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THE CROSS AND ISLAM

All Islam denies the death of Christ on the cross and would remove that symbol from every church and book and breast. The Koran of Allah says, "They (the Jews) certainly did not kill him and they certainly did not crucify him, but a likeness was made for them" (iv:156). That flat denial is the answer of the Moslem to the affirmative testimony of Christian, Jewish and secular history. The same thing had been said before Mohammed's time by heretical sects among the Christians. Those sects have passed away, but the cross has remained.

The denial that Jesus died on the cross persists, however, in Islam. The Koran does not state who was crucified instead of Christ, and the traditions agree only in the assertion that it was not Christ who died there. That denial will continue so long as the Moslems accept the seventh century Koran as a true and divine revelation, even though it contradicts the plain and certain evidence of first century history.

Nevertheless, to win Mohammedans to allegiance to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour, it will not be sufficient to induce them to accept the verdict of all non-Moslem history to the effect that Jesus himself died on the cross. They might reject or explain away this particular verse of the Koran, or change completely their attitude toward that book as the infallible word of Allah, and still not become Christians. Innumerable non-Moslems admit that Jesus died on the cross, but that knowledge has no effect upon

their principles or their practice. Until the cross of Christ has personal meaning for all Moslems and these innumerable non-Moslems, Jesus Christ will not have the devotion and loyalty that his death and resurrection deserve to produce.

Missions to Moslems therefore involve both proof of the historical fact and demonstration of the present significance of the death of Jesus Christ.

It would be wrong to suppose it is because the Moslems are hostile or indifferent to Jesus that they say he did not die on the cross. Indeed they firmly believe that *they* have the true view about Christ, and that they really honor him more highly than Christians do. They believe that Allah did not allow the Jews to crucify one whom He had aided with miracles that were evidence of His favor. With the exception of the Ahmadiyyah sects, all who call themselves Mohammedans affirm with the Christian Scriptures that Jesus ascended into heaven. To them the prevention of the death of Christ was another marked proof of Allah's care for His prophet, His apostle, His word and His spirit, all of which they firmly assert Jesus to be. For all Islam, as for all Judaism, the cross still means only ignominy and shame.

It is therefore the duty and privilege of Christians to commend the desire of the Moslems to honor Christ, and then to show them that Jesus himself endured the cross as his own utmost service of love, and that thus he transformed a mark of shame into a sign of glory.

It will not be difficult to show, as a matter of general principle, that all real service is worthy of reward, that voluntary performance of needed service is worthy of regard as well as reward, that unselfish devotion to others is worthy of honor, that sacrificial love merits a loving response and that the fulfilment of a supreme need rightly claims the response of loving acceptance of that service.

Christians are those who have come to believe that Jesus died voluntarily on their behalf, the just for the unjust, in atonement for their sins, and so they avow that He

is entitled to their utmost loyalty and love. That is not all the honor they give to Jesus, but they all affirm that they honor Him best when they love and obey Him most completely.

It is not too much to say that as Christians increasingly adopt and practice Christ's own method of selfless, needed service for others, those others, Moslems and non-Moslems, will learn the true meaning of the cross and the great and unique importance of Christ for their welfare here and hereafter. They will themselves come to believe that it is solely devotion to Christ and appreciation of his true worth that has brought needed benefits to them.

Now, all Moslems approve of devotion to Jesus as he is portrayed in the Koran and their traditions. They acknowledge Christ's importance here and hereafter. To do otherwise would be to deny meaning to a phrase in his honor in the Koran, *wajihun fī 'l-dunyā wa 'l-ākhirah*, "worthy of respect in this life and the next". Like all prophets, he has the right of intercession. He may intercede for his people, that is, his followers. There is a tradition that he and all other prophets will waive their rights in favor of Mohammed on the Day of Judgment.

It is perfectly obvious that the Bible makes greater claims for the person and work of Christ than the Moslems and many non-Moslems are ready to admit and accept. Evidence is needed to show them that the work of Christ in this world was too supreme in importance and sublime in performance for any but the Jesus of the Gospels to fulfill it, and that his intercession on the Day of Judgment will be too unique and appropriate for any other to do it.

That needed evidence is best found in the Bible itself. Anything that will bring the Moslems and others to read the life and service of Jesus as presented in the New Testament will help them best to know Him as He is and to realize that He lived and died on their behalf.

But there is need of living evidence as well. If certain good results are desired and expected from present-day non-Christians after they have come to know and accept

Christ as He is portrayed in the Gospels, those same good results should be clearly visible in the lives of those who are now Christians. Moreover, evidence of value for the next world can be presently confirmed only by evidence of value in this life. What the Bible says about Jesus remains true, but confirmation of that truth by living Christians is always needed for the sake of others. In order that their own testimony may be convincing, Christians must be what they want converts to become; they must give evidence that they are experiencing a spiritual salvation now, and so may confidently expect to be saved hereafter.

In short, to prove the fact of the death of Jesus, appeal can be made to assured historical record. To reveal the true meaning of the Cross, all who call themselves Christians must adopt the principle and practice of loving service to the utmost. To give evidence that Christ will save from sin on Resurrection Day, Christians need to show that they are being saved from sin now. The death of Jesus on the cross will mean life eternal for those who are now non-Christian, in proportion as sacrifice is the rule of life for Christians now.

Hartford, Conn.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

"Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God."

II CORINTHIANS 1:3, 4.

✠ Amy Elizabeth Wilkes Zwemer ✠

PIONEER MISSIONARY TO MOSLEM WOMEN

On January 25th, in New York City, where she had gone from her home in Princeton, N. J., to attend an anniversary meeting of the Woman's Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, under which she had worked for many years, this rare spirit was suddenly called into the presence of the Master.

Hers was a life full of devoted service in more than one land, but "Arabia" was always on her heart and never far from her thought and prayer. A one-time missionary of the C.M.S. at Baghdad, in 1896 she was married to Dr. Samuel M. Zwemer, and became the first woman worker in the Arabian Mission. A true missionary, the responsibilities of family and social life always had to square with this first claim upon her time and strength. Naturally strong and self-reliant, the many discomforts of those pioneer days were endured bravely and hopefully.

On tour with her husband or amid the ever-widening circle of friends in Arabia, Egypt and at home, her voice never uttered "an uncertain sound". Her hospitable home had warm welcome for the stranger as well as for her associates, and many of the younger missionaries of those days knew her kindly interest and care in times of sickness and trial. And of even more worth, many of us gained through her an added consecration, a heightened estimate of spiritual values and an unfailing confidence in our Master's ultimate victory in Moslem hearts and homes.

It seems incredible that we who remain shall not again on earth meet her kindly glance nor listen to her cheery words, but we surely have a share in her triumphant entrance into the glory of the unseen, hearing some echo of the Voice that has welcomed her with its "Well done!"

JAMES CANTINE.

A JOURNEY THROUGH NORTHWEST CHINA

On the afternoon of my birthday a lady friend in the Mission came to tea, and in the course of the conversation said, "I cannot see why you want to go traveling in the wild places among the Mohammedans." Although I knew she would not understand, no matter what I said, I left that evening to spend two months with them. It was a thrilling experience and one that made me richer in the knowledge of these interesting people and grateful for the immeasurable kindness received from their hands. The trip called for twenty-eight days in inns, including one in a loess cave. There were sixteen days of actual travel by horse, and nine by cart, to say nothing of the five days by bus and six by train. This took me through all the provinces of Northwest China:—Honan, Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia, Suiyuan, Shansi, Chahar and Hopei. I might have added that while in the province of Ningsia I spent two weeks seeing the province by bicycle, which is not included in the above. All of which means that I was very much on the move, seeing strange sights and letting my mind dwell on the past as well as the present, so that, really, I not only traveled these two months but also from the dawn of history in China—Sian with its glorious past in the Tang Dynasty; Hsien Yang with its history of Chin Sz Huang Ti and the Chow Emperors; also that Valley of the Wei where the early Hans set up their kingdom. Then up the Valley where the Chinese had trekked east; later along the base of the Lu Pan Shan where Ghengis Khan died during his last conquest; finally those last two weeks, travel along the Yellow River in the footsteps of Marco Polo. These and many other memories added vivid background to the present problem of Islam in China. My

only regret was that two years were not given to the task. Modern speed prevents real appreciation of glories past.

I had two objects in mind: first, to travel through one of the most densely populated Moslem parts of China to learn something of their strength and their ways, and second, to engage in an evangelistic tour with three workers who are specializing amongst Moslems. I was able to accomplish both objects far better than I had hoped. Shensi and East Kansu have not been peaceful places of late. When I told a Moslem friend in Hankow of my proposed trip he said that I would never get past Pingliang because of the bandits. (He was a prophet and didn't know it.) When I interviewed the Consul about going, he too, was very discouraging. In fact, when I left Hankow I was only definitely going as far as Sian, where everything was to depend upon permission from the Chinese authorities there; the officials in Hankow said I could go no further. The marvelous thing about it all was the way we were led along the whole trip. There was no delay and furthermore we found that roads formerly closed were opened, and shortly after we passed through again closed. We can only praise God for his guidance at that time.

The most interesting part of the trip from a study of an Islamic point of view was the trip from Chiang Chia Ch'uan in South Kansu, covering twenty days to the Ningsia Plain. It meant traveling through a thickly populated Moslem area which forms the backbone of Islam in China. Although this area contained many Moslems, by gradual penetration for some six hundred years, it has been since the Tung Tsz Rebellion of 1861 only, that we find such a strong belt of Mohammedans. At that time the Moslems of Shensi and other parts of China were driven over into East Kansu. Then, too, this area is strong in one of the most powerful Orders of Sufis or mystics in Islam, whose influence extends even to Hankow and other parts of China. These followers of the Djahariah Order were my hosts throughout the trip. In Chiang Chia Ch'uan I was able to visit the sacred place of pilgrimage of

members of this group even from Yunnan, whence, in fact, one of the pilgrims we met had come.

At Ningsia we came to the route of Marco Polo and from there to Peiping followed in his steps. This city of Ningsia itself is worthy of a visit. It was the capital of the Tanguts or the Hsi Hsia Dynasty of the twelfth century, who gave to the world a peculiar script of its own. There, snuggling on a fertile plain between the Yellow River and the Alashan Mountains and Desert on the west, it controls the political dynasty of the Western end of Inner Mongolia. The irrigation project which makes possible this plain is a marvel of engineering, dating to the time of Ch'in Sz Huang Ti, the builder of the Great Wall. The life of the plain depends entirely on the waters of the Yellow River brought to the fields through an intricate system of canals and ditches, which must be cared for with infinite patience. As we later traveled down the Yellow River Valley on the west bank of the River to Paotow, we could see what failure to care for the system meant. After leaving Sz Tsui Shan on the northern end of the plain, we struck out into the Alashan Desert and the Mongolian plain. This brought me to Peiping for the first time, by the same route that the early travelers and missionaries of the thirteenth century came. I highly recommend it for one who wishes to get the greatest thrill from that city of thrills.

I am glad I had that trip. My diet was not one to be envied. The first twenty days in East Kansu were without a bath, and the food mainly flour and water, called "*mien*", vinegar, ground red peppers, garlic, and tea. However, even living on that, one looked forward to a bowl of it at the end of a day in the saddle or cart. It is impossible to give an adequate description of it all or to understand many of the things I saw. Much time has to be spent over my notes before I can do that. But I want to bear witness to the unselfish devotion of the China Inland Mission and Scandinavian Alliance friends who made this trip possible by their companionship and assistance.

Hankow, China

CLAUDE L. PICKENS.

THE WORSHIP OF ADAM BY ANGELS

(WITH REFERENCE TO HEBREWS 1:6)

Of the many references to angels and demons in the Koran, none is more difficult to explain than the story of how the devil (*Iblîs*) refused to obey the divine command to all the angels to worship Adam when he had been newly created. The angelology of Islam is very extensive and has been treated only partially by western scholars, although it holds such an important place in the belief of popular Islam and has borrowed perhaps more than any other article of their faith from Jewish and Christian sources.

The second of the articles of the creed of orthodox Islam refers to the angels of Allah (*mala'ikatihu*) and includes belief in angels, *jinn*, and demons. This article of the faith is based on numerous passages in the Koran, illustrated by countless traditions,¹ and is the cause of endless superstitions in popular Islam.²

"Know thou", says Kazwini, speaking of the nature of angels, "that the angels are substances, (beings) free from the darkness of passion and the turbidity of wrath, never rebelling against the commandments of God, but always doing what they are commanded to do. Their food is the praise of God and their drink the description of His holy and pure being There is not a span of space in the heavens upon which no angel is to be found prostrating himself in prayer."³

Angels are innumerable. They have no distinction of sex, as do the *jinn* (Suras 43:18; 21:26; 37:159, etc.), and therefore do not propagate their species. The Mu'tazilites

¹ Wensinck, "Handbook of Early Muhammedan Tradition", pp. 22, 59, 60, 210, 211. Cf. article *Mala'ika* by D. B. Macdonald in the Encyclopedia of Islam, with its bibliography.

² Zwemer, "Influence of Animism on Islam", chaps. iii, vi, vii, and ix; Abdullah-al-Shibli's *Kitab akâm al mirjân fi ahkâm al jân* (769 A.H.).

³ Edition, Wuestenfeld I:12. Cf. Rabbi Leo Jung, "Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan Literature", pp. 13-21.

consider them superior in rank to the prophets, but the Ash'ariya, or orthodox school, consider them inferior to the prophets.⁴ There are special angels, among them Jibril, Mikail, Israfil, and 'Izra'il, the last two not named in the Koran. Each of these has functions similar to those that they have in Judaism. Besides the archangels there are guardian angels (Suras 6:61; 86:4) to the number of twenty, some say four hundred, for each believer.⁵ There are also two recording angels for each person, *Raqib* and *'Atid*, who watch over him until death and then render their account. They are called in the Koran, "exalted scribes" (Sura 82:11, 12).

The story of how the devil (*Iblis*) refused to obey the divine command to all the angels to worship Adam when he had been newly created is best given in Sura 38:71-79, which we quote in full, but it appears also in six other passages.⁶ This sevenfold repetition indicates how great an impression the story made on Mohammed.

"When the Lord said to the angels, 'Verily, I am about to create a mortal out of clay; and when I have fashioned him, and breathed into him of my spirit, then fall ye down before him adoring.' And the angels adored all of them, save Iblis, who was too big with pride, and was one of the misbelievers.

"Said He, 'O Iblis! what prevents thee from adoring what I have created with my two hands? Art thou too big with pride? or art thou amongst the exalted?' Said he, 'I am better than he, Thou hast created me from fire, and him Thou hast created from clay.' Said He, 'Then go forth therefrom, for, verily, thou art pelted, and, verily, upon thee is my curse unto the day of judgment'."

Two questions occur from the study of this extraordinary passage and its parallels. First, is the source of the story Jewish or Christian (perhaps both), and secondly, does it throw light on a New Testament text which has been of difficulty to exegetes, viz.: "And again when He bringeth the firstborn into the world, He saith, 'And let all the angels of God worship him'" (Heb. 1:6). The marginal

⁴ Klein, "Religion of Islam", p. 65.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶ Suras 2:34; 15:30; 17:63, 64; 18:48; 7:10-18; and 20:115. None of these parallel passages adds much distinctive matter to the text given above, except 15:30 and 2:30. In the first we read: "I am creating a mortal from crackling clay. . . . When I have fashioned it and breathed into it my spirit, fall ye down and worship." And in 2:30 we have the account of Adam naming the creation when all the angels failed.

references add to the difficulty of the interpretation of this New Testament text (Deut. 32:43, Sept. Cf. Psalm 97:7).

I. *The Sources of the Koran Passages.* Are these Jewish or Christian in origin, and how did Mohammed become acquainted with the story?

Rabbi Geiger expresses doubt whether it came through Jewish tradition, on the ground that the command to worship any other being than God would have been inconceivable to an Israelite.⁷ Grünbaum follows Geiger in his more recent study of Islamic sources.⁸ But, as Charles C. Torrey remarks, the word used in the Koran for worship (*sajada*) does not necessarily indicate *worship of the divine*, but frequently the prostration before an honorable personage in Oriental fashion. He gives instances of such use of the word in pre-Islamic poetry.⁹ Geiger cites close parallels to the story of the Koran from Jewish tradition, viz., *Sanhedrin* 59b and *Midrash Rabba* 8.

"Rabbi Simon (4th cent.) said: 'In the hour when the Holy One, blessed be He, came to create the first man, the ministering angels formed themselves into parties and companies. Some said: 'Let him be created', others: 'Let him not be created'. To this division Psalm 85:11 refers: 'Kindness and Truth are met together. Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other'. Kindness said: 'Let him be created, for he is a bestower of loving-kindnesses'. Truth said: 'Let him not be created, for he is falsehood'. Justice said: 'Let him be created, for he deals justly'. Peace said: 'Let him not be created, for he is wholly quarrelsome!'"

The Jewish story is also found at some length in medieval Christian writers. In *Pugio Fidei* it reads as follows:

"R. Joshua ben Nun: 'When the mind of Adam matured in him, the Holy One, blessed be He, said to the ministering angels, "Worship ye him!" They came (and did so) in accordance with his wishes. And Satan was greater than all the angels of heaven. And he said to God: "Lord of the Universe! Thou hast created us from the splendor of the Shekinah and Thou sayest that we should bow down before him whom Thou hast created from the dust of the ground?" The Holy One, blessed be He, answered: "He who is made from the dust of the earth has wisdom and under-

⁷ Geiger, *Was hat Muhammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen*, p. 98.

⁸ *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, pp. 60 ff.

⁹ "The Jewish Foundation of Islam", p. 71.

standing which thou dost not possess." And it came to pass, when he would not worship him, nor hearken to the voice of God, that He cast him out of heaven and he became Satan. To him refers Isaiah's, 'How art thou fallen, etc'."

We must remember, however, that *Pugio Fidei* (The Dagger of Faith), by the monk Raymundus Martinus, was not written until the thirteenth century. But this passage and many others are taken from the great Genesis Rabba of Rabbi Moses ha Darshan, the genuineness of which is established by criticism.¹⁰ He in turn took the story from much older and pre-Islamic Jewish sources. We find it also in Pirke of R. Eliezer XI and elsewhere in the Talmud. The antiquity of the story is established by the fact that the Talmud (Genesis and Numbers Rabba) introduces it.¹¹

We find it again at greater length in the so-called "Life of Adam and Eve", translated by R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* (p. 137, Oxford, 1913):

"And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: 'O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth.' Adam answered, 'What dost thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?'

"The devil replied, 'Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: "Here is Adam. I have made him in our image and likeness."

"'And Michael went out and called all the angels saying: "Worship the image of God as the Lord hath commanded."

"'And Michael himself worshipped first; then he called me and said: "Worship the image of God the Lord." And I answered, "I have no (need) to worship Adam." And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, "Why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being (than I). I am his senior in

¹⁰ Jung, "Fallen Angels", p. 35. Cf. Epstein in *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 1888.

¹¹ Jung, "Fallen Angels", p. 49.

the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me."

"When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, "Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord God will be wroth with thee." And I said, "If He be wroth with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest."

"And God the Lord was wroth with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory."

"When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake: 'O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give me his glory which he himself hath lost.' And at that moment, the devil vanished before him. But Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days (on end) in the water of Jordan."

The date of this apocryphal book of Adam, which is of uncertain origin, is put by Hort "not earlier than the first century A.D., nor later than the fourth century." The author, or authors, were Jewish Hellenists. A version of it in Syriac, "The Cave of Treasure", appeared in the sixth century. There were early versions also of this Life of Adam in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Armenian, which indicate the early spread of the story regarding the worship of Adam by the angels.¹² The Syriac version was translated by Bezold into German as *Die Schatzhöhle*, and is plainly Christian and ascetic in character.

Summing up the evidence, therefore, it seems that there are two cycles of legends back of the Koran narrative: the one dealing with the objection to the creation of Adam on the part of some angels, of which the original is found in Jewish sources: the other telling of Satan's refusal to worship Adam, which appears to be extra-Talmudic and Christian.¹³ Mohammed and the later compilers of Moslem tradition confused the two, and it is from looking at the

¹² The various translations, additions, and dates of these versions are discussed at length by Charles, "*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*", pp. 123-131.

¹³ Cf. *Schatzhöhle*, ch. v.

remains of the independent accounts that we are able to reconstruct the whole in its original form.¹⁴

George Sale, in his notes to the Koran translation (Cf. Surah 2:34), says: "This occasion of the Devil's fall has some affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Christians, that the angels, being informed of God's intention to create man after His own image, etc., some of them thinking their glory to be eclipsed, thereby envied man's happiness and so revolted."¹⁵

In the Schatzhöhle, an anonymous work already referred to and which dates from the sixth century, we have the Christian legend of what took place after the creation of Adam:

"When the angels saw his splendid appearance, they were moved by the fairness of his aspect. And God gave him there the dominion over all creatures, and all the wild beasts and the cattle and the birds, and they came before Adam and he gave them names, and they bowed their heads before him and worshipped him, and all their natures worshipped and served him. And the angels and powers heard the voice of God, who said to him, 'O Adam, behold I have made thee king, priest, prophet, lord, head and leader of all creatures and they serve thee and are thine. And I have given thee dominion over all I have created.' And when the angels heard this word, they all bent their knees and worshipped him.

"And when the head of the lower order saw that greatness had been given to Adam, he envied him thenceforth, refused to worship him and said to his powers: 'Worship him not and praise him not with the angels. It befits him to worship me, not me to worship dust, formed out of a grain of dust.' Such things the rebel had uttered and was disobedient and by his own free will became separated from God. And he was felled and he fell, he and his whole band. On the sixth day in the second hour, he fell from heaven, and they were stripped of the robes of their glory, and his name was called Satana, because he had turned away from God, and Sheda, because he had been cast down, and Daiva, because he had lost the robe of his glory. And look, from that same day and until today, he and all his armies are stripped and naked and ugly to look on. And after Satan had been cast from Heaven, Adam was exalted so that he ascended to Paradise."¹⁶

¹⁴ Jung, "Fallen Angels", p. 53.

¹⁵ Sale's Koran, p. 5. He refers, without giving chapter or page, to "Irenaeus, Lact., Greg. Nyssen, etc." I have been unable to trace these references. Jung says they are not justified.

¹⁶ Jung, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58.

Is Geiger therefore right when he holds ¹⁷ that "the story of God's command that the angels should worship Adam is essentially Christian"? Or shall we agree with Jung that the story in *Pugio Fidei* is itself taken from the Koran, but has in it elements that are not original to the Midrash version? ¹⁸

These queries are difficult to answer. The fact remains that both in early Jewish tradition, in the Christian apocrypha and in the Koran text we have legends connected with angels falling prostrate (*sajada*) before Adam. And so we come to the second question: does the consideration of this Koran legend throw light on Hebrews 1:6?

II. *The Significance of the Passage in Hebrews.* The first chapter of this anonymous epistle and the epistle itself is an argument for the supremacy and finality of the revelation of God in his Son Jesus Christ. The Messiah is shown to be superior to the angels by seven Biblical proofs which indicate his names and prerogatives (vs. 5-14). Vincent rightly observes: "The quotations present difficulty in that they appear, in great part, to be used in a sense and with an application different from those which they originally had. All that can be said is that the writer takes these passages as Messianic and applies them accordingly." ("Word Studies in the New Testament", IV:286).

The third quotation, in the words of Moffat, "clinches the proof of Christ's unique authority and opens up the sense in which he is superior to the angels." Moffat's translation reads: "And further, when introducing the Firstborn into the world, he says, 'Let all God's angels worship him'." According to this authority on New Testament Greek, the word *πάλιν* is not to be taken with the verb, to introduce, but as a rhetorical particle of sequence in the argument. ¹⁹ This interpretation of *πάλιν* is also given in the Peshito, Arabic, French, and German versions, and by Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Bengel, Wolf, Cramer, Schulz, Bleek, Ebrard, and others. ²⁰

¹⁷ Jung, p. 66.

¹⁸ Jung, p. 67.

¹⁹ International Critical Commentary on Hebrews, p. 10.

²⁰ The complete list is given by Lünemann (Epistle to the Hebrews, p. 87), who, however, opposes this interpretation and says that *πάλιν* must be construed with the verb: "when he again brings in."

To what event does this introduction of the First-born into the world, then, refer? Some commentators say it refers to the incarnation at Bethlehem (Chrysostom, Calvin, Owen, Calov, Bengel). Others refer it to the resurrection and exaltation of Christ (Grotius, Wetstein, Rambach, Peirce, Whitby). Bleek and Reuss refer the passage "to a moment preceding the incarnation of Christ in which the Father had, by a solemn act, as it were, conducted forth and presented the Son to the beings created by Him, as the Firstborn, as their Creator and Ruler who was to uphold and guide all things."²¹

This may be "an entirely singular thought" (Lünnemann) in the New Testament, but Moffatt seems inclined to accept this third interpretation and makes reference to the Ascension of Isaiah (11:23 f.) where the angels humbly worship Christ as he ascends to the heavens where they live; here the adoration is claimed for him as he enters the world.²²

The quotation made by the unknown author of the epistle to the Hebrews is not found in the Hebrew text, but is taken from the Septuagint of Deut. 32:43, and has a somewhat parallel reference in Psalm 97:7b ("Worship him, all ye gods"). Moffatt expresses the opinion that the writer of the epistle was "a Jewish Christian who had imbibed the philosophy of Alexandrian Judaism before his conversion."²³ Like Philo, his view of the world is fundamentally Platonic. The phenomenal is but an imperfect, shadowy transcript of what is real and eternal. The present world of time and sense stands over against the world of reality. There is an archetype to all things mundane. The viewpoint of the writer is Hellenistic. And, as Dr. Macdonald points out, "the very sane, realistic Hebrew mind, when worked upon by the equally sane and realistic Greek mind" produced non-realistic speculations in Philo and other Alexandrine thinkers. "The Palestinian Jews remained free from these extravagances, but the Alexandrian Jews were by necessity driven into allegory."²⁴

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²² Moffatt, "International Critical Commentary", p. 11.

