out love, renders it impossible and inconceivable.

Hence the fear of God is a motive to which Mohammed might readily turn, and did turn when he found himself unable to persuade the Meccans to believe by any other motive. The appeal to fear is most natural to the Arab; and no other force did Mohammed have in his earlier career. When later he could employ physical force, he resorted to that. But at first he employed only the force of fear. And the view thus given of God led successively to the most unlovely presentations of the

divine motives and activities, and sometimes even to suggestions that God hated men (xxxv. 37). Nothing could be harsher and more repellent than the way in which Mohammed accounted for the unbelief of men. He bluntly said that God "misled" them (vi. 39; xiv. 32) and "sealed up their hearts and their hearing" (ii. 6).

Were this all there is to say about Mohammed's doctrine of God, and his use of the motive of fear, there would seem to be no point of contact between the teachings of Jesus and those of Mohammed, and no possibility of that sympathetic approach to Moslems which the modern missionary methods recognize as indispensable to success. But there is much more to say.

There are many passages in the Koran which seem (like xxi. 105; xxvi. 2) to breathe a spirit of compassion on Mohammed's part, and even disclose the yearning of his soul over men. This, no doubt, reflects his idea of the milder attributes of God, for his own ethical feeling cannot have failed to give tone to his theology. And such an attitude is to be found in the great Mohammedan theologians of a later time.

But sometimes this feeling enters into his argumentative *suras*—if indeed anything can be called argumentative in his illogical and unsystematic pages. He dwells repeatedly upon the creation as the divine provision for man, perhaps in xvi. 3ff. as well as in any. The cattle are created for man, furnishing him with food and clothing, and bearing his burdens. The rain is sent down to restore the "dead" earth to life, to cause the plants to spring forth —the corn, the olives, the palms, the grapes and all kinds of fruit. The alternation of night and day, the sun, moon, and stars "subjected to you," the varied hues over the earth, the sea with its fish, which is also the bearer of ships—all these things are God's gifts to men. The very repetition of such discussion in different *suras* shows the importance which Mohammed attached to the thought of the divine goodness among the attributes of God.

His view also of the religious history of man carries

the same argument. It was one long story of God's efforts to call men to His service, and of man's repeated rejection of the effort, or of his apostasy from any religion which he may have gained. The Koran, at this point, reminds one of the Book of Judges.

How persistent God has been in these efforts to serve man! Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, Zachariah, and many others, Hud and Saleh, have been the divine messengers, of whom Mohammed himself is the last. There has been but one religion in all ages, and one God.

Then there is the idea of personal election. Amid all the minute concerns of the divine predestination, which embraces even every withered leaf that lies on the ground (vi. 59), the personal call of all who become true Moslems is supreme in importance. Mohammed himself was "found an orphan and given a home; was erring and was guided" (xciii. 6, 7) and was thus a monument of the electing goodness of God. But the same goodness was over every believer (xxxv. 9; xxiv. 20, 21; ix. 129; x. 100). Of course, a multitude of questions might have been raised as to the consistency of Mohammed's constant appeal to the freedom of man in his ever repeated exhortations to repent, with the minuteness of God's predestinating and electing will. But the unmetaphysical Arab did not raise them then, nor does he today. As Dr. Paul W. Harrison observes, the ordinary Moslem goes about his daily business unmindful of fate and unexpectant of the supernatural interference of *jinns,* good or bad, although he supposes himself to believe in both. And hence Mohammed could ascribe every case of belief in God to the intervention of the divine goodness.

The kindness and indulgence of God to man when he has once become a believer are variously and continuously emphasized by Mohammed. The invocation at the beginning of the *suras*—"in the name of the all-compassionate God"—keeps it constantly before the reader. It is manifest in the forgiveness of his sins (lxxi. 9), his

guidance in the right way (x. 26), in its increase towards the good (x. 27), in the intercession of the angels (xxxiii. 41), in the consideration of human weakness (even if leading to apostasy, xxxix. 54), and in a multitude of other details. But particularly is it expressed in the provision of Heaven. Here Mohammed has exhausted the Arab imagination in picturing every enjoyment and delight which would appeal to his people. It is immaterial that the descriptions of Heaven do not appeal to a Western and Christian mind, for they certainly did, and still do, to the Arab. And in the remarkable passages on the "face of God" (in the early *suras,* xcii. 20, and the late, ii. 109; and in ten other places)—which shall make the believer "well content," which they "desire" earnestly (*ṣabarū 'btighā'a*) (xiii. 22), and for which they do good deeds,—the way is prepared for the mysticism of the Sufi, to whom the love of God became the center of thought.

Yet, after all, the general impression of the Koran is not that God is to be *loved.* It is rather that he is to be *feared.* There is no intimate life with God for the Arab in general. God is remote and inaccessible. The very fact that God is called "the loving" but twice in the Koran (xi. 92 and lxxxv. 14) shows where the emphasis lies. The passage xxi. 90, "called upon us (God) with *desire and fear,"* in which the two words (*raghaban wa rahaban,* not found elsewhere in the Koran) modify each other, stands alone in such conjunction, I think, in the book.

The Arab is, however, accessible to better ideas. It may be found that he is inaccessible by means of attacks upon the Koran or upon the Prophet whom he has been taught to revere. But if advantage is taken of these milder aspects of his teaching, if the Koran itself is quoted, as it may be at length, the way may be opened for the teaching of our Lord Jesus, that God is a Father, and truly *loves* men, that, as the Apostle puts it, He *is* Love; and the Arab's human heart, full of human needs, will respond.

Oberlin, Ohio. FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

THE PRE-OTTOMAN CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR

To most of us, the end of the Byzantine rule in Asia Minor is very vague. Perhaps the glories of the Eastern Roman Empire as the European outpost against the barbarians stir our memories. Or, if perchance we have studied church history, the figures of John of Damascus, Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Chrysostom remind us that St. Paul did not make his journeys in vain. Undoubtedly many know that the historic creeds of Nicea and Chalcedon were drawn up in Anatolia and not in Europe. Possibly the Crusaders stand out more clearly in our memories, and we know that the First Crusade found Turks entrenched at the very doors of Constantinople. Further, the Crusaders (who had no quarrel with the Turk) who wished merely to march to Palestine, found Turks all along their line of march. If we wonder how the land of Nicene creeds and Gregory of Nazianzus should suddenly be dominated by a strange eastern race, followers of the crescent, we fail to get enlightenment.

As far as I know no one has ever developed the story of the fall of the Byzantine Empire in Asia Minor. The Byzantine historians say little about it, and Seljuk Turkish records have been destroyed in their subsequent interstate wars. So this theme, and the parallel one of the development of the Seljuk Turks, awaits some patient scholar, aided by industrious archeologists who will eventually make available the inscriptions from the wealth of Seljuk ruins. However, there is enough material available to give us the story in outline form.

The Turks of course did not swallow up Asia Minor out of the blue. They had a long history behind them

when they finally broke through the Byzantine defences. As early as 1400 B.C., Turkish peoples are mentioned by the Chinese and from that time on harried the Chinese river valleys, and are found today in many parts of western China. When the Chinese built the Great Wall to keep them out, the nomad pressure turned west and beat against the Slavic tribes, who beat against our Germanic forefathers, who in turn inundated the western Roman Empire. Sporadically the Turanians themselves, as under Attila the Hun, invaded the Eastern and Western Roman Empire, but they were always driven back. However, the Turks did occupy the district north of Persia, known today as Russian Turkestan, and from there conquered much of Persia. Then they came in touch with Islam, and the Western Turks were slowly Islamized. The Eastern Turks, however, remained Shamanists, and it is interesting to know that Ertogrul, founder of the Ottoman dynasty, was a pagan when he settled in Asia Minor next to the then Byzantine boundary. He might have become Orthodox Christian, but instead he became a Sunni Moslem.

Let us leave the Turks for a while and turn to Moslem history. The first Moslem caliphate period soon passed, and the kingdom of Damascus rose and fell. Finally Baghdad became the brilliant center of the Arab Empire under the Abbasids. From here was ruled a great empire of various races and languages bound by common allegiance to Islam. The luxury among the upper classes and the oppression among the lower classes, however, soon impaired the fighting qualities of its citizens. Then the Caliphs conceived the idea of developing a special guard of hard fighting Turks, brought as slaves from the eastern reaches of their kingdom. At this time the boundaries between Eastern Rome and Islam followed roughly the present-day Turkish boundary, though it fluctuated with the years, sometimes reaching farther north. So, by the latter years of the eighth century, when these guards were brought to Baghdad, it was quite near

to the edge of the Empire. They doubtless participated in raids over the Roman border, and early saw the beautiful valleys of Asia Minor, and considered how much better the country was than the steppes of Asia or the deserts of Arabia.

As the years passed, this guard became the real ruling power of the Abbasids, and had a city built for themselves at Samarra, north of Baghdad. Daughters of the guardsmen were taken into the harem and became mothers of Caliphs who were pro-Turks. All this time the pressure of the wandering nomad Turk was turned west, because the Chinese wall stopped his advances in the east. The Byzantine boundaries shunted most of the tribes south, though the Hungarians and Pecheneks passed into Europe to the north of the Caspian. Those going south were welcomed by their fellow countrymen in Baghdad, and they settled or grazed in Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia. There are still today many Turks in these three regions. If the Turkish guards had not strengthened the Abbasid army it is quite possible that the Byzantines in a period of strength might have reconquered the lands they had lost to the Arabs. Instead, the Turkish guards gradually surrounded Asia Minor with Turkish speaking immigrants.

From time to time Moslem raiders penetrated the Anatolian peninsula, sometimes going as far as the Bosphorus. In these raids the Turkish troops looked upon the land and saw it was good. It seems likely that peaceful Turkish shepherds may have gradually come into the uplands, much as Yuruk shepherds do today. Since they would not harm the farmers in the valleys they would be tolerated. As late as the trip of Marco Polo, he reported the Turks as living in the highlands and the Greeks and Armenians in the lowlands.

From the north, too, inroads came, and the Turkish Pechenek tribe was finally allowed to settle within the Empire, on the promise that they would prevent all other tribes from crossing the Danube. So the years passed on

to the date 1000 A. D. Between 950 and 1000 over a million Turks settled along the southern boundaries, but nowhere had the dyke given way. In fact a period of Byzantine strength came when the boundaries were extended southward and the Cilician plain reconquered.

But about 1000 A.D. a new power arose, the Seljuk Turkish kingdom with its capital in Persia, which conquered the whole Arab world. It was a time of Turkish expansion. Northern India was conquered by Mahmud of Ghazna in this same period.

The Byzantines did not seem to be aware of the unification of the Turks. If they did know of it, they greatly under-estimated the strength of the Seljuks. At that time Armenia constituted an eastern buffer state, but the Byzantines instead of strengthening it, proceeded to destroy it, thus eliminating the one barrier between themselves and this new power. The Empire was cursed with monopolies and high taxes. The border provinces however had been traditionally exempted from many of these extortions, and in return were supposed to maintain strong border guards. Now the border troops were dissolved, and the money previously devoted to their upkeep was spent on the palace feasts.

As soon as the border troops were withdrawn, the Turks living on the southern and eastern boundaries began to raid. They found no opposition, so the raids went deeper and deeper into the country. According to Ramsay, the Turks, like all nomads, wanted land for their flocks, so they killed off the population to insure themselves more grazing land. Commerce was destroyed, there was no one to pay taxes, it looked like the dissolution of the empire. The inhabitants of Constantinople had a superstitious belief in their own ability to avoid capture, but when Turks appeared across the Bosphorus they realized at last that the situation was desperate. The leading general of the day could not exercise his power, because the country was torn by factions and jealousies. The queen, a widow, married him to give him

supreme command, and he was given the title of Romanus Diogenes. He took the field personally, and by a series of brilliant victories drove the Turks out of the country, across the Taurus mountains. The Constantinopolitans sat back and said, "You see, we are invincible. The Empire can never be defeated."

But the Empire was in a bad way. The raiders had burned and killed. The Byzantine army had lived off the country. Money had been raised from all possible sources to finance the troops. The army included many Norman and French mercenaries who had to be paid. It even contained Turkish troops, some coming from the tribes guarding the Danube, others possibly from other Turkish settlers.

Romanus was not satisfied with these victories. There was a strong fortress called Manzikurt, north of Lake Van, still held by the Turks. This he felt he must capture. So, reorganizing his army, he marched east toward the Persian border. In the meantime Alp Arslan, sultan of the Seljuk Empire, had been alarmed by his defeats and by the approach of an invading force led by a man bearing the still fear-inspiring title of Romanus. So he gathered his forces from over all his vast domain, mostly men on horseback. He too marched for Manzikurt, but he did not want battle. He tried to arrange peace with Romanus, but the latter would not hear him. At last the chance had come to crush the main body of the Turks, and the Greeks intended to do so! The Byzantines were absolutely confident of victory. In fact they were so confident that they did not await their European mercenaries, who had remained at a distance, and never participated in the battle at all. So confident were they that one of Romanus' generals, wishing to be Emperor himself, chose this particular time to turn against him. Finally the Turkish "Oghoz" troops went over from Romanus to Alp Arslan—blood was thicker than Byzantine gold. All the old weaknesses of the Byzantines were in evidence. If they had conquered the Turks, with the ap-

proaching dissolution of the Seljukian Empire and the coming in of the Crusaders they might have held Asia Minor indefinitely. "If"—but they did not. They were overwhelmingly defeated, and Romanus Diogenes himself was taken a prisoner. One of the most important battles in the history of Islam was over, the backbone of Byzantium was broken, and Asia Minor was lost. The year 1075 marks one of the decisive battles of history.

In Constantinople, instead of some one coming to the front in this time of emergency, three people clamored for the title of emperor and engaged in civil war. All three bargained with the Turks and promised lands for Turkish help. With this sort of opposition, the Turks under a leader named Soliman rode straight west and within a year controlled the whole of Asia Minor from Persia to the Aegean (with a few notable exceptions). Soon after, they even put to sea and captured the islands of the Aegean, and later even invaded the mainland of Greece. These Turks in Greece became Orthodox Christians and blended with the population, as did the Pechenek tribes by the Danube. The invaders captured Smyrna. In twelve months the conquest of Asia Minor was accomplished. The speed with which the Turks worked amazes us. All the initiative of the various Greek cities and provinces had been strangled by the central government. Long years of misgovernment at last bore fruit. No local leadership was available at the hour of trial. It is possible that many of the common people welcomed the invaders on the theory that any government would be better than that of Constantinople.

In the twenty-two years between the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor and the Crusading invasion they consolidated and organized the country, so that it was a Turkish state with city populations and smoothly working government machinery. One is forced to believe that some Turks had come earlier by peaceful penetration as shepherds or traders, and had prepared the way for the armed forces. It seems impossible to believe they could have

established themselves so quickly had the land been entirely new to them. However, the Turks were probably a minority for some decades.

After taking Smyrna, they turned north and came to the walls of Constantinople. They were not prepared to besiege such a powerfully defended city, and so they proceeded to establish their capital in Nicea, only a few miles away. There they could pause, get their breath, and capture Constantinople at their leisure. At least, so it seemed. But if the Byzantines had been unaware of the Seljuk growth in Persia, so were the Turks unaware of the Crusading movement in Europe. The Crusaders were, however, on the move. One day a small rabble attacked them and were easily dispersed—nothing worth troubling about.

Then, without warning, in 1097 the "Iron Men" began to be ferried on Byzantine boats from Europe to Asia Minor. Without ado these silent forces from the unknown north marched the few hours' distance to Nicea, home of the Nicene creed and now the Turkish capital, and laid siege to it. Realizing that its fate was sealed, the sultan and many of his troops escaped. The city fell and was taken over by the wily Byzantine Emperor.

Then the Crusaders started on their hard march south to Antioch, the key to the Holy Land. The Turks, supposing they had come to conquer their kingdom, fell upon them near the present railroad junction of Eski Shehir, and were defeated in the battle of Dorelyum. Konia, another Turkish center, fell. But the Crusaders had not yet begun to think of states for themselves. They conquered and pressed on, leaving to the Byzantines all they won. Later their kingdoms to the south gave the Byzantines valuable buffer states. As they were marching overland, the Byzantine Emperor equipped a great fleet, sailed along the coast of Asia Minor, and recaptured the Aegean Islands, Smyrna and the whole of western Anatolia.

The Eastern Roman Empire had had given back to it nearly a third of its old domain. However, Europe paid

a big price for this gift. It is estimated that while 250,000 Crusaders left Constantinople for the long march over the plateaus of Turkey in the First Crusade, 30,000 arrived in Palestine, to assist in the siege of Jerusalem. European bones whitened the road followed by the crusading army, but the Turkish domination of western Asia Minor was delayed for two hundred and fifty years. In fact, Jean Ducas with a Greek fleet drove the Turks from Smyrna in 1097, and the Turks did not regain it permanently till 1419, over three hundred years later.

I shall not give the detail of the slow recapture of western Turkey. Scarcely had the Crusaders left Konia before the Turks reentered it. Then, using that for a base, they pushed slowly down the valleys, and across the ranges and plains, winning here and losing there, a long border warfare producing hatred and suffering.

The result was never in doubt. The various Crusades, the Latin kingdoms in the East, the Venetian and Genoese conquests for trading stations, all these postponed the collapse of decadent Constantinople. But the issue had been settled when rash Romanus Diogenes, far off by the Persian boundary, had failed to realize that his army and his generals were broken reeds not to be leaned upon, and had failed to make terms with Alp Arslan, Emperor of the Seljuks.

Smyrna, Turkey. LEE VROOMAN.

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LUTHER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ISLAM

In vain do we search for a somewhat objective account of the religion of the false Prophet in the Middle Ages. There is much abuse and vituperation; but only a few, such as Raymund Lull or the noble Peter Venerabilis, try to arouse Christianity for missionary work among Moslems. Just the reverse fault is made in modern times; the age of Rationalism regards Islam as the type of enlightened, free-thinking religiousness. Between these two extremes stands Dr. Martin Luther, who penetrates with remarkable sagacity into the religion of "the Turks," as far as the means at his disposal allow him, and who endeavors to gain a just judgment without denying his Christian standpoint.

Why did Luther take up the study of Islam? It was not the desire of spreading his Gospel that caused Luther to speak repeatedly about Islam. He could not have had the missionary interest of today, neither was he of the opinion that the Gospel had been sufficiently preached to all nations in the age of the Apostles. That could not in the least be said of Islam. Luther knew very well, on the contrary, that the Gospel must be proclaimed up to the Last Day. But he had such difficulty in finding preachers for the young Protestant parishes in his own country, that there was no time left for him to provide foreign nations with preachers. The political situation of Europe at that time did draw his attention toward the Turks as the leading Islamic nation of his age, who were also a threatening danger for all Christianity. But for him Islam only meant the religion of the Turks. In 1518 he declared the visitation through the Turks a well-deserved "rod of our transgressions," a judgment of God. He

considered the Turk as the Gog of the Revelation of St. John. In 1526 the Christianity of Europe was terribly endangered by the unfortunate battle of Motacy, and in 1529 by the siege of Vienna.

Luther was in favor of defence, though he did not wish the Emperor to oppose the Turk as "the head of Christianity," which, he said, he was not. He did not wish any religious war at all; but he thought it absolutely necessary for Christianity to set aside its lack of interest and complete ignorance as to Islam. He felt it very depressing not to have any reliable book on Mohammedanism within reach and so to be unable to get an adequate view of Islam. He wished to refute the fatal doctrines of the Turks. He longed to see a well-preserved copy of the Koran; he believed that the translation of such a book would clearly prove the absurdity of the Turkish doctrines. But he was also stimulated by truly missionary motives. He hoped that a few Turks might be called out of their darkness by Christian scholars, who lived among them as prisoners of war, and that the oppressed Christians in Europe and Asia might be strengthened and enabled to fight more successfully for the Gospel.

