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THE FOURTH GRACE—ENDURANCE

REMINISCENCES OF A RETIRED MISSIONARY

Dr. Hendrik Kraemer adds endurance to the three graces of the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians as the essential in the equipment of a missionary among Moslems. The experience of a lifetime in East Arabia underlines the need of that additional grace. If patience is thought of as being the more passive virtue, this also was constantly needed. This is not said as if violence of any kind had to be borne, in fact, memory goes back to years of friendly and even courteous intercourse. In the earliest days the pioneers experienced some unpleasantness and later in opening one of our stations the first missionaries met with ill treatment. For my part such things did not come my way, but every missionary in Moslem lands knows what it is to live day after day, year after year, in the face of Islam with its low ideals and its immoralities and with its constant challenge of all that the Gospel stands for. Visitors to a Moslem land may be enchanted by the prayer call as its music floats at night over the quiet city, but when one knows that it is the challenge of the lordship of Jesus Christ, then the enchantment is lost. Everyone who loves Him and believes in His exclusive claims is sensitive to that challenge and sighs ever and again in patience, "Lord, how long?"

But endurance means perseverance in, carrying on in, the given task when all appearances are against further

effort. One has learned this lesson of enduring, or it is better to say that this grace was also given by the Lord of all grace. But I hasten to add that in speaking in this way I speak not alone for myself; it has been good to be one of a company of men and women who having set their hands to the plow did not look backward. Those fellow workers of my own Mission, as others further afield, know that they are in a "long war" and they trust the Captain of their salvation fully.

And now looking back, has it been worth while to devote one's life to such a task, to work in a field where the reapers do not catch up with the sowers? It has, and if I had another life to live I would offer it again. The paucity of definite results is often spoken of as the problem of Moslem work and no one knows better than the workers how grievously it weighs upon heart and mind. But really, is not the real problem the paucity of effort which the Church has put into this work? There have been a few results—and some disappointments. These one leaves with the Lord. There are also some satisfactions. I have seen in my time a complete change of attitude on the part of the people from one of indifference and hostility to one of confidence and understanding. Then as the church emerges in this field, and it is coming in a small way already, one claims a share in this joy. And finally, one has endured. There is satisfaction in what small part one has had in that downright, unquestioning obedience in doing God's will that Moslem work calls for. I trust it is not presumptuous to speak of this as an object lesson for Christian people. I know that my own Reformed Church has been blessed through its work in Arabia and I crave for all the Church a new acceptance of the will of God, His inexorable will, in these days when there is no place for those "who are at ease in Zion." The evangelization of the Moslem world challenges this obedience now more than ever, and Dr. John R. Mott is wholly right in his recent article in this Quarterly, "Islam the Test of the Validity and Vitality of the Christian Faith."

In my work the question of the use of "points of contact" in presenting evangelical truths to Moslems came up, as it is bound to do to every missionary. The fact that there are so many seeming correspondences between Christianity and Islam has been urged as a basis for finding in this or that teaching or practice a common ground from which to advance to the fuller, higher truths of the Gospel. As such suggestions came from sincere and well-meaning people, I surveyed the possibility of using them, though one knew that any hint to the Moslem that there is any higher truth than his own would be resented. As I went more deeply into the system of Islam it became increasingly clear that every seeming point of contact is really a point of contrast, a dissimilarity. I believe thoroughly that every missionary in this work should get a thorough knowledge of the religion and that he should study it, certainly not for controversy, but as sympathetically as possible. However he must not expect to find by such study any bridge to Christian truth—the Moslem doctors have seen to that very thoroughly. As against so-called points of contact what was constantly sought was personal contacts. A new acquaintance, a new friendship formed, was counted a real gain. To secure more and more of such contacts is ever the concern of the missionary, to which must be added that the vitally important thing is the use made of the contacts won.

In the past, missions employed various methods of approach and developed their several agencies, especially education and medicine, which have been widely effective not only in their specific spheres but also as helps for the evangelistic workers. But today in the unfriendly atmosphere created by the Islamic nationalism of varying temperatures in the several countries of the Near East, it is just these foreign, Christian institutions that have become the object of attack. We have seen how in Iran the government has taken over almost the whole of the educational work of the American Mission. The direct loss of a major

activity of the Mission is very great but the implications as regards this matter of contacts are equally serious. In a recent letter, a member of that Mission writes: "Hundreds of continuous and natural contacts will be broken and it is inevitable that as a result our work will be deeply affected." No such drastic action has been taken in other countries but everywhere there are agitation and threats against established work. Evidently missions will be called on to consider new avenues of approach, new contacts. Suggestions have been made in some quarters that to meet the situation of the day, missions should stress general preparation looking to the uplift and enlightenment of the people, rather than seeking conversions and the building up of a church. I believe, too, that the time calls for new methods, especially such as are not dependent on expensive and imposing institutions, but such as put the emphasis on the individual missionary, remembering the old saying that religion is caught and not taught. If I were in the work actively I would hail every means that promises new and widening contacts. But I could have no sympathy with any plan or theory that has no room for what Kraemer calls "the apostolic attitude and consciousness," that a missionary is in fact one sent to preach Christ. After all is said and done it is "the offence of the cross" where all the Moslem bitterness and opposition is centered. Without it one could live quite comfortably in a Moslem community and one could find scores of points of contact but one would be a herald without a message.

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THE MOROS OF THE SULU SEA

What wings the imagination takes when one reads in the oldest authentic genealogy of the Sulu people¹ these words, "The first person who lived on the island of Sulu is Jamiyun Kulisa. His wife was Indra Suga.² They were sent here by Alexander the Great." What truth or what fiction lies behind these words? Alexander, mortified by the refusal of his troops to cross the Hydaspes and conquer Bengal, thus frustrating his vision of the glories of the East, turned down the Indus following it to its delta. Did he dream of a future victory to the East by sea? We know he planned and executed the exploration of the new world from the mouth of the Indus and had his Indus fleet explore the possibility of a sea route to the Persian Gulf. Would he not also have sent a fleet of exploration south as well? Was it possible that a part of the fleet sent to the Persian Gulf was blown off its course? We know that Alexander, when he met his death, was on the eve of a naval expedition of over a thousand ships to open up a maritime route from Babylon to Egypt via the Arabian coast. His interests in naval projects farther afield can be considered.

There is no endeavor here to make out a case for the settlement of Sulu by ships of Alexander the Great in the fourth century B. C. But this much we do know, that in this same manuscript, quoted above, Raja Baginda arrived in Sulu from Sambuwangan (Moro word for Zamboanga) to which place he came from Menangkabau, Sumatra. Menangkabau is regarded as the cradle of the Malay race. The Menangkabau are said to be the original conquerors of the islands and their native chronicles derive the Menangkabau princes from Alexander the Great."³

¹ This is a translation from the Taosug by Dr. N. M. Saleeby in his *History of Sulu*, page 152, from a copy made from an old MSS. by Hadji Butu, prime minister of Sulu. These historical notes form part of the *Genealogy of Sulu* as prepared by Hadji Butu.

² Indra—one of the names of the wife of Vishnu.

³ Art. *Sumatra* in Ency. Brit.

This genealogy, from which the above quotations are taken, is of a very late date; "by order of the Omniscient King; the Sultan Mohammed Jamalul Kiram in the year 1239 A. H. (1823 A. D.)." All written documents of the Moros are extremely rare and of a late date. What part of the legend can be attributed to pre-Islamic penetration to Sulu and what to the influence of the early missionaries of Islam who came from Menangkabau is difficult to say. But there is this belief among the Taosugs (Sulus) that the first inhabitants of the islands were sent by Alexander the Great,⁴ which is similar to the tradition among the earliest Malays of the district of Palembang, Sumatra.

Dr. Saleeby attributes the legend to the migration of the Samals or Bajaos who sailed to the Sulu islands from Johore some time in the fourteenth century.⁵ There is little doubt that the Samals had the same stories, being Malays and the last wave of the Malay group to enter the Philippines. We know of the direct contact through Raja Baginda, a prince from Menangkabau.⁶ He became the ancestor of the powerful and ruling dynasty of Sulu and would naturally attribute the ancient character to their house. Many of the Malayan royal houses also claim descent from the Menangkabau.

Passing over the legends of the people, we come to the introduction of Islam into the Sulu Islands and Mindanao. The two important characters who stand out in this period are Makdum and Raja Baginda. The former was reported to be the first to arrive. He was a noted Arab judge and scholar, who is credited with having converted Sultan Mohammed Shah, the ruler of Malacca, before continuing east to Sulu and Mindanao. He visited all the islands of the Archipelago, preaching the new faith with remarkable results. The point to note here is that he came preaching, not as a warrior and conqueror. Islam's first entrance into the Philippines was by the preacher, not the soldier. He arrived about 1380.

⁴ The History of Sulu, p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 156.

⁶ Genealogy of Sulu quoted in *ibid.*, p. 153.

Some ten years after Makdum, Raja Baginda, a prince of Menangkabau, appeared. From the way he is credited with taking control of the islands it is quite evident that he carried firearms. We know that the Arabs had such in the fourteenth century. They in turn had close communication with Sumatra and there is little doubt that they had introduced them there. Raja Baginda came as a conqueror with his retinue.

But it was only partially because of these two men that Islam came to have such a firm hold on the Sulu Islands. They laid the foundations and made smooth the highway for Abu Bakr. From this "Genealogy of Sulu," as summed up by Dr. Saleeby, all we can learn is that "Sayid Abu Bakr came to Bwansa (ancient capital of Sulu) from Palembang by way of Brunei (Kingdom in North Borneo); that he lived with Raja Baginda and taught and established a new religion for Sulu; he was greatly respected by the people; and that he married Paramisuli, the daughter of Baginda, and became Sultan." The traditions of the country, however, add something to this concise account. It is the common tradition that he came from Mecca, though some sources say that he was the son of Zayn ul Abidin who came from Mecca to Malacca. He seems first to have gone to Basilan, the island across from Zamboanga, which may account for the conversion of the Yakan Moros, and was then invited to Sulu.

From the annals of Malacca we know that there was an Abu Bakr who was a famous authority on law and religion, and that his mission to Malaysia was prompted by enthusiasm for the promulgation of the doctrines of Abu Ishaq, which were found in a book called "Dar ul Mazlum." He arrived in Sulu about 1450, eighty years before Magellan reached the Philippines. He established mosques and taught religion and law, and laid a foundation for Islam that has continued to this day. Because of his connections with Raja Baginda, and the latter having no sons, Abu Bakr succeeded him as ruler of the people. He is referred to most often, not by name, but as Al-Sultan al Sharif al-Hashimi.