²³ Moffatt, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi, xxxi.

²⁴ "The Hebrew Philosophical Genius", p. 95.

We have an example that touches the subject before us in connection with the pre-existence of the Messiah, and which finds frequent expression in Talmudic literature. Dr. Oesterley states:

"This conception is of a two-fold character: in the first place, the Messiah is believed to have existed in Heaven before the world was created; God, it is said, contemplated the Messiah and his works before the Creation of the world, and concealed him under His throne (cf. I Pet. 1:20); Satan, it is added, asked God what the light was under His throne, and God replied that it was one who would bring him to shame in the future; then, being allowed to see the Messiah, Satan trembled and sank to the ground, crying out: 'Truly this is the Messiah who will deliver me and all heathen kings over to hell' (*Pesiqta rabbati* 36)." ("Religion and worship of the Synagogue" p. 233).

Here we have, as it were, the germ of the Koran legend, although the object worthy of worship from whom Satan shrinks is not Adam, but the Messiah Himself.

III. *A suggested interpretation, that the Second Adam is the Firstborn whom the angels worshipped.* Our thesis was the seven-fold reference in the Koran to the angels worshipping Adam; our antithesis the passage in Hebrews 1:6, where the New Testament writer places the Messiah as the object of angelic worship. Is there a possible synthesis by equating the Second Adam of St. Paul (I Cor. 15:45) with the Firstborn (*prototokos*) of Col. 1:15, 18, Romans 8:29, and the passage in Hebrews?

"The first Adam became a living soul, the last Adam a quickening spirit"—these Pauline words have been interpreted in various ways. Baur, Pfleiderer, Beyschlag, and others see in "the Second Adam, the lord from heaven", the pre-existent Christ whom they identify with Philo's ideal or "heavenly man" of Genesis 1:26. According to this interpretation, Christ was the *Urmensch*, the prototype of humanity existing with God from all eternity.²⁵

Hugo Gressmann, in his book, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1905), points out that the pre-existence of the Messiah as the original Adam is found in Daniel, in II Ezra, and in the book of Enoch.

²⁵ G. G. Findlay on I Cor. in "Expositor's Greek Testament", p. 939. Cf. article Adam Kadmon in *Enc. Judaica* I:783.

He concludes also that, although the idea of such a pre-existent Adam is not found in the Gospels, Paul comes back to it:

"Paulus scheint auch den Zusammenhang der himmlischen Messiasgestalt, d. h. des Titels Menschensohn, mit dem Urmenschen noch zu kennen, da er I Kor. 15:45 nicht einfach beide parallelisiert und gegenüberstellt: '*es ward der erste Mensch Adam zu lebendiger Seele, der letzte Adam zu lebendig machendem Geist*', sondern sogar polemisierend hinzufügt: *Nicht das 'Geistliche kommt zuerst, sondern erst das Seelische, und hernach das Geistliche. Der erste Mensch ist von der Erde und irdisch, der zweite Mensch ist vom Himmel.*' Es muss also noch zu seiner Zeit Leute gegeben haben, nach deren Theorie der erste Mensch ein himmlisches Wesen war." (p. 365).

Philo's idea of two Adams is also found in Jewish literature. The Rabbinical title *ha-Adam ha-ācharon* is given to the Messiah (*Neve Shalom* IX:g.).²⁶ Indeed, we find this belief in an *earthly* and a heavenly Adam fully developed in the Jewish doctrine of Adam Kadmon.²⁷ The heavenly man as the perfect image of the Logos is neither man nor woman, but an incorporeal intelligence or idea. Philo combines the Midrash and Platonic philosophy.

The Pharisees held (Gen. R. viii:1) the same dual idea. According to the Rabbis, the spirit of Adam existed, not only before the creation of the earthly Adam, but was pre-existent to the whole creation. This pre-existing Adam was even called the Messiah. Akiba in the Talmud, although denying any resemblance between God and other beings, even the highest type of angels, teaches that man was created after an image, an archetype, for "He made man in his image."²⁸ The later Zohar and Kabbalah even give illustrative diagrams of this Adam Kadmon in which the divine attributes of wisdom, intelligence, beauty, love, justice, splendor, etc., are written across the various bodily members of the ideal man, the prototype of the earthly Adam. This Philonic and Talmudic doctrine was taken up later in the Clementine Homilies, by the Ebionites and other Judæo-Christian sects. They held that "the heavenly

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 938. Cf. A. E. Waites, "The Holy Kabbalah", p. x, footnote.

²⁷ Jewish Encyclopedia, vol. i, pp. 181-183. Cf. Judaica, vol. i, *in loco*.

²⁸ Compare a recent article by Dr. Jean Hering in *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie religieuses* (Oct., 1936, pp. 196-209) Strasburg: "C'est précisément parce que Jésus était déjà Homme dans sa préexistence, qu'il fut préparé à l'incarnation et à son rôle de premier né des morts et par là de chef d'une humanité nouvelle. Il ne peut donc être question chez Paul d'un changement d'essence dans le sens de '*Deus fit homo*'; car malgré la Kénose, un élément essentiel de son essence subsiste: son caractère de *Anthropos*."

Christ was thus actually incarnated twice and lived twice on earth—in Adam and in Jesus. But He had often assumed an occasional and visible form, and had thus revealed Himself to the most distinguished saints of the Old Testament.”²⁹

Mohammed was undoubtedly influenced by these Ebionitic and Gnostic doctrines, and his conception of revelation betrays this relationship.³⁰

There is a curious parallel tradition in Bukhari which tells how the mighty Omar brought fear into the heart of the Devil himself.

“According to the legend, the Devil came to the Prophet one day, and asked: ‘Is it possible for me to repent?’ And Allah’s Apostle answered: ‘Yes, go to Adam’s grave, prostrate yourself and kiss the earth, and then Allah may forgive you.’ (It should be remembered that according to the Koran, Satan’s fall was due to his refusal to prostrate himself before Adam.) Joyfully the Devil set out to find Adam’s grave. But on the way he met Omar, who asked him, ‘Where are you going, and what are you up to?’ The Devil stated his purpose. Then Omar said: ‘Allah can never forgive you. When He commanded you to bow down before Adam, while he yet lived, you refused, but now when the Prophet commands you to kiss the ground upon Adam’s grave you are willing to obey. Shame on you, you miserable wretch!’”³¹

In view of all this, we reach the following conclusions:

1) The angelology of Islam is mostly borrowed from post-exilic Judaism, but the story of the angelic worship of Adam has elements from the Midrash *and also from Judaeo-Christian tradition.*

2) The quotation in Hebrews 1:6 from the Septuagint is used by a writer who was familiar with the Gnostic and Philonic interpretation of the double creation story in Genesis.

3) Dr. Moffatt’s rendering of the Greek text is to be preferred, and the period referred to in Hebrews 1:6, therefore, when the angelic host worshipped the Firstbegotten of all creation, *is that before the Incarnation, not at Bethlehem nor at the second Advent.*

4) The Koran text, *literally interpreted*, (as a Moslem

²⁹ Tor Andrae, “Mohammed”, p. 139. Cf. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. i, p. 783.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³¹ Tor Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

in Baghdad once observed) would make all the angels guilty of *shirk* by worshipping the creature instead of the Creator, and Satan a *Moslem* for refusing to do so. Mohammed was confused by the very story that intrigued him.

* * * * * *

After writing this paper, we found, much to our surprise, that Jonathan Edwards, in some Miscellaneous Observations at the close of his volume of sermons, speaks of the fall of the angels in terms that are, in a sense, almost parallel to the conclusions we have reached (Edwards' Works, New York, 1830, vol. viii, pp. 496-509) :

"It seems to me probable that the temptation of the angels, which occasioned their rebellion, was, That when God was about to create man, or had first created him, God declared his decree to the angels that one of that human nature should be his Son, his best beloved, his greatest favourite, and should be united to his Eternal Son, and that he should be their Head and King, that they should be given to him, and should worship him, and be his servants, attendants, and ministers: and God having thus declared his great love to the race of mankind, gave the angels the charge of them as ministering spirits to men. Satan, or Lucifer, or Beelzebub, being the archangel, one of the highest of the angels, could not bear it, thought it below him, and a great debasing of him. So he conceived rebellion against the Almighty, and drew a vast company of the heavenly hosts with him." (p. 496).

" . . . And as all the angels are called *the sons of God*, Lucifer was his first-born, and was the first-born of every creature. But when it was revealed to him, high and glorious as he was, that he must be a ministering spirit to the race of mankind which he had seen newly created, which appeared so feeble, mean, and despicable, so vastly inferior, not only to him, the prince of the angels, and head of the created universe, but also to the inferior angels, and that he must be subject to one of that race that should hereafter be born, he could not bear it. This occasioned his fall; and now he, with the other 'angels whom he drew away with him, are fallen, and elect men are translated to supply their places, and are exalted vastly higher in heaven than they. And the Man Jesus Christ, the Chief, and Prince, and Captain of all elect men, is translated and set in the throne that Lucifer, the chief and prince of the angels, left, to be the Head of the angels in his stead, the head of principality and power, that all the angels might do obeisance to him; for God said, 'Let all the angels of God worship him;' and God made him his first-born instead of Lucifer, higher than all those thrones, dominions,

principalities, and powers, and made him, yea, made him in his stead the first-born of every creature, or of the whole creation." (p. 503).

Jonathan Edwards fortifies his conclusion that the occasion of the fall of the angels was their unwillingness to do obeisance to the Messiah, by referring to Zanchius and Suarez,³² "the best of the schoolmen", without giving any reference (p. 507). Further, he states that Mr. Charles Owen in his book "Wonders of Redeeming Love" (p. 74), has the same opinion, and that Dr. Goodwin in the second volume of his works, in a "Discourse on the Knowledge of God the Father", states:

"A lower degree of accursed pride fell into the heart of the devil himself, whose sin in his first apostatizing from God, is conceived to be a stomaching that man should be one day advanced unto the hypostical union, and be one person with the Son of God, whose proud angelical nature (then in actual existence, *the highest of creatures*), could not brook." (p. 509).

Thus at least some Calvinistic theologians agree in their interpretation of Hebrews 1:6, and the true interpretation of both the Koran and the New Testament passages finds its climax in the *Te Deum*:

"To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein. To Thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth . . . Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ. Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father."

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³² Zanchius was a Calvinistic theologian (1516-1590) who wrote *De primi hominis lapsu de peccato et lege Dei*; Francisco Suarez, a Jesuit scholastic (1548-1617), whose works were published in 28 volumes. Zanchius, tome iii, (edition 1613) liber iv, cap. 2, p. 170, in his long account of the fall of the angels, states: "Some say Satan's sin was rebellion against God through pride. Others assert: 'Peccatum angelorum nihil aliud fuisse, quam invidiam qua homini donum, quod a Deo acceperat, quia ad imaginem Dei factus erat inviderunt.'" And he cites Athanasius, Petrus of Alexandria, and Augustine in proof.

Suarez, in the second volume of his collected Works (Paris, 1856), devotes an entire book to the fallen angels, and states (p. 890): "Et ad hoc confirmandum solent adduci verba Pauli ad Hebr. 1, et cum iterum introducit primogenitum in orbem terrae, dicit; et adoret eum omnes Angeli ejus. Quod testimonium aliqui contemnunt, sed licet non cogat, quia varias habet expositiones, non est cur illa etiam, in qua hic inducitur, improbabilis censeatur. Nam particula iterum, licet possit ad solam sermonis continuationem referri, etiam intelligitur optime ex parte objecti de secunda introductione, ut Ribera ibi cum aliis exponit. Item, quia licet sic exposita plures sensus recipiat, quia secunda introductio Christi in orbem terrae, multiplex cogitari potest, nam Incarnatio ipsa potest dici secunda introductio respectu aeternae generationis Verbi Dei, et Resurrectio Christi Domini respectu Nativitatis ejus, et secundus adventus respectu primi, et sic de aliis; nihilominus etiam est pia expositio, ut prima Christi introductio fuerit per fidem, in mentibus praesertim angelicis, secunda vero fuerit per realem executionem, et conceptionem. Sed quidquid sit de rigore litterae, inde colligimus ad Christi praesentiam, vel representationem consequi praeceptum adorandi ipsum: nam ideo dixit Deus, et adoret eum omnes Angeli ejus, quia hoc erat debitum dignitati ejus, quam Paulus eo loco ostendebat."

Compare this summary of the story in a modern "Life of the Devil": "And this Satan, who desired to be God, was not the madman imagined by the old theologians. He desired divinity, but in a way which had nothing impossible in it, since he wished simply to be taken by the Word and form with Him a single personality, while yet preserving his separate nature. Suarez, struck by all these points, adopted the new theory and declared that, in his opinion, the sin of the Devil came from his desire to be taken himself by the Word as a term of the hypostatic union, instead of the human nature of Christ being that term." "The Life of the Devil", by Father Louis Coulange (Joseph Turmel), tr. Stephen Haden Guest. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. p. 23.

ILLUMINATION—A SUFI DOCTRINE

An analysis of the tenets of illuministic Sufi teachers led the Spanish Arabist Asin to the conclusion that close resemblance exists between Dante and Sufism.¹ "The poet's philosophical system might be traced back to its actual sources in Islam". What kind of sources? Not so much those of Moslem philosophers as the works of the *Ishrāqi* (Illuministic) mystics and the Murcian ibn-'Arabi in particular.²

As a matter of fact we may restate the idea oft referred to, namely, that mysticism in medieval times became the common ground where Christianity and Islam shook hands. Mystics, Roman Catholics and Moslems—thanks to this unifying element—bore the stamp of one and the same intellectual activity. In this great cultural atmosphere lived men like Thomas Aquinas, Eckhart and Dante; and it would have been very strange if that powerful current of Sufism which dominated the intellects of the day had failed to influence them.

But the illuminative life can in no way be said to have originated in Islam. Syria in pre-Islamic days saw the rise of that great three-staged mystical experience—Purgation-Illumination-Perfection—which sums up all that counts in spiritual mysticism. In the sixth century Dionysius, a Syrian monk, developed a mystical philosophy based on Hellenistic sources in the main.³ Christian mystics leading the life of solitaires soon became conspicuous. Isaac of Nineveh is one of these. Having held the office of bishop for only five months he renounced everything and with-

¹ Miguél Asin, "Islam and the Divine Comedy", tr. Harold Sunderland, London, 1926, pp. 263, *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³ Margaret Smith, "Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East", London, 1931, p. 79.

drew to a meditative life in the mountains, where he made a study of mysticism, concerning himself fundamentally with Purgation and Illumination.

The early mystics of Islam, however, devoted themselves primarily to the first of the three stages, that is, Purgation. To the mystics, *aṭ-ṭariq* (the Pathway) was a method of self-purification acquired through the cleansing of the senses and through bodily discipline. Gradually the Sufis began to develop the second stage, that is, Illumination. Al-Muḥāsibī⁴ (A.D. 781-857), who pioneered with his disciples in the pathways of Purgation, was one of the first to declare that as purification brings freedom from the attachments of this world the Sufi might expect to arrive at the stage of Illumination and thence proceed to the unitive life in God.

Ibn-Masarraḥ of Cordova (A.D. 883-931) is credited with the founding of the Illuministic or Ishrāqī school. From al-Andalus (Spain) the ideas of this school were transmitted to the so-called Augustinian scholastics, among others to Alexander Hales, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon and Raymund Lull. Thus it came to pass that an essential element of Ishrāqī teaching—the metaphysical doctrine of light—was incorporated in the Divine Comedy which reproduces, a century after ibn-ʿArabi, most of the pictures that he used concerning the realm of the hereafter. Seen in this light the immortal Dante would pose as one of the ardent adherents of the Ishrāqī school.

As the chief precursor of ibn-ʿArabi, ibn-Masarraḥ deserves special comment. A mystic and a philosopher, he died in Cordova after many journeys to the Orient. In a book entitled *Tawḥīd al-Mūqinīn* (Unification of the Faithful) he defines the unity and the infinity of the divine attributes.⁵ In agreement with Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzī⁶ (A.D. 1149-1209) who lived after him, and others, ibn-

⁴ See Margaret Smith, "An Early Mystic of Baghdad", London, 1936. Massignon describes al-Muḥāsibī as "the true master of primitive Islamic mysticism."

⁵ Louis Massignon, *Recueil de Textes Inédites de la Mystique en Pays d'Islam*, Paris, 1929, pp. 70-71. See also the same author's *al-Hallāj Martyr Mystique de l'Islam*, t. II, p. 604.

⁶ This theologian and philosopher must not be confused with the earlier physician Abu-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Zakariyya al-Rāzī, who died in 923 or 932.

Masarraḥ held the concept that prophecy is a philosophic sanctification, a purifying illumination which is the result of an ascetic rapture. With al-Fārābī⁷ (d. 950) ibn-Sīna (980-1037) and Maimonides⁸ (d. 1204), he shared the doctrine of philosophic emanations, which was Hellenistic in its inception. These philosophers in opposition to *al-Mutakallimūn* (the scholastic theologians of Islam) admitted the existence of immaterial substances. They divided "change" into four possible categories: 1. Generation and corruption; 2. Transformation (*istiḥālah*); 3. Growth and destruction; 4. Local movement (*nuqlah*).

Into two of these categories they introduced the idea of the transforming mystic union. Thus category no. 1 became *ḥawṇ wa-fasād*, exemplified in the union between spirit and body, that is, *ḥulūl al-rūḥ*. Category no. 3 (*numūw wa-idmihlāl*) came to mean the accidental cause that actuates a being in any one of his faculties, exemplified in the union between Active Intellect and Passive Intellect.

Such ideas shaped the philosophy of the school whose adherents became known as *al-Ḥukamā' al-Ishrāqīyūn* (the Illuministic Doctors). Their system was consummately referred to as *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (Wisdom of Illumination). Abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardī (put to death 1191) and his disciples are largely associated with this school. They were undoubtedly steeped in the syncretic philosophy of Hellenism which reached the hither Orient in the form of neo-Platonic, Hermetic⁹ and allied sources, and was there woven with old Persian and other speculations.

In the main the doctrine of al-Ishrāq is based on a spiritualistic philosophy with a mystical theory of knowledge. God and the world of spirits were usually interpreted as light, and our process of cognition as illumination from above through the intermediary of the spirits of the spheres.

This philosophy was destined to influence Moslem thought immeasurably. The course it took in Moslem

⁷ A Turk born in Transoxiana.

⁸ Abu-Samrān Mūsā ibn-Maymūn, died 1204.

⁹ Consult T. J. deBoer, art. "Urānī" in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. xxvii, Strassburg, 1912, pp. 8-15.

Spain left a lasting mark on European thought.¹⁰ Its development will have to be traced in the life and works of one leading exponent in Spain—ibn-‘Arabi—and in the life and works of an almost equally great champion who flourished in the East—al-Suhrawardi. With these two lights of Illuministic Sufism we shall be concerned at some future occasion.

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¹⁰ In Spain a fellow Murcian of ibn-‘Arabi’s was abu-Muhammad ‘Abd-al-Haqq ibn-Sab’in (ca. 1217-1269) whose preëminence in Sufi circles won him the title Qutb-al-Din (Pole of the Faith); his work, *Asrār al-Hikmah al-Mashriqīyah* (Mysteries of Illuministic Philosophy), which is still unpublished, forms a decided contribution in the general Illuministic field.

Annie Van Sommer:

A WOMAN OF VISION

In London on January 9, 1937, at the age of eighty-three, this devoted servant of God fell asleep. Throughout the Near East, and especially in Egypt, her name is “as ointment poured forth.”

Born at Tottenham, England, she went to Egypt in 1885 to open a Soldiers’ Institute at Alexandria. She made friends with the missionaries, had a vision of the spiritual needs of Egypt, organized a Prayer Union, and later, through the Egypt General Mission, she became a real pioneer to the Moslems of the Delta. Her next vision was the need for Christian literature in the Arabic-speaking world especially suited for Moslems. The Nile Mission Press was the child of her prayers and her dauntless faith; likewise the missionary home at Fairhaven.

The influence of her life extended in ever-widening circles. Her friendship was spiritually enriching, her sympathies were catholic, and with all her achievements she never lost the charm of deep humility and childlike faith in the Gospel.

S. M. ZWEMER.

ALEPPO AS A MOSLEM CENTER

Riding across the rolling limestone hills of North Syria, one comes unexpectedly to the rim of a broad depression through which winds the river Kuwaik, and suddenly the city of Aleppo is spread entire before one's eyes. Dominating the scene, there rises the ancient citadel, very like an upturned cup in the center of a large dinner plate, its slopes crowned with walls, towers, and one tall minaret. Around the base of the citadel, the city stretches out on every side—some quarters dull brown from ancient walls and grass-grown roofs; other quarters thickly dotted with gleaming new buildings of fresh-cut limestone and reinforced concrete. But the predominant impression of Aleppo is of a gray, close-packed multitude of buildings clinging about the base of the citadel which has been its focal point for more than forty centuries.

Aleppo may dispute with Damascus the claim to the title of the oldest continuously inhabited city in the world. The prevailing explanation of the Arabs for the name of the city (Halab) is that on its then rudimentary citadel hill Abraham milked (*halaba*) his gray cow and distributed the milk to the poor. Certainly it was a flourishing city when it fell before the Hittites in 1926 B.C. Down through the ages it has been a staunch ally or a redoubtable enemy to the conquerors and kings that have come and gone. Taken without resistance by the Moslems in 16/638, Aleppo never submitted to a non-Moslem army until 1918. Though Nicephorus Phocas held the city from 962-4 A.D., he could not capture the citadel; and the Crusaders who held all the surrounding country laid siege to Aleppo in vain.

The present population of the city is estimated at about

300,000, of whom roughly two-thirds are Moslems. On festival days and special occasions such as the return of the Syrian Delegation from Paris, multitudes swarming in from the surrounding villages have made Aleppo, for the time, a city of over half a million people.

The genius of Aleppo has always lain in commercial rather than political spheres. Nearly always it has been ruled from outside, or at least by foreign dynasties, but what it may have lacked in political power or religious zeal it has fully recovered by the shrewdness of its merchants and the number of its caravans. Its strategic position on "the fertile crescent" made it, in the middle ages, the great *entrepôt* for the trade of the east. Foreign commercial groups made it their chief center, of all the inland towns in western Asia, there being still eighty such organizations having their headquarters there in 1775. As early as the days of Queen Elizabeth the British Levant Company had a great "factory" in Aleppo. That accounts, incidentally, for the existence in Aleppo of one of the oldest dated Protestant cemeteries in the world,—the keystone of the gateway being inscribed, "Protestant Cemetery, A.D. 1584."

Though the commerce of Aleppo declined during the nineteenth century, on account of political misrule as well as of natural calamities, its carrying trade has constantly exceeded that of any other inland town in the Levant. The coming of the railway from the south, in 1909, and of the Baghdad railway in 1913 promised a great new era of development for this commercial center. Though that hope has not been fully realized, for the great war stopped the construction on the Baghdad Railway and broke the natural hinterland of Aleppo into three diverse political units, yet the city has grown rapidly. The addition of about forty thousand Armenians from Turkey, after the war, brought new competition and activity into the commercial life of the city. Though the new political boundaries and the development of the motor route from Damascus to Baghdad have restricted the more distant

trade of Aleppo, the improving agricultural and economic life of the surrounding region—for Aleppo is the natural trading center for a population of a million and a half persons—have kept the commercial life of the city from stagnation. It may be symbolic of the future that Aleppo is the junction of the trunk lines leading to Europe, to Africa, and to Asia. It is at Aleppo that the traveller from London to Teheran diverges from the route of his fellow-countryman holding a through ticket to Cairo.

Although Aleppo has never been famous for its religious zeal, and many tales are current in the Moslem world showing the ability of its merchants to turn piety into profit, yet the city has been for centuries a center of Moslem religious life. Many of the profits of those same merchants have been reconverted into piety as religious endowments, and many a mosque, *medresseh*, fountain or shrine testifies to the wealth and generosity of its donor. In the single quarter of Firdaus, to the south of the city, rulers of the Hamdanid dynasty erected more than twenty tombs and mosques which are splendid even in their present state of disrepair. The *tekke* of Sheikh Bekir, always conspicuous for its picturesque domes and towering cypresses, has taken on new importance since the removal thence from Konia of the Chelebi of the Mevlevi order of dervishes.

Although the parts of the city most often seen by passing Europeans or American travellers may seem very westernized—with colorful exceptions, it is true—the bulk of the city lives on quietly in the orthodox Islamic faith and ways of its ancestors. The hours of prayer are faithfully observed in the long covered markets, the voice of the *muezzin* calls from a hundred minarets, and one meets in the quiet by-ways of the old city Moslems of a dozen sects, and visitors from all the Moslem East. Quite undisturbed by discordant voices from the West, faith and superstition, often strangely intermingled, rule undisputed in the hearts of twice a hundred thousand Moslems of Aleppo.

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ALFORD CARLETON.

SOME ARAB FOLK-TUNES¹

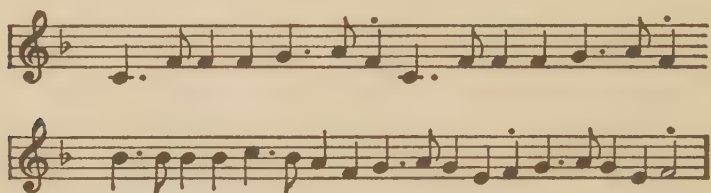
No one who has travelled by an Eastern sea route can fail to have been amused by the endless, sing-song choruses of the Arab coolies working cargo at Port Said, Suez, or Aden; and what is true of the seaports holds good in all the villages and towns of the Arabic-speaking countries. However monotonous these chanted tunes may seem to Western ears, one must at least acknowledge their effectiveness. As a rhythmical urge to toil under a tropical sun, they are the fruit of centuries of practice; and though to our minds it would often appear that more energy is instilled into the singing than into the task, there is in reality a conservation of effort. Sustained work under such conditions can be performed only to a leisurely tempo, and to hurry it would result in a speedy exhaustion of energy. Just as a battalion of soldiers marches better to a swinging chorus, or as the sailors of "wind-jammer" days heaved a rope more lustily to the tune of a chanty-man; so do Oriental workmen, singly or in groups, work better and longer to the rhythm of their own catches and extemporised tunes.