Finally, Luther believed that the great contrast between the Christian and the Moslem doctrine might have a beneficial effect on Protestant Christians, as it was conducive to the welfare of the Church to have to fight against different enemies, and as it was her duty to provide her members with good arguments against each of them.

Luther foresaw that Protestantism would be best qualified to overcome Islam. He said (but was mistaken in this) that the Roman Catholic Church had hitherto evaded fighting because it would have put her into the strange condition of opposing many things which she maintained herself, e. g., the doctrine of salvation by works.

What did Luther know of Islam? As early as 1529 he had published the "*Libellus de vita et moribus Tur-*

carum" (book on the Life and Customs of the Turks). In 1530 he became, to his great pleasure, acquainted with the *"Confutatio Alcorani"* (Confutation of the Koran) by the Dominican Ricoldus of Montecroce, that great missionary among Mohammedans of the Middle Ages (1320), and with other polemic essays. But not before 1542 did he publish the German version of this Confutation.

In the same year he recommended to the town council of Basle the publishing of the Latin translation of the Koran by Theodor Bibliander, who was about to be imprisoned for his work. Luther was of the opinion that no man could be turned from his faith by reading the Koran. In 1543 he added a Preface to this translation. Of course, Luther's knowledge of Islam was not complete, and was sometimes erroneous, but he was in advance of his time in demanding a serious discussion of Islam and a thorough knowledge of its original sources. His opinion that Mohammed denied the Trinity, Baptism, Sacrament and Gospel, cannot be upheld today. The Koran mentions the Holy Spirit, as well as unqualifiedly the Gospel, but Luther was right in holding that Mohammed did not know anything of what we consider the vital points of the Gospel: Christ's call to repentence and His death on the cross and His propitiatory sacrifice. Nor did Mohammed ever assert, as Luther believed, that he had conversed with God and the Angels; the well-known legend of the journey of Mohammed to heaven, erroneously derived from Tradition, is a later fiction; nor did Mohammed ever teach that Jesus and Mary were without sin, however highly he glorified them. But all this does not disprove the fact that Luther had a comparatively true insight into the doctrines of Islam. Besides Mohammed, he knew several notable Arabian philosophers, at any rate he mentions Avicenna (=Ibn Sina), Al Fraganus (=Fargani), and Averroes (=Ibn Rushd); but we do not know how much he knew of their writings.

How does Luther judge Islam? He differs essentially from medieval judges of Islam in not sharing their one-sided condemnation of this faith. On the contrary, he uses appreciative words regarding the Moslems: "their religious zeal is exemplary, as well as their good government, their laws, and their sincerity." "There is no man so wicked but has some good in him," Luther says mildly. He even commends their tolerance: "they let people believe what they like, and force no one to deny Christ." Later on, however, he had to modify this high praise, since he knew that the Turks were not allowed to preach Christ in public or to say anything against Mohammed. Also his former praise of their discipline and silence at prayers—"such silence and discipline is not to be found among us"—was later on contradicted by his harsh words, "all *that* is mere semblance." Still, he complained that the Christians, who had the word of God, and confessed the name of Christ, were worse Christians than the Moslems, whose asceticism "put to shame Carthusians and Benedictines." He even esteemed the Pope below the Turks, because the former, he said, burned innocent followers of Christ. He perhaps meant—and here we see his missionary interest—that Turks were more easily gained for the Gospel than nominal Christians.

But Luther also saw the dark side of Islam; its legality (in the interdiction of wine and images, the ablutions, fasts, prayer exercises) conversion by sword, the holy war, the abuse of secular power—all this reminded him of the Roman Catholic Church, whose controversy against Islam had been unsuccessful in consequence of these very faults. "Turkish, Jewish, and Popish faith is almost one thing." He blamed their scornful rejection of the dogma of the Trinity, and their fatalism. Their "word of God" was fictitious, their polygamy horrible. Luther's categorical statement: "They reject Christ and David and the Prophets," overshoots the mark. But was he not right in reproaching Mohammed for his confused

position towards the Bible? At one time, Luther said, he overrated it, at another he declared it falsified, so that in the eyes of Mohammedans the Gospel appears antiquated. They believe its laws had been too difficult, so in the Koran God had given a new law, an easier one, that was not so hard to keep. Luther said that the lax morality of the Koran was unworthy of God, far too human and fanciful, but that the extension of Islam because of these qualities was not astonishing.

What did Luther think about Missions to Moslems? More than once he considered the question whether Christianity was not bound to do missionary work among the followers of Islam. Already in 1519, in his interpretation of the second Psalm, Luther wrote that the Mohammedans might be converted if the number of Christians among them were increased. Though he often seemed to consider Islam as a mere herald of the coming judgment, its time of grace was over, and it was guilty of its own doom. He still imperatively demanded in 1522, in his *Bulla de Coena Domini,* that the Pope should not support the wars against the Turks, but should rather have men go and preach the Gospel to them. On the whole, he maintained the hope that Christianity would surely venture an attack on this Prophet before the second advent of the Lord. "But," he wrote with regard to this great task, "if indeed we do not convert the Turks, let us remain strong in our faith," and at any rate strengthen the Christians living among the Mohammedans, lest they should give way to the temptation of falling away. "The danger is great," he wrote, "for there are worse conditions, in many respects, among Christians than among Turks."

What did Luther's colleagues think of Islam? None of Luther's friends felt so deeply moved about Islam as Bucer (1491–1551), the Reformer of Strasbourg. He complained: "They take the land from the Jews, the Turks and the heathen, but they do not care to gain their souls for Christ, our Lord, and as they are not cared for,

they act as robbers against us." (Bucer, *Von der wahren Seelsorge.*) He hopes that those Turks who belong to Christ through predestination will be completely brought to Him.

Melanchthon was, on the whole, of the opinion that "true preachers of the Gospel were to be found all over the world, even in Asia and Cyprus and Constantinople." But nevertheless he thought about the conversion of the Mohammedans and wrote about it after Luther's death (1562), in a preface to an "Account about a Disputation between a Christian Prisoner in Turkey and a Dervish in 1547." This work, which was highly reputed in its time, also dealt with the question of the conversion of the Turks.

All these appeals of the Reformers, made to the conscience of Protestant Christendom, proved vain. Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century did the Protestant Church make earnest attempts towards the realization of Luther's demand that Protestant Christians were in duty bound to bring the Gospel also to the Turks.

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THE CHAMS OF FRENCH INDO-CHINA

The Chams have not received the attention in the world's thought that they deserve. You may look through several encyclopedias and dictionaries, under any spelling you please, without finding the slightest mention of them. One dictionary indeed (the latest edition of Webster), gives the word, but only in an ethnological table, and ventures no information about the race. The latest edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica gives a short article about them, but with two or three inaccuracies.

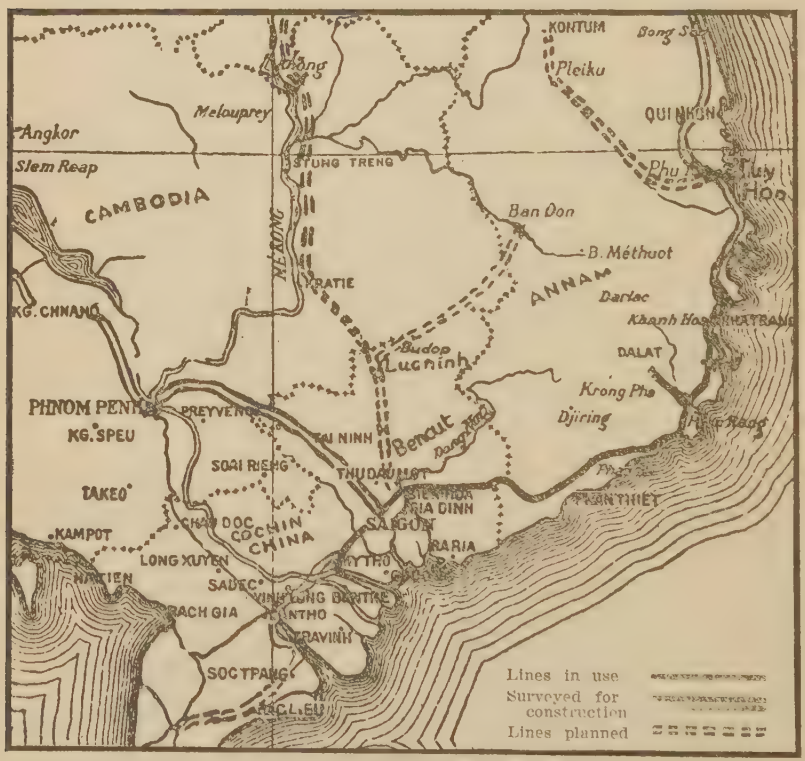
The Chams are not the only Moslems in French Indo-China; yet they make up more than half the Mohammedan population of those territories. They are indigenous to the country, and for that as well as perhaps other reasons, are more interesting as a study than the immigrant Moslems there. The *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* gives the figures for Moslems in French Indo-China as follows: Tjam (Cham) 120,000; Malays, 80,000; recent immigrants from South India who speak Tamil, 10,000.

The word Cham has been written in various ways. In the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman,* we find it given as Tjam. In the book of travels by M. Mouhot, the celebrated naturalist, we find the spelling Thiame. Cham, however, is the spelling found in such publications as the *Revue du Monde Musulman,* and the Encyclopedia Britannica; it seems certain of universal acceptance.[1] We may pronounce it like the English word "sham." The French seem uncertain just what pronunciation to give, for, as we have seen above, M. Mouhot gave the

1 Other spellings found are: Tsiame, Hkiam, Tjame, Tchame, etc.

spelling as Thiame, which would necessitate a pronunciation to rhyme with the French word "âme." M. Cabaton, in his articles in the *Revue du Monde Musulman,* tells us in one place that it is to be pronounced "tiam," and in another place, that it is to be pronounced "tiame." However, the fact that in modern writings the spelling is (practically) always given without the final "e" indicates that the French have settled on the nasalized pronunciation "tiam."

Who are the Chams and what have they been in history? M. Cabaton gives[2] with true French conciseness and clarity, a résumé of this subject, upon which we cannot improve:



RAILWAY MAP OF INDO-CHINA
Reduced and reprinted by special permission, from a map in the *Asiatic Review,* London.

"Les Chams—pron. *tiam* (*sic*)—sont les derniers habitants de l'ancien Champa, royaume riche en souvenirs, visité par les Arabes dès

2 *Revue du Monde Musulman,* Vol. I, p. 28.

le septième siècle et plus tard par Marco Polo. . . . Il s'étendait le long de la côte de l'Annam, à l'est du delta du Mekong et peut-être aussi un peu à l'ouest. Après nombre de guerres malheureuses contre les Annamites, il fut définitivement conquis au dix-septième siècle. Les Chams, qui appartiennent à la grande famillle malayo-polynésienne, sont maintenant dans une décadence complete et repartis dans le Binh-Thuan en Annam, le Cambodge et quelques points du Siam."

In this and also in his later article [3] M. Cabaton goes on to say that the original home (*berceau*) of the Malayo-Polynesian race was almost certainly here on the eastern coast of Indo-China, and that the Chams, with other allied races, were probably the first possessors of the Peninsula. It follows also from this that the Malays, who have in such large numbers settled in Annam and Cambodia, have only gone back to their original prehistoric home.

The Chams are found only in a few rather specialized localities in the south and south-east of the Indo-Chinese peninsula; that is, in the province of Binh-Thuan, of Annam; also on the shores of the great lake Tonle-Sap, in Cambodia, and along the Mekong where it flows through Cambodia and Cochin-China.

The *Annuaire du Monde Musulman* claims all the Chams for Islam, saying, "Tous les Tjams sont maintenant, ou franchement musulmans ou semi-islamisés (les 10,000 Tjams Kafirs restés Brahmanistes, ont introduit Allah (Po Ovlah) et le Prophète (Po Rasullak) dans leur Pantheon)." This is very interesting, but we are inclined to believe that the editor of the *Annuaire* claims too much, for all other authorities that we have consulted are quite definite in their statements that a large number of the Chams still adhere to the Brahmanist religion, although they too speak of the fact that by the easy tolerance of the race, Allah and Mohammed have been added to the number of Hindu deities worshipped by the Brahmanists. Cabaton and Baudesson, especially, make a clear distinction between the Chams Kafir (infidel), or Brahmanists, and the Moslem Chams. We are assured, by the way, that the term Kafir gives no offence to the

[3] *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. I, p. 32; Vol. II, p. 130.

Brahmanist Chams, and that they indeed use this name in speaking of themselves. On the other hand, the Mohammedan Chams call themselves Bani, or Children of the Faith.

How widely the ancient kingdom of Champa extended we cannot say exactly. Cabaton connects the name Champa with the champac (champaka), that shrub or tree whose white or yellow blossoms are so familiar to every dweller in India and the Far East. He also suggests that the kingdom of Champa is noticed by Ptolemy under the name Zabai. M. Le Commandant E. Aymonier has succeeded through the most arduous researches in bringing together a remarkable amount of information concerning the history of this vanished kingdom. He gives a connected account of it from very early, if not the earliest times, in his little book, "The History of Tchampa." (See bibliography at the end of this paper for date and publisher.) Here we can give no more than M. Cabaton's brief statement.[4]

"Au troisième siècle après J.-C., la stèle de Nhatrang vante le glorieux empire du Champa; au treizième siècle, déjà en décadence, il émerveillait encore Marco Polo. Dès le quatrième siècle, le Champa fut attaqué au nord par l'avantgarde chinoise . . . qui se constitue au dixième siècle en peuple independant sous le nom d'Annamites; un peu plus tard, il est pressé au sud-est et à l'ouest par les Cambodgiens; ces deux turbulents voisins ne pouvaient d'ailleurs s'agrandir et vivre qu'aux dépens des Chams. Le Champa, malgré une résistance acharnée, fut démembré peu à peu; au quinzième siècle, ce qui en reste passe sous l'implacable domination annamite. Nombre de Chams à cette époque s'enfuirent au Cambodge où leurs descendants subsistent encore, nombre d'autres furent emmenés captifs en Annam; les débris de la race végétèrent au Binh-thuan."

After the downfall of the kingdom of Champa, and the dispersion of its people, the records become much more reliable and detailed, but we have not space, nor would it perhaps be of interest to trace the various feuds, uprisings, intrigues and plots of those centuries; until the coming of the French, just as has been the case with the British power among the warring races of India Proper, brought peace to the regions which they took under their

4 *Revue du Monde Musulman*, Vol. II, p. 130 and 131.

control. The one thing significant in this maze of intrigue and bloodshed, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, is the fact that in spite of their great inferiority as to numbers, the Mohammedans of those countries, whether Malays or Chams, exercised remarkable influence in the affairs of state, as one or another enterprising Moslem pushed himself to the front, and seized military or civil power. Especially colorful is the figure of Prah Ram, the Apostate, who, the old chronicles state, abjured his own religion, Buddhism, and became a convert to Islam, for love of a Malay princess, who demanded this change as the price of her hand. Like many converts, Prah Ram became the most zealous of all adherents to the new faith, and drew with him many of his court to a profession of Islam.

When and how did Islam reach Indo-China? M. Cabaton regards the problem as one of great difficulty, and says that two hypotheses offer themselves; either that the religion was brought by Arab (and Persian) merchants, or that it was introduced by an influx of Malays. The only sources, he says, are the stories of Arab voyagers, a few Cham legends, and the more or less official records of Khmers, Annamites, and Chinese—the last-named being of course the most accurate. Since M. Cabaton wrote his articles, however, something has been done in the way of further researches, and in particular we have the great and perhaps decisive discovery of the two inscriptions so thoroughly dealt with by M. Paul Ravaisse in his article, "Deux Inscriptions Coufique du Campa."[5] These two inscriptions in the Arabic character are centuries old; one of them indeed has so many lacunae in it that much of its value has been impaired. But as we cannot deal here in detail with these ancient records, we would simply point out that these inscriptions, added to what is known before their recovery, render it practically certain that Islam was brought to the kingdom of Champa by Arab merchants or voyagers,

5 *Journal Asiatique*, Tome XX, Oct.–Dec., 1922.

while also we realize that the new religion received real impetus and support from Malay immigration, and also from the intercourse between the closely allied races of Chams and Malays (as witness the royal wooing above).

M. Cabaton indeed had expressed his preference for this view that Arab influence was responsible for the introduction of Islam into Champa, though he wrote his articles so long before the discovery of the two inscriptions of which M. Paul Ravaisse writes; and thus we may say that M. Cabaton by his really erudite researches had practically anticipated the final conclusion. He has gone very deeply into the records of Arab enterprise and travel, through those dim and distant centuries.

As to the time at which Islam was brought to Champa, M. Cabaton thinks it might have been as early as the tenth, or as late as the fourteenth century; M. Ravaisse, however, has his inscriptions to show that it was almost certainly not later than the tenth century. And in fact, he goes to some trouble to explain why the religion was not brought into the country earlier than that:

"Pourquoi aussi les colons musulmans viennent-ils s'installer si tard (Xe siècle) au Campa? Pourquoi leurs établissements, leurs comptoirs, n'y jouissent-ils pas de la même solidité ni de la même force d'expansion que les colonies similaires de Chine, si nombreuses, si longtemps prospères, si agissantes au point de vue de la Propagande? Pourtant les navires de Basra, de Siraf, et de l'Oman doublent regulièrement la terre d'Indochine pour se rendre au pays de Sin. Il faut vraisemblablement attribuer ce dédain général des navigateurs et des merchands musulmans pour le Campa à la rigueur du climat, à la difficulté de trafiquier librement et d'exploiter les produits du sol, à l'inhospitalité des habitants violents et querelleurs, à la piraterie, à l'absence de bons ports, et peut-être aussi aux revolutions politiques."

M. Cabaton asserts most emphatically that Islam would have disappeared absolutely (définitivement) from Champa had it not been repeatedly revived by Malay immigrations, and M. Ravaisse speaks to the same purport: "Ce qui est certain, c'est que l'islamisme n'y a pénétré avec succès et ne s'y est maintenu que grâce aux relations des Chams avec l'Indonésie occidentale au cours des siècles suivants."

Perhaps the most interesting point brought out by these learned researches is that the Chams have apparently numbered the Mohammedan Allah among their medieval sovereigns. M. Cabaton speaks of[6] "Une légende historique des Chams qui place à la tête des rois ayant eu Shri-Bancy pour capitale, le Po ou seigneur Ovlah (Allah) qui régna de 1000 à 1036. . . . Les Chams Banis . . . ont-ils voulu matérialiser le Dieu de l'Islam?" In our own opinion, we may definitely answer this question in the affirmative, though M. Cabaton suggests another explanation also.

Captain Henry Baudesson, who had excellent opportunities for studying this race while he was working on a topographical survey in French Indo-China, says of them:[7] "The Chams have preserved almost unmodified their physical and moral characteristics, largely by means of their law which prohibits inter-marriage with any other people. For this reason they exhibit a marked contrast to the Annamites." Describing the Cham, he says:

"The skin is somewhat coarse and varies between a dark brown and a shade of reddish brown, such as a European acquires after long exposure in a tropical climate. The auburn or black hair is fine and brittle, while the growth of beard and moustache is more generous than among the Annamites. . . . The lips and facial outline offer resemblances to those of the European. This is not remarkable, for of all Asiatics the Cham and the Malays exhibit the nearest approach to the Western type."