The ruling house of Sulu today trace back their line to the union between Raja Baginda's daughter, Paramisuli, and Abu Bakr. This notable apostle of Islam died in 1480. The dynasty he founded prior to the arrival of Magellan, made its power felt over Luzon and the Bisayan Islands, the Celebes Sea, North Borneo and the South China Sea, and extended their trade from China and Japan to Malacca, Sumatra and Java. The coming of Spain and Portugal to Malaysia challenged this legitimate commerce.

Thus we see briefly the coming of the faith of the Arabian Prophet to the Southern Philippines. How it might have spread over all the islands had not Magellan arrived so soon after Abu Bakr! Seven groups of people came under the spell of Islam, and it gave them courage to dominate the whole islands. Their bravery and courage are attested not only by their traditional enemy the Spaniard, but also by the Americans. Foreign shipping of the whole world that attempted to enter the Celebes, Sulu and South China Seas knew them and feared them.⁷ It was not the bravery of the American or Spanish soldiers that finally put an end to their mastery of the Sulu Archipelago and Mindanao, but the invention of the steamboat and the modern rifle. The Moro's laziness is proverbial among the "Old Timers" of the Philippines, but his loyalty to a cause he espouses and his willingness to fight for it are facts of history.⁸

Now we ask ourselves, what are the races which embraced Islam and where are they located? The Moros of the Philippines are divided into seven groups. The one whose name is best known in the West is the Sulu, or as the Moros themselves call them, the Taosugs. The Sultan of Sulu is the only Mohammedan prince under the American flag. These people speak the Taosug dialect of Malay, which is understood from Brunei in North Borneo to the Moro Gulf east of Zamboanga. It is the *lingua franca* of this part of the world. It is mainly Malay with many Sanscrit and Arabic words, and a conglomeration of many other languages, including Chinese; a mixture coming from the days

⁷ "Pirate Winds."

⁸ "Myself and a Few Moros," and "Pirate Winds."

of slavery, when the harems were full of women from many different peoples. Through their blood also run the strains of many races of the Orient and tropical seas. The men are usually distinguished by their extremely tight-fitting trousers. A hearty race, they subjugated the Samals to their will, and with their help kept at bay the powers of the world until the rise of the steamboat. For some five hundred years their influence was felt in the Sulu Sea. Although their culture goes back to the Hindu penetration in the islands, they now attribute all to Islam and write their language in the Arabic script. They are, like all the Moros of the islands, Sunni Mohammedans of the Shafi'i rite.

Living with Taosugs on the fringes of the islands of Sulu and along the Zamboanga peninsula are the Samals. These Malays were the last group to arrive, and are believed to have migrated from Johore. They are of two branches: the Samals proper, who live in houses over the water among the mangrove swamps, and the Bajasos or Sea Gypsies who live only in boats. As fishermen of the Sulu and Celebes Seas, they manned the ships that took the Taosugs on their extensive raids to the Straits of Malacca and the China Coast, and harassed foreign shipping in the South China Sea.⁹ They are passionately fond of gay Chinese-fashioned trousers. Today the Bajasos' *vintas*, with their bright-colored checkered sails on a tripodal mast, are the hall mark of the Southern Philippines. For the pure joy of sailing a Samal *vinta* cannot be surpassed anywhere in the world. The Samals understand the Taosug language, but speak among themselves a distinct dialect.

The third division is found in the uplands of North Mindanao around Lake Lanao, reaching from the Moro Gulf to the Mindanao Sea. These are classified as the Maranaos, and speak another dialect. Here we find a strong mixture of the Malay with the aboriginal races. The people have preserved more of the art and architecture of Sumatra than any of the other Moro groups in the Islands.

⁹ "Time out of mind the piratical *prau* of the Malays, lurking among the low shaded coves and inlets of Sumatra, have sailed out upon the vessels sailing through the Straits." H. Melville in "Moby Dick," p. 423. Written in 1853.

Their dress, buildings and mosques could well be from Menangkabau. The Spaniards never were able to capture these people, and the Americans were able to do so only after very long and severe campaigning. Very proud, they felt no embarrassment in the presence of a foreigner. Every year more than fifty of this group with representatives of the other groups make the Hajj.

Just south of the Lanao group, in the fertile valley of the Rio Grande, are the Magindanao Moros. Here in 1523 the brave Spaniard Barbosa and thirty-five of his men were cut down in making the first attempt to deal with the Moros.¹⁰ The Magindanao are less the Malayan type, with the native strain predominating in the lower classes. Their language is distinctively their own, though akin to the Maranao in the north. The Magindanao, with their center at Cotabato (Cota, fort; and Bato, stone), were the skilled brass-makers of the Mohammedans. *Objets d'art* were common, but the *lantaka* was the most famous. This small brass cannon on a fast-moving *vinta* or many-oared *prau* made havoc with the wind-jammers on a calm sea.

Still farther south on the island of Mindanao, around the Sarangani Bay near Davao, is located a small group known as the Sanggil Moros. They did not figure very strongly in the conflict with the Spaniards. These people have migrated from Celebes and are a branch of the Bugis Moros. Captain Edwards, who was deputy governor among them for some time, says that they are still migrating. The Sarangani Islands off the tip of the bay are in sight of Celebes. The Bugis Moros were supposed to have been converted to Islam in 1495 or later.¹¹ This would make them the last of the Malays in the Philippines to have been converted to Islam. They are spoken of as very active and enterprising, brave and haughty and fierce. "Running amuck" is more prevalent among them than among any other of the Malays.

Occupying the Island of Basilan is a group of Moros known as the Yakans. There is much Indonesian blood in

¹⁰ "Swish of the Kris," by Vic. Hurley.

¹¹ "Malays" in Ency. Brit.

them, mixed with the Malayan strain. Their appearance and dress are distinctive from all the other Moros.

The last section is small in number, living on the southwestern end of the Palawan Group of Islands. These are known as the Palawan Moros, with their own dialect. The people are, however, a mixture of the several groups around them.

More than three-fourths of the Moros in the Islands are in the Taosug, Samal, Maranao and Magindanao classification. The remaining number is made up of the Sanggil, Yakan and Palawan section. The 1918 census gave the total as 443,037. The figures for the 1939 census will no doubt show a material increase.

In approaching the question of how the Spaniards were so successful in a comparatively short time in conquering the Philippines, north of Mindanao, and during their entire stay never fully subdued the Moros, the usual answers will not do. Many people would answer the question in the words of one eminent Semitic scholar, who wrote of them as "the barbarous Moros." That hardly touches the real question. Those who put it on wholly religious grounds are still far from the correct answer. The reasons go deeper, and strangely enough, Magellan's name appears quite frequently in the picture.

Prior to the European rush to reach the East by other means than the Isthmus of Suez, an economic warfare was taking place in the Indian Ocean that gave final victory to the Arabs just when the Portuguese rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The Arab and Persian traders, following the routes laid down by their forerunners the Hindus, practically monopolized the spice trade, and broke down all opposition. Coming as traders they also carried their religion with them as far as the Moluccas or Spice Islands. It might be said of this period that it was forerunner and pattern of the quiet penetration of Islam in Central Africa during our time. Islam won the Malays, not by the sword but by commerce; the traders were also missionaries.¹²

¹² "Malay Peninsula" in *Ency. Brit.*

In the beginning of the sixteenth century we find the Mohammedans enjoying a flourishing trade in spices, with their center at Malacca, just north of Singapore. In the history of Malacca this was its golden age. But Portugal cast envious eyes upon this commercial "gold-mine," and in 1508 sent Diogo Lopez de Siqueira to capture it. The expedition reached Cochin (India) on its way and there took certain of the forces of the great colonizer, Alfonso d'Albuquerque, with it. Among these men was one, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese. The force then proceeded to Malacca and there ended in failure. Siqueira had to return to Europe. Two years later another expedition was fitted out and sent to do what the first failed to carry through. This second expedition, under the command of Diogo Mondes de Vasconcellos, had also Magellan in its party. With this expedition, when it left Cochin, was the experienced viceroy d'Albuquerque in supreme command. Finally in 1511 Malacca was taken from the Malays after very hard fighting, in which Magellan proved such an able antagonist that he was rewarded with the rank of captain. The Portuguese were satisfied with this center of trade in the East, but d'Albuquerque sent a ship on to the Moluccas to bring back the spices. This they did. Magellan was on this trip, and the Moluccas lie east of the Philippines.

The Mohammedan traders who came to Malaysia and won the people to Islam carried two things with them, first, the Koran in which an anti-Christian bias is found; secondly, a hatred for the Christians, especially of those from Europe. These two phases of their thought were not overlooked in the spreading of Islam in Malaysia. But as it affected the Philippines this point must be noted; that these Moros had heard of the war of the Christians among their own people. Ten years elapsed between the taking of Malacca and the arrival of Magellan at Cebu. During that time the news spread over the entire Malay group. Besides this, the ruler of Malacca, who was defeated by d'Albuquerque, subsequently set up his throne at Johore, to the southeast. It was from this district that the Samals had come, but a

short one hundred years before, and no doubt were still coming in their open *vintas*, to settle on the shores of the Sulu Archipelago and southwestern Mindanao. Is it any wonder then, that when the news came to the court at Maybung (capital of Sulu) that the hated European had arrived in their domains quick action was considered and carried out? News travelled even in those days, so we must not exclude the possibility that the Moros knew that the leader of this new invasion from Europe was led by one of the fiercest fighters at Malacca.

All these facts above are necessary to understand the open hatred at the very beginning of the Spanish conquest. But also we must consider this fact: had this background not been built up, there would still have been this all-important factor—that Sulu was the ruling house of the Philippines, and any attempt to push this aside would be resented. Moros no more than Christians welcome arrogant intruders in their royal domains.

Looking at this from the point of view of the Spaniards, the religious side takes on an important aspect. Augustinian Friars were with the invaders, and Spanish Christianity at that time may have had its virtues, but humility was not one of them. The native chief who enlisted Magellan's sympathy to conquer a rival on the island of Mactan was shrewd enough to see that he could get better results by first putting on the cloak of Christianity. However, there is no doubt but that the zeal and sincerity of the early missionaries from Spain carried a power that was a vital force in winning the middle and northern Philippines. We can understand how the Moros, seeing this rapid spread of Christianity, in parts which had been under their own control, would not be enthusiastic in their reception of a Gospel which was preached to them at the point of the sword. The Moros were cruel, and still can be cruel, but it is not fair to attribute all evils to them without considering the cruel methods used by their Christian adversaries.

MUSLIM DISSENSIONS IN INDIA

At a time when the whole world is in the melting pot, and India in the throes of a complete revolution at once political, social, economic, and cultural, it is interesting to note certain developments in the Muslim community of this country, which forms a huge minority of some eighty millions. The outstanding thing, of course, is the attempt to maintain the solidarity and cultural integrity of the community in the face of tremendous disintegrating forces. This leads, naturally, to the first major dissension, which is national and opposed to the growing power of the National Congress. In the growing strength of the Congress it sees the greatest menace to the political and cultural life of Islam, and so during recent years under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah of Bombay the Muslim League has taken on new life with the avowed purpose of opposing the Hindu power of the Congress, and for the preservation of the rights and privileges of the Muslim community.