Frequently the libretto resolves itself into a running commentary on the employer, with many sly jests at his expense; for the Arab treats work, like fighting, as a great game, and is determined to find someone as a butt for his ready humor. A solitary worker, such as a date-picker or a camel-driver, will sing a longer and more leisurely stave to suit himself, with the greatest freedom as to time and euphony; the song is in a high-pitched, nasal voice, and always ends in a protracted note.

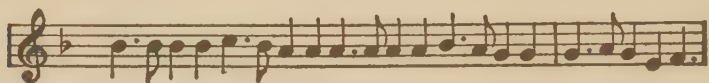
There is a large body of native music, ranging from the solemn chant of the *mu'adh^hd^hin's* call to prayer, to the wild fife-and-drum music that characterises Moslem

¹ Reprinted in abbreviated form by permission from the interesting article in Vol. VII (1936) *Transactions of Glasgow University Oriental Society*.

festivals and high days. Many of these tunes are distinctly pleasing, and they have often a peculiar rhythm which is most striking. Here is a patriotic song, as vigorous in its sentiment and language as the "Marseillaise":—



Third verse, second line—



Nahnu abnā'u 'l-'ulā
Naslu Qaḥṭānin aṣlan

Ṣhāda magdan wa 'ulā
Ḥāshā nardā 'l-asr (*bis*).

Naslu Qaḥṭāna 'l-abi
Lam yagid minnā 'l-mu'ādī

Gaddu kulli 'l-'arabi
Ḡhaira ṭa'ni 's-sumr (*bis*).

Qad 'aṣḥiqnā 'l-magda min
Kullu man yabḡhī 'alainā

Ṣughrin wa lā nardā bi-dhillā
Amratan bi-'ṣ-zulmi qul loh

Ḥāshā nardā 'l-asr (*bis*).

Hāḍhihi asfārunā
Taṣḥhad bi-an qānūnanā

Tutlā bihā aḡhbārunā
Al-magdu au fī 'l-qabr (*bis*).

We are the sons of nobility which has raised up glory and nobility;
The stock of Qaḥṭān in origin: never will we be satisfied with being prisoners.

The stock of Qaḥṭān, the father, ancestor of all the Arabs.

The enemy did not find in us anything but thrusting with spears.

We have loved glory from infancy and are not satisfied with abasement.

Tell to everyone who seeks oppression against us,

Never will we be satisfied with being prisoners.

These are our books in which our records are read;

Testify that our law is glory or the grave.

Some of the most interesting folk-tunes come from the Yemen, the mountainous hinterland to the north and north-west of Aden, inhabited by warlike and turbulent tribes under the nominal rule of the Imām of Ṣan'ā'.

The Zaidīs are the most truculent people of the Yemen. They form the bulk of the army of the Imām Yaḥyā. The Zaidī soldiers advance to battle in a long double line, at a slow trot and chanting loudly. The first part of the war-song is sung by the front line of troops, the latter part being taken up by their comrades slightly in the rear—

Sādātī antum nuḡūm al-arḍī dā'im min sa'ādatkum nazalna ilā 't-tahā'im
 Nūrḍī 'llāha wa 'l-imām Ḥasba amrī 'llāhi nimshī fī 'l-iṭā'a.
 Man yukhālīf amrakum lā 'ād shī yandam
 Lau sagad sab'īna 'ām wa maṣīratoh fī 'l-qiyāma ilā gahannam
 Ba'd mā yarga' ilaikum lī 'sh-shafā'a.

You are my lords, stars of the earth always; by your help we have
 descended to the Tihāma,
 Pleasing Allāh and the imām. According to Allāh's command we walk
 in obedience.
 He who opposes your command will not repent any more,² and his place
 of repair in the resurrection will be Jahannam,
 Even though he prostrated himself for seventy years after returning to you
 for intercession.

Many of the more peaceful songs of the Yemen have a graceful rhythm. They are sung by shepherds and herds-men on the cultivated slopes of the Yemen highlands, or in the deep valleys and ravines, terraced with plantations of barley and coffee and Qāt.³

When Arab dances are performed in public, the performers are almost invariably men. Occasionally, at the religious festivals and fairs, groups of professional dancers which include women may be seen. The dances performed at weddings or feasts have little to suggest the sensuous grace traditionally ascribed to Eastern dances; but they have a vigor quite in keeping with the hardy physique of the people. The most common Bedouin dance, which can be kept up for a long period, consists mainly of a series of knee-and shoulder-jerks, accompanied by a sibilant indrawing and emission of the breath by the performers, and by syncopated hand-clapping on the part of the audience.

A slow, graceful dance called the Fāḍil exhibits greater technical development than the preceding examples. A pair of dancers side by side circle slowly with a backward-and-forward motion, bending the left knee and stamping the foot at regular intervals. The rhythm is trochaic.

The mountain tribes around Ḍālī' and Qā'ṭaba have a vigorous dance which seems to consist principally of short jumps into the air, with the feet held closely together. It is very tiring to all but the hardest performers. The tempo of the dance is given by a man seated with a drum between his feet, this being struck with the palm and the

² i.e., he who opposes will not have the chance to repent.

³ A plant whose leaves are chewed by the Arabs of S. Arabia.

fingers alternately. A considerable measure of latitude is permitted both in tune and in accompaniment; the tempo quickens towards the end of the dance, when the performers break off abruptly.

Finally, there are the more sophisticated songs of the town-Arabs, in which melody is often subordinated to clamor, and which often contain mawkish sentiment which is repugnant to the more austere desert-dwellers. There is also enough trace of Western influence to make this class of music less homogeneous with Arab feeling and style. However, there are some attractive tunes to be heard in the markets and coffee-shops of the towns. These songs have been collected, and are available in booklet form or in phonographic records.

Aden, Arabia

W. IDRIS JONES.

OLD ISLAM IN OLD TURKEY

The Turkish Historical Commission has published two new volumes edited by Ahmed Refik, containing the texts of the official documents of the Palace. One of them is regarding life and affairs in Istanbul in the eleventh century of the Hegira ¹ —; and the other is regarding the thirteenth century. ² The first volume contains documents dated A. H. 1000-1100 (A. D. 1592-1689), and the second, documents of A. H. 1200-1255 (A. D. 1786-1839).

Those documents relate to the social, economic, municipal, and industrial aspects of life in Istanbul, and are interesting as giving a real picture of life in those ages.

In the first volume, document No. 29 deals with the question of selling wine to the public in a place near Galata. The Moslems of that place have sent a petition protesting against "the Unbelievers" (Christians) using their houses as public houses for selling wine to the Moslems and others, and making people drink, and thus causing much noise which makes it impossible for the believers to perform their daily Prayers duly in the Mosque, five times daily, and requesting that the public sale of wine to the people be forbidden". This is granted.

Document No. 98 is regarding the dress of the Christians in Istanbul. It is dated (1631 A. D.) and shows the attitudes of the Moslems to the Christians in those days. It reads as follows: "Whereas it is the requirement of the Holy Shariah that the unbelievers should not ride on horseback, and should not put on fur coats and dresses made of velvet cloth, and that their women should not be dressed like the Moslem women, and that they should be subjected to hate and loathing, it is reported that the unbelievers put

¹ *Hirci on birmci asirda Istambul Hayti* (in new script) 1931.

² *Hirci on ucuncu asirda Istambul Hayti* (in new script) 1932.

(For the former volumes relating to the tenth and the twelfth centuries, see THE MOSLEM WORLD, October, 1935.)

on all those things, and when they meet a Moslem they do not come down from the side-walk, and that they and their women show greater pride than the Moslems. Therefore I command the unbelievers not to put on those clothes, and not to be allowed to ride on horseback, and be subjected to hate and loathing."

Documents Nos. 52 and 53 relate to the business of buying and selling of slaves in Istanbul. They describe the general misuses rising out of this transaction, and forbid strictly any Christian or Jew or *Kizilbash* to engage in this business of buying and selling slaves.

In the second Volume, document No. 4 deals with the dress of women in Istanbul and forbids their using fine outer garments (*ferajeh*) made of certain kinds of light and thin material that would show the inner garments of women, and orders that "henceforth if any tailor or dress-maker dares to make *ferajehs* from such fine and thin materials that would show the inner garments of women, he shall be hanged before his shop."

Document No. 10 discusses the dress of the people of Istanbul. It says that "whereas the people of Istanbul are divided into different classes and each class has its own way of dressing, it has been notified that some people, regardless of those customs, dress up as they like, and people like the gardeners and the other ordinary artisans put on shawls and silk Ahmadiya turbans; therefore it is ordered that those people should be forbidden to change their old dresses peculiar to their own class, and that they should take care of paying due honor to men of higher classes."

Document No. 6 is on gold and silken articles used in the Royal Palace and in the palaces of other officials. It declares that "whereas according to the Holy Shariah gold and silver may be used only for seals and swords and women's ornaments and any other use is unlawful (*haram*), gold and silver are being used for making various utensils and this is causing scarcity of gold and silver for money in the mint, especially at times of war when the abundance of gold and silver money is very important, therefore we

order that all gold and silver vessels in the Royal Palace (except a small quantity) should be delivered to the royal mint, and that all such gold and silver utensils in the homes of the *Visirs* and other officials also should be sent to the mint, within thirty days, and whosoever disobeys this order, Allah's and the Prophet's curse be upon him."

Documents No. 7 and 8 are permits to the British Ambassador, Cavalier Robert Ainslie, to buy and import enough grapes to his house in Galata for the purpose of making wine; and to the French Ambassador to buy wine from Rodosto.

There are two documents (Nos. 20 and 22) which relate the conversion of some Armenians to Catholicism. No. 20 states that some Armenians in Istanbul have begun to act against their old ceremonies and customs, and they have been instigated by some persons who have come from Angora. Again some clergymen who had been leading such tendencies, and some unmarried women who have taken part in it should be sent to other places.

No. 22 speaks definitely about Catholicism. It states that "there has been some tendency on the part of some Armenians to join Roman Catholicism, and vice versa, and this had been forbidden by our former order. It is reported, however, that in the Province of Damascus this is not observed, and there are conversions from the Armenian church into Catholicism and vice versa, and as this is contrary to our former order, and moreover it will disturb the question of the census of both religious communities, henceforth no one may be allowed to change his religion from the Armenian church to Catholicism, or vice versa."

These documents give a fair picture of the Turkish Moslem mentality in those ages which are not very far, and thus help us to see the great changes which have come about in Turkey in recent years, and appreciate their importance.

Islam is changing rapidly, in fact too rapidly to allow us to grasp the full meaning of these changes for the social and religious life of the Near East.

ARABIZATION OR ISLAMIZATION?

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH)

Is there any identity between Arabization and Islamization? Do the two cultures in any way overlap? What connection is there between them? This is what we have tried to show in the following article, by examining the evolution of the modern Moslem world. We have used for this purpose information gathered last year by M. Massignon of the Collège de France.

Let us look at a map. The Moslem world, as we see, reaches out on either side of Arabia. The first conquest and those which followed sprang from this center, and received their impulse from the Arabs, the heart of primitive Islam. Like Arabia, the new Moslem lands in general form a series of closed basins, more thickly populated at the circumference than at the center. This expansion has taken place in the heat-zone. It has spread outwards, remaining in general above the Equator and not far away. Arabia seems to have marked with its imprint the face of the Moslem world.

This median position occupied by the Moslem world, between the tropics and the temperate zone, recalls the epithet that the Prophet applied to his people when he said: "It is thus that we have made of you (O Arabs!) an 'intermediary' nation" (Koran II:137). The statement illustrates this characteristic of Islam in many fields, but first of all in the religious field. They have taken pagan or vaguely deistic populations and led them to the knowledge of the one God, stopping, however, half-way with the fullness of the revelation. Besides, Islam is a link between less advanced civilizations and those of Europe; between primitive races, like the Negroes, and the white race. Islam is a point of contact and accession. Arabia had in the past

already played this part of the crucible in which are mixed races of all colors.

After the map, let us examine figures. After territory, population. How is it distributed, and what is its importance? It is difficult to give very accurate statistics. It is still difficult to take a census of Islam. The first hindrance is the prejudice of many of the people, who are uneducated and therefore unwilling to let themselves be numbered. There is also difficulty for the census agent because of the inviolability of the harem. It is thus that, in certain regions, there are considerable discrepancies from one census to the next. It is hardly probable that they can be attributed to a rise in the birth rate, as was recently done in Turkey, where there was supposedly an increase of more than two million in less than ten years! It is true that the population is not stable, but a regular census has not been taken in all parts, and many of the figures are only estimates. Such a method is arbitrary, and usually results in overestimation. For all these reasons, the figures given for the total Moslem population range from 230,000,000 to 300,000,000. 280,000,000 seems to us to be the most reasonable figure. We take it here as a basis.

This population is distributed ethnographically as follows: Aryan group (Persians and Hindus), 105,000,000; Malay group, 67,000,000; Chinese, 7,000,000; Semitic group, 43,000,000; Turkish group, 38,000,000; and Negro group, 27,000,000.¹

We see at once from this table that those speaking the Arabic language or having close dealings with Arabic are a feeble minority. Though Islam had its beginning in Arabia and was spread by an Arabic-speaking people, it no longer seems to be solely Arab.

Historically, moreover, Arabization and Islamization have been two different phenomena, produced by different agents and processes. Islam has been spread by military conquest. "Islam, submission, or the sword"—such was the attitude of the first conquerors. These conquerors were

¹ [These figures are far too high; the total Moslem world population is not over 250,000,000.—EDITOR]

usually recruited from the Bedouin Nomads, the high Nomads or *abbala*, who represent a kind of nobility of the desert. These warriors were not agents of civilization. Such work fell to the sedentary people who followed them, many of them from Yemen, or to the more or less sedentary, Nomads, *Charwya*, or *Baqqaya*. Both settled in the conquered land, multiplied there, and little by little Arabized the country around them.

Today, if we closely examine the progress of Arabic culture, we are surprised to see that it is no longer the exclusive appanage of Moslems, Bedouins, or sedentaries. Many Christians are also deeply interested in it. The Arabic renaissance of 1850 is their work; it is they who reawakened the Moslems to a praiseworthy emulation of the exploitation of their common patrimony. The services rendered in this field by the Christian minorities of Syria and Egypt are incontestable; though in such matters one must recognize that the Moslems, because of the fact of their religious veneration for the language of their saint, add to it a certain penetration and pungency.

We wish to point out also that the distribution of organisms of defense and of Moslem propaganda is different from that of the linguistic organisms. The former consist of seminaries, congresses, magazines, philanthropies, and mosques. Their great center is in India, a non-Arabic country. The Arabic language and culture have their center in the Near East, in Syria, the Lebanon, and Iraq. They have their own newspapers and magazines, and their agents are sometimes Christians, as we have said. These are two more phenomena which do not overlap.

The Arab is not exclusively Moslem, nor is Islam exclusively Arab. Their interests are not at all alike. A few years ago the Arabs rose up violently against the proposal of latinizing the Arabic alphabet. That, to them, was a sacrilege and an outrage against Islam. The plan was not justifiable to the conscience of the faithful. The outrage was against the Arabic language, and against it only. The language had existed before the appearance of

Islam, as well as its graphic system, which is so conformable to the spirit and the consonantal fixity of Arabic. We see here one of the nerve-centers where the interests of language and religious interests alone do not coincide, but are clearly opposed. What would be an injury to the Arabic language would be, on the contrary, a great advantage for Islam. It is evident that a less monographic script, one more accessible to the average person, would considerably facilitate the diffusion of ideas and, among them, religious ideas.

There is, however, a close relationship between the Arabic language and Islam. Arabic is the most fitting language to express Semitic thought, and this thought forms the texture of Islam. It seems, moreover, that, in the idea of the Prophet, the revelation which he brings is addressed to his people, to this Arabic people which has not yet had its preaching like the others. God has sent "no apostle who has not spoken the language of his people" (xiv:4). "Before the Koran, there was the Law of Moses. The Koran confirms it in the Arabic language" (xli:2)—in such beautiful language, that the Moslems consider their book holy, the inimitable masterpiece which carries language to its perfection. The sacred character of the forbidden Book prohibits its translation and use for liturgical purposes. All over the Moslem world prayers are recited in Arabic.

It is this veneration for the Koran which has always spurred the development of Arabic linguistic studies. Such studies have been undertaken to preserve the language which has served as vehicle for the revelation, and thereby to preserve that revelation itself. The Moslems have carried on their task with a fervor and a devotion which no other language, to our knowledge, has ever won, and which has given us, almost from the beginning, remarkable monuments of Arabic philology and lexicography.

Moreover, in it the great dogmatic development of Islam has been accomplished; it is in Arabic that the first

mystics transmitted their intimate experiences; it is in Arabic that the *hadith*, or the collection of the tradition of the Prophet, has come down to us. Literature itself is full of Moslem religious elements. To know Arabic is to have the means of penetrating more intimately into the real spirit of Islam. It is to breathe an air impregnated with Moslem sentiments and ideas.

If, then, all Moslem peoples do not know Arabic, it is not ill will on their part. They envy those who speak it, and their veneration for the language shows itself in admiration for the ones who possess it. An eminent Orientalist was once talking with a native somewhere in North Africa. The latter, struck by the perfection with which his interlocutor expressed himself, cried; "Certainly you will have a very high place in heaven. You speak Arabic so well!" This admiration, which every Moslem feels, illustrates the sentimental factor which plays in favor of the language in the Moslem world.

If Arabic has been unable, for various reasons, to supplant local languages, it has, however, exercised a more or less considerable influence on the evolution of these other languages in Islam. It has lent to them religious terms, and, in some cases, a more extensive vocabulary; to Persian, Urdu, and, until recent years, to Turkish, it has given its system of writing. It has left its imprint on all of these languages, and established a link which makes for easier contacts between these people and Arabic culture, which is charged with Islam.

—R. C. in *En Terre d'Islam*.
(August, 1936)

THE FINAL WORD OF THE AHL-I-HAQQ¹

The Shi'ah Moslems of Iran are divided into a large number of subsects of which a well-known one is called 'Ali Iláhi. This subsect, which has given itself the appellation of Ahli-Haqq, holds beliefs quite at variance with those of other Moslems and therefore, in order to avoid persecution, has kept its tenets secret.

The majority of the Ahl-i-Haqq believe in seven "manifestations" of God, the first of whom was Khávandigár and the last Khán Átash. They expect the return of the seventh i.e., of Khán Átash. Each manifestation (called "don" or garment) was accompanied by four assistants or angels.

The names of the manifestations with their angels are given in the following list.

Manifestations	Angels
Khávandigár	Míkáíl, Jibráíl, Isráfíl, Azráíl.
Murtazá 'Alí	Qambar, Salmán, Hazrati Muhammad, Malik Tayyár.
Sháh Khoshín	Hasan Gávdár, Káká Ridá, Shakák Ahmad, Bába Buzurg.
Sultán Sahák	Dáwood, Benjamín, Pír Musí, Razbar.
Gurmuzí	Kámir Ján, Kámal Ján, Káká Rahmán, Káká 'Arab.
Muhammad Beg	Qara Púst, Píreh, Qalandar, Dada Kerbalái.
Khán Átash	Khán Abdál, Khán Jamshíd, Khán Almás, Khátún Parí Khán.

Their sacred book is called *Saranjám* (Final Word) of which the following article is a translation. This book

¹ For further information regarding this subsect, see, "Notes sur la Secte des Ahle-Haqq", by V. Minorsky.

contains many quotations in Kurdish which I was not able to translate.

It will be noted that the narrative begins with the story of the miraculous birth of Sháh Khoshín.

Promise has been given concerning the garment (appearance) of Sháh Khoshín. Mirza Máná was (living) at that time and had six sons, and one daughter whom he loved more than all his sons, and they were in expectation (of the fulfillment of the promise). They were the possessors of twelve thousand families and were great without an equal, and lived in a fine village, Narfil, in the lower part of the river Sírgan.

The name of the daughter of Mirza Máná was Mámá Jalála. One morning she awoke from sleep and turning her face toward the sun, watched it. Suddenly a particle from the light of the sun became separated and descended from the left side to the throat of the girl and settled in her womb. The girl began to twist and writhe and sneezed much. However much she tried to remove the particle of light from her throat, she did not succeed. Finally her mother came and said, "O daughter, what has happened to you?" The girl explained the circumstances in detail. Her mother said, "Of course, a particle of earth or dust has gone down her throat." But they did not make known the incident to any one until day by day the appointed time drew near. Suddenly pregnancy became evident in her blessed womb. A number of people became aware of her condition and although they wished to destroy the child in her womb, they did not succeed.

Finally her father and brothers were informed of this unfortunate affair. The father gathered his sons together and commanded them to take the girl secretly to the desert and kill her (saying), "If this story is reported among the tribe, I will not be able to live among them." At last the brothers took their sister and started for the desert that they might put her to death secretly. After they had gone a short distance, their brotherly love made them kind to one another and did not permit them to put to death their own sister. But one of the brothers protested saying, "We must kill her." Finally they decided to leave her alone in the desert and go away, that wild beasts might devour her. But the youngest brother said, "You do not listen to the word of your father. You return and I alone will kill her." The other brothers left him alone with the girl and returned. He took the girl to a secluded spot, bound her hands and body securely, drew out his sword from its sheath and wished to bring it down. His arm withered in mid-air. Then he put the sword in his left hand but was not able to bring it down. Finally

he put the sword on the ground. At length, the girl sighed and lamented and the child which (in appearance) was in its mother's womb came to utterance and spoke these words, "Jalála is a virgin, the son King of Kings."

After hearing these words, her brother became hopeless concerning himself and, after a petition from his sister, proceeded to fall at her feet and she forgave his transgressions. Both of them came together to their father and made known the affair. The father said, "This is certainly an inward mystery. This is not an outward affair." The father asked his daughter concerning the events preceding this incident and the girl describing the happenings from beginning to end said, "In the morning, while I was looking at the sun, suddenly a particle separated from the sun and entered my mouth and immediately went down my throat. Instantly the signs of pregnancy became apparent. I know only the cause of this and besides this I have no supposition about myself."

When the father had become informed of these happenings, he said, "If this story be true, that which entered the mouth will also come out from your mouth. But if it should be otherwise, I will have you killed." The daughter said, "With the eye (*i.e.*, most willingly), at the time of birth, it will become evident." At last, the affair reached the stage, that the tribes made long the tongue of reproach to Mirza Máná and said, "The daughter of Mirza Máná has become pregnant from the sun." Finally the time of the promise arrived. The daughter came to her father who sent a person (saying), "The time has arrived", and demanded the presence of all those persons who had cast reproach concerning this affair. The reproachers assembled and Mirza Máná appointed a man to bring those also who had not come. All the relatives and kindred of the girl, having sharp swords, surrounded her to see what would happen. The girl vomited suddenly and by the perfect power of the Lord of all creation, they saw something resembling a bit of light fall from her blessed mouth into the large golden basin which they had placed before her and the brightness of its rays dazzled their eyes. The reproachers hung their heads and remained silent, ashamed and astonished at this mystery. Looking intently, they saw in the midst of the large basin, a child whose brilliant light dazzled the eyes of man. They prepared fine clothing and, taking up the child, placed him in a silk cloak and although they tried to approach the child they were not able until its mother came near. For her also the child did not show an inclination.

Sometime after these preliminaries had taken place, word came to Mirza Máná that a hostile army had attacked and was about to plunder and kill. The whole village was in an uproar and was preparing to flee. Every one started for his own family. Mirza

Máná said, "How then shall we carry this child?" No one wished to take the child. Mirza Máná told them to bring a mule and put the child on it. A man came forward but was not able to raise the child from the ground. Another man came but it was not possible. In a word, as many as forty men came but they were not able to move the child from the ground and put it on the mule. Mirza Máná said, "Perhaps you can turn the large basin upside down, throw out the child and bring the basin." Again about a hundred persons gathered that they might upset the basin but were not able to do so. Finally his mother said, "If a thousand persons assembled, they would not be able to do this, except by his willingness and inclination." Afterward the girl said, "O father, it is advisable that you leave for me an ox and go. Perhaps by helplessness and entreaty, I can put him on an ox secretly and bring him." Her father replied, "The enemy is near; leave the child and come, let us go." His daughter thought awhile and said, "One who could not be moved by the power of a hundred men and could give testimony in the womb of its mother can certainly preserve us." The father could say no more. Finally they tied an ox by its horns with a rope and gave it to Jalála and went after the procession. After awhile when they were alone, Jalála by helplessness, weeping and taking refuge, took up the child and put him on the ox. The ox could not endure the brightness of his light and fled. The girl placed the child on the ground that she might go and catch the ox. The sun came down from the heavens to worship the Sháh of the World. The Sháh of the World i.e., the child whose essence was the essence of the Sháh of the World, began to play with the sun. While the sun was in his blessed hand, people thought that a mist had obscured the light of the sun and that its light had disappeared. Whenever he dismissed it, the world again became light. Three times he brought the sun down and dismissed it and it united with the heavens. At that time, the ox which had run away trembled with fear and Jalála began to weep.

The Sháh of the World had promised Káká Ridá, who was the garment of Salman, that whenever the sun descended three times and the tribe of Mirza Máná decamped and an ox remained in that place with a weak woman, then the time of the promise was fulfilled. The friends had been in expectation three hundred and sixty-six years. When Káká Ridá observed these signs, he came down from the place in which he was waiting, made himself known and prepared one of the acceptable places of Mirza Máná for the Sháh of the World and became occupied in his service.