What interests us particularly in this description is the mention of auburn hair, or as M. Cabaton calls it, "cheveux châtain foncé" which sometimes is found instead of black. Capt. Baudesson goes on to say:

"If the vigor of this race has not deteriorated during the last centuries, it is certain that their fertility has diminished. For some time the birth-rate has remained stationary. Retrogression is exhibited in other ways also, for although their ancient civilization must have been highly advanced, little trace of it remains in their present low level of intellect. All ambition to renew the glories of the past has long since evaporated. The ruins of many monuments tell of the ancient splendors, but the living representatives are quite content to recount the triumphs without any desire to emulate them. Is it incapacity or merely

6 *Revue du Monde Musulman,* Vol. I, p. 31.
7 "Indo-China and Its Primitive People," tr. by E. Appleby Holt, p. 227 and 228.

universal apathy? The indolence of the Cham is notorious. Even the building of their houses they leave to their neighbors the Annamites."

Authorities agree in describing them as gentle, courteous, hospitable, mild in temper (in which they would seem to differ markedly from their cousins the Malays) and winning and likeable in disposition; but, as Captain Baudesson has pointed out, quite without energy or initiative. Their many superstitions, too, keep them in a kind of bondage which would prevent progress, even if there were no other obstacles; but still more obstructive is their prejudice against any action not sanctioned by ancestral practice. "Á tous les arguments raisonnables," says M. Cabaton, "leur apathie oppose la détestable réponse de toutes les routines: 'Nos pères faisaient ainsi et s'en trouvaient bien; pourquoi agirions-nous autrement que nos pères?' "

Captain Baudesson gives a truly amusing account of the difficulties which his engineering mission experienced by reason of the superstitions which hinder every Cham undertaking step by step. We can only say that the patience shown by Captain Baudesson and his companions, and their courtesy to the Chams under very trying conditions, are a tribute to French ability in colonizing and administration, and seem to us in marked contrast to the attitude often, if not always, assumed by British officials in India.

The indolence of the Chams goes so far that in Annam at any rate, if not in Cambodia, they are not even able or willing to construct their own houses, crude and primitive as these buildings are. In Annam, the Chams always call in Annamites to do this work, while the Chams perform the various rites and ceremonies necessary at each step in the construction, as well as the grand final dedication. The most striking thing, as M. Cabaton well expresses it, about a Cham village in Annam, is the bare and arid appearance of the site on which the houses are constructed, for they believe it the worst kind of ill fortune for the shade of any tree to fall upon a dwelling.

The absence of all trees from a Cham village means that the low thatched huts have no protection at all from the fierce and burning rays of the tropic sun. The heat in these little dwellings can only be realized by those who have lived in the Orient under similar conditions. Captain Baudesson and his companions found their experiences in these Cham villages trying indeed, and the writer, having been a missionary for years in Burma, can sympathize with him, for while the Burmese usually have an abundance of delightful shade trees in their villages, certain tribes in Burma, such as the Lahu, allow trees within their village limits no more than do the Chams, though in the case of the Lahus it probably is not superstition, but the ease of getting firewood and kindlings without going to any distance, which causes the extreme bareness of a Lahu village.

The Chams, though unable or unwilling to construct their own dwellings, are yet skilful in certain occupations, notably the making of carts, for which they have long been famous in those regions, and the completion of each cart calls for a dedicatory service, quaint and interesting indeed, but too long to describe here.

The more we read of the Chams, the more we find, not only that their observance of the prescribed practices of Islam is very lax, but that what rites and customs they do have, are very likely to be either animistic or Brahmanistic in origin. This laxness, however, is not for lack of priests or *mullahs,* since they have a regular hierarchy. These priests are classified by M. Cabaton according to their rank, as follows:

1. Po gru or Ong gru (Sanskrit, *guru*) "le chef de la classe sacerdotale."
2. *Imoms* (Imams), "ministres officiants."
3. *Katips* (Arabic, *khatib*) those who do the reading or reciting at the mosques.
4. *Modins* or muezzins.
5. *Achars* (Sanskrit, *acarya*) those who teach the boys their letters.

"The rank of a priest," says Captain Baudesson, "is indicated by the length of the scarlet and gold tassels on

his turban. Otherwise there is no distinction in the costume, which consists of a white *sarong,* a white shirt fastened with yellow glass buttons and a white girdle also ornamented with tassels. The crook is a long rattan stalk carried in the hand." Cabaton tells us that the *mullahs,* when officiating, wear, instead of the turban, a fez on which is a sort of disk, pierced in the centre.

None of the priests know Arabic (to converse, we presume this means) but a few of them can read it, with difficulty. They learn by heart Surahs of the Koran, and also prayers in what they fondly believe to be Arabic, but in pronouncing which, as they recite or intone, they change the pronunciation so much that the words are hardly recognizable. The few copies of the Koran are badly written, and full of mistakes. They do not even call it the Koran, but use other names for it. The Chams in Cambodia are more orthodox, and stricter in their observance of the precepts of Islam, than are the Chams of Annam. Since there is this distinction between the two forms of the religion, we had best consider them separately.

In Annam, Ramadan is observed by the people for three days only. The priests, however, observe it for the whole month, during which time they do not go forth from their mosque, except to perform the "grandes ablutions," which they perform in a river. The mosques are simply mat structures on a bamboo framework, but of course set so as to face towards Mecca. Their only furniture or equipment seems to consist of a few mats, a drum to call the faithful to prayer, and a pulpit, which, both Cabaton and Baudesson say, never seems to be occupied. That these mosques do not play a great part in the religious life of the people is evident from Captain Baudesson's statement that it is doubtful if more than a dozen can be found in the whole of Annam.

Every Friday the *mullahs* of all ranks assemble for recitation of the Koran and of prayers, but the service is sparsely attended by the laity, and the required quorum

of forty is seldom if ever attained. In fact, it is difficult to see how forty people could get into one of the mosques, as these are merely narrow huts which could hardly accommodate a single family. At the close of this Friday worship is a feast during which all present, with the possible exception of the priests, freely indulge in alcoholic liquor.

To a great extent, they neglect the prescribed ablutions. Some of them go to the trouble of digging a hole in the sand, as though making a little well, and then going through the motions of drawing water and pouring it on themselves. This, M. Cabaton insists, is not the "dry purification" allowed by the Islamic law for adherents in waterless regions, but is a mere pretense of simulated purification. They seem to do better about the five daily prayers, although these would not be recognized under the strange names given to them.

Circumcision is, in Annam, simply a simulation of the act, and the ceremony takes place just before the boy is married, *i. e.,* at the age of about fifteen years. The chief *mullah* holds a wooden knife and simply pretends to perform the act. The boy on this occasion is given his religious name, which is nearly always Ali, Ibrahim, or Mohammed, but for the usual occasions of daily life, he is still called by his ordinary name.

On the other hand, while thus neglecting the real act of circumcision, they make a great deal of a ceremony performed for girls when they attain a marriageable age. As described by Cabaton and Baudesson, it is surprisingly free from anything obscene or even objectionable. The *mullahs* fast and pray all night, while the girls are kept in an enclosure with four matrons who are charged with their care. In the morning, clothed in their finest array, the girls are couducted with great ceremony to the presence of the Ong Gru and his priests. A very young baby, clothed in the best garments, is also brought before the Ong Gru and is first the object of his attentions. The Ong Gru places between the baby's lips a grain of salt,

offers it a drink of water, and then cuts a lock of hair from its forehead. He then performs the same three acts with each of the girls, except that in case it is ocularly evident that any girl has already lost her chastity, the lock of hair is cut from the nape of the neck—a mark of shame among the Buddhists of Indo-China as well as among Chams. After this ceremony is concluded, the girls retire, put up their hair into the chignon or *sadon,* as Burmans would call it, and reappear personally before the *mullahs,* and then turn their attention to the gifts of clothing, ornaments, silver, even buffaloes and heaps of rice, with which they have been presented. The girls are now available for marriage.

It would be impossible to enter into a description of other ceremonies. The rites of wedding, for example, are extended and somewhat complicated, but cannot be noticed here. We are assured however, that in most or nearly all cases, the ceremony takes place only after the fact, and is often omitted entirely, on account of the great expense connected with it.

The ceremonies which seem to be most in vogue among the Chams are not Islamic at all in character, but are animistic or Brahmanistic in origin. There is the ceremony of the priestess who becomes rigid. This is undertaken to appease the ire, or secure the favorable action of the *prauk*—spirits either of those who died in early infancy, or of those who were merely abortions. These spirits are supposed to pass into squirrels, and to be extremely malevolent and powerful. Offerings of fruit are passed through the incense of burning aloeswood, and the priestess, who may be just one of the daughters of the family, officiating for the occasion, after certain prayers and incantations, falls backward into a "slumber interrupted by nervous starts." At last she awakes, and announces that the divinities have deigned to accept the offerings. Then there is the ceremony of the priestess who swings. This is performed in worship of ancestors. Captain Baudesson describes it as follows: [8]

8 "Indo-China and Its Primitive People," p. 306–308.

"The priestess clothed in a long white robe . . . joined with an assistant priest in the steps of a saraband. Together they gave vent to their feelings in dancing, singing, prayers, imprecations, tears, grinding of teeth and hypnotic ecstasies, all with the object of appeasing the shades of the ancestors. Suddenly the priestess seated herself on the swing. . . . She swung herself slowly to and fro, running her hands up and down the supporting ropes and droning through endless prayers. When she had finished, the priest followed her example and went through the same rigmarole. . . . The religious celebrations lasted three days, interspersed with feasts and other diversions, notably an acrobatic display by a performer who roused his audience to a frenzy of enthusiasm. At the beginning of each feast, a priest called all the deities by name, and executed the movements of a dance in their honor."

We then read of a rag monkey in a toy boat, set afloat upon the waters of a canal, where boat and monkey together speedily sank and disappeared.

We note in these rites, what is probably quite foreign to the spirit of Islam, that priestesses officiate and in fact take the leading rôle, while the priest is only an assistant. The priestesses do not form a regular caste, and in fact seem to hold offices only temporarily.

There is the greatest good feeling between the Chams Bani and the Chams Kafir. The latter have put Allah and Mohammed into their pantheon, while on the other hand the Chams Bani worship, as we have seen, many gods besides Allah, and of these deities some are evidently Hindu in origin. Out of deference to each other's religious scruples, the Banis do not raise cattle, nor do the Kafirs keep swine. The friendly relations existing between adherents of the two religions are evidenced by the fact that the priests of one cult attend, by invitation, the ceremonies performed by worshippers of the other cult, and are always given places of honor, and treated with great deference. This friendly fellowship among the priests is no doubt praiseworthy, but the willingness to worship each other's deities shows an appalling lack of sincerity and conviction.

The Chams Bani, however, in Annam, do show real reverence for their cult in one respect, and that is their unwillingness to allow a marriage between a Kafir girl and a Bani man. Since the children always follow the

religion of the mother, such a marriage would mean that the children in this case would become Brahmanist, and lost to the faith of the Banis. This invariable rule among the Chams, that children adopt the religion of the mother, is considered by writers on the subject to be a survival of the matriarchate. There are various other customs which are also declared to have originated from an earlier matriarchal system.

The agrarian rites practised both by the Chams Bani and by the Chams Kafir have received especial attention from the writers on the subject. Baudesson's account [9] is as follows:

"Both peoples recognize three kinds of sacred ricefields, in which no manner of work may be carried on without the accompaniment of a special ritual. If, in the course of ploughing a ricefield, excessive fatigue has been occasioned to either man or beast, sufficient to cause illness, the field becomes taboo. . . . Every village has its two or three sacred ricefields . . . which are invariably the first to be ploughed. The owner with his wife, who plays the principal part in the ceremony, goes to the field in question, either in the evening or at dawn. They lay down a mat at one corner and on it place two eggs, a cup of spirits and three betel leaves, which the wife offers as a sacrifice to Po Olwah Tak Ala, the great Lord of the Underworld. . . . Husband and wife share the good things between them while making three furrows round the field. After this ceremony ploughing and sowing may proceed in the ordinary manner. There are also fields where cultivation is forbidden. . . . To speak more accurately, the interdict only extends to open cultivation, and the tabooed area is ploughed and worked in secret. . . . With the first signs of day, the husband and wife go to the field, and after making three furrows in silence, return home. When morning comes they walk to the place and profess the greatest astonishment that the work of ploughing has already begun. 'Who is the kindly Spirit?' they exclaim, 'who has worked for us while we slept?' Without loss of time they run back to their house to fetch suitable offerings. So great a marvel as a field which cultivates itself is worthy to be consecrated with a sacrifice. . . . The remaining operations may be carried out without further concealment."

Further ceremonies are necessary, however, at regular intervals during the growth of the crop, and at harvest. Rites are also necessary for the harvesting of grain from unconsecrated fields, but in the latter case these ceremonies are much more simple.

9 "Indo-China and its Primitive People," p. 297, ff.

The Chams, whether Moslem or Brahmanist, are firm believers in Black Magic; they hold that there are certain individuals quite capable of causing death to others by means of sorcery, even from a distance. They also have a very high opinion of the value of human bile. It is considered exceedingly efficacious either as a medicine or as a means to render the body invulnerable. It is of no value, however, unless taken from a living person, and in former times, says Baudesson, "murders without number were committed for the purpose of obtaining it." Of course, under French rule, this kind of thing is not tolerated—another instance where the unholy and materialistic power of Western civilization seems to have done some good among an Eastern people. So the Chams are now compelled to do without their bile, although, says M. Cabaton quaintly, they cherish no less firm a conviction as to its virtue.

Women are well treated among the Chams, and as we have seen, there is no child marriage. A woman not only has the privilege of choosing her husband, but also of securing a divorce in case she wishes it. The good wife has a good deal of authority in her home, and in case of divorce keeps the children, the house, and at least one-third of the goods. The Chams Bani are aware, of course, of the Islamic law that allows four wives to a man, but on account of their extreme poverty, monogamy is the rule. Adultery is in theory punishable with death, but in reality this penalty is commuted to a fine, or perhaps a beating.

Funeral rites, too long to detail here, are carried out mainly to prevent the spirits of the dead from returning to trouble the living, and are thus plainly animistic in origin. The funeral itself has perhaps nothing unusual about it, but the prolongation, or we might say, repetition, of it, is worthy of remark. Feasts accompanied by ceremonies—which M. Cabaton stigmatizes as heterodox—take place at stated intervals after the burial. These "commemorative services" take place at the grave, three

days, seven days, ten days, thirty days, forty days, one hundred days, and a year and three days, after the original funeral. In many cases also—"dans toutes les conjonctures graves"—the remains are exhumed one year after the decease, taken away to a spot considered sacred, and there reburied with rites and ceremonies identical to those of the original burial.

The Chams of Cambodia differ in many respects from those of Annam. They have at least a little more of energy, initiative, and desire to progress, qualities which M. Cabaton attributes to their association with the Malays of that region. Their houses are in general better built and more comfortable, while the villages show an air of prosperity and are well shaded by trees, for they do not share the prejudice of their brother Chams in Annam on that subject. They are stricter in religion, but less eclectic, if we may use that term, for they raise cattle as well as buffaloes, but never swine. They are much better instructed in the tenets of Islam than the Chams of Annam; they worship no deity but Allah, and carefully perform the five daily prayers and the prescribed ablutions. They are scrupulous about having forty present at the Friday prayer-service in the mosque. The drinking of alcoholic liquor is rare among them, and is severely punished when it does occur. Some of them even make the pilgrimage to Mecca. They not only abstain from pork, but also from the flesh of the elephant, the peacock or peahen, the crocodile, the vulture, the eagle, and the crow. The *imams* have great authority over them, and even punish by fines or beatings those who violate the laws of Islam. The worship of any god other than Allah would result in excommunication. Deploring the errors of the Chams in Annam on these various points, they send *hadjis* to them, with the view of reforming their co-religionists, but in vain. The laity as well as the *mullahs* observe the Ramadan fast throughout the entire month. Besides Ramadan they also observe the "month of fast for the pilgrims"; the "pursuit," to commemorate

Mohammed's flight to Medina; the ceremony of repentance, by which old people seek release from their sins; and also a ceremony to celebrate a young *mullah's* completion of his theological studies.

Circumcision among them is not a mere pretense, but is actually performed by the *Imams* on boys when they have attained the age of fifteen or thereabouts. There is no *Karch,* or ceremony of initiation such as we have described, for girls. There is, however, a ceremony, also Islamic in character, which involves cropping a lock of hair, and which is performed on all children, boys as well as girls. They believe as firmly in witchcraft, and in the efficacy of human bile, as do the Annam Chams, but they have little in the way of agrarian rites.

The Chams are one of the neglected races of earth. So far as appears, no mission work whatever is carried on for them, and they do not even for the most part seem to be within the radius of influence of the stations where work is carried on for the Annamese and Cambodians. True, this would hardly seem to be necessary, and yet many of the minor races of earth have at least some portion of Scripture in their own tongue. Just recently, we have been reading of what has been done in the way of Bible translation for the Mams, a tribe in South America, that number not over two hundred thousand, or about the same as the Chams.

It is these minor races of earth among whom the greatest results are often achieved in mission work. It seems as though in many cases there had been in the past history of such races special preparation by the action of the divine Spirit, by which not only are they more receptive to the gospel, but they also develop a more earnest and zealous type of Christian life, than is often the case among the more numerous and dominant races of mankind. Witness the remarkable results achieved among the Karens of Burma, although it is true the Karen race, taking all their branches together, greatly outnumber the Chams. But other races, numbering only one, or at most,

two hundred thousand, have borne wonderful fruit in the gospel. The Chins and Kachins of Burma, the Was, Lahus, and Lisus of southern Yunnan, are only examples among many others which might be given, of how God's blessing seems especially to attend efforts put forth in love and faith for these minor groups. In fact, the thought is often expressed that these lesser races will in time prove to be the really efficient and successful agents for the conversion of the mighty peoples, numbering tens or hundreds of millions, in China and India.

It may well be that the Chams would prove peculiarly responsive to the gospel. Among them, especially among the Chams of Annam, Islam is so changed in form as to be hardly recognizable. It can have no great hold upon their hearts. Probably the greatest factor in strengthening the hold of Islam upon any community is the pilgrimage to Mecca. In any place where there are numbers of these *Hadjis* who have made the sacred journey, their experiences on the way, and at Mecca, told and retold throughout the community, develop an ardent fervor and zeal in the hearts of their co-religionists. But as we have seen, the pilgrimage is not made by the Chams, or at most but very rarely, in the case of Cambodian Chams, and not at all by Chams elsewhere. The very fact that their religious obligations have so light a hold upon these people shows that they are not satisfied—they are ready for something else—waiting for another message—for a gospel which will help them out of their age-long apathy.

The Chams are not difficult of access. For the most part their villages are situated along streams and waterways, and thus they can be reached by boat. Boat travel, however, in such countries is usually slow and uncertain. It is now possible to reach many points in Annam, Cambodia, and Cochin-China, by motor over good roads. The French have successfully pushed the development of hard-surfaced highways, and motor traffic is increasing rapidly. Motor buses are especially numerous in certain

sections, and, as a matter of fact, there are nearly two thousand companies in operation for Public Motor Transport service. Annam, it is true, has not benefited so much by this program of roadbuilding as have Cambodia and Cochin-China, but plans for a very great extension of the system have been laid by the French, and Annam will share largely in this.

A race vigorous and cultured in their past, with great promise for their future, indifferent to the faith they now profess, and therefore with every likelihood of being peculiarly responsive to a new message, await the coming of the Christian missionary.