Various forms of opposition have come to the surface. First of all, there is strong opposition to the proposed Parliamentary Act of Federation. Provincial autonomy in the government of the masses has come, but the federation of the Provinces with the States has yet to be accomplished. Muslims are against the present form of the Act, because of the resultant balance of power in favor of the Hindus. In other words, the Muslims, being in the minority in a large part of India, will suffer from the effects of democracy. And Mr. Jinnah (with the Muslim League) is opposed to democracy in a situation where Islam is in the minority.

This interesting position is explained by Mr. Jinnah in a recent speech in Bombay, which was reported in the Press as follows:

“The view that democracy is unsuited to the genius of India was expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, speaking today (Aug. 5th, 1939) on the present political situation.

“The cultures of the two communities, Muslims and Hindus, were so different that one, having power, naturally tried to run the other down. In such a country, comprising different nationalities, a democratic system of Parliamentary Government was, in his view, an impossibility . . .

“At such a time the foremost duty of the Muslim League was to organize Muslims and make them a strong united body. That step was essential to enable the community to take its rightful place in national affairs.”

This position naturally leads to the view that India's political development must safeguard the Muslim community at all costs. In order to achieve this, various proposals have been made by Muslims. The outstanding one is that which would give Muslims certain Muslim provinces such as in East Bengal, in the Punjab, Sindh, and the North-west Frontier. It has even been suggested that to complete the work of making the provinces communally and culturally homogeneous the transfer of population might be made from one to another. This would follow the horrible example started at the close of the last war in Greece and Turkey, and more recently in Europe under the direction of Hitler and Mussolini.

So far, the net result of such agitation in high quarters has been to increase the tension between the two great communities of India, leading to bitter and bloody communal riots in Bombay, Cawnpore, Calcutta, and other less noted places.

Dissensions, however, are not confined to ideological differences in political matters *vis à vis* the Hindus. There are troubles of one sort or another which divide the Muslims themselves. Not all Muslims belong to the Jinnah party and the Muslim League, but have asserted their independence and have joined the National Congress. Some have been elected to office over their Muslim League opponents, and have been appointed ministers in the Congress Provincial Governments. But this movement toward the Congress is not a strong one, and Mr. Jinnah will no doubt be able to

hold the vast majority of the Muslims under his banner of Islamic independence.

Another dissension of long standing is that which persists between the two branches of the Ahmadi community of the Punjab. The founder of the Ahmadiyyah Movement, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian near Amritsar, has long since passed to his reward. But his successors hold two distinct views regarding him and his work. The orthodox or Qadiani branch, which has its headquarters at the home of the founder, holds that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was in some sense a real prophet. On the other hand the group which has its headquarters in Lahore stoutly opposes this view and contends that he was not a prophet, and that he "never claimed prophethood in the technical sense of that word. He is believed by the Lahore Anjuman to be *al-Masih* (the Messiah) whose coming in the latter days was promised by the Holy Prophet of Islam (may peace and blessings of Allah be upon Him). He is believed to be the *Mahdi* . . . and lastly he was the *Mujaddid* (reformer) for the present century of Islam . . . a holy man raised by God for reforming the Muslim Community and raising it to the standard of early Islam. . . ." (*The Light*, Lahore.)

These two groups obviously have no love for each other, and lose no opportunity to criticise and oppose each other in every way possible, both in their various journals, and on the platform. Nor is this all. About two years ago matters took a very serious turn within the Qadian Anjuman itself. It appears that one of the followers of the present *Khalifa*, or successor to the founder, had a serious disagreement with his superior. This led to an open break between them; and Fakhr-ud-Din, the trouble-maker, and some of his associates, were ousted from the parent body. Following this, Fakhr-ud-Din attempted to form a separate Anjuman in opposition to the Khalifa. This brought matters to a climax, since the new Anjuman persisted in making damaging attacks on the character of the Khalifa, who is a son of the founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself. Following a verbal attack on his opponents in public by the Khalifa him-

self, Fakhr-ud-Din was murdered and an associate seriously wounded by one of the followers of the orthodox party. This naturally caused great consternation throughout the whole of the Ahmadi community, and attracted considerable attention in India. The learned judge who handed in his judgment felt moved to observe:

“We feel it our duty to say that, conditions being as they are in India, it is most dangerous for leaders of religious communities to attack publicly their opponents from the pulpit . . . someone may easily thereby be influenced to commit murder . . . there are always in this country fanatics who believe that they are the instruments of God in carrying out such punishments.” (*Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, January 5, 1938.)

Finally, there is the age-old conflict between the Sunnis and the Shi'ahs. India is noted for its large Shi'ah community, which has its main center in Lucknow. One of the special practices of the Shi'ahs, of very long standing in Lucknow and other places where they predominate, is to anathematize the name and memory of the first three Khalifas of Islam: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uthman. This they do because they contend that they were usurpers, and that the place of Khalifa should rightly have been given to 'Ali, Muhammad's son-in-law. This practice is known among the Shi'ahs as *tabarra*. It is an Arabic word derived from the root *bar'a* which means “to be free or safe (from).” In the Vth form, as an infinitive, which this form is, it means when used with *min* “to declare one's self innocent of; or to be acquitted of guilt.” That is, the Shi'ahs hold that by following this practice of anathematizing they are thereby committing no sin, and therefore are “free from guilt,” because the three Khalifas concerned had no legal right to the Khilafat anyway . . . and if any are guilty it is they, not those who anathematize them!

For many years, in places like Lucknow, the Shi'ahs have practiced *tabarra* unmolested. But in recent years the Sunnis have retorted by reciting *Madh-e-Sahaba* . . . or “Praise of the Companions,” *i. e.*, of these very Khalifas who were the “Companions” of the Prophet Muhammad.

It should be noted, however, that as a rule, where there is a Sunni majority, neither form of recitation is practiced.

The tension reached such a stage in Lucknow that in 1938 several clashes between Sunnis and Shi'ahs occurred, which led the authorities to take up the matter with great seriousness. After an inquiry the Congress Government which was then in power decided that the Sunnis could take out *Madh-e-Sahaba* processions once a year on the occasion of Bara Wafat, but that the Shi'ahs would not be allowed to take out *Tabarra* processions at all, nor to recite *Tabarra* anywhere in public. This led to a great furore. Since then the Shi'ahs have opposed this decision of the local Government with all their might. Thousands have held processions in defiance of the order, and have been arrested. At one time it was reported that there were about seven thousand Shi'ahs in jail. And the end is not yet. One reads of individuals, or *jathas*, i. e., groups of people, who deliberately court arrest, every now and then. Some of these *jathas* have come from as far away as Lahore.

Various attempts have been made by influential persons to bring the matter to an end, and an appeal was made to Mr. Gandhi to express his opinion on the subject and use his large influence to induce the Congress Government of the United Provinces to modify their order. The views of this great political leader are not without interest, even if they are not conclusive, and will I fear lead nowhere. Mr. Gandhi wrote to the President of the Shi'ah organization, *Tanzim-ul-Mominin*, as follows:

"I have sufficient papers in front of me to enable me to formulate a tentative opinion upon the Shia and Sunni controversy. I have a long letter from Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant (the Premier of the United Provinces) and printed papers giving me what purports to be an unbiassed version.

"So much seems to stand out clearly, that whereas 'Madh-e-Sahaba' is praise of the elected Caliphs, 'Tabarra' is the curse pronounced upon the first three Caliphs. Whilst one can understand the right of publicly praising people, is there such a thing as the right to pronounce a curse upon dead men?

"The right of 'Tabarra' cannot be derived from the Holy Quran

for the simple reason that the Caliphate came into being after the death of the Holy Prophet. I would like you therefore, to enlighten me on the religious duty of saying 'Tabarra.' I should readily grant that there can be no religious duty in praising the Caliphs, especially not in public places, and in the presence of those whom the recital is known to offend.

"Therefore, subject to what might be said to the contrary, I would advise you for the sake of peace to withdraw civil resistance, and stop the public recital of 'Tabarra' unconditionally, leaving it to the good sense of the Sunnis to so act as not to wound the susceptibilities of their Shi'a brethren." (*The Statesman*, Aug. 4, 1939.)

This naïve understanding of the matter, with its correspondingly futile appeal has produced no result. Possibly the masses would be willing to listen to the "good advice" of Mr. Gandhi, but the Press reports indicate that the continuance is primarily due to the religious heads of the Shi'ah community in Lucknow, who are yet to be convinced that the *Tabarra* agitation should be suspended.

These varied dissensions which have been described in this brief article are indeed deplorable, as they not only do great harm to the Muslim community itself, but what is of more tragic importance they obstruct the important work of nation building to which all communities should be giving their undivided attention at this time. But perhaps it is all a necessary part of human history . . . for the mills of God do grind slowly, at least when left to themselves.

Budaun, India.

MURRAY T. TITUS.

THE MEANING OF TABARRĀ'

To the Editor of the MOSLEM WORLD.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter of recent date in regard to the meaning of the word *tabarrā'* brings up an interesting question and requires some explanation. *Tabarrā'* in its strictest sense means to hold aloof, to keep at a distance, or to relinquish a connection of any kind, and hence, as you have stated, to free oneself from allegiance. It has also a secondary meaning¹ which denotes the act of execrating those who have wronged or abused the *ahl al-bayt*.² Its counter-term *tawallā* means to come close to or to approach some one, and also has a secondary meaning¹ which denotes love and respect, and hence the endearment of the *ahl al-bayt*. *Tawallā* and *tabarrā'* are both included by the Shi'is under the last two subdivisions of the *furū' al-dīn* (the secondary principles of the Muslim religion).

Every God-fearing and pious Muslim is expected to believe in the *uṣūl al-dīn* and cannot be considered a true Muslim unless he conforms with these primary and basic principles of Islam.³ Disbelief in the *furū' al-dīn*, however, does not invalidate his adherence to Islam, but results in sins which are punishable by prescribed laws. The *furū' al-dīn* are primarily designed for the benefit of the believer and fall under the general act of the *'ibādat* (divine worship). Compliance with the regulations set by the *furū' al-dīn* pleases God and helps to bring the worshipper nearer to Him.

The *furū' al-dīn* consists of: *namāz* or *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer), *rūzah* or *ṣawm* (fasting during the month of Ramaḍān), *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), *khums* (the one-fifth tax), *zakāt* (the alms-tax), *jihād* (joining the holy war), *amr-i ba ma'rūf* (advising the lawful acts), and *nahy az munkar* (forbidding the unlawful acts). The first six of these precepts are self-explanatory, but the last two are not easily understandable.