At this time, they brought word that the army of Rome was attacking them. The Sháh said, "Káká Ridá, go and bring that colt seven days old." Káká Ridá went and brought the blackish colt to

the Sháh and put a saddle on it and the Sháh of the World put his blessed foot in the stirrup and attacked the Roman army. When the eyes of the army fell upon his luminous brow, they were not able to endure the splendor of the rays and began to flee and were scattered and much property came into the possession of Mirza Máná's tribe and they call that place Room Ashkán. When the people saw this they no longer doubted. All of them came from all directions to kiss the foot of the Sháh of the World saying, "Of a truth, he is Shahan Sháh (King of kings) who alone scattered the Roman army." All fell down and kissed the ground at the feet of the Sháh and said, "Safety, generosity and kindness are in the hands of the Sháh." After that also, he revealed his miraculous powers several times and they arranged an epistle and a royal journal.

In the course of time, word was sent to the Sháh of the World that Shakkák Ahmad was in that vicinity, and that their fight with him was severe. The Sháh sent Káká Ridá to gather together all the young men that they might prepare themselves for battle so that, "I may have first a sight of Shakkák Ahmad that the war with him may cease." Káká, according to the command of the Sháh, assembled all the friends. The Sháh said, "Many persons are in expectation; go and tell Shakkák Ahmad that, 'Behold the Sháh of the World is coming to you'." When Ahmad heard this information, immediately he came to meet the Sháh and made him his guest. After that the Sháh said to Shakkák Ahmad, "Become obedient to the Sháh of the World." Ahmad replied, "I am greater than he. Why should I submit to him?" The Sháh of the World said, "In what way are you greater?" Ahmad said, "Whoever is heavier, he is our guide." The Sháh said to Káká Ridá, "Go and bring a pair of scales that we may test our weight." Káká Ridá brought a pair of scales. The Sháh of the World said to Ahmad, "Come and sit on the scales." Ahmad said, "You go first." The Sháh of the World commanded, "I will place one of my shoes on the scales. If you come equal, all right. But if the shoe is heavier, we are greater than you." After that Shakkák came and sat on one side of the scales and the Sháh placed one of his shoes on the other side of the scales. The side on which Shakkák sat went up and the side on which the shoe was placed remained on the ground and did not move. Then the inner eye of Shakkák was opened and he became obedient to the command of the Sháh and fell at his feet.

After that the Sháh of the World said, "Let us go to Bába Buzurg." The friends replied, "The command is the command of the Blessed One" and all started with the Sháh of the World. When Bába Buzurg heard that the Sháh of the World was coming, immediately he went with his tribe to meet him and, becoming

obedient to his command, kissed the earth at his feet. After that Bábá Buzurg wanted to bring a present for the Sháh of the World. The Sháh becoming aware of this said, "I desire as our present those two children whom you brought from China." So Bábá Buzurg presented them to the Sháh, who accepted them as slaves and the inhabitants of Delfán are from their race and name. Also the magistrates of the city of Amir are descendants of those two children.

Afterward the Sháh of the World with the friends came to Hasan Gávyár to whom promise had formerly been given and who also was expecting the promise. The friends requested that they test him. The Sháh said, "Let it be so, no matter, but it is not necessary." He knew that he did not lie. The friends requested that they make him their guest. The Sháh said, "Let Kák Ahmad take the form of a mountain ox and you follow him with shouting." The friends did so; Ahmad taking the form of a mountain ox, the friends followed him until he reached Hasan Gávyár and, by the order of the Sháh, he came to speech and said, "Bábá Hasan, give me asylum." Hasan Gávyár released one of the oxen with which he was plowing and put the yoke on him and continued his work. At this time, the friends arrived and saw that Hasan was at work. They called, "Gávyár, did you see an ox pass this way?" Bábá Hasan said, "Besides this ox which is under the yoke, I have seen none." Shakkák Ahmad said, "You hid me in a wonderful way." Bábá Hasan said, "How did I know that you have begun a war? And I have in no way told a lie. Especially since at this time, the blessed Sháh of the World is coming, who has the strength and courage to tell a lie?"

After that Hasan Gávyár came and kissed the foot of the Sháh of the World and entertained as guests the Sháh, along with those present. At that time, winter was just ending and the friends demanded fresh fruit from Hasan Gávyár. One demanded fresh grapes, another fresh watermelons. Bábá said, "From where shall I bring these in winter time?" The Sháh of the World said, "O Bábá Hasan, go to the garden and the plot of ground; they have preserved fruit." Hasan obeyed the command of the Sháh and went to the garden. Whatever fruit he had seen in summer, he saw in the garden. He gathered some of it and brought it to the Sháh of the World and to all the friends. When men saw these miracles, they increased their obedience.

After that the Sháh of the World went to the vicinity of Vámarz and granted places to men. To each one he arranged a place of refuge.

Again the Sháh of the World said, "We must go to see Bábá

Buzurg." The friends said, "It is yours to command." After some time, they came to Bábá Buzurg, and after that the Sháh of the World started for Hamadán and desired to go first to the monastery (*takiyyeh*) of Bábá Táhír because he had discernment of a time from afar and was in expectation of the Sháh of the World.

When this information was spread abroad in Hamadan, immediately the chief men of Hamadan assembled and came forth to meet the Lord of Religion. All of them humbled themselves before him and said, "You must illumine and adorn our hut by your presence. Whomsoever the Sháh of the World considers worthy and desires, let him go to him." The Sháh of the World said, "O Excellencies, I do not wish to give you trouble. All of you have come here hopefully. Therefore I will throw the rein upon the neck of the horse and wherever he goes, there I will be a guest." The Sháh of the World threw the rein upon the neck of the horse and the chief men fixed their eyes upon the road to see to the door of whose house the horse of the Sháh would go. Finally he reached the door of the monastery of Bábá Táhír and stopped there.

The monastery of Bábá Táhír had a fountain and a dome. The Sháh dismounted and by the blessing of the coming of the Sháh the one fountain became a thousand. Bábá Táhír gave thanks and made supplication. Bábá had a small pot that held about a *charak* (1½ lbs.) of rice. Fátima the Lur, was also a small lamb in the service of the Sháh and she was an ascetic. In the customary way, she arranged and prepared the pot and poured rice into it. The Sháh commanded, "Do not touch the pot. Let every one come and take out his portion." Since Bábá Táhír did not have many dishes, all came and took their portion from the pot and by the blessing of the coming of the Sháh, the place of one spoonful only was evident. The whole tribe ate and were filled.

After that the Sháh demanded a treasure for Bábá Táhír. Immediately it appeared. The Sháh said, "Bábá, look!" He looked and saw that the treasure which had been concealed under the earth had all come forth. The Sháh of the World said, "Bábá Táhír, take as much of the treasure as you want." Bábá Táhír exclaimed and said, "O Sháh, may I be your sacrifice! I seek only the sight of you." After that the Sháh ordered the treasure to return to its place. The treasure did not go but came to speech and said, "We have come into the presence of the Sháh. We will not go." The Sháh promised the treasure saying, "You go into your own place and in the manifestation, when they put robes on the servants, you will be the head-dress of the robes." When the treasure heard this promise, it arranged itself in its place. After that the Sháh said, "Táhír, I swear by my own everlasting essence that if you had accepted the treasure, I would have withdrawn my affection for you." Bábá Táhír

thought, "If the Sháh goes and Fátima also goes, I shall remain alone. It is better that I petition the Sháh to speak to Fátima that she receive me." The Sháh of the World was aware of this profound secret. Fátima placed her head upon the knee of the Sháh of the World and gave up the ghost. She said good-bye to the temporal world. . . .

After that he went to Shírúsháh. Since the time of Murtazá 'Alí, a promise had been made to an old man declaring, "I will come in a 'garment' and will cause you to be present. It was a period of three hundred sixty-six years since he (Murtazá 'Alí) had left the world. Their way passed by the grave of that old man and the Sháh said, "O Friends, I want to bring before us this old man." The friends said, "It is for the Sháh to command." He commanded Káká Ridá to bring instruments to the tomb. Then the tomb of the old man became agitated.

During this conversation the Sháh of the World came near the tomb and when the fragrance of the Sháh reached the old man he put his head out of the niche and said, "O Sháh, if I heave a sigh, may my mouth be burned. If I draw a breath, may my shirt fall to pieces that you should pass my grave after a period of three hundred sixty-six years. Since your fragrance and your presence have arrived, may my cloak become new on my body."

After that he said, "O Sháh, does there remain a promise after this or has the world come to an end?" The Sháh replied, "There still remains a promise." The old man said, "Therefore my lodging place and place of rest is pleasant. Grant that I may be at rest again in my own place." The Sháh of the World with his blessed hand made pleasant his tomb and put his instruments under a stone.

After that the Sháh went to the Mosque at Kúfa. He leaned against the pillar with his left shoulder and raised it up and took out the "*maqú*" document of mystery and the curd bowl, took off the lid and showed the friends and seers that the seal of the twelve Imams was at the bottom of the document. He said, "I am Sháh Khóshín and the Lord of heaven and earth. That document was with the seal and writing of the Sháh of Dominion." When the friends saw this, they with heart and soul became obedient to the Sháh of Dominion. After this, the Sháh said, "A person with seven other persons is coming and will sit upon the bridge (?) of Dizávar. He will read the above document and will bestow upon the friends the curd bowl and will touch the bowl with his finger with reverence." After that, he said, "Whatever he commands, he is I and I am he. Be obedient to him. Then I will make evident the above-mentioned seven persons."

When Káká Ridá, Kaka Ahmad, Bábá Hasan, Gávdár and the friends heard this, they began to mourn and weep. After that, the

Sháh placed the document and the bowl in Tásh Húrán. After that, the Sháh of the World went to sea, and casting himself upon the water, played with a polo stick. Whenever he caused the horse to gallop on the surface of the water, dust rose from under the hoofs of the horse. Finally he disappeared from the sight of the friends. From that time some of the friends without insight became terrified and doubters. They said, "The Sháh has been drowned in the sea," and they went back to their own work. Seventy-two persons, with his Excellency David, Benjamin, Pír Músí and others remained beside the sea. For the period of seven years they watched. It so happened that their wearing apparel fell off. His Excellency Benjamin bound an apron about his waist and all the others, having dug in the earth, became earth-dwellers. When they wished to go anywhere they took Benjamin's apron and wrapped it around them, and after returning gave it back to him and went under the ground. To men there remained no longer the strength of expectation and they began to mourn and cry. They said to Benjamin, "The Sháh of the World gave a promise. Think about us, for we have no more power or strength for waiting." His Excellency Benjamin turned to the friends and said, "O friends, perhaps the kindness of the Sháh to us is after this manner. Well, let us go together to Pír 'Alí to whom also the Sháh made a promise. He also is a seer." The friends accepted this and went to Pír 'Alí who was in the district of Muridín. Pír 'Alí came to meet the friends and said, "The Sháh of the World gave you a promise." They replied, "Yes, in accordance with the promise of the Sháh we have come to you. You must go and find the Sháh and bring him to us." Pír 'Alí said, "If I find the Sháh of the World, what will be my wages?" The men said, "We swear by the essence of the Omnipotent One, whenever you find the ruler we will make you leader." Pír 'Alí took the form of a large bird and circled the seventh heaven but did not find the Sháh. He returned and took the form of a starling. He followed the dung of the horse of the Sháh to a clod of earth. With his claws he dug the earth until he reached water and cast himself into the water. He went under the water and found the Sháh under a sheet iron (bread iron) of fire, occupied in conversation with the inhabitants of the sea. He wanted to tell the Sháh about his condition and happenings, but the power of the fire prevented him, so that he was not able to go to him. However much he persevered, it did no good and he was compelled to return to the friends, to whom he gave the good news that the Sháh is occupied in conversation with friends under the bread iron of fire. All rejoiced and were happy at this news. Pír 'Alí said, "As much as I desired to reach the Sháh, it was not possible." The friends entreated Benjamin, saying, "You had a

promise from the Sháh on the first day. Perhaps by your presence and blessing the Sháh may be inclined toward us his servants." Finally, Benjamin cast himself into the sea to go to the Sháh. He saw that the Sháh was occupied in conversation with the inhabitants of the sea. Benjamin went forward and although the bread iron made it difficult, he by exhausting his strength reached a place near the Sháh and performed the requirements of obeisance. He placed his hand upon his breast until the conversation grew lax. The Sháh of the World said, "O Benjamin, what place is this?" Benjamin sighed and said, "Alas! it is a generosity. O Sháh, it is seventy years that you have kept your friends in the valley of expectation. They are longing for the beauty of the Sháh and have not ceased looking for him. I hope you will bring the friends out of the whirlpool of darkness." The Sháh said, "O Benjamin, I have great indignation toward them, for I have not seen them confirmed in faithfulness. For that reason I am occupied in conversation with the inhabitants of the sea." Benjamin sighed and said, "Alas! it is a kindness and you are true and do not lie." The Sháh of the World became compassionate and promised. Benjamin said, "We hope by your promise that you will look upon us, blot out our sins and fulfill your promise." The Sháh of the World said, "O Benjamin, I will come among you on one condition, viz., that you be my *pir* and I follow you." Benjamin said, "O Sháh, may there be no deception." The Sháh said, "O Benjamin, the follower must be ruled by the command of the *pir* and obey whatever the *pir* may say. If I am the *pir* and you a follower of whatever I say, you will not be able to perform what (ever) I command. Therefore it is advisable that you be the *pir* and I a follower. Whatever the *pir* may say, let the follower do. It is not possible to break this rule. O Benjamin, go to the seventy-two persons who are beside the sea, greet them and give the good tidings and give opportunity to everyone to go to his own place and await the fulfillment of the promise. Pir 'Alí is in Muridín and Davood has been a seer. Take Davood and Pir Musí and go to the house of Shaykh 'Isá, for I will go there."

Benjamin returned from there and made known what the Sháh had arranged. Each one of the companions went among his tribe and the three revered persons went to the house of Shaykh 'Isá. But Pir 'Alí went to Muridín, the place of promise. He waited there awhile and did not go home for three months until his family urged him. He did not draw a free breath that he might purify himself and his garments of dust and go again to the place of promise. He put 'Alála, his son, in his place at the place of promise and charged him thus: "O 'Alála, let not sleep overcome you, for the fragrance of the Sháh of the World will pass like a zephyr, and when you breathe the fragrance, let me know, that I may come." Having said

this, he went to his home. 'Alála waited awhile until finally sleep overcame him. At that time the Sháh, according to his promise, came and passed that place. Pir 'Alí could not endure to remain at home and came to the place of promise of the Sháh and saw his son asleep and the fragrance of the Sháh reached his nostrils. Whereby he knew that he had passed. When he saw the neglect of his son, he cut off his head.

After that Pir 'Alí left his family and became demented for a time in following the fragrance of the Sháh. He did not succeed until he came to a mill. He spent the day with the miller and at night sent away the miller and remaining worked alone. Once he saw that the mill had stopped. He went outside and saw that they had drawn the water to other places. He brought the water to the mill again and came and was occupied. After an hour, he saw that the mill had stopped again. Again Pir 'Alí went and brought the water to the mill. Although this happened, he saw no one and continued his work. Again the mill stopped and again he went, but found no one. He brought the water and hid himself. After a time, he saw two persons coming to cut off the water. Pir 'Alí came out from his hiding-place and one of those persons said, "Did I not tell you that it is Pir 'Alí?" Immediately they disappeared and he heard a voice from concealment.

There was a mountain in that country where Pir 'Alí had lived for a time as a hermit and there he remained and did the work of a hermit. According to the promise which the Sháh of the World had given to Benjamin, men went to the house of Shaykh 'Isá in the characteristics of dervishes. But before they went to his house, Shaykh 'Isá had a brother named Shaykh Musá, who was rich without an equal and who made a pilgrimage every year to the great Kaaba, and became chief of the pilgrimage.

He wished to go again on a pilgrimage and they gave word to the people of that region and every one arranged his work. Shaykh 'Isá came and seized the skirts of their garments that perhaps in some way they might take him along with them. He turned to his brother, who was younger than he, and said, "I take refuge with you. Take me along with you. Every time I speak, you hinder me. I shall not desire anything from you, but will pasture the horses and donkeys of the pilgrims and will take care of myself." Finally his brother consented and they started on the journey.

When they entered the well-known district of Shahra Zool, they stopped there and Shaykh 'Isá, according to his daily custom, took the men's donkeys to pasture. Shaykh Musá became jealous and said to himself, "I have lost my reputation among the people. Therefore, I must take thought about this." He said to the pilgrims,

"Tomorrow's journey is very long and there is no water, therefore we must start before midnight and reach a certain place." The thought of Shaykh Musá was that that he would leave his brother asleep, so they tied his donkey beside him and started on the journey at midnight.

When it was morning, Shaykh 'Isá found himself alone in that place. When he saw this deception he knew that his brother had brought this upon him. He spread his prayer rug on the ground and recited his prayer and mourned and wept greatly. In the midst of his weeping, he saw a person sitting at the end of the prayer rug, and at the same moment his inner eye was opened.

After that the Sháh said, "O Shaykh 'Isá, go to Ilwait, the gardener, and give the good news and say that the Sháh of the World is coming in the form of a falcon and will sit on top of a *díwání* mulberry tree. Whenever that tree, which for a number of years has been dried up, becomes green, give the good tidings in every place." After that Shaykh 'Isá went to his own house and when he arrived he saw three persons sitting there in the garb of dervishes. By the signs of the Sháh he knew them. Showing them great respect he ministered to them and gave them the good news of the Sháh and Ilwait also was happy. The friends worshipped with thanksgiving and all rejoiced greatly.

Ilwait became occupied with his own work. Their Excellencies Benjamin, Davood and Pír Musí said, "You must choose a wife." Shaykh 'Isá said, "I am an old man and have no worldly goods that I may take a wife, but this is with you. In this part of the country there is a person named Hasan Beg Jalad, a rich man with great possessions and generous. If ten or a hundred persons go to his house every day he would not be grieved, and he is a liberal giver. He has two or three daughters who are respected."

Their Excellencies accepted this and in the garb of dervishes went to that person's house and remained in his house three or four days, adorning the house with their light. Hasan Beg inquired after their health. They said, "We have not come here for bread and water. Why do you inquire after our health?" Hasan Beg after hearing this brought them a gift. They said, "We have not come for worldly goods. All the goods of the world are ours. We have come for one thing." Hasan Beg said, "Tell me what your business is. Whatever is in my possession is yours." They said, "You have four daughters; the name of the youngest is Khátún Dáireh. You must give her to Shaykh 'Isá." Hasan Beg Jalad looked at the illumination of their word and seeing a wonderful condition said to himself, "I am not able to escape from these dervishes except by bringing an excuse. These are not dervishes. An answer must be given them that will not grieve them. I must say something that

will satisfy and not vex them." He said, "Shaykh 'Ísá is an old man and has no portion of the goods of this world. If you wish to betroth my daughter, you must do what I say and give what I ask. Otherwise you may not be grieved for a thing you do not have." They said, "Explain what you wish." Hasan Beg Jalad said, "I want seven strings of camels, black-eyed and with red hair, and their loads jewels and costly raiment. If that be possible, I will not refuse my daughter to you. If it be not possible, do not grieve on that account."

Their Excellencies put their hands to their eyes and said, "If you have a further desire, speak." Hasan Beg said, "No, I wish nothing besides this." After that, the dervishes said, "Hasan Beg, give us a rope." He gave it to them immediately. They took the rope and all three went away and reached the side of a hill. First Benjamin began to dig in the hill. Immediately a gate appeared and they opened the gate and entered. He said to Pír Muší, "Take your pen in hand and write the account of the camels." To Davood he said, "Hold the reins until we go to Hasan Jalad." And their loads were all jewels and fine goods. After that they fastened the door and the place was not apparent. They brought the camels to the house of Hasan Jalad. When Hasan considered them, the curtain was taken from his eyes and his inner eye was opened, and falling at their feet he sought forgiveness, saying, "Forgive my sin. I did not know that your work was inward. I beseech you by your perfect kindness to forgive my sin and send away these camels to their abode, because they are outward and material wealth. It is better that you look upon me with regard to inward things." They replied, "May the sin-forgiver of the world blot out your sins." After that, Hasan Beg gave Khátún Dáireh to them and they gave her in lawful marriage to Shaykh 'Ísá. Also friends remained in the house of the Shaykh.

Sometime after this incident, signs of pregnancy appeared in the womb of the wife of the Shaykh, and the people had thoughts of reproach concerning her. They said, "Shaykh 'Ísá is an old man. She has become pregnant from someone else." The friends had complete knowledge of this reproach, and when they heard this they said to Shaykh 'Ísá, "They cast our reproach upon your head. There is a cave near here, and we are going there to watch." At the time of going they said to Ilwait, "Do not make the place of the promise empty. Watch for the promise of the Sháh of the World."

Their Excellencies went to the cave and were occupied in friendly conversation. Until morning they were awaiting the promise. To Khátún Dáireh the time of the promise came. Ilwait went to the garden to find a ripe watermelon to present to the friends. Suddenly the sound of the wings of a falcon reached his ears. He looked

and saw that it was perched on top of the "*díwání*" mulberry tree. The dried-up tree again became green. Ilwait with perfect joy cried that the promise which the Sháh gave is fulfilled. When the good tidings of the Sháh reached the ears of Benjamin, he rose from his place and lifted up his head. First Benjamin came, then Pir Musí and Davood. From the mouth of the cave, they looked and saw that the falcon without abode was sitting on top of the mulberry tree. The bird flew slowly to the ground, and the friends ran after it until they came to the house of Shaykh 'Isá. They saw that the falcon went under the skirt of Khátún Dáireh and in her child-birth appeared. The falcon in the form of a son appeared, and the friends went into the street and gave word that to Shaykh 'Isá a son has come into existence. The friends came to bless (the child). Although the Sháh of the World was in appearance a child of seven years, he caused the sun to return from the west, and his inward miracles gave evidence to men, and the people of insight obeyed him. . . .

Since the Sultan of the World was among the friends, they said, "You must choose a wife in order that perhaps a child may be born who will be a remembrance from you that, after this, we may know and obey him." The Sháh said, "In accordance with your request, let her be a girl from this district and from a prominent family." The friends went and married to him a girl from a noble family and gave her a place behind a curtain. The Sháh went behind the curtain and did not come out for seven days. The friends finally went behind the curtain and demanded the Sháh. He came out with seven persons resembling each other. When the friends saw this occurrence they were astonished and did not know which one was the Sháh. Davood, Benjamin, and Pír Musí sighed and said, "O Sháh, do you wish to test us again? You have left us perplexed and astonished and we do not recognize you." The Sháh among the seven persons smiled and rising up said, "The superior essence is one." The seven persons also insisted that "We are also not different from the essence." The Sháh of the World explained to them and said, "You are from my body but not from my essence. You do not know your own essence." The names of the seven persons who came from behind the curtain are as follows: Sayyid Muhammad, Sayyid Bu'l Vafá, Shaykh Shihábu'd Din, Shaykh Habíb Sháh, Hazrati Mír, Mustafá and Hadjí Bá bá Bui. . . .

Because they doubted the work of the Sháh, he wished to conceal himself again, and, making a promise, he took the royal document and placed it on the stone of Dizávar and that stone was four thousand *zars* (one *zar* about forty inches) high. Afterward he said, "Whoever brings down this document and raises the dead, and turns back the sun from the west, you may know that he is I."

This he said and disappeared. Afterward the friends watched for a time until Sháh Valí Qulí, who is Gurmuzí, appeared and brought down the document of the Sháh from Tásh Húrán. He explained the signs above-mentioned and the friends came to kiss the feet of the Sháh of the World.

There was a man in that district who had twelve sons, and one of them was insane. He struck and beat every animal or thing he met. Gurmuzí and the friends were in that district. Finally the insane person started toward the spot where Gurmuzí was standing. When the brothers observed this, they cried, "O passer-by and traveller, step aside. This insane person will harm you." The Sháh gave no answer. When he arrived, the Sháh made a sign with his finger and the insane man was split into two parts and fell to the ground. When the brothers saw this, they all came and seized the coat collar of the Sháh, and said, "You are the murderer of our brother." The Sháh said, "I am not the murderer of your brother, but he was killed by the hand of God. You search me and if you find a weapon of warfare, as a sword or knife, then know that I killed him." They said, "If you speak a thousand words of this kind, we will not take our hands off from you." The Sháh said, "Therefore, since this is the case, and you do not believe me, bring a pair of scales and put the corpse in the bowl of the scales and weigh it. If the two parts of the corpse are equal, know that I am not a murderer, but if they are not equal, know that I am a murderer." They accepted this proposition and weighed the corpse and it was equal. The Sháh said, "Therefore know that Providence killed him." Still the brothers did not accept it. The Sháh turned to the friends and said, "O Friends, form a group and help me by saying 'Amen', when I pray. Perhaps this dead person may live." When the friends heard this they said, "To raise the dead is a sign of the Sháh of the World." Afterwards the friends formed a company and the Sháh made a sign three times. From the mountain, Dáláhú, a ram came down and made a noise until it came near and put its right foot in the cavity behind the ear and stood still. The friends said "amen" and the Sháh prayed. After that they slaughtered the ram and cooked it. Again the friends formed a group and the Sháh commanded that they bring the two parts of the dead man to the assembly. They began to distribute the sacrifice until the dead man's turn came. By divine power, the dead man sneezed and rose up and, taking a portion of the sacrifice, gave thanks and expressed true pleasure and fell at the feet of the Sháh of the World and said, "O Sháh, thou art that Murtazá Alí and I am that Nusayr whom you have killed and made alive several times." When the people saw this manifestation of miracles, all came to kiss the feet of the Sháh of the World.