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AMERICA IN THE CAIRO PRESS

Sixty years ago in the conclusion to his "Innocents Abroad" Mark Twain could write after a tour of the lands of the Mediterranean, "We found that a good many foreigners had hardly ever heard of America, and that a good many more knew it only as a barbarous province away off somewhere." Amazing changes have taken place since that day. Even by the turn of the century tourists and missionaries through schools, hospitals and churches had made the word America a familiar one in the Near East. But it is only in post-war days that American business and American films have so penetrated these lands of the eastern Mediterranean that the native press finds this land beyond the seas a veritable mine of news interest.

A close examination in May, 1929, of *al-Lata'if, Kull Shai, al-Siyasa, Al-Musawwar,* and *al-Sabah,* five of the weekly periodicals, was a revelation of the important place of the United States in the eyes of Egyptian editors. American manufactures had a large share of the foreign advertising. In one week's issue of these five magazines there were articles on Byrd in the Antarctic, the rivalry between Ford and General Motors, the Monroe Doctrine and Coolidge's Five Years in the White House. The moving picture industry occupied considerable space. There was a discussion of the process of making "talkies," a young Egyptian contributed an account of a visit to Hollywood and an interview with Harold Lloyd and Douglas Fairbanks, and Pola Negri in two different papers told at length why she didn't marry Charlie Chaplin. The ever-present problem in America was referred to in an article headed, "New

Ways of Avoiding the Prohibition Law," while a study of the divorce problem in the United States revealed that a Los Angeles judge suggested a renewal of the marriage contract every five years to make it valid. This last fact proved to the writer's satisfaction that in the great republic across the ocean the bonds of wedlock were practically *nil.*

The same weeklies in their issues for the third week of December, 1930, in addition to pages given over to pictures of American actors and actresses, present in illustrated articles the following subjects dealing with America: "Why was Sinclair Lewis awarded the Nobel Prize?" "Life at Vassar College," "Germany bans the film 'All Quiet on the Western Front,'" "Al Capone, the Head of Chicago's Racketeers," "The Dancing Negress, Josephine Baker, talks about herself."

During the year 1930 the *Hilal,* probably the most popular monthly of the whole Arabic-speaking world, published among its wealth of material on the United States a review of the Personal Papers of Colonel House, a study of the life and success of Woolworth the millionaire merchant, a paper with pictures and maps of Byrd's expedition to Antarctica, an interview with the former Minister of Egypt at Washington concerning the wonders of America, an article on religious films, a discussion translated from *World's Work* of the possible cure of the criminal and insane by treating their glands, and a symposium in which prominent Americans gave personal views on the secret of success.

The magazine of the Young Moslem Men's Association has just completed the first year of its history. This organization aims to conduct for Moslems the kind of work that the Y. M. C. A. is doing for youth. The monthly, which is well printed and ably edited, is an interesting combination of medieval and modern thought, of articles on psychological problems and the Prophet's life, of the cooperative movement and the relation of fasting to health, of comment on verses in the Koran and on

spinning and weaving in Japan, on the treatment of ophthalmia and on the prevention of Christian evangelism by sending delegates to Christian meetings to refute the speakers, of the rights of women in Moslem inheritances and the formation of Young Moslem Women's Associations.

In almost every issue of the magazine there has been a discussion of the life and lessons to be learned from world-renowned persons. In this first volume of the *Young Moslem* have appeared studies of Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, Andrew Carnegie, Thomas A. Edison and Henry Ford.

The final number for the first year contains a leading article by the editor, Dr. Yahya Ahmad al-Darduri, on Mohammed, the liberator of the human soul and the founder of equality among all mankind. After citing the Koran and traditions to prove his thesis, he mentions a group of the red American Indians (*sic*) who have professed Islam. One of their leaders on being asked the reason is quoted as replying, "The western lands boast of their civilization and rightly so, yet they are still slaves of prejudices that do not at all agree with the fundamental principles of humanity. Of these there is the prejudice of color which distinguishes between white and red, and which is intent on depriving the red man of his rights which he enjoys, since it does not judge him fitted for them. If a red man should commit a crime, that alone is sufficient to light the fire of prejudice against him, or to tear him to pieces on the highways, or to burn him to death in the presence of a group of white people, who view such a painful incident with gladsome heart. Many hundreds of the negroes of America have seen that the realization of the longing of their souls is assured in Islam, so they have accepted it as their religion."

Under the heading "A Man of the East and a Man of the West," the author of the series of articles on the world's great men compares the heroic work of an unknown Arab soldier who saved pilgrims from the

burning steamer "Asia" with Admiral Byrd and his comrades of the Antarctic expedition. One risked his life for humanity and is forgotten, the other for science and fame and was welcomed on his return by cheering multitudes.

Another Moslem magazine of Cairo that is not yet a year old is *Nur el-Islam,* which is edited by the Ulema group of the Azhar. It is much more limited in its scope than the *Young Moslem Men's Magazine.* Although general religious and educational subjects are sometimes discussed, such as religion as a necessity to culture, and the German ideal of education for children, the view point of the paper is that of the orthodox Azharite. This is to be seen in treatises on Islamic Law as suitable for every age and clime, Islam the religion of man's natural constitution, the relation of ethics to Islamic Law, the interpretation of the story of Shu'ayb.

The editors of this magazine are much more alert to the activity of missionary societies than those connected with literary and scientific journals. American readers would be interested in the criticisms of the *Moslem World.* In the fourth issue of *Nur el-Islam* there is a review of the article on "Jinn" that appeared in the *Moslem World* in April, 1930. The author waives the question of the truth or falsehood of the statements in the article, and concludes with a restatement of Islam's belief in Jinn. An instructor in a government school writes in the third number criticizing the propagation of the gospel in Christian institutions. One of his greatest objections is the critical attitude of mind developed in Moslem students attending mission schools. He was greatly shocked to be asked by one of them, "Did the Prophet have supernatural miracles like those of Moses and Jesus? why did he have so many wives? is it permissible for a prophet to make war?"

The press of Egypt leads a precarious existence. A strict censorship on political activities has produced a new record in the number of daily newspapers banned.

But a few days as a rule are sufficient for the invention of a new name, the securing of a new permit and the appearance from the same office of a new paper that differs from the old only in its more guarded statements regarding the ministry in power. The illustrated weeklies and the monthly reviews as a rule escape much of this closing and opening of doors, because they depend for much of their material on foreign sources. Though there are fifty-seven Greeks, thirty-nine Italians, and twenty-six British subjects to every American in Egypt, the United States furnishes literary material far in excess of this proportion.

Perhaps the reason for this is as stated by Mahmud Sami Pasha, former minister of Egypt at Washington, because the United States has reached such a high degree of development and civilization that it rivals the greatest nations of the world in all departments of material and ethical life. But lest the American's pride imagine that the Arabic press of Egypt sees the United States only as a prosperous and highly civilized country he should look at a full page devoted to a photograph of a lynching in America which appeared in a recent magazine with this title, "This is the way negroes are treated in America." This, too, is a part of the picture of America in the papers of Egypt. On the whole the editors of Arabic papers are quite fair in their mirroring of America's thought and opinion. If the American people want to be more highly esteemed among the peoples of the Near East and of the whole world as well, perhaps there should be a searching test and thorough examination as to character and racial attitudes for those who take ship from our shores for foreign lands. Until that Utopian day arrives, let us not forget that we are being pictured in most of the foreign press very much as we really are. Our progress in science and our efforts for social betterment are heralded just as loudly as the beauty of our cinema stars and the careers of "racketeers."

Cairo, Egypt. E. E. ELDER.

CAN A MOSLEM TRANSLATE THE KORAN?

Each of the two translators of the new English versions of the Koran which appeared last year seems to be under the impression that no one who is not a Moslem is qualified to make an accurate or adequate translation of the Koran. In an article in the last issue of this journal we showed that Mr. Sarwar in the introduction to a new "Translation of the Holy Koran" has violently and most unfairly attacked the three previous translations into the English language, made by Sale, Rodwell and Palmer; and we now propose to deal with the translation of an English Moslem, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, who says in his Foreword, "It may be reasonably claimed that no Holy Scripture can be fairly presented by one who disbelieves its inspiration and its message," and thus without a direct reference to previous English translations by Christians he discounts their value as fair representations of the meaning of the book. Now of course what is necessary in order to be able to make a fair and accurate translation of a book is not a blind and unfaltering faith in the truth of every detail of its contents, but absolute impartiality in the consideration of what the words and phrases meant to the writer of the book, and in deciding how to represent those words and phrases in another language. Impartiality is the quality required of a judge in making his decisions. Preconceived ideas as to the inspiration of the Koran and as to its message are quite as likely to vitiate the judgment of the translator as a lack of faith in those particular ideas. The man who believes in a rigid system of verbal inspiration is quite as likely to err on one side in the interpretation of the Koran as the man who does not believe in such a system is liable to err on

the other side. So the question resolves itself into this—is it any more impossible that a Christian should be impartial in deciding on the meanings of words and phrases in the Koran than that a Moslem should be impartial? The general conviction will probably be that the more vehemently a person believes in any particular dogma, the more difficult it is likely to be for him to be impartial in any matter which appears to him to be opposed to that dogma. In the case before us it happens that we can compare three English translations of the Koran made by men who professed Christianity as their religion with three other translations made by those who believe the doctrines of Islam, and thus we can form our own judgment as to whether it is any more possible for a Moslem to make a fair and accurate translation of the Koran than a Christian.

But there is another aspect of this question, which Mr. Pickthall raises when he says in his Foreword, "The Koran cannot be translated. That is the belief of old-fashioned *Sheykhs* and the view of the present writer. The Book is here rendered almost literally and every effort has been made to choose befitting language. But the result is not the Glorious Koran, that inimitable symphony, the very sounds of which move men to tears and ecstasy. It is only an attempt to present the meaning of the Koran—and peradventure something of the charm—in English. It can never take the place of the Koran in Arabic, nor is it meant to do so." Of course there is a great deal of truth in this view, for it is universally acknowledged that poetry cannot be adequately translated; and as far as the Koran is poetry, no translation can do justice to the original. In spite of this statement that the Koran cannot be translated, this book is called on the title page "an explanatory translation," and the Preface is called "Translator's Foreword," so one wonders whether Mr. Pickthall is stultifying himself, or whether he is trying to satisfy the scruples of the "old-fashioned *sheykhs*" to whom he refers above. If it is true that the Koran can-

not be translated, how comes it that one English translation by a Moslem appeared in 1917, and two more appeared in 1930? An effort to answer this question is made at the beginning of the Translator's Foreword, where Mr. Pickthall says, "The aim of this work is to present to English readers what Muslims the world over hold to be the meaning of the words of the Koran, and the nature of that book, in not unworthy language and concisely, with a view to the requirements of English Muslims." The number of English Moslems, however, is not so great as to require three different versions to explain the meaning of the words and the nature of the book, so one is tempted to conclude that the present activity in the production of different English versions of the Koran is part of a widespread propaganda which is being carried on chiefly from Woking and other centers of the Ahmadiya Movement.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that when a statement was made in a review of this book in the *Egyptian Gazette* that Mr. Pickthall "some years ago joined the Indian Ahmadiyya Sect," he wrote to the editor, "Allow me most emphatically to deny a statement concerning me which appeared in your issue of January 1, in a review of my translation of the Koran;" and he goes on to say, "I never joined the Ahmadiyya sect. At the time when I first became a Muslim I had never even heard of its existence, nor have I since at any time felt a desire to join it." It appears however from the reply of the reviewer that even though Mr. Pickthall disclaims joining that sect, he has been so closely identified with Ahmadiya students that they have come to look upon him as "one of us." Moreover, a careful comparison of Mr. Pickthall's translation with that of the Ahmadiya translator, Maulvi Muhammad Ali, shows conclusively that Mr. Pickthall's work is not very much more than a revision of the Ahmadiya version, with the most glaring peculiarities of the Ahmadiya doctrines carefully removed, in order that the new version may represent, as

we have already quoted above, "what Muslims the world over hold to be the meaning of the words of the Koran."

It has of course been impossible to take the time to make a careful study of the whole of Mr. Pickthall's translation, but in order to form a fair opinion of the merits of his work we have made a thorough examination of about forty verses in the second chapter, sixty verses in the third, forty verses in the nineteenth, and all of the last fifteen chapters, comparing his renderings with those of Sale, Rodwell, Palmer and Muhammad Ali, as well as with the Arabic. From this careful investigation we have come to the conclusion that Mr. Pickthall's translation, in all that part of his work which we have examined, resembles very closely the version of Muhammad Ali, the difference between the two versions in many passages being merely verbal, and amounting actually to little more than an improvement in the style of the English language. In other passages, however, there is a very close approximation to the translations of Sale, Rodwell and Palmer, and especially to that of Rodwell, sometimes for several verses together; so that in spite of his opinion that "no Holy Scripture can be fairly presented by one who disbelieves its inspiration and its message," he has evidently found it difficult to improve upon the work of his predecessors. In fact the most difficult task in the investigation of Mr. Pickthall's book is to find very much evidence of original work or of a better understanding of the meaning of the Arabic original than is indicated in previous versions, and there seems to be very little if any indication that the translator's knowledge of the Arabic language is anything remarkable from the point of view of real scholarship. We will now proceed to refer somewhat more in detail to the noticeable features in the new version, and we will use the letters MA, S, R and P in referring to the versions of Muhammad Ali, Sale, Rodwell and Palmer respectively.

The following is a passage in chapter 3 in which, as we were reading it, there appeared to be a marked simi-

larity to Muhammad Ali. It has not been specially selected, and no doubt there are many others where the similarity would be equally noticeable.

PICKTHALL

(3:57) And as for those who believe and do good works, He will pay them their wages in full. Allah loveth not wrong doers.

58 This (which) we recite unto thee is a revelation and a wise reminder.

59 Lo! the likeness of Jesus with Allah is as the likeness of Adam. He created him of dust, then He said unto him: Be! and he is.

60 (This is) the truth from thy Lord (O Muhammad), so be not thou of those who waver.

61 And whoso disputeth with thee concerning him, after the knowledge which hath come unto thee, say (unto him): Come! We will summon our sons and your sons, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves, then we will pray humbly (to our Lord) and (solemnly) invoke the curse of Allah upon those who lie.

62 Lo! This verily is the true narrative. There is no God save Allah, and lo! Allah is the Mighty, the Wise.

63 And if they turn away, then lo! Allah is Aware of (who are) the corrupters.

MUHAMMAD ALI

56 And as to those who believe and do good deeds, He will pay them fully their rewards; and Allah does not love the unjust.

57 This We recite to you of the communications and the wise reminder.

58 Surely the likeness of Jesus is with Allah as the likeness of Adam; He created him from dust, then said to him, Be, and he was.

59 (This is) the truth from your Lord, so be not of the disputers.

60 But whoever disputes with you in this matter after what has come to you of knowledge, then say: Come! let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and our people and your people, then let us be earnest in prayer, and pray for the curse of Allah on the liars.

61 Most surely this is the true explanation, and there is no god but Allah; and most surely Allah —He is the Mighty, the Wise.

62 But if they turn back, then surely Allah knows the mischief-makers.

The similarity between these two passages is even more striking when we know that all through the book Mr. Pickthall has consistently substituted certain words for those used by Maulvi Muhammad Ali. For instance in these verses he is following his usual practice, which is to substitute "good works" for Muhammad Ali's "good deeds"; "wrong doers" for "the unjust"; "revelation" for "communications"; "lo!" for "surely"; "those who waver" for "disputers"; and "corrupters" for "mischief-makers." This regular and consistent substitution of what he

considers a better word for another which is regularly used by MA is very noticeable throughout the book; for instance he uses "Scripture" instead of "book," "worship" for "prayer," "slave" for "servant," "doom" for "chastisement," "surrendered" for "Muslim," "criterion" for "distinction"; and there are many similar substitutions.

Now if we compare the above passage (3: 57–63) with the versions of S, R and P, we shall see that Mr. Pickthall is very much nearer to MA than he is to any of the three previous translations, so that one gets the impression that although he may have taken a word here and there from S, R and P, yet he has not followed them so closely as he obviously has followed MA. The absurdity of reproducing literally the Arabic idiom in the words "the likeness of Jesus is . . . as the likeness of Adam" was begun by Marracci and followed by all other translators except R. We also see that where he differs from MA it is generally because he has preferred the rendering of one of the previous translations; as in this passage, in verse 61, the words "summon" and "invoke" are used by R, and "ourselves and yourselves" and "those who lie" are found in all three of the old English versions. In fact in these seven verses the only new idea which seems to be of any importance is the change from "Be, and he was," to "Be! and he is," where the English present is evidently intended to represent the Arabic imperfect *yakūnu,* but as the words refer to a past action, the sense is not changed.

The dependence of Mr. Pickthall upon the work of MA is also indicated in an occasional footnote, and those who will compare these footnotes with the notes in the 1920 edition of MA, which contains his commentary, will find that throughout chapter 2 almost every footnote is based on the Ahmadiya commentary. For instance, the Tradition referred to in Mr. Pickthall's footnote on 2: 59 is quoted in full in note 93 by MA; in the footnote to verse 73 the reader is told to see MA's note 110 which

contains Ahmadiya teaching as to the death of 'Isa: in the footnote to verse 84 we are told that "v. 83 is generally taken as referring to the Biblical covenant," and a reference to MA's note 120 shows that he says, "Allah's making a covenant with a people signifies his giving commandments to them. Compare Deut. 4: 13." The footnote on verse 85 concerning "Jew waging war upon Jew," is obviously based upon MA's note 127, where it is stated, "Thus one Jewish tribe slaughtered and imprisoned the other." The footnote on verse 87, "The holy Spirit is a term for the angel of Revelation, Gabriel (on whom be peace)" connects very closely with MA's version, where *rūhu'l-qudus* is translated "the holy revelation," and with his note 128, which says, "By *rūh-ul-qudus* as signifying the holy spirit is generally understood the Angel Gabriel." In the footnote to verse 102 we read, "The reference is to the occult science practised by the Jews, the origin of which was ascribed to Solomon;" and in note 146 MA says, "The Jews attributed Solomon's glory to certain devilish crafts, and this is the lie which they are spoken of here as having forged against Solomon's prophethood." In the footnote to verse 104 it is said, "Râ'ina, the Jews could change into an insult by a slight mispronunciation;" and in note 150 MA has, "Rá'iná is equivalent to *give ear to, hearken,* or *listen to us,* but with a slight change of accent it becomes *ra'ina,*" etc. And so practically all Mr. Pickhall's footnotes to the end of chapter 2, and it seems probable that his footnotes to the end of the book are based on the Ahmadiya commentary, though we have not had time to check them.

We think it will now be evident to the reader how much Mr. Pickthall is indebted to the version of Maulvi Muhammad Ali, not only for his footnotes, but also for the translation itself. We have already stated, however, that the peculiar doctrines of the Ahmadiya sect have been eliminated, and it may also be said that a number of other changes have been made, the renderings of the

older versions being often adopted in preference to those of Muhammad Ali.

It will be interesting in the first place to compare this new version with the older ones in those passages in which Mr. Sarwar objected so strenuously to Sale's translation with reference to the "holy war," as mentioned in an article in our last issue.