¹ This secondary meaning is explained by the well-known Turkish lexicographer Shams al-Dīn Sāmī in his *Qāmūs-i Turkt*, 2 vols., Constantinople, A.H. 1317.

² By *ahl al-bayt*, literally, "the people of the house," the Prophet's family including his wives and children is meant, but the Shi'is restrict this appellation to 'Alī, Fāṭimah, and their sons and descendants.

³ According to the Shi'i doctrine *uṣūl al-dīn*, or the primary principles of religion consist of: *tawhīd* (God's unity), *nubuwwat* (the apostleship of Muḥammad), *ma'ād* (the resurrection), *'adl* (the equitableness of God), and *imāmat* (the leadership of 'Alī and of his descendants). The other Muslim sects recognize only the first three of these basic principles.

Amr-i ba ma'rūf directs that every Muslim who is 'āqil (mentally sound) and *rashīd* (of age) should instruct and advise other Muslims to do good deeds and desirable acts which are in conformity with the *shar'* (the canon law). *Nahy az munkar*, on the other hand, directs that every Muslim who is 'āqil and *rashīd* should prohibit or prevent other Muslims from indulging in acts which are forbidden by the *shar'*.

In the early days of Islam *amr-i ba ma'rūf* was regarded as an incentive to good deeds and did not imply any idea of compulsion or force. In the same way, *nahy az munkar* was taken as a warning and did not contain any idea of threat or violence. Lack of any coercion in the beginning was based on the leniency on the part of the Law-maker Himself, who, for instance, has said in the Qur'ān: "Let there be no violence in religion."⁴ From this it was argued that since one could not be forced to become a Muslim, he could not very well be required to use coercion on others after becoming a Muslim himself.⁵ Besides, it was claimed that the Prophet had declared: "You have your religion, and I my religion";⁶ and again was it not revealed in the Qur'ān: "God will not force any one beyond his capacity,"⁷ therefore, why should one be forced to do things that he could not or he would not do? If he did not wish to pray or fast he should not be forced to do so. This liberality, however, did not last long; encouragements, stimulations, warnings, and gentle admonitions gave way to threat, force, violence, and even to bodily punishment. In order to substantiate their case and reasoning, religious zealots and fanatics quoted and even invented numerous *aḥādīth*. The freedom of the worshipper as far as *amr-i ba ma'rūf* and *nahy az munkar* were concerned, were curtailed to such an extent that whenever he tried to open his mouth a *ḥadīth* was quoted to check his objections, and if he dared to insist he was declared a heretic.

It is generally believed that *tabarrā'* was first practiced among the Shī'īs in Iran at the time of the Safawī rule. Some even claim that it originated in Iran during the sixteenth century, when it was used as a deadly weapon against the Sunnī Ottoman Turks by the rulers of the Safawī dynasty. This of course is not true. It is reported that 'Alī, standing before the dead body of his cousin Muḥammad, said: "I leave their religion and their world to the people devoting my time to your praise, O my religion and my world!"⁸ Later, at the time of the controversy over the question of the succession to the caliphate, he was quoted as saying: "I am leaving

⁴ *Lā ikrāha fī al-dīn*: Koran 2:257.

⁵ The above verse was particularly addressed to some of the first converts who, after becoming Muslims themselves, were reported to have used violence on their grown up sons and daughters who still remained idolaters.

⁶ *Lakum dīnukum wa liya dīn*: Koran 109:6.

⁷ *La yukallif allāhu nafsan illā wus'ahā*: Koran 2:286.

⁸ *Taraktu li al-nās dīnahum wa dunyahum shughlan bidhikrīka yā dīnī wa yādunyā'*: a *ḥadīth*.

(with) you the two estimable things;"⁹ he was therefore criticized by his opponents, and was declared from the pulpits as unfit for the position he was seeking. This, to my mind, was the beginning of *tabarrā'* and the end of *tawallā*. Fifty years later, in A. H. 61 (A. D. 680) when Yazīd took the caliphate upon himself and defeated the Prophet's grandsons, an act which resulted in the tragic event of the *shahādat-i kubrā* (great martyrdom), the Benī Umayyah rejoiced and bedecked Damascus with flags, congratulated one another on their success, and treated Muḥammad's household with great disregard and disrespect. Furthermore the severed heads of 'Alī's sons were exhibited in Damascus and in other Syrian cities, and permission for their burial was withheld for some time. People openly cursed the followers of 'Alī, and it was not until the accession of Mu'āwiyah, the son of Yazīd, that a truce was declared and an end was put to such atrocities. If all this was not contrary to the spirit of *tawallā*, I do not know what else could have been. The Safawīs took advantage of the existence of an old dispute and used it for the furtherance of their political aims. They extended *tabarrā'* to include the first three caliphs and Muḥammad's youthful wife 'Ā'ishah, who, they contended, took up arms against 'Alī and prevented him from getting what rightfully belonged to him.

It is difficult to discuss adequately in a letter such a complicated question as the full significance of *tabarrā'*, but if this incomplete information proves of interest to you I shall be glad.

Sincerely yours,

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

M. A. SIMSAR

⁹ *Innī tārikun fikum al-thaqalayn*: a *ḥadīth*. By the two estimable things, according to the Shi'is, the religion and the caliphate were meant. Lane in his *Lexicon* after defining the word *thaqalayn* as *anything held in high estimation, in much request, and preserved with care*, quotes the above *ḥadīth* by adding the words *kitāb allāhi wa 'itrati* to it, and then offers the following translation: *verily I am leaving among you the two objects of high estimation and of care, the Book of God, and my kindred, or nearer kindred.*

GOD'S DECREES AND MAN'S RESPONSIBILITY

AN ATTEMPT BY AL-GHAZALI TO RECONCILE THE TWO

Though we meet the problem of God's decrees in all the great world religions, the emphasis laid by Islam on the doctrine of foreordination has caused this doctrine to be specially associated with that religion. The problem becomes one of more than academic importance when we try to reconcile the moral responsibility of man with the belief in the absoluteness of God's decrees. For in Islam the doctrine of God's unity stands for far more than the belief that God is one; it also includes the idea that God is the only creator, the only initiator, the only causer, the only doer. All that happens is done by God—why, then, blame man, for he has done nothing.

According to this view the whole world is very much like a marionette show. We laugh at the antics of the actors as though the antics were theirs, but it is all an illusion; every movement is produced by invisible strings pulled from above. So on the stage of the world, man seems to act, but it, too, is an illusion; God pulls the strings, for He is the only doer.

Where the doctrine has been used to rationalize faults of character and moral impotence, it has done much mischief. At the same time it would be a great mistake to conclude that the formal acceptance of this doctrine necessarily leads to fatalistic conduct. The energy with which the Arabs have carried through their military and maritime conquests proves that such is not always the case.

Dr. F. L. Bakker, in his Dutch study on "The Relation Between the Omnipotence of God and Man's Moral Responsibility in Islam" makes a valuable contribution to this subject. He shows that Mohammedan theologians have

been keenly aware of the difficulty of this problem, and that they have striven to find a place for the moral responsibility of man. This they have tried to do with their doctrine of *kasab*, according to which, at the moment God creates an act, a man agrees to make it his own, or rejects it. He thus becomes responsible for the act which, in reality, God has performed.

Among those who hold the doctrine of *kasab*, Dr. Bakker mentions al-Ghazali. This possibly accounts for the fact that with all his firm belief in the absolute decrees of God, al-Ghazali sees nothing contradictory in trying to revive his religion. In Volume iv of the *Iḥyā'*, p. 301, we find an interesting section where he deals specifically with this problem. It comes under the heading of *Ḥāl al-Ridā*, whereby is meant the religious state where the believer is well pleased with whatever God does. The question arises in this way: if we are to be pleased with, and approve of, whatever God does, then we must approve of evil also, for God does everything that is done. This gives rise to the discussion, of which I give a somewhat free translation:—

Perhaps when we say that you have to be well pleased with all that God does, you will make the following objection: "Both tradition and revelation tell us that we are to approve of all God's decrees. But if you say that sin is outside the sphere of God's decrees, you hold to an absurdity, for that would infringe His unity; on the other hand, if you hold that sin takes place by the decree of God, then the fact that you hate and abhor sin amounts to hating and abhorring the decrees of God. How can we reconcile these two contradictions? How can we be well pleased with anything and hate it at the same time?" In answer we must keep in mind that this problem confuses weak people, who have failed to grasp the secrets of knowledge. In fact there are people who consider this state of non-objecting to evil as a proof of acquiescence in and approval of God's decrees, and who therefore consider this attitude most admirable. That is pure ignorance. We answer that to approve and to hate one and the same thing, at the same time,

from the same standpoint is a contradiction; but there need be no contradiction if we approve of a thing from one standpoint and hate it from another. For example: if an enemy of yours, who is also a mortal enemy of an enemy of yours, dies, you might regret his death because an enemy of your enemy had died; but you might find satisfaction in it because an enemy of yours had died. So also, sin has two aspects. From the standpoint of God Almighty, since the sin is His act, and happens according to His will and decree, we are pleased with it and resign the matter to the Ruler of all, approving of whatever He does. But from the standpoint of man, since the sin is the man's doing and flows from his nature, and also since the fact that God alienates the sinner from Him and hates him proves that God hates and abhors sin—I say, from this point of view, sin is hateful and reprehensible.

This can best be illustrated by an example. Suppose a man, beloved of the people, were to say, in the presence of his friends, "I wish to distinguish between those that love me and those that hate me. To that end I have decided upon a sure test, which will bring this matter clearly to light. I am going to afflict and beat one of my friends with such violence that he will revile me so bitterly that I will hate him and become his enemy. Then I will know that everyone who loves him is my enemy, and that everyone who hates him loves me and is my friend." He did so, and attained his purpose; he made the man revile him, and the reviling brought on anger, and the anger enmity.

So now anyone whose love is sincere and who knows the requirements of love can say, "As to your plan to injure the man by striking him, banishing him from your presence and making him the object of your anger and enmity, I like it very much and approve of it, for it was your thought, your act, your arrangement and will. As to his reviling you, it was enmity on his part, since he could have endured patiently and not reviled you; nevertheless the reviling was your object, since by striking him you aimed to make him revile you so as to expose him to your wrath, and I am

therefore well pleased with it, for you obtained the object of your will and plan; for had you not succeeded in making him revile you, there would have been a defect in your plan and your wish would have been thwarted; and I hate to see your will thwarted.

“But on the other hand, in so far as the anger comes from the man himself and is what he approves (*Kasab*) his wrath and rebellion against you are contrary to what your perfection demands, since that perfection required from him that he should have had patience and not retaliated with reviling,—I hate it from the standpoint that this reviling came from the man himself, but not from the standpoint that it was your desire and in harmony with your plan.