As the Sháh of the World at that time wore red, they named him Gurmuzi tho sometimes he wore white. Some of the inhabitants of that region did not obey him. They said, "This is a magic-working dervish who performs these deeds. Come and help us kill him." The Sháh of the World was aware of this and said to the believers, "The people of Mángulí have not sworn allegiance and day after tomorrow they will kill me." On that same day he went among the people of Mángulí and when they saw him at a distance, they shot him with arrows and killed him. The Sháh had a ring on his hand and they wished to take it off, but were not able. Finally, they cast the body into the river Sírwán and went away.

Near there, was a girl of Jaf who had come to get water from the river. She saw that they had thrown a person into the river and the water was carrying him away. He called and said, "O daughter, do not fear. Take this ring and give it to that old woman and say that the men of Mángulí have killed the Sháh, and say to the inhabitants of Delfán, 'If you claim my blood from the men of Mángulí I will not accept it'. I have not died." He spoke these words and disappeared from sight.

This girl came and told the inhabitants of Delfán what had happened. Now before this the Sháh had given promise that, "After me a person with the characteristics of Abdálí will come to the house of the chief man of Shakra Amír. If you see that a knife comes from a portmanteau (*hurjin*) and stands on one of his knees and a lamb two years old becomes separated from the flock and comes to him, know that I am he and he is I."

After a time Muhammad Beg appeared in the characteristics of Abdálí and came among the inhabitants of Delfán to the house of the chief man Shakra Amir. The same promised knife came out from the portmanteau, a two-year-old lamb separated from the flock and came and worshipped him. When the friends saw this which the Sháh of the World had promised, they fell to the ground at his feet and becoming obedient swore allegiance to him. The friends said, "Alas! You must manifest yourself." Muhammad Beg said, "If seven persons give their heads for me, I will manifest myself." Afterwards they pitched a white tent for Muhammad Beg and he went into the tent and called the friends one by one. First Salman went. At the same moment from the top of the mountain Karr Gocha, a mountain ram descended and came into the tent. The Sháh said, "This ram is a sacrifice in your stead." Immediately Salman sacrificed the ram in the midst of the tent and the blood flowed out from under the tent. After that Sháh Qulí came according to this arrangement and in his stead also a mountain ram came and he sacrificed it. Afterward Chashní came into the tent and he also followed this program.

When the inhabitants of Delfán saw that blood was flowing from within the tent, they were certain that these had sacrificed themselves. After this no one was able to go into the tent. They sat back and doubted. When Muhammad Beg saw that some of the people of Delfán doubted and that Salman, Chashní and Sháh Qulí were occupied in taking off the hide of the sacrifice and were not sorry and repentant concerning themselves, he generously called all the people of Delfán and forgave them. They were very humble and sorry. They cooked the sacrifice and distributed them among the friends. When the friends saw that Muhammed Beg also would disappear, they fell to the earth at his feet and for that reason he married and became the head of a family.

According to appearance, Jamshíd Beg, Almás Beg, Abdál Beg and Átash Beg were his sons and dwelt in that province. After a while the Kurd Khán Abdál indicated to the friends, saying, "O friends, know that Muhammad Beg will disappear. Come, beseech him and say, 'After you, whom shall we follow and obey?'" The friends made this petition to the Sháh of the World. The Sháh commanded, "After me, make Átash Beg your leader and obey his command; whatever he says is my word." After the Sháh said this, a light surrounded him in a courtyard; gradually the Sháh disappeared in light, and no one knew what became of him.

Afterward some disturbance among the brothers resulted. They said to themselves, "We are older than he, why were we not made successors?" But after a time had passed, one day the army of Bilbás came and took away the horses and servants in that region. Khán Átash mounted a colt two years old and followed the marauders and the brothers followed behind. Almás Khán looked and saw the sword of Khán Átash was out of the scabbard and was striking. The other brothers also looked and saw that his blessed divine hand was raised. Once he made a sign and the horses and servants turned and the soldiers of Bilbás began to fight each other. Khán Átash turned and brought the horses. Though the brothers observed this miracle, yet they still claimed the throne. Khán Átash signalled to a stone and the deed of possession of Azerbaijan came from it. Still the brothers stood firm in their claim. All at once they saw vapor separate and a person clothed in red came out, having in his hand a battle-ax with a pearl handle. He placed the battle-ax in front of Khán Átash and gave testimony that Khán Átash is the true one and the brothers fell to the earth at his feet. After that they set aside their claims. After a time had passed, Khán Átash also wished to disappear. Dada Sáil 'Alá 'ud-Dín followed and besought him. The Sháh disappeared on top of the Sahand mountain and no one knew what became of him.

THE MOSLEM WORLD IN TRANSITION

New irreligious forces are now rising that bid fair to command man's supreme allegiance. Men are coming to worship the gods of communism, materialism, and nationalism instead of God, or *Yahweh*, or *Allah*. We who live in the western hemisphere are more or less aware that these forces affect Christianity; but their effect on the great Holy Mohammedan Empire is less familiar, though none the less significant.

Much can be gained by a study of the tremendous changes that are stealthily creeping into the hitherto settled Mohammedan world. Forces that upset such long-established and firmly implanted beliefs as are found in the Orient are also capable of undermining cardinal religious tenets of the western world.

Within the past generation extraordinary changes have taken place in Islam. Nationalism has torn the Mohammedan Empire asunder; it has dropped into Islam like a bomb shattering that united kingdom to fragments. Heretofore, a Moslem was pre-eminently a Moslem regardless of his nationality; but today national loyalty is taking precedence over religious loyalty. Turkey struck the fatal blow to Moslem unity by stripping the high potentate of Islam of his powers and abolishing the Sultanate and the Caliphate. The introduction of Western culture precipitated the substitution of the Latin alphabet for Turkish script, and European dress for Oriental.

As yet communism has not appreciably affected Islam. With a suppressed laboring class dominated by a notorious economic oligarchy, one might suppose the Mohammedan world to be fertile soil for communists; but the underprivileged Mohammedans are not discontented, and dis-

content is a culture in which communism thrives. Not only so, but the majority of Mohammedans are agriculturists, rather than industrialists, and therefore less accessible and susceptible to communistic propaganda. Perhaps the principal reason for Islam's present freedom from communism is the implicit, if not naïve, belief of every Moslem in the prophet Mohammed.

Materialism, popularized by modern science, has weakened Islam in much the same way that gnostics undermined Christianity in the early centuries. Materialism claims, as did the gnostics, not to be an antagonist but an ally of religion. Therein is a dangerous truth. Material progress, to be sure, is an asset to any religion, but when the acquiring of worldly possessions becomes the object of one's devotion, the driving force in one's living, instead of devotion to truth and righteousness, then religion does become affected. Material prosperity, though neither good nor bad in itself, but, like fire, dependent upon how it is used, has tended to weaken rather than strengthen Islam.

Modern science has altered the thinking of these non-Christian people in a far more subtle and significant way. Where millions were once held in intellectual bondage, viewing with a closed mind developments contrary to Islamic teachings, science, which has indoctrinated the world with its "scientific approach", is challenging obsolete Islamic tradition. Instead of merely accepting explanations that have been passed down for centuries, modern Moslems are challenging traditional authority. Their long-closed but inquisitive minds want to know why!

Through the introduction of compulsory education in many Mohammedan lands, ignorance is giving away to knowledge, and illiteracy to literacy. Modern science has changed the attitude of mind of Moslem youth; it has been like a wedge prying open little by little the heretofore impenetrable Mohammedan world. Already innumerable Moslem students have been educated in German, French, English, and American universities and many of these liberalized students have gone back to Mohammedan lands

in positions of leadership. The fact that these westernized leaders have not been as ardent supporters of Islam as formerly has tended to dampen the ardor of even the more conservative. Not only that, but government schools themselves are introducing unorthodox subject matter. In view of the fact that Islam can boast the oldest university in the world with a continuous existence—El Azhar University—and in view of the fact that El Azhar University is still “L’Académie” of Islam, the decline of its prestige is the more significant.

Western culture and tourists have also been devastating to the blind hold of Islam upon its people. Women are being emancipated and may even threaten suffrage; that is a most disturbing factor when heretofore women have not been given recognition. Through tourists, many advances of western civilization have dazzled the eyes of Moslem youths in ways to make them chafe under the old regime.

Whatever the causes may be, the fact remains that Islam is now in a state of chaos, from which it can never emerge as the imperial power it once was.

One cannot appreciate the chaotic state of Islam today without an understanding of the unique aspects of its background. Islam was one of those great waves of thought that swept across the world, embracing whole humanities.

The idea that there was one God and that Mohammed was the prophet of God emanated from the mind of a desert nomad and first took root in the isolated community of barren Arabia, an area that had been sadly neglected by Christian evangelists. Conditions during the seventh century hardly seemed propitious for a religious revival, for by that time Christianity had circled the Mediterranean and had proved through bitter controversy its superiority over Oriental mystery cults and Greek paganism. It had also proved its adaptability by establishing itself firmly in varied lands. Christianity was by far the strongest religion at that time; yet, in spite of these unfavorable conditions, the teachings of the new prophet spread with phenomenal rapidity.

Even within the life of its founder, a solid mass of the Near East was bowing the knee to Allah. The zealous influence of that compact group of Moslems spread, almost unchecked, for a century, until it dominated the entire Near East, even extending its sway from Spain to Persia. It was not until the Battle of Tours under Charles Martel in 732 that the European inundation of Islam was stopped.

Although Tours marked the turning point of Islam and decisively checked the spread of Islam through Europe, it, in reality, was only the turning point in direction, for there was already too much vitality in the movement to be thus suppressed. Islam had to overflow; if it could not flow into Europe it would flow in other directions. The Battle of Tours did not check the *spread* of Islam; it simply changed the *direction*.

Since that time converts have been made less rapidly, but none the less steadily, so that now, after thirteen hundred years, it is hard to comprehend the magnitude of Islamic influence. A round-the-world traveller first becomes conscious of its impact upon civilization as he enters the Straits of Gibraltar and visits parts of Northern Africa, for that habitable border between the Sahara and the Mediterranean is now solidly Mohammedan. Egypt alone boasts some 14,000,000 Moslems, and, journeying through the predominantly Mohammedan countries of Palestine, Syria, and Turkey, with their teeming millions, one becomes more impressed with the extent of their domain. In Russia there are some nineteen millions. In India one encounters the largest single block of them, 77,000,000; and even distant China has its 10,000,000. Indeed, America is not exempted from their influence, for some thousands of Mohammedans now reside in the United States. All told, there are some 250,000,000 Mohammedans throughout the world, roughly one-eighth of the whole population. Islam is now a world-wide religious empire, transcending race and political boundaries.

The very rise of Islam is a sad indictment against Christianity. At the time Islam was born, Christianity was

the most powerful religion of the civilized world, and as an established religion it could have and should have conquered the lands where Islam later held sway. It is a reproach to Christianity that it lacked the vitality and missionary zeal so essential to its health and growth.

Not only that, but during the declining years of Roman power the colonies were taxed excessively, and corruption had so crept in that Christian principles were not practised. Was it any wonder that Christian colonists under Roman rule regarded this new monotheistic religion favorably? Mohammedanism was coming up out of the East as the combination of a new religion opposed to Christianity, and as a new political power opposed to Rome. "Surely", argued many Roman colonists, "these Arabs profess one God as we do, and their rule can be no more intolerable than that of Rome. We will support them rather than Rome." And so they did! Had the Oriental churches practised Christianity, Islam could never have arisen!

Christianity was not a spiritual force in that age. Nominally, Christianity was in the world and there were many ardent and pious followers of that religion. But that Christianity was not a force. The proof? Islam!

Christianity yielded passively for nearly a century to the advance of Islam; it brought no significant forces against the wide spread of Islam during its formative years. Christianity, rather, was overcome by Islam in many places. It is a reproach to Christianity that it was powerless to resist the advance of Islam spiritually, and had to resort to secular military power. The spread of Islam is not so much a credit to Islam as a discredit to Christianity.

Islam is not merely a religion; it is a political institution and a social institution as well.

Politically, the State and Islam are one. The State is Islam: Islam is the State. So intertwined are the two that one cannot differentiate between them. For instance, courts that deal with legal affairs, such as laws governing inheritance, are maintained under religious authority. One seeking divorce appeals, not to a civil court, but to a

Mohammedan court. Governmental heads are virtually religious appointees—at least only those are appointed who pay unreserved allegiance to Mohammed.

Socially. Islam dictates the customs of the lands it rules. Polygamy is generally practised, with the attendant harems, since the Koran permits four wives. Women appear veiled, and when accompanied by a husband they walk ten paces behind. Mates are picked by parents. Mohammedan custom has decreed that superstition rather than science shall govern the unknown, with the result that magic charms rather than cleanliness are used to drive away disease. Islam has been inert in regard to sanitation, and there has been but little social incentive to dispel illiteracy. On the other hand, prohibition is not an issue in strictly Mohammedan lands, because alcohol is taboo! (So is pork.)

Religiously, Islam in devious ways dominates the thinking of the people. Koranic proclamations, although largely specific rules rather than general principles, are far-reaching in their application. Such viewpoints as are held by Moslems can be traced to teachings of the Koran. For instance, an American surgeon volunteered to perform a very minor operation which would enable a lame little Mohammedan girl to walk normally; but the father refused to permit it because he believed that Allah willed the child to be lame, and he should not attempt to interfere with God's plan. Such beliefs, sincere as they are, have obviously hindered progress in the Moslem world, and, as progress was restrained, Islamic beliefs have been held the more tenaciously. This tenacity, in turn, has tended to unify and bind the Mohammedans together in ways that never could have been achieved otherwise, even at the expense of narrowing their outlook.

The swiftness of the transformation in Islam is significant.

I have learned that at an important institution in the Near East, the majority of the Mohammedan student body asked permission to attend the mosque on Friday to

pray, and a vast majority also rigidly observed the fast of Ramadan by not eating from sunrise to sunset. Only three years later, *one* student asked to be excused for Friday prayers, and not one observed Ramadan. Not only that, but it is now rare to see men going through their genuflections on street corners, on the trains, and in the fields, as formerly. It is obvious from this that the hold Islam once had upon its followers is slipping.

Moslems themselves are now asking if the Koran is literally inspired. Such questions challenge the sheikhs embarrassingly. It means that the Koran must undergo higher criticism just as the Bible has done. Higher criticism of the Koran can be postponed no longer. If it meets the test, it is well for Islam; if it fails, it is doomed.

No longer will young people allow their parents to choose a spouse; in fact, young couples are doing their own courting, openly. This new emancipation, desirable as it is, is not, however, without its defiant rebuff to all old customs.

Within a very few years the enrollment in the ancient and conservative theological school, El Azhar University, is reported to have dropped from about ten thousand to less than five thousand. So significant a drop can hardly be attributed to the depression, when tuition is virtually free, and when many have chosen government or foreign schools instead. Modern Mohammedan youths refuse to attend this orthodox institution, revered as it is, many of whose teachings are now regarded as obsolete. Memorizing the Koran, for example, does not provide a livelihood in this competitive world.

The result is that the young people are attending government schools or even enrolling in foreign universities that endeavor to give an "open mind" to the student. So the old-school Moslem conservatives are faced with either revolutionizing their educational program to the extent of introducing what to them would be heresy, such as modern sciences, a higher criticism of the Koran, and the like, or else letting the young people attend the liberal foreign institutions of learning. They are being forced to

the change. The future of Islam depends upon how they meet these revolutionary demands.

One might enumerate many other aspects of Mohammedan political, religious, and social life that are being transformed, but these may suffice to indicate the import of these changes. Thus far, the revolt has not been spectacular, nor has the upheaval yet been catastrophic; yet is it safe to say that Islam is now on the verge of one of the greatest crises it has ever faced.

Several features about the revolt are not promising for the security of Islam. When drastic changes which vitally affect the living and thinking of whole masses of people are made, adjustment becomes slow and severe. Already these innovations have so undermined Mohammedan traditions that Moslems, the world over, are in confusion. The old has gone, the new has not yet become established. So fundamental and revolutionary are many of these changes that there is reason to doubt if Islam can survive. The present confusion is corrupting.

Islam epitomizes conservatism, orthodoxy, the *status quo*. Tradition is its guide! The new forces represent liberalism, change, progressiveness. Experiment is its guide! The *new* characterizes the age in which we live, and it is so universal that Islam cannot hope to escape its influence; the future of Islam depends upon its adaptability.

All great movements must go through stages of radical change, if they are to survive. Christianity did. Destructive as these changes are, they do not indicate necessarily the decline of Islam, but rather, an enforced re-thinking. These changes are really a challenge to the best that is in Islam; in themselves they are healthy and essential to growth.

When the spiritual is strong, as in the first century of Mohammedanism, world history is created; but when the spiritual becomes weak, it is a victim of world history. The real hope of any movement is in its leadership. As Professor E. W. Lyman has said in "The Meaning and Truth of Religion" (p. 141), "The recovery of religion's vitality

takes place when new social needs are met by great creative personalities, who are able to initiate a new and higher synthesis of the great essentials of religious experience."

If Islam has the resources, the flexibility, and the stability to assimilate these changes, then Islam will go forth with renewed zeal and vitality. But if narrow-mindedness and bigotry and tradition prevent proper readjustment, then Islam is doomed.

We must not think that the defeat of Islam would be a victory for its rival, Christianity. Any weakening of Islam is to be regretted by all religious-minded people, for it means not merely the succumbing of a particular sect, but rather the destroying of a great faith. Once faith, which is common to all religions, has been lost in any one religion, then all religions suffer thereby. It is an unhealthy condition for any land and for the world, when people lose their faith, however stubborn and unenlightened that faith may be.

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NORTHERN NIGERIA AS A MISSION FIELD

We often hear that the dawn of a new day is breaking over Africa. We are thankful to God that it is true in a general sense. Yet as one studies the needs of many of the dark corners of that vast land, one realises that only the hilltops have as yet caught the reflection of the Glory of the Cross. The great land is still hidden in darkness and sorrow and tears. The remotest corners of Africa are among the darkest and most needy spots in the whole world, and there the message of the Master—"I am come a light into the world"—has never touched the darkness of men's hearts.

This is especially true, among other fields, of Nigeria in West Africa. Nigeria has, as a result of fever, disease, and Moslem hostility, been an especially difficult field to evangelize. This is particularly the case in the large northern provinces, where Moslems hold sway and Christian missionary work is forbidden. What is one of the special difficulties in some parts of this Moslem field, can be grasped from this sentence taken from a missionary's report: "We have had eighteen Moslems attending Bible class for years, yet they are afraid to confess. One said to me, 'In my heart I know in whom I believe, but the moment I profess, I know they will get me out of the way by poisoning'."

Yet great progress has already been made in Southern Nigeria, and also in the Cameroons, while in the vast northern provinces, which are in the main so sadly unoccupied, the Gospel is making headway. We shall in this paper focus our attention more especially on Northern Nigeria, which really constitutes one of the great un-

occupied fields of Africa. We shall mention Southern Nigeria only by way of contrast and comparison.

In Nigeria there are peculiar problems and great needs. The government is unsympathetic; the Moslems are hostile; the climate is very hard on Europeans; the field is vast; a legion of languages are spoken; and communications are undeveloped. But perhaps the chief problem today is the emphatic challenge of Islam. In the countries bordering on the Sahara, Mohammedanism has been strongly entrenched for many centuries. The most influential tribes of the French and British Sudan have embraced the teachings of the Prophet.

Nigeria is one of the most important fields of Africa, since it lies on the great border-line of the Mohammedan advance to Central and Southern Africa. It is one of the fields on which the future of Africa must be decided—on the future of which will depend whether North Africa will be won for the Cross, or Central and Southern Africa for the prophet. "A burst of optimism two decades ago suggested that we could 'throw a breakwater across Central Africa'; but the tide of Islam still rolls on, and we at the front know that to hit off a happy phrase is a vastly different thing from dealing with facts. The problem of a false religion gaining on Christianity may be an interesting psychological or sociological phenomenon, but its attraction loses color when rendered in plain prose."

Nigeria can be described as the vast province in West Africa, four times the size of Great Britain, between Cameroon and Dahomey (French) on the Gulf of Guinea. The hinterland stretches back six hundred miles to French West Africa. The tin and iron ore industries are old and valuable. It is a country, like most of Africa, of vast natural resources, with barely initial exploration done up to this time. The people are very backward, but Europeans with capital have gone in and are bringing resources into play. Slavery was not abolished by ordinance until 1917, Railroad development in the southern provinces has been rapid as a result of the mines, and in 1933 there were three

thousand miles of railroad in the province. The chief exports are palm kernels, palm oil, ground nuts, shea nuts, cotton lint, cocoa, hides and skins, mahogany logs, and tin.

The northern provinces of the protectorate, with which we especially deal in this paper, constitute the areas known prior to the amalgamation with the southern provinces in 1914, as the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, the administration of which had been inaugurated by the British Government in 1900. Previous to this date these areas had been partially administered by the Royal Niger Company. They comprise the countries between the basins of the Niger and Benue rivers in the south, and the fourteenth line of latitude in the north.

The population of Nigeria (census 1931) is 19,130,859, excluding the Cameroons, which have another 797,312. Of this vast population, 9,998,314 inhabitants live in the northern provinces, with an average density of 39.33 persons per square mile. Of this total population only two-tenths of one per cent live in towns; all the remaining millions are spread through the provinces. It strikes one at once how very few large towns there are in Northern Nigeria. There is no single town with a population exceeding 50,000, only three with over 20,000. Furthermore, almost the total population is native Nigerian. There are only 2,631 foreign natives and 1,168 non-natives.

The most populous provinces are Kano, Baughi, Bornu, and Sokoto, which are almost all closed for Christian work, as we shall point out later on.

As we have already said, Nigeria is one of the fields which constitute the front line of Mohammedan advance. But while the majority of the inhabitants of Northern Nigeria are Mohammedans, the Animists constitute thirty-two and eight-tenths per cent of the population. They are particularly strong in the provinces of Munshi, Nasarawa, Ilorin, and Yola, and to a lesser extent in Nupe. In some cases Moslem chiefs rule pagan tribes. But it is a striking fact that, despite Moslem domination, few of these Animist peoples have as a whole accepted Mohammedanism during

the last fifty years. Half a dozen times, the British, after their occupation of the country, attempted to place Moslem chiefs over pagan peoples—but in each case without real success. Of the northern Nigerians who profess Christianity, almost eighty per cent belong to the Yoruba-speaking tribes of Ilorin. They have, longer than any other northern Nigerian tribe, been in contact with Christian missionary work.

We need only state that a bare two-tenths of one per cent of the total population is as yet Christian, and of these there are eight Protestants to every Roman Catholic.

Islam is today the religion of the great majority of peoples of Hausaland and Bornu, and Islamic culture has even penetrated to many pagan tribes which have not yet been converted to Islam. Now, though there are many Moslems in Northern Nigeria inspired with the spirit of true religion, the religious outlook of the mass of them is little wider than that of the pagans they despise. The Koran is their fetish no less than the village idol, stone, or tree (Meek II, page 3); to swear falsely on the Koran would be certain death, while to drink the ink from which Koranic texts are written is a cure for every ill. Islam in Nigeria is a formal, uninstructed life. Its adherents still cling to many pagan rites. Women never go veiled, and prayers are not performed regularly. Maxwell relates that he even heard a chief speak of beer that had been brewed for a Moslem feast!

This laxity in Islam in Nigeria is of extreme importance to Christian missionary work. There is a saying that every Moslem is a missionary for his faith, but in Nigeria this is true only in a very limited sense. Islam is spread, not as a result of the religion, but of the superior social prestige of the Moslems.

Whereas Islam in Nigeria is, on the spiritual side, but a poor imitation of the loftiest there is in the religion of the Prophet, the case is quite different as far as Islam is concerned as a political, social, and economic factor. Islam has brought civilization to barbarous tribes. It has broad-

ened the outlook of the people, built the groups into nations, and introduced the art of reading and writing to some degree. And by prohibiting cannibalism, alcohol, and other practices, it has in some quarters really exalted the Negro in a material sense. The Islamic communities in Nigeria are, as a result, vastly superior to the pagan communities.

The progress of Islam, as has been said, is not the result of any missionary effort on their side. New tribes are not won for Islam today. At an earlier period many pagan tribes were forced to become Moslems or to be sold as slaves; but today Islam is spread unconsciously and accidentally as a result of ordinary social intercourse. The pagan, when he comes in contact with Moslems, finds them superior intellectually. They can often read and write, they know more of the world, and have better houses. He soon realizes the universality of their religion, and because it is so easy for him to embrace Islam without doing away with too many of his practices and beliefs, he falls an easy victim. Moslems often marry pagan women, and so the faith is propagated. Seeing that a Negro need not give up his polygamy and belief in evil spirits, his only real stumbling-block is the prohibition of alcohol by Islam.

A fact of extreme importance is that there is a school in every Moslem town conducted privately by a *malam*. Some of the children go there at a very early age, and, beginning with the *salat*, they are gradually instructed to read the Koran. Then they are instructed in the Moham-medan ritual, washings, etc. The result is that, though this education is very unsatisfactory and ineffective, almost three per cent of the Moslems can read and write, which compares very favorably with the pagan element of the population.

Above all things—and in Nigeria this is very important—Islam is a unifying force, and the British government relies upon this fact in its system of indirect rule. The difference in the south, where the Africans are pagan, and in the northern Moslem states, is very marked in this respect.

We have now given the general background of the province of Northern Nigeria, its people and religions. Let us now relate all this to the fundamental question: Why does Northern Nigeria still form an unoccupied field of the first degree? We shall first discuss certain factors which contributed to this state and hampered Christian progress, not only among millions of Nigerian Moslems, but also among pagans. We meet in this field all problems which are more or less general over the greater part of Africa; but, in addition a few very special problems hindered the Christian advance in Northern Nigeria. Of these we mention first: a) The government's native policy. As has been said, the Protectorate of Nigeria was formed in 1914, when the British government instructed the Governor-General, Sir Frederick Lugard, to bring about an amalgamation. The capital of the northern provinces is Kaduna.