(2:191) for persecution is worse than slaughter. (Pickthall)

(191) and persecution is severer than slaughter. (MA)

(4:84) So fight (O Muhammad) in the way of Allah—thou art not taxed (with the responsibility for anyone) except for thyself. (Pickthall)

84 Fight then in Allah's way: this is not imposed on you except in relation to yourself. (MA)

By comparing these two passages with Mr. Sarwar's rendering given on page 133 of the last issue of this Journal, it will be seen that both Mr. Sarwar and Mr. Pickthall have followed MA very closely, and in the former passage both of them follow MA in using the doubtful rendering "persecution" for *fitnah*. The following is another passage on the "holy war"—

(9:122) And the believers should not all go out to fight. Of every troop of them, a party only should go forth, that they (who are left behind) may gain sound knowledge in religion, and that they may warn their folk when they return to them, so that they may beware. (Pickthall)

122 And it does not beseem the believers that they should go forth all together; why should not then a company from every party from among them go forth that they may apply themselves to obtain understanding in religion, and that they may warn their people when they come back to them that they may be cautious. (MA)

A comparison with Mr. Sarwar's rendering, which is given on page 135 of our last issue, shows that he has followed MA very closely, whereas Mr. Pickthall gives a more orthodox interpretation of the passage, for he introduces the idea of the "holy war" (to which Mr. Sarwar objects) by using the words "Go out to fight"; in fact Mr. Pickthall in this instance, and in many others where he differs from MA, is very similar to Rodwell. Another point here is that MA has introduced an interrogation which is not in the original, and in that respect has been

followed by Mr. Sarwar, but in Mr. Pickthall's version and in S, R and P there is no interrogation.

We will now turn to a set of passages on another matter in the interpretation of which the Ahmadiya sect differs from orthodox Moslems, namely, those which refer to the death of 'Isa.

(2:72) And (remember) when ye slew a man and disagreed concerning it and Allah brought forth that which ye were hiding.

73 And we said: Smite him with some of it. Thus Allah bringeth the dead to life and showeth you His portents so that ye may understand. (Pickthall)

72 And when you (almost) killed a man, then you disagreed with respect to that, and Allah was to bring forth that which you were going to hide.

73 So we said: Strike him with somewhat of it; thus Allah brings the dead to life, and He shows you His signs that you may understand. (MA)

In note 110, MA sets aside "the story generally narrated by the commentators to explain this passage," and gives his own reasons for the statement he then makes that "it becomes almost certain that this incident refers to Jesus himself." In regard to this Mr. Pickthall has the following footnote, "The old commentators tell various stories by way of explaining vv. 72 and 73; one of them concerning a miracle that happened at Al-Madinah. For Maulvi Muhammad Ali's exposition of them as referring to the martyrdom of Jesus Christ (on whom be peace) see the footnote to v. 72 in his translation." This is interesting, because according to MA, Jesus did not suffer martyrdom, and did not die on the cross, but found "a shelter in Cashmere from the persecutions of opponents" (Index: Jesus Christ). Now the question arises, does Mr. Pickthall really believe in the "martyrdom of Jesus Christ?" and if he does, and is really an orthodox Moslem, what is his object in referring his readers to the sectarian "exposition" of MA?

(3:55) (And remember) when Allah said: O Jesus! Lo! I am gathering thee and causing thee to ascend unto Me, and am cleansing thee of those who disbelieve and am setting those who follow thee above those who disbelieve until the day of resurrection.
(Pickthall)

54 When Allah said: O Jesus! I will cause you to die and exalt you in my presence and clear you of those who disbelieve and make those who follow you above those who disbelieve to the day of resurrection; (MA)

In note 436, MA gives quotations to show that the Arabic means "I will cause you to die." Then he adds, "No other significance can be attached to the words when thus used. Hence some commentators say that Jesus remained dead for three hours; others say for seven hours, and so on (Razi). But the word is used here to show that the Jewish plans to cause Jesus' death on the cross would be frustrated and that he would afterwards die a natural death (see 645)." In this note 645, MA gives fourteen reasons for his statement that Jesus did not die on the cross. Mr. Pickthall's rendering—"I am gathering thee"—is certainly peculiar, and as the Arabic word *mutawaffīka* may refer to God's taking the soul either in death or in sleep, his intention may have been to make the rendering vague, and this use of "gathering" may be an echo from 2 Thess. 2:1—"by our gathering together unto Him," or Matt. 24:31—"shall gather together His elect." MA in his notes denies that Jesus ascended to heaven, but Mr. Pickthall's rendering "and causing thee to ascend unto Me" does not negate the view generally held by orthodox Moslems as to the Ascension.

(4:157) And because of their saying: We slew the Messiah Jesus son of Mary, Allah's messenger—They slew him not nor crucified, but it appeared so unto them; and lo! those who disagree concerning it are in doubt thereof; they have no knowledge thereof save pursuit of a conjecture; they slew him not for certain.

158 But Allah took him up unto Himself. Allah was ever Mighty, Wise. (Pickthall)

157 And their saying: Surely we have killed the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the apostle of Allah; and they did not kill him nor did they crucify him, but (the matter) was made dubious to them, and most surely those who differ therein are only in a doubt about it; they have no knowledge respecting it, but only follow a conjecture, and they know it (margin: killed him) not for sure;

158 Nay! Allah exalted him in His presence; and Allah is Mighty, Wise. (MA)

As to the Ascension there is the same difference here between these two versions as in the previous passage (3:55).

(5:117) I spake unto them only that which Thou commandedst me (saying): Worship Allah, my Lord and your Lord. I was a witness of them while I dwelt among them, and when Thou tookest me Thou wast the Watcher over them. Thou are Witness over all things. (Pickthall)

117 I did not say to them aught save what Thou didst enjoin me with: That serve Allah, my Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness of them so long as I was among them, but when Thou didst cause me to die, Thou wert the watcher over them, and Thou art witness of all things. (MA)

Here the only important difference between the two translations is that Mr. Pickthall has "when Thou tookest me" where MA has "when Thou didst cause me to die," which corresponds to the difference noted in 3:55.

It will be seen that in all these four passages Mr. Pickthall's translation favors the orthodox interpretation rather than that of the Ahmadiya sect, and in that connection it is interesting to note that in the issue of February 8 of the Ahmadiya paper *The Light* a correspondent called attention to the fact that Mr. Pickthall's translation does not support the views of the Ahmadis, and the editor replied as follows:

"The fact that a distinguished Muslim like Mr. Pickthall should give a different version need not discredit our views which must stand or fall on their own merits. Besides, you seem to forget, that the views expressed in his 'Glorious Koran' need not be his own views too. As he says in the preface, 'the aim of this work is to present to English readers what Muslims the world over hold to be the meaning of the words of the Koran and the nature of that book.' Mr. Pickthall has thus given only the prevalent conception among Muslims. In other words, he has only acted, as we understand it, as an interpreter of the Muslim world to the English reading world without thrusting in his own views."

We are glad to have an Ahmadiya opinion on this point.

In the passages which we have examined carefully, namely the verses at the beginning of the second, third and nineteenth suras, and the last fifteen, the translation of Mr. Pickthall follows MA so closely that one finds very few evidences of original work, and when one reads in the Translator's Foreword that "the work has been scrutinised word by word and thoroughly revised in Egypt with

the help of one whose mother-tongue is Arabic, who has studied the Koran and who knows English," one wonders where the evidences of this thorough revision are to be found. We will give a few examples of places where we have found renderings which differ from MA, and are also different from S, R and P, and may therefore be reckoned as evidences of original work. We have already noticed that Mr. Pickthall has regularly substituted certain English words for others in MA which have a somewhat similar meaning; these changes appear to be mostly a matter of an improvement in English style, but in some cases they represent an improved rendering, and may therefore be reckoned as evidences of original translation work; for these we refer the reader to the partial list of substituted words already given. In 2:7 the translation of *famā fauqahā* is entirely omitted. In 2:39 *aṣḥābu'n-nār* is given as "rightful owners of the fire," R and MA have "inmates of the fire." In 2:151 *wa yuzakkīkum* is translated "and causeth you to grow"; this is peculiar, for MA has "and purifies you," and S, R and P all use "purify," which agrees with the interpretation of the Jalālain. In 3:2 *al-Qayyūm*="the Eternal," which is different from any other English version, and may perhaps be taken from Lane's rendering "Ever-living" (Lane 1544a, given on the authority of TA, see page 2996b). The same rendering is given in the parallel passages—2:255 and 20:111. In 3:7 *alladhīna fī qulūbihim zaigh*^{un}="those in whose hearts is doubt," where MA has "perversity," and S, R and P have "given to err;" the word means to deviate or swerve, and cannot mean "doubt"; and in the very next verse Mr. Pickthall has for *lā tuzigh qulūbanā* "cause not our hearts to stray." In 3:15 the translation of *khālidīna fīhā* is completely omitted. In 3:17 *bi'l-asḥār*="watches of the night," but it means rather dawn or daybreak, as in the other versions. In 3:19 *baghy*^{an}="through transgression," where R has "jealousy," and S, P and MA "envy." In 3:23 *yud'aunā ilā kitābi'llāh*="invoke the Scripture of Allah," but the

verb is in the passive, and MA has it correctly "They are invited to the Book of Allah," which agrees with S, R and MA. This looks as if it might be the rendering of a variant reading, but Baiḍāwī does not give one. In 3:40 *kadhālika'llāhu yaf'alu mā yashā'u*="So (it will be). Allah doeth what he will." MA, S, R and P make this all one sentence, but Pickthall's is a possible rendering, which Baiḍāwī gives as his last, and therefore least favored interpretation. In 3:47 is a similar phrase—*kadhālika'l-lāhu yakhluqu mā yashā'u,* where MA has "Even so, Allah creates what he pleases," and it is possible Mr. Pickthall may have obtained here his idea of making "So (it will be)" into a distinct sentence. Compare his renderings with those of MA in 19:9 and 19:21, where *kadhālika* also occurs. In 3:53 *ar-rasūl*="him whom Thou hast sent," where all others have "the apostle." In 3:58 *Dhālika natlūhu 'alaika mina'l-āyāti wa'dh-dhikri'l-ḥakīm*="This (which) We recite unto thee is a revelation and a wise reminder"; this rendering differs from MA, S, R and P. Baiḍāwī says that the sentence admits of either interpretation. In 3:68 *Inna aulā'n-nāsi bi Ibrāhīma la'lladhīna'ttaba'ūhu*="Lo! those of mankind who have the best claim to Abraham are those who followed him." *Aulā* is rendered by MA "the nearest", by S and R "nearest of kin," by P "most worthy." Baiḍāwī has—*inna akhassahum bihi wa aqrabahum minhu mina'l-walyi wa hua'l-qurb,* which is from the Kashshāf, and may be translated, "those who most specially belong to him and are nearest to him; from the root *walā,* meaning to be near." There is no idea of "claim" in *aulā.* In 19:38 *Asmi' bihim wa abṣir*="see and hear them," but MA has, "How clearly shall they hear and how clearly shall they see." This phrase is almost identical with the *Abṣir bihi wa asmi'* in 18:27, which Mr. Pickthall has rendered "How clear of sight is He and keen of hearing," which is similar to MA. The second of these is the passage which Mr. Sarwar criticized so strongly in Sale's version (see page 136 of our last issue), and one wonders what Mr.

Sarwar would say about the rendering of his brother Moslem in this verse. To us it appears that Mr. Pickthall has translated these two verbs as if they were imperatives of the first stem instead of the fourth; R has "make them hear, make them behold the day," and S is similar.

Turning now to the end of the book and working backwards, the peculiar rendering that we find in 112: 2 for *aṣ-ṣamad* appears to be based on the Tradition quoted by MA in note 2817. In 112.3 MA has both verbs in the present, forgetting that *lam* with the jussive is the negation of the past; Mr. Pickthall has corrected one of these, but not the other. In 111: 1 we find—"The power of Abū Lahab will perish, and he will perish." Power is a new rendering for "two hands"; the two verbs in this verse are perfects, and are considered as optatives by MA, R and Lane (p. 293a); and similarly in 9: 30 the words *qātalahumu'llāh* is translated by Mr. Pickthall "Allah (Himself) fighteth against them," though the verb is a perfect, and is translated by S, R and P as an optative, and also by MA in his margin. These and several other passages which we have noticed seem to indicate that Mr. Pickthall is not nearly as careful as MA in distinguishing between the force of the perfect and the imperfect; for instance, in 96: 1 he has, "Read: In the name of thy Lord who createth, createth man from a clot," which in all the other four versions is "created." Similarly in verses 4 and 5 of the same chapter he has "teacheth," where it should be "taught." Also in 98: 1 and 6 he has "those who disbelieve," where the verbs are in the perfect. Such mistakes are very numerous. In 110: 3 the word *tawwāb,* which in 2: 37 he translates "the Relenting," is rendered "ever ready to show mercy." Relenting expresses the idea excellently, and would be better here. In Sura 109 the third and fifth verses are identical, but Mr. Pickthall makes a distinction which is not in the original. In 108: 3 the English versions use the verb "hate" in translating *shāni'aka,* and MA has "your enemy," which perhaps may have led Mr. Pickthall to

use "thy insulter," which conveys a somewhat different idea, and does not seem to be justified. In 106: 1 and 2, *īlāf* is translated "taming," and a footnote says "i. e., civilizing." This is a new rendering. R has "union," and S and P "uniting," and MA "protecting." We have not been able to find any evidence that "Muslims the world over" have thus interpreted *īlāf*. In 105: 2 *alam yaj'al kaidahum fī taḍlīl*="did He not bring their stratagem to naught?" This is different from previous versions, and fails to bring out the force of *taḍlīl*. In 105: 3 *ṭair*^{an} is translated "flying creatures," and in the introduction to this *sura* the suggestion that they may have been "insects carrying infection" is attributed to Dr. Krenkow; but MA in his Note 2801 also discredits the destruction of Abraha's army by birds, which is the usual interpretation, and says, "The mention of birds is merely intended to show that they were destroyed and the birds feasted on their corpses." In chapter 97 the phrase *lailatu'l-qadr,* which occurs three times, is translated "the Night of Power," following R and P; MA has "the grand night," and Marracci and Sale transliterate the word al Kadr without translating it, but in a Note Marracci gives the meaning from the Jalālain as *Nobilitas seu Sublimitas et Magnitudo,* and Sale's Note says, "The word al Kadr signifies power, and honour or dignity, and also the divine decree." Sale was mistaken; *qadr* does not mean "power." The form from this root which means power is *qudrat,* and it is quite evident from Lane that the Arabic dictionaries do not give "power" as a meaning for *qadr.* The Kashshāf has—*wa ma'nā lailatu'l-qadri lailatu taqdīri'l-umūri wa qaḍā'ihā,* "and the meaning of *lailatu'l-qadr* is the night of decreeing things and determining them." This is probably the correct interpretation, but "the Night of Power" is obviously wrong.

We regret that we have neither time nor space to point out any more of the peculiarities and inaccuracies of Mr. Pickthall's translation. We admit that as far as the style of the English is concerned it is a great improvement

upon the work of MA, but it is far from being a satisfactory translation. Mr. Sarwar in his Introduction (page xxxvii) called attention to the "shortcoming" of MA in the following words, "the English in scores of passages in the body of the translation has very poor construction and is left hanging in mid-air, or is so involved as to be unintelligible without unduly prolonged consideration. And the pity of it is that it could have been easily put into proper shape. Maulvi Muhammad Ali is able to do that quite easily." Most of us will probably differ from Mr. Sarwar as to its being an easy matter to produce a translation in readable and idiomatic English; but no doubt we shall all agree that Mr. Pickthall has succeeded in that respect far better than either Muhammad Ali or Mr. Sarwar himself. Whether he has produced a careful and accurate rendering of the Arabic original is quite another matter. We have already pointed out that in the two hundred or more verses which we have examined there are two phrases which have been entirely omitted; and it is quite possible that there may be other omissions in the much larger part of the work which we have not read. We have found two places (2:28 and 3:23) where verbs in the passive are translated as if they were active. Also there are many places where verbs in the perfect are translated by English verbs in the present or future without any apparent reason. A confusion between active and passive, and between perfect and imperfect, suggests a doubt as to whether the translator has a due appreciation of the niceties of Arabic grammar. All students of Arabic know that a very slight error in the spelling of a word may indicate a lack of care or a lack of knowledge; and so the fact that twice on page 1 the name of Abdul Muttalib is misspelt causes further doubts to arise, and one is even more surprised to find *Āli 'Imrān* on page 65 as the title of the third *sura,* which has perhaps been copied in error from MA, where the Persian form Al-i-'Imrán is given. Some may con-

sider these to be small defects, but straws show which way the wind blows.

If our Moslem brethren desire to supersede the translations of Marracci, Sale, Rodwell and Palmer, all of which were based to a great extent upon the interpretations of such commentators as al-Jalālain and al-Baiḍāwī, it will be necessary for them to produce a translator who will be capable not only of writing idiomatic and readable English, but also of doing some original research among the recognized Mohammedan authorities for the interpretation of the Koran. Moreover, as far as European readers of a Koran translation are concerned, it is of still greater importance that any new translation should take into account the work of European scholars, who in recent years have done much to elucidate many of the more difficult passages. Unfortunately Mr. Pickthall appears to have completely ignored all the results of European scholarship in the investigations that have been made as to the meaning of the text of the Koran. One cannot read far in the translation of Maulvi Muhammad Ali or in his Notes without being convinced that before he began his work on the Koran he was already widely read in the Arabic authorities listed on page cxii, to which frequent reference is made in his Notes; also his quotations from Lane's Lexicon indicate that he was not altogether oblivious to the results of European scholarship. It is a pity that his work is so saturated with the peculiar doctrines of the Ahmadiya sect and with bitter denunciations of Christian teachings that the results of his Oriental scholarship have been seriously vitiated, and his translation can hardly be viewed as anything more than Ahmadiya propaganda. Mr. Pickthall's translation does not have that defect, but it does not impress us as being the fruit of real Oriental scholarship, or as being in any respect more reliable than either Sale or Rodwell or Palmer as an interpretation of the meaning of the Koran.

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CURRENT TOPICS

Islam and Reform in India

The *Brotherhood Bulletin* published by the Brotherhood of Andrew, an association of Moslem converts in the Punjab, has the following item:

"Recently the Legislative Assembly of India passed an Age of Consent Bill fixing the marriageable age of boys and girls at 18 and 14 respectively. The opposition to this Bill came not only from the conservative Hindus, but strange to say from many progressive Muslims also. One well-known Muslim leader put forward the following argument against the Bill:

"'This Bill strikes an axe at the root of Islam, for our Prophet, by marrying a girl who was less than 13 years of age, set an example for Muslims for all times.'

"To carry this argument to its logical conclusion our Muslim friend should have added after the word Prophet 'when he himself was fifty years old.' Truly while Islam has been a great force for reformation, the example of its Founder has, in some respects, been a counteracting influence to much necessary reform in Islam itself, as in the case under consideration."

The Black Stone at Mecca

Miss Conway, in an account of the first excavations at Petra (*Geographical Journal,* November, 1930), tells of the early worship of the Nabatæans and throws some light on the present cult at Mecca of the black stone. We quote three paragraphs:

"Knowledge of Nabatæan culture may be gleaned by references in many ancient classical authors. In the matter of their religion they are explicit. The Nabatæans worshipped the Sun-god, under the name of Dushara, symbolized under the form of a black stone. The most famous black stone in Arabia is that built into the Ka'aba at Mecca, the symbol of the ancient local god, whose cult was reformed and preserved by Muhammad. The kissing of the black stone set in the Ka'aba is still the culminating ritual act of the Moslem pilgrim to Mecca. In the third century the Roman Emperor Elagabalus, hereditary priest of the Sun-god at Emesa, who caused grave scandal in Rome by walking backwards in front of its symbol, a conical black stone, when carried in procession, was himself worshipped in Arabia under the symbol of a black stone. A description of the sacred image of Dushara, kept in the central sanctuary at Petra, has survived in the work of Suidas. It was a black stone, four-sided but unshaped by tools, 4 feet high and 2 feet square, resting on a base of beaten gold. The blood of victims was poured out before it and the shrine itself was adorned with gold and many votive offerings.