“And as to your anger with that man because he reviled you, I like it and approve of it, for such was your will, and in line with that, I also hate the man himself, for it is the rule of friendship that one loves the friend of one’s friend and hates his enemy. And also, as to his anger against you, I am well pleased with that too, for you wanted him to hate you when you alienated him and exposed him to the incentives to anger; but I hate that anger in so far as it came from the nature of the man and it was his own act (*Kasab*) and doing, and I hate the angry man also because he is angry with you, and his anger and wrath with you are also detested by me because they come from his nature. And since all this comes about because of what you will to do, I approve of it.”

There is a contradiction here if you said, “Because such was your will, it is acceptable to me, and because it was your will I detest it.” But if the thing is hated, not because it is the will and act of the friend, but because it comes from another person’s will and character, then there is no contradiction. Everything that can be hated because of one of its aspects, and can be approved of because of another aspect, is a proof of this. Examples are numberless.

If God exposes a man to the incentives to passion and

sin so that these may lead him to the love of sin, and the love of sin leads him to transgression, we have a parallel to our parable, where the friend struck a man in order that the beating might lead to anger, and the anger, in turn, to enmity. And the wrath of God against those who transgress resembles the reviled man's anger with the reviler, even though the reviling came about as the result of the reviled man's planning and from causes which he himself had arranged. And this is the procedure of God with everyone—I mean the fact that God exposed him to the incentives to sin proves that what came first was God's will, when he estranged the man from Himself, and became wroth with him. And it is incumbent upon everyone who loves God to hate the man whom God hates, and to be filled with wrath against him with whom God is wroth and to be the enemy of the man whom God has estranged from Himself, even though He compelled him by force and power, to transgress and disobey Him. Such a man is accursed and cast out from the divine Presence, even though he is far away because God forced him to be so, and is cast out because He rejected him and compelled him to be so. And those who are far from God ought to be hated and condemned by all those who love God in harmony with His due, by showing anger against all those against whom the Beloved shows anger by estranging them from Himself.

All this is repeatedly proved by tradition in what it says concerning hatred for God's sake, and love for God, of resentment against unbelievers, of treating them harshly and hating them excessively, while, at the same time, one heartily approves of the decrees of God which made them what they are. All these things depend upon the mystery of God's decrees, which may not be explained. The mystery is that both good and evil are by the decree and will of God. The decreed evil is hateful and the decreed good is worthy of approval.

He who says that evil is not from God, is an ignoramus; so also the man who says that both are from God, without any distinction as to their being hateful or worthy of ap-

proval, is lacking in understanding. The solution of this mystery is not permitted, and it is better to let the matter rest and to be guided by the direction of the law. Mohammed said, "Predestination is a secret of God: do not try to explain it." It belongs to the science of interpretation, but it is my purpose, as far as the religious life of the common man is concerned, to prove that we can be pleased with God's decrees and can hate sin, even though the sin be by God's decree. The purpose is plain without explaining the mystery connected with it.

As we conclude the translation from al-Ghazali, we agree with Dr. Bakker when he says that the Mohammedan theologians by their doctrine of *kasab* have not really solved the problem of God's decrees and man's moral responsibility. This is clearly illustrated by this attempt of al-Ghazali to reconcile the two. After a prolonged discussion and a carefully worked out illustration, he comes back to the mystery of the decrees, which man cannot hope to understand. The question still remains: if we are to approve of all God's decrees, how can that exclude approving of sin, since God is the only doer and He is the one who leads astray.

At the same time we also agree with Dr. Bakker when he expresses his appreciation of the fact that the theologians have sensed the acuteness of this problem and made a serious attempt to safeguard the responsibility of man.

Kuwait, Arabia.

G. J. PENNINGS.

GOICHON'S THREE BOOKS ON AVICENNA'S PHILOSOPHY*

Despite its title, the first of the three books of Dr. Goichon does not deal with what is technically known in the history of mediaeval philosophy as the problem of essence and existence. In its strictly technical sense, the problem of essence and existence is a logical problem of predication which may be formulated as a question whether the term existence when predicated of a subject affirms something which is added to the essence of the subject or whether it affirms something which is identical with the essence of the subject. Directly through the works of Avicenna and more so indirectly through Averroes' discussions of the problem, in which Avicenna is held up as the exponent of the view that existence is an accident superadded to the essence of the subject, Avicenna has become associated in western philosophy with that particular view, though historically he is not the originator of it. In the work before us, though this problem in its technical sense is not overlooked, it is used in the title in a much broader sense. It serves as a sort of framework for the entire metaphysics of Avicenna.

The use of this specific problem as a general framework for the entire metaphysics of Avicenna is quite a legitimate device and one may cite as a precedent for it the work of Rivaud in which the philosophy of Spinoza is presented under the general title of "Les notions d'essence et d'existence dans la philosophie de Spinoza" (1906). Still I do not believe that the rearrangement of the topic of Avicenna's metaphysics under these two contrasting terms is any im-

* A.-M. Goichon. *La Distinction de l'Essence et de l'Existence d'après Ibn Sinā (Avicenne)*. Paris. Desclée de Brouwer. 1937. pp. xvi+546.

Idem, *Lexique de la Langue Philosophique d'Ibn Sinā (Avicenne)*. Paris. Desclée de Brouwer. 1938. pp. xiv+496.

Idem, *Vocabulaires Comparés d'Aristote et d'Ibn Sinā*. Paris. Desclée de Brouwer. 1939. pp. xvi+48.

provement upon the order which he himself has followed in his own systematic writings. From the point of view of historical investigation, quite the contrary, any deviation from the original order in which a system of philosophy is presented is in some respects a vitiation of one of the essential characteristics of the system itself. The order chosen by a philosopher for the presentation of his problems is in itself a part of his philosophy. The disposition of the topics of metaphysics in Avicenna's philosophy follows a certain pre-designed and well-devised plan, which has deep historical roots and which has also had a far-reaching historical influence. This plan is in itself an integral part of his philosophy.

Still, under the contrast of the concepts of essence and existence, Dr. Goichon manages to deal in logical sequence with every problem dealt with by Avicenna in his formal treatises on metaphysics. Beginning with a discussion of the concept of being or existence, she deals with such topics as the definition of metaphysics in terms of being, the meaning of being and thing, being and unity, being as substance and as accident, and being as truth (pp. 1-28). Proceeding from this to a discussion of the concept of essence, she deals with the problem of universals and predicables (pp. 29-129). A discussion of the relation between essence and existence, including a restatement of Avicenna's view that in God they are identical, whereas in the world they are distinct, naturally follows as the next topic (pp. 130-155).

Inasmuch as the contrast between the identity of essence and existence in God and their distinction in the world implies also contrasts between God as necessary and the world as possible, God as actual and the world as potential and finally God as cause and the world as effect, the author enters into a detailed discussion of these three contrasting concepts (pp. 156-334). Under the last of these three contrasting concepts, she deals with all the variety of problems which are involved in the dependence of the world upon God as its cause (pp. 203-334), such as the nature of creation and emanation, the order of the process of emanation,

God's knowledge and will in the act of creation, the eternity of the process of creation and the intermediaries between God and the world, such as the Intelligences or angels, from among which the Active Intellect and the part it plays in prophecy is singled out for special discussion.

God and the world, each considered in itself, are, as is to be expected, the last two topics discussed by the author (pp. 335-493). Under God, she discusses Avicenna's proof for the existence of God from possibility and necessity (pp. 335-338) and a variety of topics which are generally included under the heading of the nature of God or divine attributes, such as the self-sufficiency of God and the identity of His essence with truth, goodness, love and life (pp. 355-374). Under the world, she discusses such topics as matter, form, body, the principle of individuation and the world of immaterial beings (pp. 377-493).

This wide range of topics, in their new arrangement devised by the author, covers the entire field of metaphysics as treated by Avicenna in the fourth Book of his *Shifa'* and the third Book of his *Najāt*. Now every student of philosophy knows that none of these topics was invented by Avicenna. They all go back to some source and they are all, in the form in which they are stated by Avicenna, the result of a long process of historical development. Dr. Goichon, however, does not go in for genetically historical studies. When she discusses Avicenna's concept of being, for instance, she does not try to find out how the various topics under this problem have developed from Aristotle's definition of metaphysics as being *qua* being (*Metaphysics* VI, 1, 1026a, 31-32) and from his fourfold division of being into being by accident, being in the sense of truth, being as potential and as actual, and being according to the ten varieties of the categories (*ibid.* V, 7, 1017a, 7 ff.). Again, when she discusses Avicenna's concept of essence, she does not try to find out how the topics dealt with in this discussion have developed from Aristotle's treatment of the predicables in the various parts of his *Organon* and from his scattered statements about the nature of universals in various places

in his works. Similarly when she discusses Avicenna's conception of God as the Necessary Being, she does not try to find out how this conception has developed from Aristotle's brief statement that God is the Absolutely Necessary (*Metaphysics* XII, 7, 1072b, 10-13). When she discusses Avicenna's conception of the order of the process of emanation, she does not try to find out how this has developed from the order of the process of emanation as conceived by Plotinus. And so also with every other topic dealt with in the book. Every one of these topics has a long and complicated history—a history which is to be followed up not as a mere aesthetic satisfaction to a prying intellectual curiosity but rather as a primary and essential requirement for an exact and thorough understanding of the full significance of Avicenna's own position. But not having gone into this kind of inquiry, as the author herself admits (*Vocabulaires*, p. xi), she did well, I believe, in refraining from scattering some casual references to ancient sources, such as Aristotle and Plotinus. To do so would have been easy, but it would hardly have met the situation. In most cases there is a wide gap between any single ancient source and the corresponding statement by Avicenna—a gap which can be filled only by a complete and painstaking study of the problem in each particular case. Any historical study of this kind if it is done at all, should be done properly or else it should be omitted altogether. To have omitted historical investigations in a work like this on Avicenna is no defect; it is only a self-limitation on the part of the author of the scope of her undertaking. To have attempted to do it haphazardly would have been indeed a serious defect.

Limited though the book is with respect to external historical sources, it abounds in passages quoted from the writing of Avicenna with certain selections of parallel passages from the writings of Farabi and Ghazali. According to the author's own statement, no less than 2,500 passages are quoted in carefully prepared translations (*Lexique*, p. x). Owing to the inaccessibility of the works of Avicenna to the general student of philosophy, the work of Dr. Goichon,

besides its being a study of Avicenna, has the additional merit of a source book.

Another valuable feature of the book is its many studies of terminology. Especially notable is its discussion of the Arabic terms for essence (pp. 30-45) and of the terms expressing the concept of creation (pp. 244-258). To these studies of terminology, which are scattered throughout the first of the three books (*Distinction*), the author has added a second book (*Lexique*) in which 792 Arabic terms are minutely defined in their various shades of meaning and copiously illustrated by appropriate quotations both in the original Arabic and in translation. A third book (*Vocabulaires*), described as a supplement to the second book, provides 450 Greek equivalents to as many Arabic terms.