The native administration of Nigeria is based on the principle of recognizing and developing native institutions, subject to British control so as to prevent shocking abuses. It is a system which, differing vitally from the system followed in Transkei, Kenya, and the French colonies, rests upon the doctrine of self-determinism and the philosophy of free will. This whole system has its roots in the framework of indigenous society. European methods and standards must be introduced in the form and measure in which they can profitably be grafted on to the pre-existing stock.

b) Closely connected with this experiment in indirect rule is the main stumbling-block of missions in Nigeria. It is the refusal of the government to permit missionary work in the great Moslem provinces. Both the Emir of Sokoto and the sheikh of Bornu claim to be Moslem caliphs, and between them claim the religious allegiance of most of the Moslems of the North. Out of the 10,000,000 inhabitants of the northern provinces, 6,700,000 are Mohammedans. Now, the British government, as a result of this whole system of indirect rule, is extremely cautious not to cause antipathy, and is as a result unfair and unjust

to Christian missions. When Sir Frederick Lugard gave letters of appointment to the Emir he promised that the government would "studiously refrain from any action which will interfere with the exercise of the Mohammedan religion by its adherents, or which will demand of them action that is opposed to its precepts." This pledge is repeated with the appointment of each new Emir.

But we must not forget that, in the eyes of the Moslem, there is no difference between church and state. Later governors came to interpret this pledge of religious neutrality to mean the prohibition of Christian enterprise within the Emirates. Up to 1926 the government merely declined to give land to Christian missions; but in 1926 it went even further and forbade the missionaries from preaching among a portion of the Burra group, who are partly pagans, and part of whom are subjects to a Moslem ruler, the Emir of Biu, located in the Bornu province. Even more, missionaries are not allowed to establish schools or hospitals in the Emirates.

To justify this step the Colonial Office in 1919 gave two main reasons: 1) "Because of the pledge to the Emirs, which should be constructed in the light of the fact that Christian missionaries are of the same race and creed as the higher officials of the protectorate government; and that, if they should be granted land, etc., the natives would arrive at the conclusion that the missionary propaganda had the support of the government and that the government was false to its pledges. 2) Because any action which weakened the authority of the Moslem religion would weaken the authority and prestige of the Emirs, with the result that the present system of indirect rule would be imperilled." Apart from these two main reasons given, the government also argued that Christian missions may cause fanaticism among the natives themselves, and lastly that Christian missions denationalize the natives.

But if we consider the pledge and these four reasons, not one is sound or has any real ground. Sir Frederick Lugard did not bind the British government or anybody

else to oppose missionary work in these Moslem Emirates. He only made a pledge not to interfere with the practice by Moslems of their own religion; it did not give that religion a monopoly. Buell says pointedly: "If the administration were logical in its argument about church and state, it would proclaim Mohammedanism the cult of the British government."¹

That Sir Frederick Lugard and the administration of his day did not give this interpretation to his pledge can be judged from his own words: "The government will give no objection when the ruling chief concurs For the reasons I have given, it is necessary that the prior concurrence of the government should be sought before a mission is established in either a Moslem or a pagan district. There can be no fear that a British administrator would withhold consent unless for some very cogent reason. If his reasons appeared insufficient, there is probably no class which commands a wider means of influencing public opinion through the press and Parliament than the missionaries."

It is clear that the original ruling was that Christian missionaries had first to obtain the consent of the Emirs. But now the British government sees to it that no missionary gets the opportunity of interviewing any Emir, and furthermore the anti-missionary policy of the government is so fixed in the minds of the native rulers that probably no one will today grant that permission, which tactful missionaries would have been able to obtain, even as under the administration of Sir Frederick Lugard.

And, apart from all these arguments, there is a quite different approach which to the Christian must be inescapable—the right of the Moslem and especially of the pagan Negro in the Moslem Emirates of having the opportunity to hear the Gospel of Christ preached to him and so to come to saving knowledge.

As for the argument that Christian missionary work or Christianity denationalizes the natives, du Plessis rightly argues that this would be more nearly true if the govern-

¹ Buell, "The Native Problem in Africa."

ment emphasized the fact that it is not Christian missions, but Western civilization, that denationalizes the native.² Christianity rightly preached is not a denationalizing, but a consolidating force. It made a nation of the Baganda, when they were rent by dissatisfaction; it enabled Moshesh to gather the remnants of the scattered Basuto tribes and to mould them into the compact union that now occupies the Switzerland of Southwest Africa; it fortified Khama in his determination to protect his people against the drink evil which uprooted them. There are many denationalizing influences at work all over Africa, but they operate, not because of, but in spite of Christianity.

Apart from the tremendous spiritual need of the peoples of Nigeria, there is a terrific need for medical work which the government cannot give, and the refusal to allow medical missionaries to enter, on the hypothetical ground that it may cause native unrest, is criminal. The same applies to education.

Add to these problems already mentioned the linguistic confusion of Northern Nigeria, which is almost without parallel. The absence of natural barriers has laid the country open to cultural waves from all directions. Today Northern Nigeria is a cultural and linguistic tower-of-Babel. In that one province more than two hundred languages are spoken, of which less than ten are known to us by adequate grammars and dictionaries. Of the remainder we have only scanty knowledge, or none at all.

If we turn to the educational work and consider the need and opportunity which presents itself in this sphere, we are at once struck by its vastness. Only forty-eight hundredths of one per cent of the population can be termed educated, and only one and ninety-six hundredths per cent "imperfectly educated", or attending school. The remainder, more than ninety-seven and a half per cent, are absolutely illiterate. This constitutes a magnificent opportunity for Christian missionary education. But the facts are sickening. According to the latest available figures, in Southern

² du Plessis, "Government and Islam in Africa". *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, vol. xi, p. 17.

Nigeria thirty times as many native children attend school as in Northern Nigeria (excluding the Koranic schools). The difference is due largely to the fact that, while in the northern provinces missionary work is prohibited, except in pagan areas, in the south it is encouraged. In Northern Nigeria, education has been—except for Koranic schools and Christian missionary schools in pagan areas—entirely in government hands, and here also we find that Mohammedanism has a specially privileged position. Not only are children first taught in the vernacular, but all direct Christian work is prohibited, since the government in education too adheres strictly to its policy of caution. This leads to hostility and to discrimination against missionary and Christian work. In view of the traditional hostility of the Moslems, the government has not only scrupulously respected the language of the Emirs, but their religion also. And while all Christian work is forbidden, Moslem *malams*, approved by the Emirs, may enter all schools and teach the Mohammedan religion.

The government in Northern Nigeria, in spite of this policy, spends only about £44,000 a year on education in Northern Nigeria, as compared with £134,000 in Southern Nigeria. These northern schools, run by the government, are far superior to the schools of the south, but these government schools have a very small influence on the population as yet, seeing that only about 1,500 students attend the government schools. The tragic fact is that ninety-eight and two-tenths per cent of all persons under instruction in Northern Nigeria are Mohammedan. About two hundred seventy-one native teachers are employed by the government in Northern Nigeria, and forty European principals. But the Moslems seldom send their children to these more superior schools supervised by Europeans, because the Negro is naturally conservative and regards these studies as making too great inroads into the time of the child, seeing that he is needed in agriculture. The result is that most of their children are sent to Moslem schools, which are usually much inferior, and the child

attends school for only about one hour after sunrise and again for an hour after sunset. In 1925 there were in this whole vast area only thirty government schools and one hundred and three missionary schools. Only one of these is assisted by the government. Over against this we have the astounding fact that there were in the same year 30,381 Moslem "schools" with 34,903 teachers.

Missionary work was started in Nigeria less than a century ago, in 1842, by the Wesleyans in the South at Badagri. The next year the Church Missionary Society started out in the same field. The opening of Nigerian Protestant missions is, however, inseparably connected with the name of one of the sons of the soil, Samuel Adjai Crowther. He had been captured in Yoruba in 1821 and freed by British intervention. He was converted in Sierra Leone, where he was trained as a teacher. When, in 1841, the government tried to come in contact with the interior, the colonization scheme they had in mind came to nothing; but ultimately the Church Missionary Society in 1865 opened work in Lokoja, which was the first mission station in Northern Nigeria.

Up to thirty-five years ago, this was the only mission station among all the tribes of Northern Nigeria. Today nine different missions have stations there, and the greatest progress in all Nigeria during the last years has been made in the north. There are at present two hundred forty-three missionaries at work in Northern Nigeria, representing nine missions, and working seventy-one stations, while in Southern Nigeria there are two hundred eighty-two missionaries of nine missions in one hundred thirteen stations.

There is still another branch of work where progress has been made, and that is Bible distribution and translation work. This branch of work in Northern Nigeria is hampered by extreme difficulties, owing to the diversity of tribes, languages, and cultures, which are almost bewildering. This country has been influenced from many quarters, and nowhere can this be seen so plainly as in the diversity

of tongues. The result is that translations serve only small groups at a time. Even worse is the fact that only two and a half per cent of the total population of Northern Nigeria are literate, and these are mostly Moslems. There is therefore no great field for Bible distribution or literature at present. Even in India twelve per cent of the population is literate. In the southern provinces literacy reaches four and a half per cent.

Add to this the fact that nearly all education is in Moslem hands; that they are allowed to propagate their religion while Christians are forbidden. We feel that here a great opportunity is lost. Moslem education is very elementary, formal and almost worthless; yet the figures of children in their schools are astounding, compared with those of Christian missionary or even government schools. There are only thirty government schools with one hundred ninety-four teachers and 1,454 pupils, while the government gives support to only one mission school with fifty-nine scholars.

The Christian missions have one hundred two schools with one hundred fifty-four teachers and 2,905 pupils. Over against this, the Moslems have 30,381 schools with 34,903 teachers and 161,916 pupils. This gives us the following state of affairs:

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Teachers</i>
Protestant missions	98	2,614	152
Roman Catholics	5	350	10
Mohammedans	30,411	163,370	35,093

Add to this total the 1,454 children in "neutral" government schools (schools, however, in most of which the Moslems are allowed to advance their religion) and we are confronted with the terrible reality that ninety-eight and one fifth per cent of all the children receiving education are educated by Moslems.

The words of Sir Gordon Guggisberg cannot be taken too seriously in this connection: "It is my belief that education without character-training is a serious evil in any country, and does incalculable harm; and that

character-training that is not based on the real life and teaching of Jesus Christ is no character-training at all. With the native races of the Gold Coast the gradually increasing measure in which we are giving facilities for education will be productive of especially evil results, unless it is mainly in the hands of those who know how best to impart the teachings of Jesus to the young African; for the methods and life of civilization which accompany education remove the old sanctions, and without Christianity do nothing to replace them."

In spite of all these manifold problems and obstacles already discussed, we have mentioned the fact that two hundred forty-three missionaries of nine missions are already in the field. All this is true, and there are signs for joy and hope. Northern Nigeria, as all West Africa, has been a field of suffering, a field of tears—a graveyard of many of the most zealous messengers of the Cross. When we review the progress made during thirty-five years, our hearts spring up with joy; but at the very next moment we feel the immensity of the task which has just begun.

Northern Nigeria is virtually an unoccupied field, with the exception of a few provinces where Christian missions have made considerable headway. The greatest and most populous provinces, the great Mohammedan Emirates in the North, Sokoto and Bornu, have not one missionary. Kontagora has two, and Kano only ten in a few isolated spots. And the population of these four states numbers more than half of the population of all Northern Nigeria! Many pagan tribes that live in these Emirates are thus cut off from all Christian influences, for here missionary work is not allowed by the government, for reasons already given.

If Northern Nigeria is to be won for Christ at all, the British government must withdraw its restrictions which at present withhold Christian work and favor Islam. If that cannot be done now, then Nigeria must for many years to come remain a dark land.

Middleburg, South Africa

BENJAMIN J. MARAIS.

JOSEPH'S QAMÎŞ IN THE KORAN

AN ETYMOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTE

The word *qamîş* occurs six times in the twelfth Sûrah of the Koran, the same basic form, the *fa'îl*, being employed in every instance.¹ We find the word nowhere else in the Book. Dozy states that it is the only garment mentioned in the Koran, and that a *qamîş*, woven probably of white cotton, was worn by *Muḥammad*.² The garment mentioned in the Old Testament Joseph story was called a *kuttoneth* (from *kâthan* to cover, hide). This same word is used commonly throughout the Old Testament³ and has a long history in the Semitic languages, appearing in Aethiopic, Syriac, Jewish Aramaic and Assyrian, deriving eventually from the Sumerian ideogram KAT, GAD. It appears also in Arabic and Vulgar Arabic, especially in Syria.⁴ That a word so well established in Semitic usage and connoting so fundamental an article of daily apparel should suddenly be supplanted in Arabic by an apparently foreign word appears strange. For although the common Semitic root *ktn* does appear in pre-Islamic poetry,⁵ there appears to be no trace of *qamîş*. Let us then consider the *qamîş*, in point of etymology, provenance, meaning, and history.

In tracing the etymology of the word we immediately suspect a phonetic and semantic affinity with our modern English word "chemise." That there is a relationship is suggested by Taylor,⁶ who gives "chemise" as a derivative from Old French which first appears in English ca. A. D. 1200.⁷ Webster suggests a probable

¹ G. Flügel, *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae* (Leipzig 1875), p. 155, lists the following occurrences: xii:26, 27, *qamîshu*; 93, *biqamîshi*; 18, *qamîshihi*; 25, 28, *qamîshu*.

² R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam 1845), p. 374.

³ Gen. iii:2; Ex. xxviii:4; Lev. viii:7, 13; II Sam. xiii:18 seq.; Job xxx:18; Cant. vii:2 seq.

⁴ Cf. W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, bearbeitet von Frants Buhl (Leipzig 1921), p. 368; W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* (Berlin 1905), p. 455, "kitû"; F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik* (Berlin 1906), § 12, no. 123, p. 33; E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London 1863), Vol. i, p. 1528, "shârib"; R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leyden 1881), tome ii, p. 444, "kattûnah"; J. Berggren, *Guide français-arabe vulgaire* (Upsala 1844), p. 174, "chemise"; H. Lewy, *Die Semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* (Berlin 1895), p. 82; H. Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum* (Leipzig 1890), p. 472, "kitôn"; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1916), "kitôn."

⁵ *The Mufaddaliyât*, ed. C. J. Lyall, Vol. iii, *Indexes to the Arabic Text*, compiled by A. A. Bevan (London 1924), p. 307, "kattân."

⁶ W. Taylor, *Etymological List of Arabic Words in English* (Cairo 1934), p. 21.

⁷ *A New English Dictionary, on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray (Oxford 1893), Vol. ii, p. 319, "Chemise": ca. 1200: Trin. Coll. Hom. 163 *Hire chemise smal and hwit* . . . and *hire smoc hwit*.

derivation through Celtic from an old form of German *hemd* shirt, through the Late Latin *camisa*, *camisia*. With this view Pauly-Wissowa agrees, adding that it does not appear in the Latin before the fourth century.⁸ Walde-Hofmann⁹ gives Indo-European *kem-, *kam-, as the root of the following derivatives: Sanskrit *śāmulyām*, *śāmūlam*;¹⁰ Old High German *hemidi*; Anglo-Saxon *hemede*; Old Norse *hamr*; Old Icelandic *hams*; etc. He states that it was probably borrowed by the Roman soldiers from the Gauls, appearing in Late Latin as *camisia*, *camisa* and subsequently returning through the Latin to Old Irish as *caimmse*, Old Cornish as *cams*, Breton as *kamps*, etc. That the French word might be a medieval borrowing from the Arabic is discouraged by the position of Gamillscheg,¹¹ who traces the word back to the Germanic through Latin and Gallic and by Platte,¹² who says that it appears in French in the tenth century, coming through the Vulgar Latin *camisia* or *camisia* from an original Germanic root **xamipja*.

The first citation of the word in Latin is found in Hieronymus, Ep. lxiv, 11:¹³ "Solent militantes habere lineas, quae camisiis vocant, sic aptas membris et adstrictas corporibus." The date of this letter is *ca.* A. D. 400.¹⁴

Slightly earlier, among the Genevan Papyri from Egypt, we find the first citation in Greek.¹⁵ It dates from the middle of the fourth century and is described as "cet inventaire de lingerie ou cette note de blanchissage." The document consists of a list of common garments, and heading the list is the notation *kamasa d. four camisia*. The medial alpha is puzzling, but perhaps washerwomen spelled no better than they do now. Considering the handwriting, however, it is more probable that we have here an error of transcription. Preisigke considers it a borrowing from the Latin *camisa*.¹⁶ We find the more usual *kamision* occurring in later examples of the sixth to seventh centuries.¹⁷ In the Aphrodito Papyrus (no. 1352)¹⁸ which is dated *ca.* A. D. 710, there is an order for seventy *kamisia* "which were intended for the Muslims of Egypt."

⁸ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1897), art. *camisia*.

⁹ A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, dritte neubearbeitete auflage von J. B. Hofmann (Heidelberg 1930), 2. Lieferung (Bogen 6-10), p. 147, *camisia*; cf. also Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* (Berlin and Leipzig 1930), Band I, p. 386 seq., "kem-".

¹⁰ Cf. C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache* (Amsterdam 1898-9), p. 307 *śāmulyām*.

¹¹ E. Gamillscheg, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Französischen Sprache* (Heidelberg 1928), p. 215, *chemise*.

¹² R. Platte, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* (Berlin and Bonn 1931), p. 64, *chemise*.

¹³ Entitled "Ad Fabiolam de veste sacerdotali."

¹⁴ Dated by W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (London 1868), Vol. ii, p. 462, in the year A. D. 397.

¹⁵ J. Nicole, *Les Papyrus de Genève* (Genève 1896), p. 118, PG 400, no. 80.

¹⁶ F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin 1925), *kamison*.

¹⁷ Cf. *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museum zu Berlin* (Berlin 1896), Vol. vi, no. 550, p. 192, sixth century; C. Wessely, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde* (Leipzig 1904), no. 83, sixth to seventh centuries.

¹⁸ H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, Vol. IV, The Aphrodito Papyri* (London 1910), p. 26, no. 1352.

As stated above, there is no trace of the word in pre-Islamic Arabic. Nor would we expect it to appear there; for pre-Islamic poetry was the creation of nomads who had no occasion to come into established intercourse with the Roman soldiery. Apparently the earliest citation of the word in Arabic is found in the twelfth Sûrah of the Koran. From the time of Muḥammad to the present day, *qamîṣ* has been the common word for the garment in Arabia, and through Arabic it has become firmly established in Turkish and Persian.¹⁹

In later times the Arabs attempted to explain the word as a proper Arabic root, deriving "from the skin (so-called) which is the pericardium; or from *taqammasa* signifying 'he turned himself over'."²⁰ Such etymologies are of course pure fabrications. An interesting and parallel case of Arabic borrowing from the Latin is found in the instance of *qaṣr*.²¹ This word, originally Latin *castrum*, went into Syriac as *qaṣtra* and Western Aramaic as *qaṣra*, from which Arabic derived *qaṣr* castle, palace. It is significant that the *c* and *s* in both *castra* and *camisia* became *ṣâd* and *qâf* in Arabic.

The nature of the *camisia* appears to be well-known. Every authority consulted describes it as an undergarment worn next to the body. It is generally considered as having been made of linen or wool, with short sleeves and skirts reaching below the knees. The statement of Hieronymus quoted above relates the garment very definitely to soldiers. Another citation, in this instance from Palladius (*Origines*, 19, 22, 29),²² again associates the *camisia* with military garments: "Spoliavitque se vestibus suis, hoc est *camisia*, *chlamyde*,²³ et aliis virilibus rebus." We may assume with confidence that it was originally an undershirt worn by soldiers. Another significant fact is that, while perhaps the garment changed slightly in style as it passed from Gaul to Rome, and hence to the East, its general character is retained faithfully in every region where it is found.

There now remains the problem of fixing as exactly as may be possible the date of its introduction to Rome and to the Provinces. The objective data are slight. We have the *Pap. Gen.* 400 citation, which infers that the garment was commonly used in the middle of the fourth century in Egypt. The Hieronymus letter dates *ca.* the end of that century. The Koranic citation of the Madinah Sûrah xii is somewhat later than A. D. 622. A linguistic confirmation of a

¹⁹ Cf. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Vol. ii, p. 2564; G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Hallis Saxonum 1835), tome iii, *qamîṣ*; F. Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (London sine anno), *qamîṣ*; A. P. Pihan, *Dictionnaire Etymologique des Mots de la langue française* (Paris 1866), p. 112, *qamîṣ*.

²⁰ Lane, *loc. cit.*

²¹ P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London 1937), p. 107, n. 2.

²² Cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig 1906-12), Vol. iii, p. 207, *camisia*.

²³ According to J. T. White, *Latin-English Dictionary* (Boston 1918), p. 107, *chlamyds*, the *chlamyds* is "a broad woollen upper garment worn in Greece . . . especially by distinguished military men." Concerning the Roman equivalent of this J. E. Sandys says, in *A Companion to Latin Studies* (Cambridge 1921), p. 195, "The *lacerna* . . . was an open cloak resembling the Greek *chlamys* . . . It was originally worn only by soldiers, but later it became a garment of fashion."

still earlier date for the Roman use of the garment is perhaps found in the statement of Grandgent: ²⁴ "Short i, pronounced î, became, doubtless by the third century and sporadically earlier, e in nearly all the Empire . . . The spelling e for î is common from the third century on." The general usage in Late Latin of both *camisia* and *camisia* with a preference for the latter suggests that the word came into the language during this period of change, perhaps toward the end of the second century.

On etymological grounds it appears reasonable to establish the provenance of the *camisia* somewhere in the region between the upper Rhone River and the mouth of the Rhine. The contacts of Rome with Gaul and the Germanic regions had been sporadic for some time before the Christian era but only with the conquests of Julius Caesar did contact become intercourse. Thus it is extremely improbable that the word gained any foothold in Latin before the first century after Christ. The situation in the second century was much more favorable. Rostovtzeff points out ²⁵ the growth of interprovincial commerce during this period and the organization of the Imperial *annona*, which was chiefly engaged in supplying the Roman army with foodstuffs and clothes. Most of these clothes came from Gaul. Trèves, ²⁶ Arles and Narbo were famous centers of this trade, and the left bank of the Rhine is mentioned as one of the chief sources of supply for Roman clothing. The Nervii, situated in the far north to the west of the river, became famous throughout the whole empire for their garments. ²⁷ The influence of the Celts upon the Roman army was strong; not only was the Roman calvary of the Imperial period pre-eminently recruited from Gaul, but even the manoeuvres and the technical expressions were in good part derived from the Celts. ²⁸ The Celtic language made such inroads into Latin that in the North of Gaul we find monuments bearing Celtic inscriptions in the Latin alphabet. ²⁹ Thus everything points to the Northwest Rhine region as the provenance of the garment and the early second century after Christ as the period during which it was prominently introduced to Rome and the Provinces, largely through the agency of the Imperial *annona*.

These same soldiers were moved *en masse* from the West to the East during the late first and early second centuries, in the time of Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, and M. Aurelius. ³⁰ When moved to strange lands these men unquestionably demanded of the Imperial

²⁴ C. H. Grandgent, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* (Boston 1908), p. 84 seq.

²⁵ Cf. M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1926), pp. 148 seq., 150, 151, 153, 155 seq., 208.

²⁶ The famous Secundinii monument erected in the early third century of the Christian era at Igel depicts in minute detail this wholesale trade in clothes and the means of transportation employed. (*Ibid.*, p. 155 seq.)

²⁷ T. Mommsen, *The History of Rome* (New York 1887), p. 117.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108 seq.

³⁰ Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, p. 146; H. S. Jones, *Roman Empire, B. C. 29-A. D. 476* (New York 1908), 154, 159, 342.

Government the same sort of clothing they had been wearing. This demand the government was ready to grant through considerations of convenience, particularly in view of the strong initiative of the Gallic wholesale dealers. That it soon became popular in the East is attested by the *Pap. Gen.* 400 citation.

It is more difficult to say when it was introduced to Arabia. Very early a trade between Arabia and Rome developed. At the time of Augustus, the Nabataeans recognized Roman lordship; and with his encouragement the trade in Indian and Arabian precious stones and spices, which were brought up the eastern shore of the Red Sea and then carried by caravan to Gaza, prospered under the strong Roman demand for these products.³¹ In order to protect the convoys, Trajan finally took possession of these lands in A. D. 105, forming the province of Arabia Petraea.³² Roman influence, however, was confined almost entirely to the region north of the 'Akabah, and in the purely desert regions the only innovations made were camps and fortresses.³³ On the other hand, by the seventh century there was considerable intercourse between the cities of the western Arabian coast and Syria, as attested by Muḥammad's own trip to the North. From the citation in the Koran alone, we must believe that the *qamîṣ* had become well established in the Arabian cities more open to northern influence by the middle or end of the sixth century, if not earlier.

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³¹ T. Frank, *A History of Rome* (New York 1923), pp. 399, 412, 419.

³² V. Chapot, *The Roman World* (New York 1928), p. 228.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

A NEW ASSOCIATE EDITOR

We are glad to add to our list of Associate Editors the name of Miss Constance E. Padwick, editorial secretary of the Central Literature Committee for Moslems, formerly located at Cairo, and now at Jerusalem.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Southern Gates of Arabia. A Journey in the Hadhramaut by Freya Stark. New York: E. P. Dutton. pp. 327. \$3.75.

The Old Testament student will recognize in the subtitle of this extraordinary travel book the Hazramaveth of the tenth chapter of Genesis, one of the earliest settlements of the Semites. The author won highest honors from the Royal Geographical Society and other learned bodies for her earlier explorations in Persia. She writes in a fascinating style, with spirit and humor, as well as with the authority of wide reading and careful observation. One is not surprised that the book has received high praise.

"This is a classic, no ordinary book, and quite apart from the charm of the writing and the insight shown in Eastern character and manners, here is a lesson of that fearlessness that commands success by showing absolute confidence in strange peoples."