"At El Bared one of a different form was found standing at the top of a flight of steps in the Sūq and dominating it, though somewhat obscured in these days by a tree which has grown in a crack in the rock behind it. The steps are about thirty in number and the rock on which the symbol stands about 6 metres high. The two stones represent Allat, the great mother goddess of Arabia, and her son or consort Dushara. In the rear are long channels cut in the surface of the rock, so that the two symbols are isolated, and enclosed on the sides by the cliff walls. They face east, and when the sun sinks in the west they stand outlined against the glow, a natural solar sanctuary and seemingly of great antiquity.

"The worship of the black stone of Dushara still lingers at Petra, his ancient sanctuary. In the shrine of the Tomb of Aaron on the top of Mount Hor, fixed in the wall opposite the prayer niche, at the height of a man's head, is a stone of greenish black, polished by the kisses of his many devotees. At his side, represented by a triangle of red sandstone, stands Allat the great mother."

Kissing the Black Stone

Another account of the Black Stone occurs in the department of Questions and Answers of the Moslem weekly called *The Light* (Oct. 1, 1930, Lahore). We give it *verbatim:*

"What is the origin and the history of the Black Stone of Kaaba? Didorous, the historian of the golden age of Rome who made it the business of his life to get accurate information about all nations of his times, writing about the ancient Arabs says that Jacob dreamed a wonderful dream and in commemoration of this event set up a stone on the top of which he poured oil and called the place 'Beth-El' or the House of God. We the Muslims also call the Kaaba the 'House of Allah' (*Bait Allah*). The pre-Islamic Arabs worshipped the shapeless mass, as perhaps Jacob did not. Why do the Muslims kiss the Black Stone (*Hajar Aswad*) when they go on pilgrimage to Kaaba? Don't you think the psychological effect of such an idolatrous practice is far from salutary on the minds of the pilgrims, many of whom are ignorant and superstitious? For it is difficult to believe that every Muslim who goes on pilgrimage to Mecca kisses the Black Stone in the spirit of Hazrat Omar who standing before it soliloquized that he knew that it was a mere stone but he kissed it because his Master, the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) had kissed it. Why was not this idolatrous practice of kissing the stone out of respect for it—for it has no other significance—abolished by the Holy Prophet (peace be on him)? What is the *rationale* of its retention in the modern age? Can not His Majesty Ibn-Saud, the king of Hejaz be prevailed upon to prohibit the pilgrims from kissing the Black Stone? Are you aware that the reprehensible practice gives a handle to our enemies, like the Arya Samajists, for traducing Islam and its Prophet (peace be on him)? How do you justify the kissing of the stone in the light of our uncompromising monotheistic belief?—

"Of the history of the 'Black Stone,' when and how exactly it came to be there, nothing can be said with certainty. But as to its significance there exists no doubt whatever. It stands there as a symbol for a prophecy as to the advent of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. 'The stone which the builders refused is become the head-stone of the

corner' (Ps. 118:22). The reference is to Ishmael who was cast away in the wilderness where now has sprung up modern Mecca. The 'Black Stone' was put there as a symbol to perpetuate the prophecy that through the progeny of this cast off 'stone', Ishmael, would arise the Prophet who would be the Last Prophet, the 'head-stone of the corner.' Kissing among the Arabs does not indicate any thing in the way of worship. In India it may, but not so in Arabia where it is a mark of love. The 'Black Stone' is kissed as a mark of love for him for whose advent it stands there as a symbol. We quite see that most people are liable to get into a superstitious frame of mind and look upon it as something more than a stone. But that is the common attitude even towards the Kaaba itself. Sanctity is attached to anything and everything there. The *Safa, Marwa, Zamzam,* even the sands of Arabia are considered by the superstitious as sacred. So, it is the mentality that needs cure. You may stop the practice of kissing the Black Stone but superstition will find vent in some other form."

Reforms in al Azhar University?

During 1930 a new commission was established for the working out of the reforms which had been taken up for decision in 1928. This commission was composed of the Sheikh el Azhar, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, the Minister of Education, the Minister of Wakfs, a former Minister of Education now Minister of Justice, and Khaled Bey Hassanein, a well educated and experienced teacher who had taken graduate studies in England and been made largely responsible for the reforms and changes; Khaled Bey was made secretary of this commission.

The official decisions on the reforms were promulgated in November, 1930. They are being put into execution with the establishment of a course of 16 years of studies; 4 years of preliminary course, 5 years of secondary (in both of which the curriculum is identical with that of the Government schools of Egypt acting under the Minister of Education, except that in place of foreign languages additional instruction is given in religious and Arabic subjects), 4 years of a college course, instruction of which leads to the degree of *Alamia* somewhat corresponding to a B.A. course abroad, except that all the studies are in Arabic and there is no stress upon science or literature outside of the Arabic and Islamic literature; and 3 years of a specialized course.

A conspicuous item in this is that the proposals for the introduction of foreign languages in the Azhar and allied schools in some other half dozen cities in Egypt under these endowments is entirely eliminated; all instruction is to continue through the Arabic language. The other striking consideration is that the proposals for the study of comparative religions is also eliminated except that there is in place of it an elaborate study of the comparison between the four sects of orthodox Islam. Nothing is provided of study of other religious faiths, even that of the Shiites of Persia and India. This of course does away with the plan for the introduction of the study of the Bible or methods of religious instruction in Europe.

One notices in this the fact that the influence of conservatism has prevailed at least for the present. There is no indication at present that the movement in the direction of foreign languages or instruction in other than purely Islamic subjects is to be put over, unless it be a

possible change in the last 7 years of the 16 year course mentioned above, which may be reduced to 6 years, in the last two of which some innovations may yet be introduced.

The list of foreign students in the Azhar University this year represents 727 students out of about 1,100 who pursue their studies in the Azhar itself as follows: 129 Turks, 149 Syrians, 118 Moors, 111 Javanese, 40 Yemenites, 19 from West Africa and some others. The remainder of the students in the allied institutions, whether in Cairo or other cities of Egypt probably number over 10,000 and are almost solidly Egyptians.

The Magi of the Twentieth Century

The exhibition of Persian art in London was opened on the eve of the Festival of the Epiphany, a fact which may well remind us how closely the history of the Persian people is entwined with that of the Christian church and civilization. Dr. Dearmer tells us that the Dome, which stands for all that is stately in Christian architecture, is a heritage through Byzantium from Persia, but the links reach much further back than that. Somewhere about the seventh century B. C. a Persian prophet arose in the person of Zoroaster who proclaimed a lofty ethical monotheism, not unlike that which Isaiah and Amos were preaching about the same time in Israel. Under the priests of his religion, whom we know as Magi, it soon deteriorated; yet two centuries later the Persian conqueror Cyrus is hailed by Isaiah of the Exile as the Messiah whom Jehovah has appointed to carry out his purpose, for he becomes the restorer and protector of a revived Jewish state and worship, for four centuries the slender witness for monotheism in a pagan world. The influence of Persian religion remains widespread. The Rab Mag whom we hear among the army leaders threatening Jerusalem in Hezekiah's time is the chief of that same class of Magi without whose auguries the fierce Sennacherib dared not wage a campaign, but it was their study of the stars which even more affected history. Astrology and astronomy were as yet one lore, and Persia gave the lead to Greece in the growth of the second, which set aside the first. But it was through astrology that Persia was led to seek for a better Messiah than Cyrus. When the Divine Kingdom of which the prophets had spoken was about to appear, the expectation floating in the minds of many was crystallized in the inquiry of the Persian Magi who turned to the Jerusalem which Cyrus had helped to restore with the inquiry: "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?"

In the early Christian centuries it was not without convulsions and persecutions that the Church of Christ was established in Persia; but once there, it spread far and wide through Inner Asia, till it was overwhelmed by Tatar, Turk and Mongol. But the South Indian "Syrian" Church of Malabar, which still survives, was founded by migrants from Persia, and the floreated cross in the Church of St. Thomas at Mylapore in S. India is a specimen of the Persian art which in its later developments is now being exhibited at Burlington House. From Persia itself the Christian Church has well nigh vanished, but, with other western influences, the New Testament and its faith are working in modern Persia.

More than a century ago Henry Martyn was travelling from the

sea-coast to Shiraz to perfect the Persian translation of the New Testament, which he had done in India alongside of the Urdu. His journal mentions almost with a shudder the noisome black streams of naphtha which he passed on the road. To his age they were still objects of horror, like the "slime-pits" of Sodom which helped in the fiery destruction of the Cities of the Plain. Since, these naphtha springs have become the source of untold wealth to Persia through the great enterprise of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, as well as the occasion of friendly coöperation between East and West, to the benefit of both. Happily the great company has been treated not only as a wealth-getting machine, but also as an agency for the amelioration of life and for social service. Meanwhile Henry Martyn's New Testament has been doing its work, silently at first, but more and more reinforced by the voice and example of the living messenger, whether from America or from Britain. A Persian church is growing up, in friendly comradeship with the remnants of the ancient Armenian church, intensely conscious of its own nationality, and desirous of complete union in its own ranks. These aspirations have received the expression of hearty sympathy on the part of the Lambeth Conference, 1930. Meanwhile the young church is striving to serve its mother-land by leading the way in efficient hospital service, in education that will both meet the needs of the new age and build up character to meet its demands, and by social service for child carpet-weavers and other neglected ones: all in the footsteps of Him whom the Magi once worshipped in Bethlehem. H. U. W. S.

King Ibn Sa'ud

The following account appeared in *Al-Hilal* (Cairo, Jan., 1931):

When Mr. (H. St. J. B.) Philby, (author of "The Heart of Arabia," "Arabia of the Wahhabis," and "Arabia,") the great English Orientalist, visited this country (*i.e.*, Egypt) three years ago, one of the Egyptian newspaper men asked him his opinion of His Majesty, Ibn Sa'ud, King of the Hijaz and Najd. He replied, "He is the Bismarck of Arabia!"

And indeed, all the acts of His Majesty up to the present time indicate that his friend Philby did not exaggerate in his description when he likened him to the founder of the German Union. For Ibn Sa'ud, after he had strengthened the pillars of his kingdom in Najd, and had gained the decision over Al-Rashid (Ruler of North-Central Arabia) and his helpers, turned his attention to the conquest of the Hijaz. Then came the Hijaz War, which was kindled between him and King Husain al-Hashimi at first, and afterwards between him and King 'Ali bin Husain. It ended with Husain's leaving the Land of the Arabs, and King 'Ali's abdication of the Hijaz throne, and the setting up of the *pax* of Ibn Sa'ud in the Holy Lands (of the Mohammedans, *i.e.*, Mecca and al-Madina).

After his conquest of the Hijaz, King Ibn Sa'ud sensed that a section of the Moslems were hostile to him on account of the difference between them and the Wahhabis in some of the traditional religious practices. So he announced that he had not entered the Hijaz except to put right what was awry in its affairs, and to restore tranquility to the people, and that he would leave the right of settling the final state

of the holy lands to a Moslem Conference, in which all the Islamic peoples should be represented, so that it would decide upon the kind of government which would be more suitable for the Hijaz than any other, in view of the exalted religious significance it has for all Moslems.

At the same time His Majesty began to work for the permanence of his foothold in the Hijaz, by displaying the standards of justice and peace over its abodes, and by endeavoring to issue new ordinances and edicts that would bring back ease and comfort to the land. No long time passed after his coming to the Hijaz before the opposing voices were silent. That encouraged him to announce himself as king over the Hijaz, and his title became " King of the Hijaz and Najd " after having been " Sultan of Najd."

Ibn Sa'ud noticed lately that the Amirate of 'Asir (between al-Hijaz and al-Yaman) grew more disordered every day, so he feared that if he did not hasten to benefit from this situation, he would be anticipated by his rival, the Imam Yahya, King of al-Yaman, who has never ceased earnestly desiring to extend his authority over 'Asir since the Great War laid aside its weapons.

Negotiations were then carried on between His Majesty Ibn Sa'ud and the Amir of 'Asir, and these negotiations were crowned with success, and revealed the inclusion of the Amirate of 'Asir within the protection of the King of the Hijaz and Najd.

Ibn Sa'ud has succeeded in the meantime in straightening out his contentions with Persia and 'Iraq, and now begins to exert himself to put an end to the causes of discord between himself and Egypt, in the desire to induce the latter to recognize his government.

The Great Desert of Rab'-ul Khali

In a copyrighted despatch from Bahrein, on the Persian Gulf, received February 23, the *New York Times* announced that the English Orientalist and explorer Bertram Thomas, had successfully crossed the great desert of southeastern Arabia known as Rab'ul-Khali, having left Dhofar, in Southern Arabia, in December and reached Dohah, on the Persian Gulf, fifty-eight days later.

This first news was supplemented a few days later by a succinct personal account of Mr. Thomas himself describing his experiences. His most important discovery, it would seem, was a salt water lake seven miles long, together with traces of an old caravan route which traders in ages past must have used in crossing Arabia. The possibility of there being an old people living in isolation from the rest of the world and constituting a remnant of the once flourishing Arabian civilization was exploded.

This great section of the Arabian peninsula which had defied all efforts at exploration comprises a territory of about 500,000 square miles, extending 650 miles from north to south and 850 miles from east to west.

Mr. Thomas' feat was acclaimed by scientists as ranking foremost among the world's great discoveries, comparable to the explorations of Livingstone, Peary, Shackleton, Scott and Amundsen.

In their report of this important news, we noticed that the *Times* and other papers gave the name of the great hitherto unknown Arabian

desert as Ruba-el-Khali. In the interest of correct transliteration we would respectfully submit that the name should be written Rab'-ul-Khali, and more correctly with the addition of the definitive article here pronounced " Ar " instead of " Al " for euphony. In the first form, " Ruba," the word would mean quarter, in the sense of one-fourth, while in the second form " Rab'," it would imply a meaning of space, which the Arabic word clearly indicates. The original meaning of the word " Rab' " in Arabic is a camping ground, so applied because of its relation to spring and to grass, which the nomad Arabs sought most in selecting their camping grounds. The term was later applied to any section of land without distinction.

—*The Syrian World* (New York City).

An Autograph Letter of Mohammed?

The following appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette* March 20, 1931:

" It is believed that archæological circles will be extremely interested in the news which has been received from Beirut that Prince Selim, son of the late Sultan Abdel Hamid of Turkey, has in his possession an original letter written by the Prophet Mohammed to Ras Nagaschi of Abyssinia.

" According to *Al Ahram's* Beirut correspondent, Prince Selim issued a statement to the Press, through his secretary, that on his wedding day his father, the late Sultan Abdel Hamid, gave him a letter written by the Prophet Mohammed to the Ras of Abyssinia. Prince Selim stated that his father advised him to preserve carefully the letter which was presented by Ras Nagaschi to the then Sultan of Turkey and had been handed down from father to son until it reached Prince Selim's possession. The Prince believes the letter to be authentic. *Al Ahram's* correspondent further states that an English Archæological Society excavating in that district is now negotiating with Prince Selim to persuade him to allow the letter to be sent to England to be examined by experts. The letter would be insured against loss or damage for the sum of £250,000 and the Prince's secretary would accompany it on its voyage. Prince Selim has denied that he has been in negotiations with King Feisul of Iraq with a view to selling the letter and added that he has no intention of parting with it."

Many scholars, however, declare the letter not genuine.

We thank the "Review of Religions"

The editor of the *Review of Religions* (The London Mosque) congratulates the *Moslem World* on its January issue and after quoting from our editorial writes:

" We welcome the aims and objects of the *Moslem World* as herein set forth and reiterated at the commencement of the twenty-first year of its life, and venture to make two suggestions, trusting that our doing so will not be understood to denote anything other than a spirit of helpfulness. For one thing, in order to be able to interpret Islam faithfully it is necessary that the magazine should give its readers some idea of what the Muslim himself thinks of his religion. His conception of God; his conception of the position of the previous divine Messengers, and the position of the Holy Prophet Muhammad in the

religion of Islam; his views upon the ethical problems, the philosophy of good and evil as expounded by his Scriptures; the ways and means for improving the social and economic environment, which has an important bearing upon man's spiritual progress, as indicated by Islam; all these questions are such that the value of a thorough understanding of these on the part of the evangelist can hardly be exaggerated. . . .

"On our own part we here and now declare that we undertake to publish articles of the above-mentioned character about Christianity (or any religion for the matter of that). For instance, what exactly is meant by such phrases as 'finding satisfaction in Christ?' Such expressions, however clear their meaning may be to a Christian, convey nothing to a Muslim. Then, what is the distinctive, specific value of Christianity? What does it consist in? What exactly is the position of Jesus Christ in Christianity? These are some of the questions upon which we would welcome contributions, as we are sure such an exchange can not but have purely beneficial results."

A new Move in Egyptian Education

An unusual move has been made this winter in Cairo, Egypt, in the appointment by the Egyptian Government of Dr. Charles R. Watson, President of the American University at Cairo, as a member of a special Commission on Education to work out a national program of education.

This represents an important change of policy in the Egyptian Government, to have a non-official, especially a foreigner, appointed on any government commission. This appointment also is a timely tribute to the position of leadership gained by the American University of Cairo in the brief ten years of its existence.

A new Beginning of the German Orient Mission in the Balkans

The German Orient Mission, founded by Dr. Lepsius in Potsdam, has done a great deal of pioneer work among the Moslems in Bulgaria.

The chief worker in this mission was the famous Turkish Molla Emirsade Mehmed Shukrü (Rev. John Avetaranian). Besides his wonderful work, he served his Mohammedan brothers by a mission press, which at first found place in Shumen and afterwards in Philippopolis. He translated and printed among other books for the first time in Turkish and in Azerbajani "Pilgrim's Progress." He printed also for the first time the whole New Testament in Kashgari-Turki which he translated during the time of his mission work in Central Asia. He published the first Christian newspaper in Turki-Osmani *Guenesh (The Sun)* and also the magazine *Shahidul Hakajike (The Witnesser of Truth)*. The World War put an end to the ten years mission work of Mehmed Shukrü, who died in Germany in the year 1920.

It is for many a great joy that the German Orient Mission at Potsdam has again opened a Mohammedan Mission in Bulgaria at Sofia and Philippopolis.

E. M. Hoppe.

Did Mohammed Know Slavonic Enoch?

Dear Mr. Editor,

The article on the above theme which you published in the January number needs some annotation lest the unwary should be misled. One can hardly imagine a more far-fetched hypothesis than the one suggested, nor one for which the writer has brought less evidence. Had the writer put his query—"Did the late Muslim *Traditionists* know Slavonic Enoch?" there might have been more a shade of possibility, but even in that case every point he raises is susceptible of another and generally a better explanation.

To begin with Idris. The philological argument brought by Nöldeke in *ZA.* xvii. 84 is absolutely conclusive that Idris=Andreas, though whether the Andreas referred to is the Andreas of ecclesiastical legend as Nöldeke thought, or the famous cook of Alexander the Great, as has been suggested by Hartmann (*ZA.* xxiv. 315)[1] is a matter of some doubt. However, as he is undoubtedly an Andreas of some form of Christian legend, how could Mohammed have derived information about him from Slavonic Enoch?

But is even Moslem legend indebted to Slavonic Enoch for any of the details of its Idris legend? Let us consider those suggested—

(i) The idea of Enoch revisiting the earth after having been taken to the heavens does not occur, so far as I know, in any Moslem Idris legend.[2] The Moslem legend is that his soul left his body for an hour, and then he was taken to the heavens and refused to leave. Thus this parallel fails us, and in any case the idea of his return to earth underlies Ethiopic Enoch and is not peculiar to the Slavonic cycle.