In the *Lexique*, where the chief purpose of the author was to determine the fine shades of the meaning of terms out of the internal evidence of Arabic texts, she has purposely omitted Greek equivalents, for the reason, as she declares, that there are not always Greek equivalents for certain shades of meaning which Arabic philosophic terms have acquired in the course of their history (*Vocabulaires*, p. viii), and consequently in her *Vocabulaires* she has confined herself to terms for which exact Greek equivalents could be found. While the statement is on the whole true, it exaggerates, in my opinion, the impossibility of finding Greek equivalents for the special meanings which philosophic terms have acquired in Arabic literature. Intensive studies of the history of the problems as well as of the texts in which such terms are used in their special meaning will often bring to light, I believe, their exact Greek equivalents. I shall try to illustrate this point by the example of a few terms which the present reviewer once had occasion to investigate.

The term *wahm* in its technical sense of what the Scholastics call *aestimatio* is declared by the author to have no Greek equivalent (*Vocabulaires*, p. 40). But I have shown, by a study of the history of the problem, that this term reflects the Greek terms σύνεσις, φρόνησις and πρόνοια

as used by Aristotle in connection with animals (*cf.* my "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic and Hebrew Philosophic Texts," *Harvard Theological Review*, 28 (1935), pp. 89-90). Incidentally, under *zann* (*Lexique*, § 405), the author should have recorded Avicenna's use of the term as an equivalent of *wahm* (*cf.* "The Internal Senses," *ibid.*, p. 100, n. 43, and also p. 93, n. 22, and p. 106, n. 64). It may also be remarked that the references to Aristotle's *De Anima* III, 9, 432a, 16; III, 2, 426b, 10; and *Analytica Posteriora* II, 19, 99b, 35 which the author suggests as possible sources for *wahm* (*Voculaires*, p. 40) have nothing to do with *wahm*. The τὸ κριτικόν implied in all these three passages refers only to the element of discrimination which according to Aristotle is to be found in the external senses (*cf.* commentaries of Rodier and Hicks on *De Anima*, 432a, 16).

For *fikr* in its various forms the term διάνοια is given by the author as the Greek equivalent (*Voculaires*, p. 25). This is true for the original meaning of the term *fikr*. But the term is also used by Avicenna in its newly acquired meaning as a designation of one of the internal senses, and the author herself reports this special use of the term under *mufakkirah* (*Lexique*, § 524). Now the Greek equivalent of this special use of *fikr* is not διάνοια but rather φαντασία λογιστική or βουλευτική (*cf.* "The Internal Senses," *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92).

In trying to assign Greek equivalents to Arabic philosophic terms one must never lose sight of the distinction between terms which are equivalents both etymologically and in meaning, and terms which are equivalents only in meaning but differ in etymology. This distinction is quite often overlooked by Dr. Goichon in her *Voculaires*. In many instances, when Greek etymological equivalents could be found for their corresponding Arabic terms, she gives terms which are equivalents in meaning only. I shall illustrate this by several examples.

For *hāfiẓah* the author gives the Greek μνήμη (*Voculaires*, p. 8). Etymologically the Arabic for this Greek

term is *dhākīrah*. *Hāfīzah* is its equivalent only in meaning. I have shown that the use of *hāfīzah* in the sense of memory reflects the Greek *σωτηρία* used by Plato in *Philebus* 34A and John of Damascus in *De Fide Orthodoxa* II, 20, also the Greek *συντήρησις* used by Galen in connection with memory in *Definitiones Medicae* 124 (*Opera Omnia*, ed. Kühn, XIX, 381) and perhaps also the term *ἔξις* in the expression *φαντάσματος ἔξις* used by Aristotle in connection with memory in *De Memoria et Reminiscentia*, 1, 451a, 15-16 (*cf.* "The Internal Senses," *op. cit.*, p. 102, n. 49).

For *riyādīyah* the author gives the Greek *μαθηματική* (*Vocabulaires*, p. 8, under *Hikmah*). Etymologically the Arabic for this Greek term is *ta'limīyah*, for which, by the way, the author does not give its use in the sense of mathematics (*Lexique*, § 457). The Arabic *riyādīyah*, I have shown, reflects the Greek *προπαιδεία* (or rather *παιδεία*) which Plato uses as a description of mathematics in *Republic* VII, 536 D. (*cf.* my "Classification of the Sciences in Mediaeval Jewish Philosophy," *Hebrew Union College Jubilee Volume*, 1925, p. 268, n. 22). It is interesting to note that one of the Hebrew translations of the Arabic term *riyādah* is the Biblical word *musar* which in the Septuagint is often translated by *παιδεία* (*cf.* my "Additional Notes to . . . the Classification of the Sciences," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 3 (1926), p. 372).

For *halla* the author gives the passive Greek *δέχεσθαι* (*Vocabulaires*, p. 8). Etymologically there is no connection between these two terms. I have once suggested that the Arabic *halla* reflects the Greek *ἔπειμι* which is used exactly in the same sense by Plotinus when he speaks of form as coming upon, or entering into (*ἔπεισι*), matter (*Enneads*, II, 4, 8, ed. Didot, p. 75, 1. 44. *cf.* my *Crescas' Critique of Aristotle*, 1929 p. 544, n. 11).

For the term *mahall* the author gives the Greek *δεκτικόν*, *réceptacle* (*Vocabulaires*, p. 8). However, there is no etymological connection between these terms. Furthermore, there is a good Arabic etymological equivalent of this

Greek term in the term *qābil* (cf. Ghazali, *Maqāsid al-Falāsifah* II: Metaphysics I, Cairo, without date, p. 90, 11. 8-14). The author refers to *Categories*, 5, 4a, 11, as evidence for her explanation of the term *maḥall*. But in that passage the Greek δεκτικόν is translated by the Arabic *qābil* (cf. Bouyges, *Averroès: Talkhiṣ Kitāb al-Maqoulat*, 1932, p. 33, 1. 141 of text at bottom of page). I therefore suggest, though I have no textual evidence at hand to support this suggestion, that *maḥall* reflects the Greek κώρα and ἔδρα (*Timaeus* 52 A and cf. *Physics* IV, 2, 209b, 11-12) which Plato identifies with matter on account of the fact that matter like these two terms is also a "receptacle": ὑποδοχή (*Timaeus* 51 A) or a "participant": μεταληπτικόν (*Physics* IV, 2, 209b, 12-13 reflecting μεταλαμβάνον in *Timaeus* 51A). The latter of these terms, however, was taken in the Arabic version of the *Physics* to mean "recipient of change"; for, according to the Latin translation of that Arabic version, it was rendered into Arabic by "*illud . . . quod recipit mutationem*" (*Aristotelis Opera, Venetiis, apud Iuntas* 1574, Vol. IV, p. 126 L) which is interpreted by Averroes as "*illud quod recipit mutationem et successionem formarum*" (*ibid.*, com. 15, p. 127 C). The Greek κώρα and ἔδρα and the Arabic *maḥall* all have the same essential meaning—*place, position, abode*.

An understandable slip is the author's use of the Greek συνώνυμον as used in *Categories*, 1, 1a, 6, as the equivalent of the Arabic *ism murādif* (*Vocabulaires*, p. 13 under *Smw*). This is not quite correct. In Aristotle, as Liddell and Scott will tell us, the term συνώνυμον has two meanings. In logic, it means a term which is applied to two things which are the same in genus but differ in species and it is usually translated by the Latin *univocus*. In rhetoric, it refers to words which have a different form but the same meaning. Now in Arabic, the Greek term in its logical sense is translated by *ism mutawāṭi'*, whereas the same term in its rhetorical sense has the same meaning as the term "synonym" in English and is translated by *ism*

murādif (see, e. g., Bouyges, *Averroès: Talkhiç Kitab al-Makoulat*, p. 6, 1. 5 of text at bottom of page; Ghazali, *Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah I: Logic*, p. 11; cf. D. Z. Baneth, "La-Terminologiyyah ha-Philosopfit shel ha-Rambam," *Tarbiz*, 6 (1935), p. 35). Consequently the Arabic for $\sigma\upsilon\nu\omega\nu\mu\omicron\nu$ in *Categories*, 1, 1a, 6, is not *ism murādif* but rather *ism mutawāṭi'*.

For *taṣḍīq* the author gives $\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ as the Greek equivalent (*Vocabulaires*, p. 15). Etymologically, however, the Arabic for this Greek term is *īmān* or *i'tiqād*. But still in Arabic translations from the Greek, the Greek $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ is sometimes translated by the Arabic *taṣḍīq*, as, for instance, in the Arabic translation of *Metaphysics* III, 2, 997b, 18 (cf. Bouyges, *Averroès: Tafsir Ma Ba'd at-Tabi'at*, 1938, p. 208, 1. 5). Undoubtedly, the Arabic term *taṣḍīq*, like so many other Arabic terms, has acquired a new meaning, and this new meaning, again as in the case of so many other Arabic terms, must have been acquired by it as a result of its close association with that term whose meaning it has acquired. In this particular case, I believe, the explanation is to be found in the old definition of belief (*īmān*, *i'tiqād*) in terms of truth (*taṣḍīq*) which was current in Arabic philosophy (cf. Shahrastani, *Kitāb al-Milal wal-Nihal*, ed. Cureton, p. 62, 1. 20, and p. 73, 11. 2-3; Maimonides, *Moreh Nebukim* I, 50 beginning; cf. also D. Kaufmann, *Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters*, p. 369, n. 9).

A similar consideration may also explain the use of the term *taṣḍīq* in the statement that all knowledge is either *taṣawwur* or *taṣḍīq*, which occurs so often in Arabic books on logic and which the author herself quotes from Avicenna's *Najāt* (*Lexique*, § 347). On the whole, this distinction reflects Aristotle's distinction between $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ (*De Interpretatione*, 4, 16b, 27-28) of which the corresponding Arabic terms are *lafzah* and *ijāb* (cf. I. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in der arabischen Übersetzung des Ishāk Ibn Ḥonain*, 1913, p. 6). Now as for the change of $\phi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ to *taṣawwur* it has been explained as

being due to the Stoic restatement of Aristotle's distinction as a distinction between φαντασία and συγκατάθεσις (cf. Paul Kraus, "Abstracta Islamica," p. 220, in *Revue des Études Islamiques*, 9, 1935). The use of the term *taṣḍīq*, however, is not explainable by its corresponding Stoic term, for they are not etymological equivalents. Here, again, the explanation is to be found in the fact that Aristotle defines ἀποφαντικός in its affirmative sense (κατάφασις) in contradistinction to its negative sense (ἀπόφασις) as that which contains truth: τὸ ἀληθεύειν (cf. *De Interpretatione*, 4, 17a, 2-3, and 6, 17a, 25-26), and so also the term συγκατάθεσις is used by the Stoics as a criterion of truth.