These words of Sir William Goodenough give the key to the success of Miss Stark in peril, toil, pain, and sickness, alone among the Arabs in unexplored and unmapped territory. She is not unmindful of her predecessors, however—von Wrede, von Maltzan, Wellsted, Vandenberg, Hirsch, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent, and, more recently, van der Meulen. All of these travellers, with the exception of the last one, failed to penetrate to the complex of *wadis* one hundred fifty miles inland beyond the Jol. We have a full account of Makallah, the port city, of life in Do'an, of her sickness in the fortress of Masna'a, and the ride to the Hajarain, until she finally reached the cities of Shibam, Sewun and Tarim, the ancient capitals of the frankincense country of Arabia.

Isolated by the desert and the fanaticism of its inhabitants, the secrets of this mixture of medieval feudalism and Javanese civilization are now laid bare in vivid and often ridiculous contrast. Motor cars, enameled bath tubs, tinned provisions, and mineral water are transported by camel for the wealthy merchants and the lordly *seyyids* who dwell in skyscrapers built of mud-brick. Scarcely any of the women she met could read, yet there were Koran schools and libraries of a sort. Among the grotesquely painted and costumed women of the harem, Miss Stark could always start the conversation by talking clothes, and among the men by asking questions on geography and history. Completely democratic and independent, she travelled without a servant, made friends with her Bedouin donkey drivers, and received lavish hospitality through letters of introduction. She met the man who put together the first motor cars, which arrived in pieces by camel! There are now eighty in use in the upper *wadis* of Hadramaut, and the present Arab road-builders dream of

the day when they will travel by car to Sana'a and Mecca—a distance by camel of twenty-four days. Warfare by tribal chiefs, painful agriculture by irrigation, intercourse with Singapore and Batavia, slavery, and a caste system—all these are lights and shadows in the strange picture.

"We came to palms, and houses more apart than in the fortress valleys. On the flat land, wells creaked with camels or oxen, for the water here is near the surface of the ground (it is only four yards down at al-Qatn). Three camels abreast sometimes draw the rope along the inclined way made for their pancake feet: sometimes the work is done by the poorest of the peasants, veiled women and almost naked men."

And here is another glimpse of this land of contradictions. In Shibam,

"When they left me to rest, Hasan showed me a small bathroom: one stepped into tepid running water to the neck, a Roman luxury. My supper was laid on a table under the porch, with a white tablecloth and all the tinned delicacies of California; milk, hitherto almost unattainable, came from a cow in a mud hut in the garden: and before I laid my head on the pink frills of my pillow, I looked out of the window and saw, arranged in little squares below, not only beds of zinnias to delight the eye, but carrots and other vegetables beside them."

Miss Stark in her journey covered about 230 miles, 120 by donkey and the rest by motor car. If she had not been seriously ill and been compelled to be carried by aeroplane to Aden, she would undoubtedly have reached her goal and her ambition, Shabwa. We may express the hope that other travellers will follow in her train. Already we have the report of Dr. Harold Storm, who in his tour around Arabia in the summer of 1936 visited Wadi Doan, Shibam, and other centers, receiving everywhere hospitality and welcome. We trust our readers may shortly have a description of his journey.

There are one hundred sixteen beautiful photographic illustrations, two rather inferior maps, and invaluable appendix on the ancient incense routes, and a bibliography. Looked at from every facet, this book deserves the highest praise, and comes as a challenge because the whole of Hadramaut is still unoccupied. What opportunities for pioneer medical missionaries!

S. M. ZWEMER.

Addresses by the Chancellor of the Hebrew University. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1936.

This interesting compilation contains some thirty addresses and three memorial addresses in which we have an account of the birth, growth, and fortune of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

Every lover of learning will rejoice at the success that has already crowned the work of Dr. Magnes, now President of the University, and will pray that a greater and less troubled future may be in store for this, the youngest University in the world. It is a record of noble faith, of great planning, of courage, and of sacrifice.

The standards of scholarship and culture are high, and as is right in a Hebrew University, the claims of Holy Scripture (Old

Testament), of God's Torah, are ever kept in mind. This, however, as is clear from these addresses, is not a Rabbinic school, for the modern sciences are well represented and are brought to bear on the advancement of agriculture and commerce in Palestine. Besides, as far as we can learn from these records, men of other faiths, say Arabs, are not debarred from the school, and there is a spirit of growth, a desire to expand, which makes the name of University not a misnomer nor a prolepsis.

There are echoes of the present agonies of the Jewish people in Europe, of the troubles in Palestine between Arab and Jew—Esau and Jacob. We have found no unworthy word in the volume. It breathes, with all its nationalistic ardor, the spirit of a generous and scholarly ethic.

The three memorials at the close of the book remind us that progress is based on sacrifice; and that already to the building of this University and what it represents and would conserve and foster, have gone the labors and the lives, the mind, heart, and strength of great and good men.

Princeton Theol. Seminary

DONALD MACKENZIE.

The Ansab al-Ashraf of al-Balādhurī, published for the first time by the School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Volume V. Edited by S. D. F. Goitein. Hebrew University Press, Jerusalem, 1936. 8vo. pp. 32, 28, 7, 440.

The name of al-Balādhurī is well known to all students of Arabic and Islamics from the continuous use made in class and lecture room of his little historical Compendium *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, edited many years ago by De Goeje, and more recently translated by Dr. Hitti and Dr. Murgotten.

When Arabic authors refer to the work of al-Balādhurī, however, their reference is generally to quite a different work, his larger work the *Kitab al-Ashrāf*. Fragments of this work were known in the West as early as 1883, when Ahlwardt published a fragment dealing with the reign of the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik. The whole work, however, was not known till in 1902 Prof. C. H. Becker announced that he had come across a copy of the complete work in a Library at Stambul. Various projects for its publication were discussed, but finally, through the mediation of Dr. Weil and Prof. Horovitz, the publication was entrusted to the newly formed School of Oriental Studies of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

The materials necessary for the edition were therefore assembled at Jerusalem, and the reviewer well remembers going over them with Dr. Billing during a summer visit to Jerusalem some years ago. For the practical task of editing, different sections of the work were committed to different scholars, as was done in the case of the editions of Ṭabarī and Ibn Sa'd, and the volume before us is the fifth in the whole work, dealing with the lives of 'Uthmān and his family and immediate successors among the Umayyads. The fourth volume, being edited by Dr. Max Schloessinger, is already in the press, and the other volumes will follow as quickly as funds are available to get them printed.

The work is a general history of the early period of the Islamic

Empire, but arranged, as so many another Arabic historical work, around the biographies of famous men. In this connection it should be noted that Balādhurī does not use the word *Ashrāf* in its later technical sense of those who have a real or mythical connection with the direct family of the Prophet, but uses the word in its early general sense of "nobles", so that his work is an account of the "Lives of the Nobility" of early Islam, no matter what their family connection. The whole work begins with an outline of the genealogy of the Arabs of Ishmaelite stock, provides a Life of the Prophet himself, an account of the descendants of Abū Ṭalib, especially 'Alī and his descendants, and then gives a brief account of the 'Abbāsids. The main interest of the writer, however, is apparently with the Umayyads, of each of whom he gives a detailed biography. The rest of the work deals with the famous men of the other tribes of Muḍar.

Obviously the plan of the book is based on the genealogical lists, such as those used by Wüstenfeld, and which were so beloved of the Arabs, and as his work breaks off short, containing nothing of other tribal groups of which we should have expected an account, it would seem that the work is incomplete.

In bulk, Dr. Goitein calculates that it is bigger than the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd but not quite so big as the *Annales* of aṭ-Ṭabarī. As, however, al-Balādhurī died in 279 it is an earlier work than the great history of aṭ-Ṭabarī, which has been hitherto our most commonly used source book. In style it is more anecdotic than historical writing in our sense of the word, but this anecdotic style has the advantage that it gives us often interesting sidelights on the social environment and intimate glimpses of personal life, which generally get crowded out in historical writing.

One very interesting feature of the book is the amount of poetry it contains, a feature which makes the *Ansāb* an invaluable supplement to the *Aghānī* and other collections of early verse. Not only does it give us new verses of poets already known, but not infrequently introduces us to new poets. The literary interest of the work is thus quite as great as the historical.

The work of editing has been very well done, and, though the Preface tells us that the Press had difficulties over the Arabic types, the final result is as pleasing a page of Arabic type as one could wish to read. The volume is provided with elaborate indices, and there are two Introductions, one in Hebrew and one in English (or rather the same Introduction at one end of the book in Hebrew and at the other in English), which give some account of Balādhurī and his work, and outline the principles according to which this edition has been made. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Levi Billig, one of the collaborators on the work, who was shot during the troubles in Jerusalem last August while he was sitting at his table working at this very project.

The volume is accompanied by a smaller volume of Annotations and apparently it is intended that each volume shall have such a separate supplement, so that when the whole work is completed these supplements may be bound together in a separate volume at the end. The advantages of this are obvious. It is also planned to digest the Indices of the various parts into a final Index volume.

The work deserves to have a wide circulation among students interested in Islamic history and culture, and the more so as the printing of the rest of the work is to a large extent dependent on the proceeds of the sale of the individual volumes.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The Medieval Missionary. A Study of the Conversion of Northern Europe, A.D. 500-1300. The World Mission of Christianity, No. II. By James Thayer Addison, Professor of the History of Religion and Missions, Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Mass. International Missionary Council, New York, 1936. 8vo, pp. xv, 176. Paper, \$1.25; cloth, \$2.00.

This scholarly monograph by Prof. Addison is not to be regarded as a history of medieval missions in the sense of a chronologically ordered narrative of the expansion of the Church during the Middle Ages; but rather, as the main title suggests, as a series of special studies in regard to "The Medieval Missionary". After an introductory account of the education and the motives of the medieval missionaries, three chapters—they make up the principal part of the volume—are devoted to a comprehensive discussion of the influence, in the sphere of missions, of the secular rulers, of monasticism, and of the papacy, while a concluding chapter is given to an evaluation of the missionary message. The subject matter, it will thus be seen, deals chiefly with the events and forces directly operative in the conversion of the peoples evangelized during the centuries—amounting to almost a millenium—extending from the break-up of the Roman Empire to the beginnings of the Renaissance. In spite of the rather limited compass of the volume, the missionary work in England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, and Scandinavia is quite fully set forth; but as the treatment is throughout governed by the topics indicated, rather than by temporal or geographical considerations, it has not been possible to avoid the infelicity of occasional overlappings, with the consequent necessity, on the reader's part, of making frequent references to the Index for the desired supplementary data. But in general, this study, based on a painstaking and thorough investigation of the primary sources and on an adequate acquaintance with the standard literature in this field, is an accurate and attractive presentation of the lives and labors of the outstanding missionaries of the period, such as Columba, Columbanus, Gall, Augustine, Willibrord, Boniface, Gregory of Utrecht, Anskar, and Otto of Bamberg. The prominent and decisive rôle played by rulers in the *en masse* conversions of their subjects is illustrated by many typical incidents. The contributions of the more celebrated monasteries to missionary evangelism and education is, of course, an oft-told tale, but the re-telling of it by the author is marked by freshness and an impressive abundance of detail. The influence of the papacy upon missionary policy and activity was at first—till the rise of the Mendicant Orders—rather occasional and intermittent, but due attention is given to the mission of Gregory the First to England, the papal supervision of the work of Boniface, and the share of Innocent the Third and his successors in the conversion of the Prussians. As for the message of the medieval missionary, the folly of idolatry was perhaps the chief article in the propaganda,

while the positive teaching was virtually limited to the doctrines of the Trinity, creation, the sacraments, and eternal punishment.

In his "Suggestions for Further Reading" the author refers to the more important works on missionary biography that are available in English, and in the extensive Bibliography he lists the primary sources and the secondary literature. Prof. Kenneth S. Latourette contributes a Foreword, in which he draws attention to some of the characteristic differences between medieval and modern missions.

Princeton Theol. Seminary

F. W. LOETSCHER.

The Bornu Sahara and Sudan. By Sir Richmond Palmer, K.C.M.G. London: John Murray. pp. 282. 42s.

The distinguished author of this quarto volume, with its wealth of photographic illustrations and maps, was for twenty-six years resident in northern Nigeria. He has with scholarly patience and skill completed a valuable and comprehensive history of the ruling races of this vast area. In doing so he has winnowed the wheat from the chaff in the existing native records of the early Moslem conquest. His ethnological theories and deductions may not meet with universal approval, but they are, to say the least, highly interesting.

"If the original habitat of the remote ancestors of the Bornu of the Sudan and Sahara was—as there seems reason to suppose—Central Asia, any fundamental and logical distinction between Aryan, Semitic, Barbar, and even Negroid, 'races' in the areas dealt with in these pages can only be founded on an ethnological quicksand." And again: "The Sudan in fact has preserved—though often doubtless in an attenuated or distorted form—much that once belonged to the ancient world: for it contains the living culture residuum of very much that once was characteristic of Babylon or Nineveh, Ophir, Tarshish or Punt, Egypt or Carthage."

The latest wave of conquest was that of Islam, and it met not only pagan tribes but ancient Christian settlements among the Bornu peoples. We have here details of the methods by which Islam penetrated and finally dominated. A whole list of translated *mahrams* or grants of privilege given to local Moslem rulers; the *diwan* of the Sultan of Bornu, giving, in facsimile and translation, the history of the invasion; the story of the Maghumi Mais and the Kuburi sheikhs, all carefully documented; and finally a brief account of the Fulbe and the Tuareg. A perusal of the evidence throws light on what the Sudan was and now is *because of Islam*.

"It will be seen then that the Sudan, in which the continuous and most potent influence of Bornu grew up, was anything but a Muslim Sudan. In fact it may be said that up to the close of the fourteenth century, the influence of the Christian Dongola kingdom was the predominant Eastern Sudanese influence apart from ideas derived from Egypt or fire-worship. From the Red Sea to Lake Chad, it was primarily the collapse of the Christian Dongola kingdom about 1320 A.D., and the corresponding rise of the Kanem Muslim kingdom under Hajj Ibrahim about the same date, that settled the religious complexion these regions have maintained till the present day."

Here is an important contribution to the future religious history of the Sudan and of the astonishing spread of Islam in Africa.
Z.

Jahjā b. al-Ḥusain b. al-Mu'ajjad al-Jamanī's "Anbā' az-Zaman fi Ahbār al-Jaman"—Anfänge des Zaiditentums in Jemen. Text-kritische Teilausgabe mit Übersetzungsprobe, Kommentar und Einführung in die historische jemenisch-zaiditische Literatur, by Mohamed Madi. 32 pages including 3 pages of bibliography + 80 pages of Arabic text with copious footnotes in German; 9 of these pages are devoted to an Arabic index; in Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients, Zwanglose Beihefte zu der Zeitschrift "Der Islam", herausgegeben von R. Strohmann, Heft IX. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1936, about 12 RM. (price not given.)

The Arabic historian Ibn al-Athīr, while describing the decay of the Abbasid caliphate about the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D., does not mention Yemen and the rise of a dynasty in that region. Of all the dynasties which sprang into being at that time this is the only one which has endured to the present time, which is of purely Arabic blood and without doubt descended from the Prophet, which has preserved many real Islamic customs, and which has maintained its independence. It was founded by al-Hādī ila'l Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain, March 11th, 897 A.D. His ninety-seventh successor, the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā, has since 1918 extended the imamate into a kingdom and is now the ruling monarch over Yemen. The author of the *Anbā'* died in 1696 A.D.; his work is very important for the history of Yemen.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

News from Tartary: A Journey from Peking to Kashmir. By Peter Fleming. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936. pp. 384. \$3.

The writer is a distinguished traveller and his book "Brazilian Adventure" had a remarkable sale. He is a shrewd observer, a witty writer and one who is able to recount extraordinary experiences as though they were everyday adventures. In company with Miss Kini Maillart, also a newspaper correspondent and of Swiss origin, he travelled the long trail from Peiping by way of Sian to Sining and Cherchen to Yarkand and thence by way of Kashgar to India. It is the story of seven months' travel through some of the most desolate country of Central Asia. His description of Sinkiang reveals the last home of international intrigue, politics, violence and melodrama, where all foreigners are suspect and none welcome. It is a province in which armies of Russians, Chinese and Turkis are continually fighting, a province in which at least four powers are forcing their interests, a land larger than France and possibly the key to the future of Asia.

His tribute to the hospitality of the missionaries at Sining and other places is hearty. Throughout this visit to unoccupied mission fields the travellers, who carried a very limited medical outfit, had opportunities which are a challenge to future medical missionaries. Speaking of the crowds who came for help and their pitiful physical distress, Mr. Fleming writes: "But mostly it was a grim business. There was no doctor in the oasis, no doctor (it was said) nearer

than the Swedish Mission in Yarkand, more than three weeks' journey to the west. We were their only hope, and in nine cases out of ten we could do nothing for them. Their eyes reproached us." Z.

Christianity and the Malays. By Laurence E. Browne, D.D. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, 1936. pp. 78. One shilling.

Though many books and articles have been written on Malaya and its races, little attention has been given to the religious future of the Malays. Because of this lack, Dr. Browne, Rector of Gayton, begins his delightful booklet with "My excuse for writing is that a personal knowledge of several other parts of the Muslim world may enable me to view the Malays in the wider perspective of the whole Muslim people . . . and to view the missionary problem in the light of experience elsewhere", (p. 5).

The first third of the booklet sets forth a descriptive sketch of the geography and history of Malaya. The rest treats of the Malays' religion, Mohammedanism, and the possibilities of missionary activity among them. It is startling to learn that at present "there are practically no Malay converts to Christianity in the peninsula. Probably the fingers on one hand would be sufficient to count them" (p. 52).

There is no padding in this essay. The author has packed it with accurate information, pressed down and running over. So compact a style is commendable, although as a result there is an occasional statement to which one wishes Dr. Browne had appended an explanatory clause (*e.g.*, to his bald statement that monotheism was a "belief which Muhammad introduced into Arabia," p. 45).

Two maps and ten illustrations provide an agreeable auxiliary for visualizing the descriptive matter in the text.

BRUCE M. METZGER.

Reflections of a Pioneer. By W. R. S. Miller. London: Church Missionary Society, 1936. pp. 227. Price 5/.

The late Director of Education in Nigeria, E. R. J. Hussey, in his Foreword, speaks of Dr. Miller as a great linguist who "achieved that standard of proficiency in Hausa by which, when speaking in the dark, he could not be distinguished from a native of the country." As a pioneer missionary, he not only extended the boundaries of the Kingdom, but laid down definite and wise policies in one of the most difficult Moslem fields. With the help of his colleagues, he completed the translation of the entire Bible in Hausa. Except for an occasional pamphlet, this is the first of his writings in English.

The book is wholly delightful in style, and gives a fascinating picture of the achievements of the early pioneers in northern Nigeria. The situation in 1900, when they entered the field, is totally different from that of today. The first expedition to Kano almost ended in tragedy because the party were taken for spies. Gradually the work developed, and the author traces those beginnings, here and at Zaria, until they came to fruition in the establishment of a small native church and the production of literature.

Dr. Miller is frank in the expression of his opinions, sometimes

provocative, but never bitter. He knows the strength and the weakness of Islam, and of Colonial administration; he expresses keen judgment regarding the comparative value of missionary methods and approach. In one of the best chapters, that on "Language and Literature", he writes:

"As a missionary I am still convinced that the greatest need of Nigeria is and always will be the message of God's love shown to all men on the Cross. I am equally sure that in the ultimate analysis more permanent work is done through the printed page than through preaching. I see no reason why Northern Nigeria should not produce men who, through consecration of God-given literary ability, and a real passion for the redemption of their country, might become to Nigeria, Moslem and Pagan, what Luther was to Germany, Henry Drummond to the students of Scotland, and Kagawa today to young Japan."

Here is a book with real dynamic to win recruits for missionary service. We hope it will have a large sale. Z.

High Lights in the Near East. By Abdul-Fady (Arthur T. Upson). London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott, Ltd. pp. 128. Price, 2/6.

Every missionary in the Near East knows the author of this most interesting volume and has high regard for his work as director of the Nile Mission Press for an entire generation. His genius for the Arabic language, his knowledge of Arabic grammar, his enthusiasm for evangelism, and his success in the administration of a great and difficult task lend weight to these reminiscences. As the apostle of the printed page, his life is an illustration of the power of witness through the press. The Nile Mission Press has put out over seven hundred publications during his administration, and this great stream of Christian literature has gone throughout the world of Islam.

The book is not a full autobiography, but, in accordance with the title, we have here the highlights of God's favor to one whose heart was obedient to His call. First in the choice of his field, and afterwards through dangers, difficulties, and opposition, including a serious illness which resulted in total deafness, his handicaps became his stepping-stones to further spiritual victories. The chapters tell of the progress of the work during the World War and its extension into North Africa, Palestine, Persia, and China.

The book is full of incident, attractively written, and beautifully illustrated. We can strongly recommend it to our readers. Z.

Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Völker. By Hermann Baumann. Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, 1936. pp. 435. Paper, 30 Mk., bound, 36 Mk.

This standard work is the first gigantic attempt of a comparative mythology of the African tribes. 335 works of different authors in the cultural languages of Europe and America and 41 scientific periodicals have provided the 2500 Myths from all parts of the African continent which are the basis of this comprehensive comparative study. Dr. Baumann groups his rich material in three great chapters. I. The power of creation (Highgods, ancestors,

"world parents", saviours, etc.) II. The process of creation and the life of the first men. III. The origin of human civilization in the African myths. In the first chapter (pp. 1-184) he invites his readers to an extended journey through all parts of the continent to get into personal touch with all main tribes and nations. In a concluding chapter (pp. 380-384) he is summing up his survey, showing that he has found in Africa eight cultural spheres which have distinct characteristics, though they do not completely coincide with the racial groups of the continent.

In the overwhelming wealth of exceedingly interesting material it is of surpassing interest to follow the author in many directions. After all, the themes of the myths are curiously restricted in number and in variety. As a rule the patriarchal groups prefer solar and lunar deities, the matriarchal tribes, ancestors; the myth that death came into the world by the carelessness of a lazy messenger of God is found almost everywhere in the continent; highgods, of the type which the famous Roman Catholic ethnologist Professor Wilhelm Schmidt has searched after all the world over, are far wider spread in Africa, too, than one had expected; it is surprising to find out how fragments of Old Testament stories, such as the great flood, have found a home or have been assimilated long before any missionary influence. It is most interesting to follow the wandering of myths from the upper Nile down to the Cape or from Madagascar to Lower Nigeria. Wherever you take up this fascinating book you are attracted by new insight and information.

Berlin

PROFESSOR JULIUS RICHTER.

Le Droit Chinois. By Jean Escarra. Henri Vetch, Peiping, 1936. pp. 559. 18 yüan.

Professor Escarra is a well-known authority on Chinese law. This latest book of his will prove to be the standard work in that field for some time to come. The author has made extensive use of Chinese sources, and his bibliography is very good. Divided into five parts, this book deals with the conception of Chinese law, legislative institutions, judicial organization, instruction in and the study of law, and the author's general conclusions. The fact that China has believed in government by men rather than by law, not considering legislation as something sacred, above man and nature, but rather as merely the written expression of proper conduct, inextricably bound up with morality and the "law of nature", makes it difficult for modern China to draw up a constitution and government that will be legally efficient in this complicated twentieth century and at the same time psychologically acceptable to the traditional Chinese mind.

Princeton University

ROBERT KARL REISCHAUER.

Glasgow University Oriental Society. Transactions, vol. vii, 1934-1935. Edited by the Rev. James Robson, M.A. Glasgow: Civic Press, Limited, 1936. pp. 42.

This volume of Transactions contains three articles on Islam and Arabic. The first, by Mr. S. Goldman, deals with Ibn Hayyan and his Place in Spanish-Moslem Historiography. The Rev. W. Idris

Jones contributes a paper on Some Arab Folk Tunes, and Dr. Richard Bell discusses the Beginnings of Mohammed's Religious Activity. All of the articles are scholarly, and of interest to the Orientalist.

Women in the Aiyam al 'Arab. By Ilse Lichtenstadter. A study of female life during warfare in pre-Islamic Arabia. pp. 90. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1935.

The author is Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Frankfurt am Main, and the present dissertation continues an earlier investigation published in *Islamica*, vol. v, p. 17 ff. In that dissertation we read that the author drew "a picture of the every-day life of early Arabic women by abstracting it from its poetical glorification by the *Nasib*. In the *aiyam al-'Arab* we see quite a different phase of their life; the battle accounts do not show us women as lovers as was represented to us in the love-poems (*nasib*). Here women are depicted in the crude reality of Arab every-day life, in the struggle of all against all which took place in the Arab Peninsula before the rise of Islam."

The present essay consists of two parts: first, a translation of the passages in the *Aiyam al-'Arab* concerning women; and second, a summary regarding woman's position in the social life of the tribe and her rank and authority. In dealing with the treatment of women in warfare, the capture and treatment of captives, the author might have found germane references in the Koran, but none are cited; for example, the following statement might have been based upon the practice in early Islam:

"Captive women, just as all other booty, were distributed among the men who took part in the *Ghazw* or in the battle. In the narrative of the Yaum an-Nisar we find a distribution list, with the names of the women, and the men to whom they were given as their share in the spoil."

This admirable study corroborates the judgment of earlier writers, such as Robertson-Smith, Perron, and Wellhausen, regarding the position of woman in pre-Islamic Arabia. In spite of Mohammed's humane ordinances, the place of woman in the family and in society has steadily declined under his law. In ancient Arabia, women moved about more freely and asserted themselves more strongly than in the modern East until recently.

S. M. ZWEMER (in the J. R. A. S.)

Ars Islamica. Published by the Research Seminary in Islamic Art, Division of Fine Arts, University of Michigan. vol. iii, part i. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1936.

We take pleasure in noting this number of a magazine on Islamic art under the editorship of Mehmet Aga-Oglu. It is another indication of the increased interest in Islamic studies in America. The present issue, like its predecessors, is profusely illustrated, and contains: an article on the iconography of Turkey; a note regarding the "cartable of Sultan Sidi Muhammed Ben 'Abd Allah"; an article on Kashan pottery; and a paper by the Editor on Persian landscape miniatures from a manuscript of 1398 A.D.