(ii) For the origin of the theory that Enoch was given thirty books, we do not need to look to Slavonic Enoch, for the idea was widely spread among the Jews that Enoch had books. Ethiopic Enoch represents him as the author of a book of Instruction, and in the Enoch Tractate printed by Jellinek in Vol. II of his *Beth Hamidrash* we find Enoch figuring as the communicator of God's wisdom to Moses.

(iii) That Enoch was an astronomer and a chronologist is told in the *Sepher Yuhasin* which recounts how he taught astronomy and arithmetic, and as a matter of fact the astronomical detail in Ethiopic Enoch is at least as copious as that in the Slavonic book, and as to his being an artificer, we remember that in the *Midrash Yalkut* he figures as a cobbler.

(iv) That Enoch was the inventor of writing is told in the *Targum* of Pseudo-Jonathan and in the *Book of Jubilees*, which is an even closer parallel with the Moslem legend than is Slavonic Enoch xxii. 12.

(v) The story of his visiting hell as well as heaven is told also in the Ethiopic Enoch, and seems to have been a favorite theme of the Enoch legend.

Now to pass from Idris to the other suggested parallels with the

1 Mr. Jenkinson is quite wrong in thinking that Nöldeke made this suggestion. Nöldeke's first suggestion was that it was some Theodorus (*ZDMG.* xii 706), and later he made an attempt to identify him with the Andreas of the Ecclesiastical *Praxeis Andreou.* (ZA xvii, loc. cit.)

2 It goes without saying that the present writer has not read all Moslem literature, and it may be that there is a Moslem legend somewhere that makes Idris return to the earth after being taken to the heavens. If Mr. Jenkinson has found such a legend I should be very grateful for the reference to the text in which it is to be found.

Slavonic book, we shall find that the same inconsequence holds in every case.

(i) The belief in seven heavens, and in the rivers and trees of Paradise, is a commonplace in the Rabbinic writings, and there are no closer parallels with Slavonic Enoch than with the Talmud in this matter.

(ii) Sūra xvii. 1 has not the slightest reference to a "tour of the heavens," but to a night visit by Mohammed (in dream) to the Holy House at Jerusalem. Moslem legend has developed this into the story of the Mi'rāj, but even in this story the correspondences with the Ethiopic Enoch and *Sefer Hanok* are closer than anything that can be quoted from the Slavonic book. It is true that Slav. Enoch xxi. 3–5 makes Gabriel place the Prophet before the face of God, whereas in III Enoch vi. 1 it is Anaphiel who does this, but this is hardly a parallel with the Mi'rāj legend, where Gabriel accompanies Mohammed. In view of the Koranic association of Gabriel with revelation it could hardly have been anyone else who would accompany the Prophet on that occasion.

(iii) Still less is there any parallel with Sūra liii. 14, where, as Caetani has shown, the reference is to a physical location at Mecca, and the boundary is the boundary of the *haram,* and the lote tree an actual tree standing on that boundary.

(iv) The casting out of Satan from Paradise is a commonplace of Jewish legend, so that there is no call to refer to the Slavonic Enoch for a parallel. The same is true of the references given to the delights of Paradise and the pains of hell, for all of which there are Rabbinic parallels in plenty, and there is nothing particularly cogent in the references given to the Slavonic Enoch.

(v) The Guardians of Hell mentioned in Sūra xcvi. 18, the Zabāniya, are, as Tor Andrae has shown,[3] of Syriac origin, so that the reference to the Grigori of Slav. Enoch xviii. is pointless.

In all this the only actual parallel I have found is that the Moslem Idris legend does mention the Books of Adam and Seth, as they are mentioned in Slav. Enoch xxxiii. 10, but even in this case I should be much surprised if they are not mentioned in other Jewish Enoch legends also.

All that this discussion can be held to have shown is that Mohammed and later Moslem Traditionists were acquainted with numerous legends of Jewish origin, and that some of this legendary material appears also in Slavonic Enoch. That either Mohammed or the Traditionists actually knew Slav. Enoch would seem to be a very remote hypothesis.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

3 *Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum,* p. 154.

A Manual on Islam in Telugu

Few among ordinary Indian Mission workers are sufficiently acquainted with Islam to be capable of efficient work among Moslems, of whom there are large numbers throughout the Telugu area almost totally unacquainted with Urdu but accessible through the medium of Telugu. For the equipment of Telugu workers for this service Rev. A. M. Boggs prepared, in 1929, an eminently useful manual on *Muhammadanism* which has met with such appreciation that the book has recently been reprinted in a second edition of 2,000 copies. It is desirable that Mr. Boggs' compendious little manual should be a unit in the library of all Telugu preachers and catechists whose slender knowledge of Islam places them at serious disadvantage in preaching to Moslems.

Three Minor Corrections

In the April number of the *Moslem World* there are three little points that need correction in the interests of accuracy.

(i) In the article on the Sword of Mohammed, page 112, last line of text, the reference to Ibn Saad is given as "not yet printed." When Mittwoch wrote his article in the Encyclopædia of Islam, from which this reference is taken, that section of Ibn Saad had indeed not been printed, but it was issued in 1917 and the reference to Dhu'l-Faqar occurs on page 117.

(ii) On page 126 Dr. Shellabear refers to Maulvi Muhammad Ali's translation as the first English translation of the Qur'an made by a Moslem. There are two earlier translations by Indian Moslems. One by Mohammad Abdul Hakim Khan, which appeared in 1905, and another by Mirza Abul Fazl, published by Ashgar & Co., Allahabad, 1911–1912, two vols. Arabic text and English translation.

(iii) Dr. Kraemer on page 157 refers to the volume on "Islam and Civil Government" which raised such a stir in Egypt some years ago. The name of the author, however, is 'Ali 'Abd ar-Rāziq, not 'Abd ar-Razzāq. At least the former is the name he answers to in Cairo and is that which he prints on the cover of his book. Also the correct title of his famous book is "Al-Islām wa Usūl ul-Hukm." Dr. Kraemer was obviously quoting from memory but the correct title may be of interest to readers.

A. J.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Holy Kabbalah. A Study of the Secret Tradition in Israel. By A. E. Waites. Macmillan & Co., New York. pp. 636. $7.50.

The Jewish Kabbalah is of interest to the student of Islam for two reasons. It is undoubtedly one of the sources of later Moslem Magic, and it has also influenced Islamic Mysticism. The first great missionary to Moslems, Raymund Lull, was a diligent student of the Kabbalah, as is clear from his *Ars Magna*. The present treatise is by a Christian Mystic, and in a sense not only supplements but supplants the earlier works of Ginsburg and MacGregor Mathers. The former was a short essay, the latter a translation with commentary; the present work is an elaborate interpretation. In the preface the author gives his view point: "Few educated persons, and certainly none belonging to the class of students for which this work is designed more especially, will require to be told that the Kabbalah is a form of Esoteric Philosophy, that it makes for itself a high claim, or that this claim has been admitted, from time to time, by persons who are entitled to our consideration. Nor will it be needful to state that the literature called Kabbalistic rose up among the Jews during the Christian centuries which succeeded their dispersal and the destruction of their Holy City. It offers a strong contrast to the sacred scriptures of Israel, which are direct, beautiful and simple, while Kabbalism is involved, obscure and even repellent occasionally, as regards its outward form. The Bible is in focus with humanity; the Kabbalah is distorted out of all correspondence with the simple sense, and we must grind our intellectual lenses with exceeding care if we would bring it into perspective."

The work consists of twelve books. After an introduction on the post-Christian literature of the Jews, three books deal with the sources and authority of the Kabbalah. Books V to VIII tell of its doctrinal content, in respect to God, the soul, the history of man and the mystery of sex. Book IX is on the Jewish Commentators. Book X is on Christian students of the Kabbalah, while XI and XII deal with the influence of the Kabbalah on Magic, Astrology, Freemasonry, etc., and give the author's conclusions. The author alludes at some length to "Islamic connections of the Kabbalah" (pp. 75–80), and concludes this section as follows: "To say that Sufism has been referred to a woman who died at Jerusalem in the first century of the Hegira is to say that Sufism began to live and move in an atmosphere of Jewish Tradition. To say that Spain was the forcing-house of the Kabbalists is to say that the theosophical doctors of Jewry brushed arms with those of Islam, and to deny that there was any consequence of such contact is to deny Nature. Sufism was pantheistic and emanationist; Kabbalistic emanationism was saved from pure pantheism by the doctrine of Divine Immanence, and

their literatures have no real likeness; but between the metaphysics of Divine Love and the mystical absorption of Islam, and between the Kabbalistic return of the soul to God, or its union with the transcendent principle which never departs from *Atziluth,* and the theory of ecstasy in Islam, it seems possible to suppose that there was not only the connecting link of analogy between all mystics but a bond even in history." There is an interesting reference here to E. G. Browne and his "A Year Among the Persians." (p. 129.) Z.

Loyalties: Mesopotamia 1914–1917; A Personal and Historical Record. By Sir Arnold T. Wilson. Oxford University Press, London. pp. 340. $10.

In November, 1914, an Indian brigade landed at Fao at the head of the Persian Gulf, and before the close of the War sixty thousand lives had been lost, and millions of pounds spent in Mesopotamia. This book tells the story of the occupation of Basra, the beginnings of a new civil administration, of the advance on Baghdad, the siege and fall of Kut-al-Amara, and the extension of British influence after the capture of Baghdad, until the close of the War. It is the inside story by one who knows its detail, is a skillful writer and unsparing in his exposure of colossal blunders and tragedies. "Sir Arnold Wilson," says a reviewer in the London *Times,* "writes on occasion with blasting frankness, and makes his meaning explicit by selecting for condemnation names of men who were in high place and could and did work widespread misery. The vanished years and their battlefields become vivid again—the disastrous clash at Ctesiphon, the hopeless valour of the Wadi and Hanna, the heart-breaking folly of the pedantry that threw away victory at Dujaleh, the hand-to-hand struggle which finally drew Kut into our grasp, the check before Baghdad and the disillusion which its sordid streets and drab hovels brought us. In the most terrible chapter of all he reminds us (who have forgotten so easily) of how that 'clean fighter,' the Turk, treated Townshend's men, and of the ineffaceable stain his indifference then, and his enthusiastic pro-Turk behaviour afterwards, left on their commander's name."

The author pays a deserved tribute (pp. 70–78) to the staff of the American Mission at Basra for their humanitarian work in 1916. The volume has more than a score of beautiful illustrations and four excellent maps.

A Handbook of Mohammedan Decorative Arts. By M. S. Dimand, Ph.D. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. pp. 287. $2.

In recent years our knowledge of the decorative art of Islam has been greatly advanced. Priceless collections are on exhibit in the great museums in the Near East and the West. The present handbook, lavishly illustrated, contains nine chapters. After a historic introduction, we have an account of miniature painting, calligraphy, book binding, sculpture, woodwork, ivories, and metal work. The bibliography is fairly complete, and the chronological table invaluable. "The writer gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Sarre, Herzfeld, Kühnel, Migeon, Martin, Strzygowski, Diez, and other scholars whose labors have contributed so greatly to our knowledge of Mohammedan art, and

to Joseph Breck, Curator of the Department of Decorative Arts, for his many valuable suggestions and other assistance in the preparation of this handbook, and especially for the chapter on Glass and Crystal, of which he is the author."

The Carpets of Persia. By Creassey Tattersall. Luzac and Company, London. pp. 52. 3/6.

This manual was published in connection with the International Exhibition of Persia at the Royal Academy; it is illustrated by thirty-two plates and a sketch map of the chief carpet centers of Persia. It tells of the technique used in manufacture, the classification, the repair, the buying and conserving of rugs. It is all very interesting, but no mention is made of the toil and suffering of little children at the carpet looms of Persia. The cost of a Persian rug to those who know of these conditions can not be represented in terms of money.

La Question Arabe: de l'Arabie du Roi Ibn Sa'oud à l'Independence syrienne. By Madame B.-G. Gaulis. Editions Berger-Levrault, Paris. pp. 309. 20 francs.

The author has written on Egyptian and Turkish nationalism and on the work of France in Morocco. Her facile pen now takes up the story of Ibn Sa'oud, recording her observations made during a visit to Jiddah early in 1929. The second part deals with Syria and its political history from 1919 to 1930, in five chapters. It is a sympathetic French view of Syrian nationalism.

Les Druzes: Histoire du Liban et de la Montagne Haouranaise. Captaine N. Bouron. Preface du Général Weygand. Editions Berger-Levrault, Paris. pp. 421. 40 francs.

At last we have a monograph on the Druzes that ought to satisfy the curiosity and will hold the interest of all who read it. General Weygand in the preface points out the qualifications of the author, who has lived among the Druzes and writes as one who knows. The book falls into three parts, of which the first deals with the geography of the country east of the Jordan and south of Damascus. The second part sketches the history of Syria and the rise and history of the Druze sect until their revolt against the French in 1925. The third part of the book tells of the beliefs and practices, the manners and the customs of the Druzes. The book contains seventy-four illustrations, three colored maps, a good bibliography, together with a number of appendices, one of them in regard to the episode of Lawrence. Unfortunately there is no index.

Z.

Social Sciences in the Balkans and in Turkey. A Survey of Resources for Study and Research in the Fields of Knowledge. By Robert Joseph Kerner. University of California Press, Berkeley. pp. 137. $1.75.

The author is Professor of Modern European History in the University of California, and believes that no region in Europe can benefit so much from the Social Sciences as the Balkans and Turkey. He says: "In their efforts to cope with the situation which confronts them the social scientists in the Balkans and in Turkey should have the sympathy

and cooperation of their fellow-workers in other countries more fortunately situated." This introductory volume tells of the progress of social effort and investigation in Jugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey. It is an index to the organizations, libraries and literature on the subject. One is surprised that so much good work has been done, and yet how great is the present-day need. Z.

Turkey. Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow. By Sir Telford Waugh. Chapman & Halls, London. pp. 305. 18 s.

A diplomat looking back to forty-four years of service in Turkey, and making full use of diaries kept during that entire period, here records events as seen by an eye witness. The Turkey of yesterday, i.e., until 1918, is sketched in a series of seven chapters, which deal largely with reminiscences of the embassy until the close of the War. Pages 169 to 265 deal with the Turkey of to-day, the conditions that followed the Armistice, the movement toward national independence, the great speech of Mustafa Kemal, and the reforms in progress. The Turkey of tomorrow is in the lap of the gods, and therefore the final chapter attempts to summarize the author's experience without indulging in prophecy. "New Turkey has much to her credit. For a whole century the Western friends of Turkey had preached to her restraint of Moslem fanaticism, modern legislation and constitutional government. She has now thrown overboard her State religion and her antiquated laws, and has adopted the latest Western codes and proclaimed a republic. Does this mean a changed mentality, sufficient to create out of the fragments of the decrepit Ottoman Empire a young, vigorous modern State? Or is it merely another example of stunted growth, like the Tanzimat and the Union and Progress Constitution?" The style of the book is excellent, as are also the maps and illustrations.

A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, with a brief survey of the growth of the Urdu Language. By Muhammed 'Abdu'l Ghani, M.A., M.Litt. (Cantab). The Indian Press, Allahabad. Three volumes as follows: Part I—Babur, pp. 160; Part II—Humayun, pp. 202; Part III—Akbar, pp. 475. Rupees 7 annas 8.

This is an important work, and fills a gap in the history of the literature of Moslem India. The author acknowledges his debt to his predecessors, especially to Professor Browne of Cambridge, and the volume contains tribute to his work by some leading Orientalists. The Urdu and Persian text is not as clearly printed as is the English, and the illustrations are second rate, but the whole work shows the influence of the Persian on Indian Islam through its literature. Until about the nineteenth century, Persian held its ground as a classical language in India, but since then it began to lose ground, was corrupted, until there is now a great divergence between the Persian of Persia and the Persian of India. Professor R. A. Nicholson says: "This is a meritorious History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court. The author is to be congratulated on the completion of a work which brings together so much interesting material, and provides, for the first time, a systematic survey of the subject." Z.

In Egypt—Studies and Sketches Along the Nile. By John C. Van Dyke. Illustrated. Charles Scribners, New York, 1931. pp. 206. $2.50.

Those who have read Professor Van Dyke's books on art and travel will know what to expect in this modest, but fascinating volume. "A thousand books have been written about Egypt. Both writers and readers have perhaps been exhausted—but not the country. Its interest seems everlasting. Each forthcoming book has something new to say about it, and I am cherishing the modest hope that even this volume may present a slightly different angle of vision." There is nothing on missions, politics, or Islam, but for an accurate picture of the land and the people, one would have far to go to find a better and a more captivating guide.

Buddhistische Symbolik. By Gustav Mensching. Leopold Klotz Verlag, 1929. pp. 67.

An account of the Symbols used in Buddhist art and architecture, illustrated with sixty-eight photographic illustrations. After a brief introduction on the various forms of Buddhism, the author treats the subject as follows: General Symbolism, The Image of Buddha, the Symbols used in Worship, the Stupa and Pagoda, and a final chapter on Animal Symbolism in Buddhism. When we remember that in Java Islam displaced Buddhism, the chapter on the Borobudur is of special interest. Z.

The Mixed Courts of Egypt. By Jasper Yeates Brinton. Yale University Press, 1930. pp. 416. $5.

This is the first comprehensive survey in the English language of one of the most remarkable political institutions of modern days. Sir Maurice Amos speaking of the Mixed Courts said: "I have often taken occasion to remark that next to the Church, this is the most successful international institution in history." Mr. Brinton describes the historical origin of the Courts, which go back to the capitulations and the campaign of Nubar Pasha for reforms. He describes the diplomatic battle by which they were finally established, and sketches their history in the past fifty years. Other chapters deal with their jurisdiction, organization, methods of procedure, etc. We note the accurate press work, the attractive form and the timeliness of this important work.

Survey of International Affairs, 1929. By Arnold J. Toynbee assisted by V. M. Boulter. Oxford University Press, London. pp. 545. $7.

Documents on International Affairs, 1929. By John W. Wheeler-Bennett. Oxford University Press, London. pp. 349. $6.

These are companion volumes and appear from the same press, edited with the same meticulous care, but they are of unequal value. The second volume consists of a series of documents relating to present-day International problems, such as, the Liquidation of War; Naval Disarmament; the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the Kellogg Pact. In addition to these general documents we have the treaties and agreements made during 1929 between various European States, the American republics, and Asiatic countries, including documents relating to the Near and Middle East. Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee in the Survey of International Affairs for 1929 maintains the high

standard set by him in his earlier surveys. There is no other work of such outstanding importance on the history of International Affairs. The Islamic World, it is true, has no special section this year, but tropical Africa, including Abyssinia, has a large place (pp. 223–293). The emphasis in these surveys is no longer exclusively political. To quote from the preface: "Political affairs have lost their monopoly of interest and importance; and economic and cultural affairs have begun to assert themselves. The political associations called states are finding themselves compelled to take increasing account of economic associations, such as 'big business' and labour internationals, and of religious and linguistic associations, such as Churches and minorities. In view of this tendency, the Council of the Royal Institute have decided to extend the scope of the Survey by including economic chapters, and this decision has already been put into effect in the present volume." Z.

Life of Husain (the Saviour). By Moulvi Mirza Ghulam Abbas Ali Sahib. First Edition, 1930—Standard Press, Madras. pp. 360.

Unless we are mistaken, this is the first attempt at a life of Husain, the grandson of Mohammed the Prophet, in English. The author is evidently a Shiah, and therefore uses the sub-title for his hero of "the Saviour." In his own words he has "attempted to give a brief account of the noble features and events of Husain's life, and has tried to explain at some length how he became the target of a world of miseries for merely upholding the right, and how his unflinching character and powerful resolution kept him firm in his unprecedented hardships. The fear of losing all he owned in this world could not move him an inch from where he was and, like a perfect man that he was, he faced inconceivable calamities which fell to his lot as the result of his unshakeable attachment to the Lord and his commandments."