Etymologically, then, the Greek equivalent of *taṣḍīq* is ἀληθεύειν.

In the light of the preceding discussion, furthermore, Avicenna does not always use *taṣawwur* as the equivalent of the Greek νόημα (*Vocabulaires*, p. 15). In other Arabic texts the term *taṣawwur* is definitely used in the sense of imagination as one of the internal senses (cf. "The Internal Senses," *op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 61; cf. also p. 100, n. 42; 104, n. 58; p. 108, n. 73). On the whole, it would seem that the Arabic *taṣawwur* has the general meaning of being represented by a form, and it is always to be determined from the context whether it is an intellectual form or an imaginative form. This may be inferred from the fact that in *De Anima* III, 3, 427b, 27, τὸ νοεῖν is translated not by *al-taṣawwur* but rather by *al-taṣawwur bi-al-'aql* (cf. Averroes' Middle Commentary on *De Anima ad loc.*, MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. Heb. 1009) and it is said to consist partly of imagination φαντασία, *takhayyul*) and partly of judgment (ὑπόληψις, *ra'y*) (cf. *De Anima*, *loc. cit.* 28).

We do not hesitate to assert that these works of Dr. Goichon on Avicenna contain notable contributions to our knowledge of Arabic philosophic terminology as well as valuable material for further study and research.

BASEBALL IN THE GARDEN OF ALLAH

It is rash to assume knowledge of Africa, in the case of the average American or European. Africa is a super-continent six thousand miles long, and, north of the equator, four thousand miles wide. The *mehari* camel, crossing the desert at the speed of fifty miles daily, consumes six weeks in the journey from Algiers south to Koutounou, or the distance from Santa Fé to Philadelphia. A voyage from the Sudanese kingdom of Darfur west to Dakar, on the Senegalese Atlantic, (Cincinnati to Los Angeles), would necessitate two months. From Rabat, Morocco, southeast to Bahr-el-Ghazal (Baltimore to Seattle), would take nine weeks. French West Africa could contain two dozen Kentuckys, while the Sahara alone is equivalent in area to the whole of the United States.

French North Africa comprises Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia, contiguous territory corresponding roughly to Mauretania, Numidia and proconsular Africa. Down to the end of the Middle Ages Algeria was historically inseparable from Tunisia and Morocco. The whole coast as far as the Atlantic had been colonized by the Carthaginians, and all of South Algeria by the Romans, before the period of decadence set in. Morocco, excluding the small Spanish zone, is as large as Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. Algeria equals in extent New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Tennessee. Tunisia is equivalent to North Carolina or Louisiana in area. From west to east these possessions contain ten, six, and two and a half millions of inhabitants respectively.

Tunisia completes the French triad in North Africa. Freeman accepts Tunis as four centuries older than Carthage. The razing of Carthage by Rome was doubtless one

of the crimes of history. Had Carthage endured, even as a vassal city, the history of North Africa probably would have been profoundly changed. Carthage, with her wealth of allies and the tradition of the glorious Hannibal, history's greatest general, according to his imitator, Napoleon, might well have repelled the Moslem armies in the seventh century and saved 40,000 churches from eradication. Six hundred and one years after its destruction by Scipio, the Punic city wreaked striking vengeance. In Genseric, historians are beginning to recognize the last great man of Carthage. With but 16,000 fighting men the Vandal king had traversed Lusitania and North Africa, never bowing the knee to Rome. In 455 A. D., Genseric sacked Rome and transported the booty to Carthage, including many relics from the Holy Land! In his picturesque language Monsieur Gauthier speaks of the "Fourth Punic War."

Eclipsed by her neighbor Carthage for centuries, Tunis has survived. Tunis, lying pearl-tinted against the blue lagoons with its pink flamingoes, is the capital of a colorful and magical land of surprises. Even without its *souks* or markets, pure fascination to the visitors, Tunis would be the attraction for many excursions, with its vast ruins and picturesque environs,—moving souvenirs of history. Little Punic architecture remains, but no other country can boast of such a profusion of Roman ruins as Tunisia. The vestiges of vanished civilizations are even more impressive than in Italy: Carthaginian, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Norman, Spanish and Turkish. Successive battles and invasions, for which Tunisia was the prize, have brought about a profound mixture of races. Into this mingled carnival and mystery of Oriental life, in a land settled by Queen Elissa Dido (fugitive) nearly three thousand years ago, has come King Baseball.

The first baseball team in North Africa—the "Carthage Orioles"—was formed by the writer, while director of the Arab Boys' Foyer of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Tunis, in 1921. The Carthage-Orioles, name of double prestige, are not only the *doyens* of more than a hundred

teams, but are the present champions of Tunisia, in the year of the centenary of the sport. In order to win the confidence of the young men, most of whom attended neither mosque, church nor synagogue, and to break down if possible some of the ancient barriers of racial and religious prejudice, the "Ligue Tunisienne de Base Ball" was launched. Theological differences passed speedily into the background, in a discussion of base hits and pitching technique. "Nine" nationalities were represented in the league: French, Arab, Maltese, Jewish, Italian, Kabyle-Berber, Greek, Turkish and White Russian exiles, still faithful to Kerensky and Wrangel.

No American export, excepting the films, autos and tractors, has made more rapid progress than the game in which the young man who strikes out for himself receives no credit for it. "Strike" and "home-run" are almost as well known as "Maytime" and the Marx brothers. One of the early laughs of the new sport occurred when the Arab, Jewish or Kabyle batters, *burnous* and *jibba* flowing, set sail for third base. (Was it because the Semites write from right to left?) The main diamonds of the sport in Tunis are between palm-lined Avenue Gambetta and the lake of Tunis, which stretches out toward Carthage, ten miles on the left, and the majestic peaks of Bou-Kornine (Father Two-Horns), on the right. Corsican gendarmes keep the spectators at a safe distance from the foul lines. Since many balls are lost over the walls of the stadiums built for soccer, most of the matches are played by preference on uninclosed diamonds.

During the innings Arab vendors, balancing trays on their *fezzes*, sell *merghez* and *makreuths* to the Semitic spectators, while the Europeans are partial to lemonade, *brioche*s and *croissants*. Senegalese soldiers are the only Colored bystanders. The black veils and the white *haiks* of the Arab women are making a timid appearance at the games. Remembering the freedom of their Turkish sisters, the younger Arab ladies are curtailing their veils and are otherwise attired like Parisiennes. When the hot lava of

discussion is flowing down on the head of the poor umpire, the spectatrix is more considerate than her husband or brother.

The majority of the one hundred and sixty North African baseball teams have been formed and coached in colleges and high schools by me, as federal delegate on international relations of the Fédération Française de Base Ball. Beginning at the extreme west of the "circuit," ten teams were formed in the "Lycées" and other schools in Marrakech, Rabat, Casablanca and Fez, in Morocco, where no league exists as yet. Crossing the frontier into Algeria, our national sport has been demonstrated in the schools of Oran, Algiers, Constantine, Philippeville and Bône. After a later start, Algiers with thirty-four teams, is catching up with Tunis, which boasts fifty-one in the capital alone. The only European university in French North Africa has its seat at Algiers. The faculties of law and medicine are represented by the team of the Racing Universitaire Algérois.

In Tunisia the most unique club in scholastic circles is that of the Grande Mosquée Djemaâ Zeitouna. Built as a church twelve centuries ago, restored by Charles V. of Spain four hundred and four years ago, the Mosque of the Olive Tree occupies the original site. The other teams in the collegiate group at Tunis include the College Alaoui, Lycée Carnot, Liceo Italiano, the Arab College Sadiki, Ecole d'Agriculture, Ecole Normale d' Instituteurs, Ecole Professionnelle Emile Loubet, Ecole d'Apprentissage, Alliance Israélite and the Mouderrès.

If enough material were available baseball would spread to every town and village from the Mediterranean to the Sahara. Teams have been launched in Sfax, second only to Tunis in size; in the third city, Bizerta, one of the great natural naval ports of the world, and the northernmost town in Africa; in Sousse, close rival for third rank; in Béja, Mahdia, Monastir, Nabeul, and near the Libyan frontier, Gabès, on the blue Mediterranean, with its immediate hinterland of sand and oases. The game is being played by soldiers and students, high in the mountains at the summer

resort of Aïn-draham, near the Algerian frontier; at Tabarca, on the northwest coast of Tunisia, near dunes of immaculate sand, delicately rippled and colored by the choicest tints of nature's palette; in the southwest, at Tozeur and Nefta, a most idyllic Saharan Eden, with 400,000 palms—teams organized by the Arab postmaster, who became an enthusiast in the Tunis Foyer; on the southeast, at the largest island off the coast of North Africa—Djerba, the ancient Mninx, isle of lotus-eaters and golden sands, with relics of Normans, Aragonese and Turks.

Scholastic baseball has been introduced by the writer in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Southeast of Tunis at 512 miles, on roads used by auto-racers, lies Tripoli, capital of ancient Libya. Across the Gulf of Sidra is Bengazi, capital of ancient and modern Cyrenaica (or Barca). Further towards the Egyptian border is Derna. Septimus Severus (193-211) and Alexander Severus, Roman emperors, were natives of the country of the immortal Simon of Cyrene. Greek colonists built Cyrene about 2500 years ago, seventeen miles from the Mediterranean. Once a city of a hundred thousand souls, Cyrene was an intellectual and artistic center of the area. Medical students came from Asia Minor, Athens and Egypt. Native kings, Alexander the Great, the Ptolemies and Rome ruled in turn, until the destruction of the city in the fifth century. An area enclosed by a wall four miles in circumference is now being restored by Italy. The recent excavations at Homs, between Tripoli and Banghazi, attest how Septimus and his brother embellished their native Libya. Americans will recall how the corsair strongholds of Tripoli and Derna were bombarded by Yankee frigates in 1804-1805. The first game of baseball to be played at Derna, on Washington's birthday, 1930, between Arab and Italian students, was disputed in the shadow of an American fort erected exactly 125 years before! One year after the formation of the teams in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, Italy adopted baseball as one of her national sports.

The new game from the Occident is winning its way in circles other than collegiate. The strongest soccer clubs of

the Division d'Honneur of the capitals of Algiers and Tunis, cities of a quarter of a million, are adopting the American game as spring and summer sport. These include, at Algiers, the A. S. St. Eugene, Gallia Sports, Mouloudia, Olympic Hussein-Dey, Racing Club Maison Carrée, Racing Universitaire; at Tunis, the Avant-Garde, Club Africain, Espérance Sportive, Italian Racing and Sporting Clubs, Stade Gaulois, and Union Sportive Tunisienne. Before a capacity crowd in the Municipal Stadium on Christmas Day, the Tunis baseball league disputed the finals of the Coupe de Noël, as a curtain-raiser to the annual soccer match between Tunis and Constantine, Algeria, three hundred miles away, half way to Algiers.