In the article by Ernest Herzfeld on a bronze pen-case, we fail to note any mention of a still earlier pen-case (than this one of

1210 A.D.) once in the possession of Al Ghazali, which is found in the Cairo Museum. It resembles the one here described (see *Zwemer*, "A Moslem Seeker after God", pp. 171-173). Z.

A New Day in Kenya. By Horace R. A. Philip. London: World Dominion Press, 1936. pp. 189. \$2.

This is the latest in the series of world surveys by the World Dominion Press. The maps and illustrations are first class, and in twelve chapters we have a careful discussion of the missionary situation in the province. The book is a mine of information, and is the first survey of the country from the Christian standpoint.

Islam in Kenya is also a problem. The Arabs number 10,500, and the Swahili on the coast over 12,000. In addition there is a considerable number of Somalis. There seems to be a lack of fanaticism and propaganda, coupled with general religious apathy. The mosques are neglected and in a state of disrepair. But:

"The fact that Mohammedanism in Kenya has been largely decadent and apathetic is no reason why those professing it should be neglected. At heart it is a fanatical faith, and the influence of the Somalis in this direction is not to be ignored. It has been well said that 'The fact that Mohammedan aggression seems for the moment curtailed by the development of strong native churches in many parts, notably in Uganda, must not put us off our guard. With increasing facilities for communication along the Nile Valley into East Africa, and from the East African ports by railway into Africa's very heart, we must expect serious Mohammedan aggression in the future. Everywhere Mohammedan aggression must be forestalled by missionary enterprise'." Z.

The Pageant of Persia: A Record of Travel by Motor in Persia with an Account of its Ancient and Modern Ways. By Henry Filmer. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, New York. pp. 422. \$4.

To write a book on Iran in these chameleon days of kaleidoscopic changes there must be a difficult task. One must decide first of all what type of volume it is to be. Is it to be a record of first impressions, full of color and interesting allusions to quaint habits and customs? Or is it to be a ponderous tome tracing the dynasties and reigns of the kings of ancient Persia? Or shall it be a straight travel narrative recounting observations en route, supported by such source material as is available?

A select library on the Near East contains several of each category, some even published in the past year. The author of *The Pageant of Persia* seemingly recognized the fact that he was not an authority on any particular field dealing with ancient Iran. Fortunately for the reading public however, he did not switch to the alternative of writing only a glorified guide book for the different routes commonly travelled in touring in Iran today.

The result is one of the most useful volumes on Iran published for many a year. Both the resident in the Near East and the tourist will find this a veritable mine of information. In no other single volume does one find such a careful treatment of the pre-Islamic religions of Iran, the changes taking place in Mohammedanism in

Iran during the past 1200 years, and at the same time a clear picture of current trends in the land of the Medes and the Persians.

The chapter on Russian influence in Iran does seem a trifle out of place, sound and valuable as it no doubt is to the student of political science. The reader must not be discouraged by this portrayal of Anglo-Russian rivalry, for the chapter that follows is the high point of the volume. The March of Modernism is described clearly and succinctly. Practically no credit is given to the work of the American and British mission institutions in this modernization movement, but perhaps the reviewer is biased in thinking that such might properly have been done. The reader sees clearly, at least, that the changes that are taking place are very definitely of two types—those that are in imitation of the tawdry things of the West and those that are genuinely beneficial to the awakening Iranian.

Some excellent photographs enable the reader to see clearly the points of interest so aptly described in the text. A topical bibliography and table of dynasties is an exceedingly useful part of the volume. Both the serious scholar and the casual reader will find this an exceedingly useful and palatable addition to the reference shelf on Iran.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

The Port of Basrah, Iraq. Published under the authority of the Port of Basrah Directorate, 1935. Compiled by Cecil Byford, A.M.Inst.T. pp. 153.

This lavishly illustrated volume, with excellent maps and large-scale plans, is evidence of the changes that have taken place in the old harbor, celebrated since the days of Omar, the second Caliph. A brief history of the port is followed by an account of the modern development since the World War, its overseas traffic, inland transport, exports, and municipal services. A special chapter deals with the Basrah Airport, and we have statistics regarding cargo tonnage and the principal imports and exports.

Z.

Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana. (Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani). By Giorgio Levi della Vida, Studi e Testi, 67, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935. pp. xxix+347+41. Lire it. 110.

In this work we have a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library. There is added an excellent index of the manuscripts, which is arranged according to subject matter, as Koran, Koranic Science, Traditions, Theology, Cultus, Law, Mysticism, Mathematics, Science, History, etc. There follows an Index of Authors, to which is added an Arabic index of 41 pages.

HENRY S. GEHMAN.

The World of Islam. Parts 1-3. Probsthain's Oriental Catalogues, nos. 40, 41, 42. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1936.

This three-part catalogue deserves notice, and many of our readers will desire to secure a copy. It differs from the average book catalogue in its scope and character. The reader will find not only a price list of all important works on the religion of Islam, Moslem countries, and the Arabic language, but also a classified index to this material.

Z.

Mohammad. By Essad Bey. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1936. pp. 376. \$2.50.

This book purports to be a biography of the Prophet of Islam. As described by the publishers it "has color and movement, and the tragic impact of a great novel". As a matter of fact, it has color, but not of a pleasant character; it has movement, but without direction; and finally it is a novel, though far from great. It is a *potpourri* of bad history, distorted facts and naïve interpretations. It should never have been written.

I am fully aware that what I have already said is drastic and may invite the charge of intemperance. But there are no apologies to be offered. In fact, I am impelled to go still further and state that there is hardly a page in this "biography" which is free from error. Because this is a book review and nothing else I shall only present the reader with sample errors which can be duplicated manifold throughout the book. These can be grouped under three different headings:

First are the errors resulting from indiscriminate acceptance of tradition as history. Thus the author (p. 10) accepts the traditional belief that the Arabs are descended from Ishmael. On p. 52 he insists Abrahā's army was miraculously destroyed by swallows from the sea; each swallow carried three stones, one in its beak and one in each claw, and with these they showered the Abyssinian hordes. Even early Moslem historians and commentators like ibn-Hishām (*Sirah*, p. 36) and al-Ṭabari (*Tafsīr*, Cairo, 1329, vol. xxx, p. 193) accept the theory that the *sijjil* of *Sūrah* cv was nothing more than smallpox.

The author states on p. 82 that Mohammed "believed himself to be an inspired prophet and not *Rasul*." One only needs to turn the pages of the Koran to find out that the contrary was true, to say nothing of the witness of the *shahādah*.

The second type of mistake comprises such errors as would result from dependence on secondary sources and ignorance of Arabic. Thus we read (p. 4) "el bakkr billa ma" for what should be *al-baḥr bila mā*, and "Munavra" and "el-Mascherek" (p. 39) for *al-Munawwarah* and *al-Musharrafah*, respectively. Referring to the Koran (p. 90) the author states that, "The entire book is architectonically a marvelous piece of logical thinking". In view of this statement it is very hard to believe that the author has ever read the book either in the original or in translation.

The third type, namely errors of fact, may be demonstrated by the following citations, picked at random. The author's account of the cause of the Basūs War (pp. 17-18) would, in its disregard of history and tradition, arouse the resentment of the most imaginative story-teller in Baghdad, Damascus or Cairo. The assertion (p. 239) that Mohammed's multiple marriages were motivated by his burning desire for an heir has no support whatsoever.

The most amazing and glaring of these errors is perhaps the author's reference to 'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn-Su'ūd (p. 373) as "Abd el Asis ibn-Saad ruler of Hijaz, *Assyria* (the italics are mine) and Nejd."

Princeton, N. J.

NABIH AMIN FARIS.

CURRENT TOPICS

Our Aim in Evangelism

Dr. H. E. Anderson of Dehra Dun, India, in an editorial in the *United Church Review*, raises the serious question of the missionary aim:

"The other day there appeared the following statement which bears on this matter of missionary intent:

'Those who present the Gospel of Jesus Christ in India, do so with only one desire, and that is to bring spiritual redemption to those who may accept Him. There is no desire whatever that any should be turned away from their present religious affiliations, and no one desires that one religion should triumph over another. All that is desired is, that men and women in India may have an opportunity to learn of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and may have absolute freedom to decide either for, or against accepting, His teachings.'

"We are confident that it was the motive of kindness which prompted such an expression. There was no wish to offend. There was the desire to deal gently with conscientious religionists.

"All very well, but it's not enough. Nor is it truly kind. For it fails to grapple with the problem of man's desperate need as man for the one thing which Christ can give.

"Granted that in all this matter of method we are not to attack; that our aim is not deliberately to hurt, that we would avoid antagonizing; nevertheless in this kindly approach itself, let us be quite clear that we do not present merely our method *per se* to be the message. This impression is easily made. We live in a picture-viewing age, where men trust their eyes more than their ears. Their decisions are hasty; their conclusions are superficial.

"We have a treasure to offer, and it's all very right to enclose it in attractive wrappings. The beauty and the brightness of these attendant articles indicate that the treasure itself is highly prized. But the function of a jewel-case is not to cover and conceal the gem itself, but to furnish a background wherein it is seen all the more clearly and where it doth shine all the more brightly.

"May there be no faintness in the clarity of our call. May men and women know definitely what it's all about: that accepting Christ means a new soul start, that to cleave to Him all along the way means new strength, and to depend on Him brings security both here and at the goal. And may the plight of those without Him so catch firm hold upon us all that we shall not rest until they are rescued.

"Why are we here? Not to put patches on old garments. Not

to spread a cloak of kindness over a body needing cure. We cannot afford to treat the matter lightly; to 'heal the hurt of his people slightly', when there's so much at stake. We can conceive of no acceptance of Christ that does not involve the clean-cut renouncing of previous religious affiliation.

"Whenever a man comes to be in Christ there is a new creation, the old things pass away, and all is new. Some would urge that this change is but a burnishing, that newness has come into the old, that it has taken on a new lease of life.

"This accounts for those curious terms which are prevalent in some parts, namely that so-and-so is a Hindu-Christian, or a Moslem-Christian, or a Sweeper-Christian. What actually happens is not a touching up of the old, but a turning away from it, for the old has died. And that which is new is brand new. There can be no alliance with the corpse.

"Why then are we here? We are here to carry all the way through in our dealings with men who are out of Christ,—and that means men who are 'in sin'—until there's a decision of the will. It's not enough to spread a spirit or tell a teaching. We are here to woo and win to a Person. That Person wins by first dying and then living, and those whom He wins first die in Him and then live in Him *de novo*."

The God of the Abadites

In the last issue of *Hesperis* (Archives Berbères et Bulletin de l'Institut des Hautes-études Marocaines) there is a most interesting article by G. Marcy on "Le Dieu des Abadites et des Bargwâta". It seems that the Berbers in this part of Africa have for many centuries used as the divine name the word *Yakus* instead of *Allah*. They are nominally Moslems but in their prayers and religious formulas they recite them substituting the word *Yakus* for that of *Allah*. There have been several theories regarding this strange and heretical practice. After discussing these theories, the writer proposes to identify *Yakus* with *Yezus*—Jesus. There is no doubt that these tribes were originally Christian, and the argument advanced is undoubtedly convincing. We give his conclusion:

"Ainsi donc, le Dieu des Abâdites et des Bergwâta n'est autre, si l'on admet notre hypothèse, que le Jésus des Chrétiens. L'écrasement définitif au XII^e siècle des Bergwâta par les troupes d'Abd el-Moumen prend ainsi la signification symbolique, dans le cadre marocain, du triomphe décisif des Mašmûda du Sud, champions farouches du nouveau dogme islamique, contre leurs frères Mašmûda du Nord, derniers tenants dans l'Ouest du Maghreb des vestiges de la religion chrétienne."

Calming Facts from Palestine

It was stated in evidence before the Royal Commission on November 24th that of the total area of Palestine, excluding the Beersheba district, slightly more than one half, or 7,000,000 *dunums* (one acre contains 4.4 *dunums*) could be regarded as cultivable by the Palestinians with their ordinary resources. Arabs hold 6,000,000

dunums and the Jews nearly 1,000,000. The Government or German settlers hold the remainder. Yet for the past year or more the whole Moslem population of Palestine has been frantically urged to prevent the Jews from devouring their patrimony. Out of a total Jewish population of 370,000, only 50,000 are agriculturists. More than 3,000 Arabs have claimed re-settlement on the ground of being dispossessed of their holdings due to purchases by Zionists. But only 650 have established their claims, and of these, 300 have agreed to proposals of re-settlement.

Education in Iran

Recent achievements of the Ministry of Education, according to the list published at the beginning of the school year 1315-1316 (1936-37) are as follows:

1) New projects in the capital: classes added to primary schools, 48; new primary schools, 11; new middle school classes, 9; nursing school, 1; special music classes, 5.

2) New projects in the provinces: classes added to primary schools, 270; new kindergarten and primary schools, 118; new middle and higher classes, 43; junior normal schools, 5; nursing schools, 2; laboratories, 8; libraries, 2.

3) Adult education schools: in Teheran, 91 classes; in the provinces, 659 classes.

4) Schools open throughout the country in 1934-35: primary schools for boys, 769; for girls, 143; middle schools for boys, 46; for girls, 18.

5) Students enrolled in all schools in 1934-35: primary boys, 85,215; girls, 32,324; middle school boys, 6,778; girls, 1,001.

Some of our readers will, for purposes of comparison, be interested in the statistics of the American Mission middle schools for 1934-35, as follows: 4 boys' schools, with a total enrollment of 564; 4 girls' schools, with an enrollment of 378.

Najran in Arabia

We learn from the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* of new exploration in Arabia:

"News recently received from Mr. H. StJ. Philby informs us that during the past summer he has successfully carried out another extensive journey in Arabia. Starting on May 19 from King Ibn Saud's camp at Ashaira, on the Mecca-Riyadh caravan route, he reached Abha, the capital of Asir, on June 4. There he spent a little over a week, mapping the surrounding country and collecting specimens. Leaving Abha on June 13 he set his course for Najran, which he reached on June 26. He spent nearly a month there in extensive mapping and collecting. Setting out again on July 24 he paid a visit to Shabwa, the ancient Himyaritic capital, investigating the ruins thoroughly, particularly the temple of Astarte.

"On August 17 the traveller reached Shibam, and a stay of a week there enabled him to visit the Saiun and Tarim districts. Having done that he started on his return journey through Najran, but before he had gone far one of his cars, or vans, unfortunately broke

down and he was obliged to return to the coast in order to get the necessary repairs effected. He reached the Indian Ocean near Shihr on August 29 and proceeding on to Mukalla had to possess his soul in patience for a considerable time, getting his no doubt sorely-tried transport ready for the road. That done he set out again on his return journey into Saudi Arabia.

"His journey from Ashaira to Shabwa is an important exploration, of which we shall hope to have a full account in due course, with considerable additions to the existing maps. One may hope also that the inscriptions which he has collected will throw new light on the ancient kingdom of the Himyarites."

Among the Skyscrapers of Arabia

Lady Evelyn Cobbold took the Chair for Mr. Hans Helfritz when he lectured to the Royal Central Asian Society on December 2 upon "The Hadhramaut." The lecturer, whose talk was illustrated by some incomparably fine coloured slides, briefly traced the efforts of Europeans to penetrate the Hadhramaut, mentioning such travellers as Von Wrede, Hirsch, the Bents, Colonel Boscawen, Freya Stark, and the Ingrams. He had, he pointed out, made three separate journeys to the Hadhramaut, the last one beginning at Makalla, on the Indian Ocean, and ending at Hudaida, on the Red Sea.

Mr. Helfritz fascinated his audience with his descriptions of "skyscrapers" in such places as Wadi Doan, Shibam, Terim, Shabwa, Baihan, and Sanaa, capital of the Yaman. He emphasized the fertility of the land in Himyaritic times, when fortunes were made from the incense trade. Several times on his journeys he was imprisoned by jealous town-folk, but, apart from illness, came to no harm on a through journey hitherto unperformed by a European. The lecturer brought with him gramophone records of Arab songs he had collected, such as those of shepherds guarding sheep from the wolf or of Yamani soldiers.—*The Near East and India*.

English in al Azhar

It is understood that the new al Azhar law will lay down that foreign languages should be taught in the Usul al Din College at Shubra, since graduates of this college become preachers and need a knowledge of languages. The Rector of al Azhar has already taken a decision that English and French should be taught in the College on grounds that these two languages are used in all Moslem countries.

Protestant France and Algeria

Only in recent years has the Protestant youth of France shown a practical interest in Moslem evangelization in the French territories of North Africa. Fifteen groups of the Y. W. C. A. are now spending their spare hours giving Christian instruction to Moslems in Tunis, Constantine, Algiers, Oran, Rabat and other centers. French youth movements, as the Y. M. C. A., the Student Christian Federation, the Association of Scouts and Guides and certain missionary groups, were united in 1932 into what is known as the North African

Sheaf (Gerbe Nord Africaine). A monthly magazine informs and consolidates this formation. A missionary camp is held usually in September, at Algiers, Constantine and Oran by turn, when about one hundred young men and women come together (many from France) presided over by a missionary leader from France to study missionary work and its problems.

No Protestants Wanted in Tripoli

The medical mission for needy Moslems and Jews in Tripoli has been closed by the Italian authorities, and the missionary doctor was ordered to leave the territory by November 17th. For half a century the North Africa Mission has maintained this healing and preaching centre, the only evangelical witness in the whole of Libya. Complying with Government requirement, the purpose of the mission was described as: "Explaining the way of salvation through the Lord Jesus Christ in obedience to His commands, and also endeavouring to show the love of God in our medical consultations."

A Government Ordinance of August 26th authorized the mission to continue under three conditions: (a) No religious propaganda. (b) Nurses to have Italian diplomas. (c) Premises to conform to Hygiene Inspector's regulations. The doctor was unaware of this Ordinance until it was read to him at the police station on October 13th, and then, charged with not observing its terms, a second Ordinance dated October 1st was handed to him, and this ordered the closing of the mission.

Danger from Blue Shirts in Egypt

"Egypt's coloured-shirt problem has lately grown acute", writes *The Manchester Guardian*. "The progress of the Blue-Shirts or Wafdist Army of Youth has been maintained; the organization has more than doubled its adherents, who now number over 20,000 all obtained in less than a year. But as the movement has grown its character has changed.

"When it was first launched at a Wafdist Youth Congress it was announced that it would be a uniformed organization, characterised by physical fitness and discipline, and recognized as the 'Army of the Wafd'.

"Since then, however, the Blue-Shirts have changed completely. Hosts of undesirable young men have been enrolled without any awkward questions being asked, so that today there are over 20,000 drawn from the lowest strata of Egyptian society as compared with a student element of 2,000.

"Admission can be purchased for a few shillings, and in return a Blue-Shirt and trousers are issued free; thus many who hitherto have not known where to look for clothes are in clover. But what is more important is that this new militia is arming as it thinks fit. The pernicious effects of this may show themselves within the coming year."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL

ABSTRACTA ISLAMICA, rédigée par Paul Kraus et Henri Charles.
(In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier IV, 1935.
pp. 313-392).

Comprises the second, third, fourth and sixth sections of the fifth series of this valuable annotated bibliography.

ISLAMIC CALLIGRAPHY. Muhammed A. Simsar. (In *Asia*, New York. December, 1936. pp. 813-817).

An examination of various styles of writing, with accounts of celebrated penmen, true contributors to Moslem art which was forbidden to express itself in painting or sculpture.

II. ARABIA

HADRAMAUT—ITS CHALLENGE. W. H. Storm. (In *World Dominion*, London. January, 1937. pp. 53-57).

Because the Christian church has never really faced the problem of evangelizing the Islamic world, Hadramaut is neglected although archeological evidences show that Christianity once lived in this part of Arabia.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

CONTRIBUTION À L'HISTOIRE DE L'IFRIKIYA. H. R. Idris. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier I, 1936. pp. 45-104).

Concludes a study of the material and religious life at Kairouan during the first four centuries A.H. and appends geographical notes and a biographical table, referring to "Ma'ālīm el Imān."

THE MONASTERIES OF THE FAYYŪM. Nabia Abbott. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago. October, 1936. pp. 13-33).

Photographs, text, translation and notes of three 10th century Arabic manuscripts now in the Oriental Institute.

MOORISH SAINTS. Edward Westermarck. (In *The African Observer*, Bulawayo. November, 1936. pp. 16-20).

Although the belief in saints is not Koranic, the cult developed early and is widespread in Moslem lands.

IV. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

CHEZ LES BÉDOUINS. Henri Charles. (In *Études*, Paris. 20 Novembre 1936. pp. 484-497).

Picturesque account of a journey with French camel corps from Damascus to Palmyra.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON THE INDIAN WOMEN. Mrs. Anwar-ud-Din. (In *The Islamic Review*, Woking. November-December, 1936. pp. 435-445).

The Koran, by teaching the equality of the sexes, has helped to raise the status of Indian women, according to this writer's views.

LA RÉORGANISATION DE L'UNIVERSITÉ D'EL-AZHAR. (In *Revue des Études Islamiques*, Paris. Cahier I, 1936. pp. 1-43).

Gives the complete text of the law of March 26, 1936, which defined the rights and functions of the great Mohammedan university in Cairo.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF ASIA. Violet Conolly. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. October, 1936. pp. 187-198).

In Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, strongly nationalistic governments with a taste for westernization are initiating progressive and interesting schemes in their attempts to reform and revolutionize their industrial systems.

LA SITUAZIONE ECONOMICA DELLA SIRIA. Laura Veccia Vaglieri. (In *Oriente Moderno*, Roma. Agosto, 1936. pp. 425-440; Settembre, 1936. pp. 485-496; Ottobre, 1936. pp. 541-551).

Articles based on the "Economic Organization of Syria" by Sa'id B. Himadeh, published in 1936 by the American University of Beirut.

V. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

ARAB EMPIRE. S. A. Mokarzel. (In *Current History*, New York. November, 1936. pp. 53-58).

The Near East chafes more and more at Western intervention but, though nationalism surges ahead, religion is ever found to be its main spring.

THE DARDANELLES. Edward C. McDowell, Jr. (In *Current History*, New York. November, 1936. pp. 92-96).

Turkey's international importance has been enhanced by her diplomatic success in gaining the right to refortify the Dardanelles, which for more than 3,000 years have been coveted by rival nations.

THE EGYPTIAN TREATY AND AFTER. (In *The Round Table*, London. December, 1936. pp. 110-125).

Surveys the situation from 1920 and points out the pressing need for close, sympathetic co-operation between Egypt and Great Britain in the future.

THE OIL FIELDS OF THE NEAR EAST. Eliot Janeway. (In *Asia*, New York. November, 1936. p. 693).

Shows by map and text England's tremendous oil holdings from Kirkuk to Haifa and Tripoli, commenting also on her acquisition of the Mosul oil field from Italy, shortly after the abandonment of sanctions in the Ethiopian affair.

LE TRAITÉ FRANCO-SYRIEN. (In *L'Asie Française*, Paris. Novembre, 1936. pp. 281-291).

Analysis and text of the treaty of alliance and friendship between France and Syria, adopted on September 9, 1936, as a preliminary move toward the termination of the French mandate.

VI. PALESTINE

ARAB AND JEW IN THE HOLY LAND. William Schack. (In *The Forum*, New York. December, 1936. pp. 256-262).

Argues for close co-operation between Arabs and Jews as the surest way to eliminate Britain's mandatory powers, so distasteful to the nationalistic aims of both races.

THE FATE OF ZIONISM; and, A SOLUTION FOR PALESTINE. Albert Viton. (In *The Nation*, New York. December 19, 1936. pp. 725-728; December 26, 1936. pp. 756-758).

Existing political and economic antagonisms could be removed if the Holy Land were neutralized and placed under a commission directly responsible to the League of Nations.

PALESTINE BEFORE THE COMMISSION. G. T. Garratt. (In *The Political Quarterly*, London. October-December, 1936. pp. 509-521).

Urges demarcation of the Jewish area, limitation of Jewish immigration, and two or three local governments, one being definitely Jewish.

PALESTINE: THE COMMISSIONER'S TASK. (In *The Round Table*, London. December, 1936. pp. 79-94).

Assuming that the Mandate stands in its entirety, the Royal Commission must seek to allay Arab fears of submersion under

heavy Jewish immigration and to ease Arab resentment over the non-fulfilment of national aspirations which were encouraged by Allied promises during the World War.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM: PAST AND PRESENT. Carl H. Becker. (In *The Review of Religion*, New York. November, 1936. pp. 3-16).

Shows how greatly Mohammedanism has been influenced by Christianity through the ages and declares that modern Islam approximates the preaching of Mohammed about as closely as modern Christianity resembles the teaching of Jesus.

THE EVANGELISTIC VALUE OF MEDICAL WORK. Rolla E. Hoffman. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1936. pp. 574-576).

So many Persian Moslems find their first Christian contacts in hospitals that "the whole missionary effort should be directed toward making the medical work genuinely Christian . . . a part of the coming Christian society in Persia."

LEVANT CENTENARY NUMBER OF THE BIBLE SOCIETY RECORD, New York. November, 1936. whole issue).

Surveys one hundred years of progress in the Near East under such leaders as Simeon H. Calhoun, Elias Riggs, Eli Smith, Cornelius Van Dyck and their brave successors.

SIGNS OF PROGRESS IN WEST AFRICA. Rev. R. S. Roseberry. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1936. pp. 592-594).

Although conversions among the Mohammedans are rarer than among the native pagans, some of the most ardent evangelists of today were once bigoted followers of the prophet.

A YOUNG CHURCH IN OLD EGYPT. E. E. Elder. (In *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1936. pp. 567-568).

Outlines the seventy-five years' work of the Evangelical Church of Egypt in its missionary endeavors with Copts and Moslems.

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