The style is readable, and there are abundant quotations from the Koran and the Shiah traditions. But the latter are not always documented. The transliteration of Arabic words is unfortunate, the book has no index, but we congratulate the author on his maiden effort. English readers can here find in detail the story of the tragedy of Kerbela. Z.

Mohammedanische Frommigkeit. By Dr. A. Jeremias. Adolf Klein, Leipzig. pp. 52. M.I.5.

Dr. Jeremias, a notable scholar in the History of Religion, is a well-known and eminent expert on the religions of the ancient Orient. He gives us, in the above-mentioned book, a remarkable study on Islam, which is, at the same time, full of personal recollections of his stay in the Orient. Special attention should be paid to the author's endeavor to show, on the one hand, the connection between Islam and the Gnosis of Judaic Christianity; and, on the other hand, the Prophet's Messianic position, and the transcendent character of some of his followers' communities. G. SIMON.

Die Religionen der Erde, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte. By Carl Clemen. Verlag F. Brückmann A.-G., München. pp. 528, 22 R.M.

This is one of the latest and best books on the History of Religions, and is highly commended by the religious press of Germany. It is a

popular exposition of all religions in chronological order. The editor writes the introductory chapter on pre-historic religion, and another equally interesting on primitive religion. Then there follow special chapters by different writers on the Babylonian Religion, Chinese Religion, Indian Religion, Persian Religion, Greek and Roman Religion, Celtic and the Germanic Religion, the Slav Religion and the Japanese Religions. The titles show that the division is largely geographical in the treatment of Ethnic faiths. The four universal religions, Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam are separately treated. Professor Frantz Babinger of the University of Berlin writes on Islam. We regret to say that this is not among the best chapters of the book. The literature given under each chapter is better than the meager list at the close of the chapter on Islam. The volume contains extraordinary wealth of beautiful illustrations and has a good index. Z.

Lay of the Hedjaz. By Hakim Jamshid Ali Rathor. The Commercial Press, Sialkot City. pp. 101.

This is an epic on the life of Mohammed by a young Moslem, who has done his best to portray the prophet in heroic verse. Here is a sample, depicting the placing of the Kaaba Stone:

"He spread a cloth upon the ground,
The stone, then, like an honest man
He placed thereon, and asked those round
To choose four men of every clan.
They took the cloth at corners four
And thus the Sacred Stone they bore,
So that they might have equal right,
To place the stone now in the wall;
And, there and then, that Amin might
Take it and place it 'fore them all."

A Foreigner Looks at the British Sudan. By Odette Keun. Faber & Faber, London. pp. 56. 1s.

This pamphlet is a model in style and contents, and, except for its unfair characterization of Gordon and its criticism of missions in a brief paragraph, is a fascinating account of the Sudan and a noble tribute to British administration at its best. "To-day, at the end of three decades, the Sudan counts over six million souls; as a whole, it is self-supporting, the British tax-payer not giving a penny for its upkeep; individually according to native standards, it is prosperous; it is disciplined, and climbing towards education. There are already native doctors who have graduated from a local medical college. Public security is practically complete. Compared with other European colonial possessions a hundred years old—and more—it is quieter, happier, richer, healthier. How have these astounding results been achieved?" Z.

Elementary Arabic, A Grammar. By F. du P. Thornton and R. A. Nicholson. Cambridge University Press, 1930. pp. 227. 7s. 6d.

We are glad to recommend this revised third edition of one of the best Arabic manuals. There is an interesting preface on the author's life, telling of his friendship with the leading Arabists of Great Britain. The book has the peculiar merit of serving as an introduction to the

masterly work of Wright. The examples of Arabic are nearly all taken from the Koran, which in every case is spelled *Coran!* Z.

Ibn Khaldun: Historian, Sociologist and Philosopher. By Nathaniel Schmidt. Columbia University Press, 1930, New York. pp. 67. $2.

This scholarly monograph, by the Professor of Semitic Languages and Oriental History in Cornell University, is excellent in every way. The author draws a full-length portrait of one of the most interesting figures in the whole galaxy of Arabic literature. Ibn Khaldun (born in 1332, died 1406) remained in comparative obscurity until his writings were discovered and brought to light by Silvestre de Sacy in 1806. The book opens with the story of the discovery and publication of these manuscripts and their translation. Dr. Schmidt then describes Ibn Khaldun as historian, philosopher, sociologist, and finally gives a characterization of the man and his influence. There is a list of extant manuscripts, editions and translations, together with notes and an index. Z.

Die Geschichts-und Gesellschaftslehre Ibn Haldūns. By Dr. M. Kamil Ayad. J. G. Gotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, Berlin. pp. 209. M.9.50.

Above we have noted the recent study on Ibn Khaldun by Nathaniel Schmidt of Columbia University. Here we have a far more elaborate study on Ibn Khaldun's ideas of history and sociology by a learned Moslem of Damascus, a pupil of Professor Breysig of Berlin. After giving the background of Ibn Khaldun's life and a sketch of Islamic civilization, the author expounds Ibn Khaldun's theory of the philosophy of history, in three chapters, followed by six shorter chapters on his sociology. There is a glossary of technical terms and a brief bibliography. In the preface the printer is blamed for the lack of an accent in the spelling of Khaldun *(Haldun)*. Z.

Persian Art. By E. Denison Ross (Editor), Roger Fry, C. J. Gadd, K. A. C. Creswell, Laurence Binyon, Bernard Rackham, Leigh Ashton and C. E. C. Tattersall. Luzac and Co., London, 1931. pp. 108. 3/6.

To those interested in Persian art, this manual will prove of permanent value. It was prepared as a hand-book for the International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy this year. It contains excellent illustrations, a map, and a good bibliography. Dr. E. Denison Ross provides the historical introduction—the other writers take up Persian art in general, early Persian art, architecture, textile art, carpets, and metal work. Z.

Les Berbères en Amerique: essai d'Ethnocinésie Préhistorique. By Commandant Cauvet. Alger, J. Bringau, Imprimeur-Editeur. pp. 445.

The author of this ethnographic treatise has written a number of works dealing with the fauna and flora of Algeria, and is an authority on the camel. His long experience and life among the Berber tribes

lead him to a theory of their origin and their connection with certain Indian tribes in North and South America. One may doubt his conclusions, which to many will seem fantastic and based too exclusively on similarity of names, but one cannot help admiring the diligence and erudition displayed. The book consists of five chapters. The fourth (pp. 186–426) gives an alphabetical list of the names and character of tribes common to the Barbary States and to America. The final chapter gives his conclusions, indicating the probable date which he assigns to these Berber migrations. "La période que l'on peut envisager pour les migrations de Berbères en Amérique se termine naturellement au XVe siècle, avec l'arrivée des conquérants Espagnols aux Antilles."

Z.

The Law of Behest. By C. E. Padwick. Church Missionary Society, London, 1930. pp. 145. 10/6.

The biographer of Henry Martyn and Temple Gairdner gives a vivid sketch of the C. M. S. Congress of 1930, and encouraging the Society's work among Moslems, sets in the forefront the call to self-sacrificing love.

H. U. W. STANTON.

Enlightenment and Salvation. By R. M. Shaw, B.D. Williams & Norgate, London, 1930. pp. 189. 7/6.

We have here a study in comparative religious science by a missionary professor of Old Testament Theology at the Central Theological College, Tokyo, with a commendatory preface by D. P. Y. Matsue, Bishop of Tokyo; surely an encouraging sign of unity in Christ: the western divine serving under the leadership of the Eastern. Mr. Shaw compares the principal world religions—primitive, Indian, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Moslem—under four heads: (a) The need of Salvation; (b) The Possibility of Salvation; (c) The Nature of Salvation; and (d) The Means of Salvation. It is interesting to note that, living in sympathetic intercourse with Japanese, he treats Shintoism as in essence a form of primitive religion. The chapter devoted to Islam gives a slight, but lucid sketch of the religion on its doctrinal side. The book forms a useful manual for the beginner in comparative study of world religion.

H. U. W. STANTON.

Oostersche Mystiek, door Prof. Dr. A. J. Wensinck.

Chineesche Wijsgeeren (Confucius en Lao Tse). Chineesche Wijsgeeren (De Chineesche Sophisten en de Filosofie van het Uitleven der Persoonlijkheid). Door Dr. H. Hackmann. **Shinto en Taoisme in Japan. Buddha's Leer in het Verre Oosten.** Door Dr. M. W. De Visser. H. J. Paris, Amsterdam. f.2.40, (each).

These five little books are monographs in the series "Weg der Menschheid," and although written by distinguished scholars are intended for popular use. The first consists of three chapters, viz.: On the sources of Oriental Mysticism, on early Christian Mysticism and on Mystics of Islam, with special reference to Hallaj and Ghazali. A select bibliography and nine beautiful illustrations add to the value of this excellent treatise. The second and third books deal with Confucius and his early disciples and the Chinese Sophists Teng Hsi, Yin Wen Tse, Hui Shi, and Kung Sun Lung; with a special section on

Yang Tsju and his philosophy. Eighteen illustrations illumine the text. The fourth is on Buddhism.

Von des Heilandes Brüdern und Schwestern. By J. Christoffel. Verlag der Christlichen Blindenmission im Orient, Berlin. pp. 122.

Von des Heilandes Lieblingen. Ergreifende Kinderschichtale aus dem Orient. By J. Christoffel. Verlag der Christlichen Blindenmission im Orient, Berlin. pp. 92.

We welcome these two little books because they give a picture of missionary work among the blind in Persia. The author is director of the Mission which has work at Tabriz, and more recently at Isfahan. The stories of Persian childhood handicapped by blindness of heart, as well as of the eye, stir one's emotions.

Pages Arabico-Madécasses. Histoire, légendes et mythes. Traduction, annotations et commentaires. By G. H. Julien. pp. 123, xxxii pl. 184 Boulevard Saint-Germain.

This book consists of the text, translation of and notes on, twenty-five brief ancient documents discovered in Madagascar. They relate to the history of the introduction of Islam on the southeast coast, about the year 542 A.H. We quote from the review that appeared in *Africa:*

Et d'abord, en ce qui concerne l'histoire, pour la première fois un récit d'origine purement indigène fournit une date sur l'arrivée probable des islamisés sur la côte sud-orientale de Madagascar: 'Et voici l'année de l'arrivée de Ramakarube et de l'Andriambuaziribe: ce fut en cinq cent quarante-deux de l'ére mahométane.' Les textes précisent en outre le nom et le nombre des tribus qui se trouvaient à l'époque dans cette région de la Grande Ile.

Strange New Gospels. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press, Illinois. pp. 111. $2.

This little book is of first importance to all who must meet the Ahmadi controversialists. It is well known that the "swoon-theory" of this sect is based largely upon the statements in the "Unknown Life of Christ" by Nicholas Nunovitch (Cf. Howard Walter, "The Ahmadiya Movement" p. 92). This and other spurious or fictional gospel stories are here faithfully described, and subjected to common-sense historical tests, and their real character and origin explained. Dr. Goodspeed reviews the Aquarian Gospel, the Confession of Pontius Pilate, the so-called Letter of Jesus Christ, the Archko volume, etc. "to save people from being duped by these hollow frauds." "I have also had a feeling that these documents when brought together, in a measure nullify one another, being so palpably efforts to employ the same literary devices for contradictory purposes. And it may throw the genuine writings of primitive Christianity into higher relief to see these imitations in their true character."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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

I. GENERAL

The Aims and Methods of English Teaching in Palestine Schools. W. J. Farrell. (In *Oversea Education,* London. April, 1931. pp. 120–128.)

The place of English as a cultural study; the present practice in Palestine Government boys' schools, where the general medium of instruction is Arabic, and all the teachers but two are Arabs.

The Caravan Route from Persia to Turkey. Michal Vyvyan. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 5–13.)

Outlines some of the changes which have resulted in the road from Tabriz to the Black Sea dropping from the first place of three main routes into Northern and Western Persia to that of least importance among four.

Education in Egypt. F. S. Marvin. (In *The Contemporary Review,* London. April, 1931. pp. 456–463.)

Notes on some of the drawbacks inherent in the present rigid policy of the Ministry of Education; timely, in view of the recent appointment of the Education Commission.

Notes on Phonology of Colloquial Persian. W. Ivanow. (In *Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 5, 1931. pp. 576–595.)

An analysis aiming to open the way towards the building up of a complete, reliable, and much-needed system of Persian phonology.

The Origins of the National Press in Azerbaijan. II. Period of Stabilization, 1905–1910. Jeyhoun Bey Hajibeyli. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. April, 1931. pp. 349–359.)

The first part of this study was noted in *The Moslem World* for January.

A Statistical Survey of Jewish Workers in Palestine. Walter Preuss and M. Nemirovsky. (In *The International Labour Review,* Geneva. February, 1931. pp. 227–239.)

A significant economic survey, followed by an abstract of the Hope Simpson report on "Immigration, Land Settlement, and Development in the Mandated Territory of Palestine."

II. ARABIA

AN AIR RECONNAISSANCE OF THE HADHRAMAUT. R. A. Cochrane. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. March, 1931. pp. 209–215.)

Describes the main geographical features of an extraordinarily isolated valley, 300 miles long, running parallel to the south coast of Arabia, and reaching the sea 450 miles east of Aden.

DAMASCUS TO HAIL. Eldon Rutter. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 61–73.)

The record of a trip which had for its *raison d'être* the wish to experience the life of the wandering Arabs and to live for a time in a purely Wahhabi community.

THE HEJAZ. Eldon Rutter. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. February, 1931. pp. 98–108.)

Much the same as the preceding article, although not identical with it.

NOTES ON THE HADHRAMAUT. W. H. Lee Warner. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. March, 1931. pp. 217–222.)

Supplements the article by R. A. Cochrane dealing with the characteristics of the people and with the cultivation of their country.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

CLASHING NATIONALISMS IN THE NEAR EAST. Lootfy Levonian. (In *World Dominion,* London. April, 1931. pp. 153–157.)

Indicates, largely through the example of Turkey, how religion is being revalued by nationalism, and is either cast aside as a relic of the past, or is being nationalized.

THE CRISIS OF ISLAM. Translated from the German of Dr. Richard Hartmann by T. H. Weir. (In *The Calcutta Review,* Calcutta. March, 1931. pp. 441–454.)

The crisis is inherent in the question as to whether or not Islam as a religion is compatible with modern progress; the first part of a study of Islamic Modernism.

THE MAHMAL OF THE MOSLEM PILGRIMAGE. Arthur E. Robinson. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 117–127.)

Comments upon the probable origin and meaning of the Mahmal.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY

DAS PROBLEM EINES VORISLAMISCHEN CHRISTLICH-KIRCHLICHEN SCHRIFTTUMS IN ARABISCHER SPRACHE. A. Baumstark. (In *Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. IV., fasc. 5, 1931. pp. 562–575.)

ZUR SYNTAX DER MUSLIMISCHEN BEKENNTNISFORMEL. A. Fischer. (In *Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. IV, fasc. 4, 1931. pp. 512–521.)

THE FOLK-LORE OF 'IRAQ. E. S. Stevens. (In *The Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 14–27.)

Indicates the varied sources and the composite nature of the stories, describes briefly some of the supernatural folk mentioned in them, and repeats some of the tales.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

BEITRAGE ZUR ISLAMISCHEN LITERATURGESCHICHTE. Martin Plessner. (In *Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. IV, fasc. 5, 1931. pp. 526–561.)

Notes on some Arabic manuscripts in Stamboul, Konia, and Damascus.

MUSTAPHA KEMAL SETS THE STYLES. H. E. Wortham. (In *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston. March, 1931. pp. 356–366.)

A study of the social and psychological significance underlying the Ghazi's drive to Westernize Turkish dress.

PRIVATEIGENTUM UND KOLLECTIVISMUS IM MOHAMMEDANISCHEN LIEGENSCHAFTSRECHT INSBESONDERE DES MAGHRIB. Edgar Pröbster. (In *Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. IV, fasc. 4, 1931. pp. 343–511.)

A scholarly inaugural dissertation in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Leipzig.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND IN PALESTINE. Claude F. Strickland. (In *Current History,* New York. April, 1931. pp. 45–52.)

Summarizes the findings of a searching inquiry into the position of the Arab villager in Palestine; appended is the full text of the letter sent by Ramsay MacDonald to Dr. Weizmann following the Passfield White Paper.

TREKKING IN CENTRAL ASIA. Evangeline French, Mildred Cable, and Francesca French. (In *World Dominion,* London. April, 1931. pp. 111–118.)

The first of three articles, this dealing largely with the characteristics of the people of the region.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

BRITISH AND RUSSIAN RELATIONS WITH MODERN PERSIA. Rosita Forbes. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 74–81.)

An analysis of the Persian character, followed by a brief discussion of the present situation as regards Persia's imports and exports.

CHANGES AND DEVELOPMENT IN PERSIA DURING THE PAHLEVI REGIME. D. Bourke-Burrowes. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 39–49.)

A general survey, touching briefly on the form of government (theoretical and actual), present condition of the army, initiation

of works of public utility, agriculture, economic and legal reforms, and education.

THE MAKING OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC. Caleb E. Gates. (In *Current History,* New York. April, 1931. pp. 89–93.)

A very general outline of the steps which culminated in Turkey's sharp break with her Ottoman religious and political tradition, and in her vesting the government in the hands of the people.

L'ORGANISATION DE LA JUSTICE INDIGENE AU MAROC. Rapport de M. Paganon. (In *L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Mars, 1931. pp. 161–164.)

An analysis of the situation as found by the French, and the broad outlines of the regulations promulgated by General Lyautey.

THE PALESTINE MUDDLE. E. W. Polson Newman. (In *The Fortnightly Review,* London. March, 1931. pp. 362–373.)

An analysis of the Passfield White Paper, and an argument that for successful government in Palestine there should be a re-examination, if necessary a rewording, of the Mandate by the World Court.

THE PALESTINE SITUATION RESTATED. Felix Frankfurter. (In *Foreign Affairs,* New York. April, 1931. pp. 409–434.)

Reviews the history of the mandate from the standpoint of liberal Zionism, placing the blame for the unhappy situation largely upon the shoulders of the Arab Effendis.

SOME BRITISH PROBLEMS IN PALESTINE. Mrs. Lindfield Soane. (In the *Journal of the Central Asian Society,* London. January, 1931. pp. 50–60.)

Acute observations, with a pro-Arab bias.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

HOW GIVE THE GOSPEL TO MOSLEMS? Mohammed Abdul Qayyum Daskawie. (In *The Missionary Review of the World,* New York. April, 1931. pp. 270–272.)

Indicates certain basic ideas which should be emphasized in preparing Christian literature for Moslems.

THE JEW AS THE MEANS OF APPROACH TO THE EVANGELIZATION OF THE MOSLEM. J. L. Garland. (In the *Jewish Missionary Intelligence,* London. March, 1931. pp. 35–38.)

Since history has shown that the Jew makes a very effective channel by which to approach the Moslem, the question is pertinent as to why greater efforts are not being made for the evangelization of the Jews in Moslem lands.

MOSLEM WORK IN SOUTH INDIA. N. F. Silsbee. (In *The Baptist Missionary Review,* Bezwada. January, 1931. pp. 11–21.)

Summarizes the origin and characteristics of the South Indian Moslems, their penetration into the country, and the Christian work being done among them. Same article in *World Dominion* for April, 1931.

MOSLEM ROSARIES

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