It would seem that the future of a sport is assured, when one finds boys of eight to twelve years playing ball on the vacant lots of Algiers and Tunis, sometimes with only a rubber or tennis ball and a broom handle, and home-made gloves of goat skin. In Tunis, the blind alleys of the Night Watchman and the Wrestler, the Impasses des Etoiles and de la Lune, are producing as many adepts as the Boulevard Maréchal Joffre, Avenue des Etats-Unis or the Rue Sadok Bey. In Algiers, six great apartment houses are located near the military terrain of the 5th Chasseurs, used by the baseball players. Vyingly the juniors in each building have formed an "apartment house league." The older working boys earn but fifteen to eighteen dollars a month, so for them the price of a new glove or ball is prohibitive. The high schools have little athletic budget, so that appeals are made for the used material of American college, Legion, church and professional teams. On the other hand, most of the important soccer clubs of Tunis and Algiers play ball during the off season, and are financing their own equipment. The games are entirely free to the public.

The first baseball game ever played between North Africa and North America took place in July, 1932. In the spring, James Boring, cruise director and life member of the Tunis league, arranged with the officers of the French Federation a game between the crew and college tourists of

the Dollar liner "President Johnson" on one hand, and the best that Tunis could produce. The choice of a thousand players succumbed, after a gallant struggle, ten to four, ("East meeting West" at last) in baseball, in the city where, just eighty years before, the United States Consul John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home," had breathed his last.

Forty-two international matches have been played between Tunis and teams from the United States, with eight more between the Americans and the young league of Algiers. The cruisers Memphis, Detroit, Raleigh and Omaha proved too strong for the locals. Against the United States destroyers and the American Export Line boats, however, Tunis and Algiers win two games out of five.

While the commander of troops in Tunisia, the General Comte de Chambrun, descendant of Lafayette and brother-in-law of the late Nicholas Longworth, authorized the first military baseball teams in French Africa. In Tunis the Fourth Zouaves, Sixty-second Artillery, Twenty-sixth Infantry, Tenth Senegalese, Fourth Cavalry, and the Aviation at Aouina, are the soldier nines. The championship of the department of Algiers, one-third of ancient Numidia, was interrupted by the hostilities. Baseball has made its *début* in the French Foreign Legion. Unprecedented in history, possibly, soldiers of forty-seven nationalities have volunteered to fight for France,—the second fatherland of nearly every man, according to Jefferson. Among those offering this spontaneous tribute, are Afghans and Andorrans, Venezuelans and Yugoslavs, and a thousand men who own no nationality and carry League of Nations passports! Like Zebulun and Naphtali in Judges 5: 18, the Foreign Legion jeopard their lives unto the death in the high places of the field.

North Africa almost reaped an early reward in 1936, in an invitation to the Olympic Games, founded 2712 years before. Some of the best players of Paris, Tunis and Algiers, including three alumni of the Methodist Foyer at Tunis, had been chosen to represent France against the

United States in the first exhibition at the Olympics. At the last minute the French Government failed to vote the promised credits for several of the sports. The epochal game was played, just the same, between two United States college nines, on the night of August 12, 1936, before 95,000 in the Berlin stadium. The same week the International Amateur Baseball Federation was organized, with sixteen nations as charter members. Twelve hundred teams now exist in England and Wales. Paris plays each year against London, Amsterdam, Antwerp and Barcelona.

1939 marked two sesquicentennials,—the inauguration of Washington as first president and the anniversary of the French Revolution,—and a centennial: the birthday of baseball. The writer represented France and colonies at the Centenary of baseball at its birthplace at Cooperstown, N. Y. More than a decade ago, "Ty" Cobb, the greatest player of all time, consented to be the honorary president of the North African leagues.

The social rôle of sport is gradually becoming understood. Baseball has the considerable merit of grouping under a single banner,—of reuniting, following the same ideal, individuals belonging to different milieux, and subject to different customs. The difference of mental attributes constitutes perhaps the greatest of all barriers. Baseball creates infinitely useful rapprochements, for which one often searches in vain in other domains. Especially is this true in North Africa, where nationalities are mixing to form a new race, with tastes, aspirations and possibilities peculiar to it. Better than any other tie, sport contributes to the fusion of those elements grouped to form an élite. Is it not an eloquent result to see what we witness in our stadiums: young people of different religions, of races so divergent that their rapprochement seems impossible, joining to take part in the same games and conjugating their efforts in a common aim?

Sport, however, in itself, does not suffice. To pursue its magnificent evolution it needs material and especially moral help, which too often are denied it. Among the multiple

aims which those who defend sport aspire to attain, there is one more tremendous than the others: that of making men, of causing them to know and esteem each other, and to teach them to oppose without hating. When you see, under the sign of sport, men who were fierce enemies yesterday, extend the hand and unite in fervent hurrahs, every hope is permitted.

For two decades baseball has been one of the finest entrées imaginable to the heart and soul of North African youth of a dozen nationalities. Baseball is not merely a sport, but a logical outlet for the enthusiasm of young manhood—mental inspiration, physical tonic, salutary influence, in our complex civilization. Here are qualities which form character—resourcefulness, vigilance, team spirit, development of the body. Missions and baseball may prove invincible.

To cope with the needs of a billion people in Africa and Asia, there are less than 25,000 missionaries of all categories, one out of every 24,000 at home,—“the lost battalion.” Until recently competitive cathedrals rose on every hand in the United States. Abroad and at home there is a growing scepticism as to the efficacy of brick and mortar as an ally of the Christian ambassador. Bergson speaks of the high morality of certain superior individuals which propagates itself by the force of example. In his magnificent language the French philosopher calls it the appeal of the hero. Why do we find imitators of the saints and why have great good men drawn crowds after them? They ask nothing, yet they obtain. They do not need to exhort, but only to exist; their existence is an appeal. From Africa the careers of the grandee Ramon Lull, of Doctors David Livingstone and Albert Schweitzer challenge college men to abjure the struggle for wealth, and to throw themselves into the building of a new social order which will preserve and enrich life.

THE MECCA PILGRIMAGE AND ITS IMPORTANCE TO THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

(Based on the author's recent lecture at the Indisch Genootschap in The Hague and reprinted by permission of the publishers, from the *Asiatic Review*, London, July, 1940.)

EARLY HISTORY

Sanctuaries in the district of Mecca which attracted a great number of worshippers every year existed already in pre-Islamic times.

It appears from poems and legends of that period of history, which have been preserved for later generations through the agency of the new religion, that one of the most important Arabic centers of civilization had been there.¹ Many such sanctuaries are known in the Arabian peninsula, and they have always preserved a certain significance. The national sanctuary of Hadramaut, situated in the south, is a place of pilgrimage—Qabr Nabi Allah Hood—which has been visited by von Wissmann and myself, and a description of which appears in our book.² These sanctuaries together with the annual pilgrimage to those places, occupied an important position in the social, economic, and political life, and this applies to many districts even in these days.

The days of the pilgrimage and the weeks of travelling to and from the holy spot formed the annual period of truce of God in these territories from permanent wars, and so this was the obvious moment for the annual fair, festivities, and mutual traffic. This state of affairs still prevails in South Arabia, although the old heathen cult has been dressed in an Islamic garment.

Muhammad dealt with the sanctuaries in Mecca in the

¹ *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, by C. Snouck Hurgronje.

² *Hadramaut: Some of its Mysteries Unveiled* (Leyden: Brill), 1932.

same way after having removed the images. In his struggle with Jews and Christians he had found a solution in the figure of Abraham—viz., the ancestor in the holy line where Jews, Christians, and the descendants of Ishmael were not yet at variance. By showing a direct relationship between this patriarch and the Mecca sanctuaries he succeeded in embracing them all in his religious system. When Islam developed from a Revelation for Arabs only, into a religion also for other peoples, Mecca grew in importance as a place of pilgrimage. By incorporating the pilgrimage to Mecca in the system of Islam, Muhammad aimed at inducing the population of Mecca to adopt his religion more readily. He was successful in that, and at the same time a much wider prospect was opened up. By introducing the pilgrimage, which was to be one of the five pillars of his religion, he gave his disciples a unifying bond at the start which subsequently became a centre from which the orthodox Arabic and original Islamic atmosphere penetrated the newly conquered territories. He gave them a solid centre and made it obligatory to keep in contact with that centre.

In this way his creed obtained a strong grip on its adherents. It made them conscious of belonging to a world-wide community, inspired them with a particular and unshakable religious pride, and made them tenacious in regard to their religion. This has little to do with thorough knowledge of the creed or with faithfully living up to the commandments thereof.

This is confirmed by all who have been in personal touch with the followers of the Prophet, but as a rule people cannot explain why this should be so. Professor Kraemer has dealt with this problem in his new booklet *Islam as a Religious and Missionary Problem*. In this publication he presents a popular synopsis with a solid background of the conundrum of Islam, and also explains other sides of the question. In my opinion, the institution of the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca has largely contributed to the general penetration and standardization of the essential features of Islam as described above. This influence is still there

and affects all Muslims alike, no matter whether they come from the Far East or the west of North Africa.

I have asked many Muslims who were about to go on the pilgrimage to give me a full description of their experiences upon their return, and to inform me frankly whether their great expectations had been fulfilled. But only very few of them, when they came back, were able to answer my questions satisfactorily.

Most of them had lived as in a dream, had just let things take their course without realizing much of what was happening, and had returned from the Holy Land without knowing exactly what they had experienced. Yet they were satisfied, grateful, and proud of the fact that they now really belonged to the world fellowship and were entitled to share its rights and privileges to the full extent. They felt themselves to be on the only right road leading to unquestionable salvation. The better educated ones, who felt inclined to try to realize their religious experiences, spoke of the great emotion to serve Allah in His own place of worship together with the faithful crowds of tens of thousands who had gathered there from distant lands. The feature of mass psychology is inherent in this international reunion. The pamphlet of the Regent of Bandoeng, various Hadji descriptions by prominent Egyptians, as well as the book by the Dutch author P. H. van der Hoog, etc., must seem disappointing to those who inquire into the purely religious value of the pilgrimage. These publications only tend to show a strengthening of the religious conviction by the agency of mass psychology, a strengthening of religious pride and of the wish to belong to the great community of chosen peoples by the method of having complied with the formal conditions to obtain salvation. The Hadjj also provided the pupils for the many theologians who did their teaching in the shade of the colonnades around the inner court of the Masdjid al Haram, which became a centre of propagation of the orthodox doctrine amongst the peoples who, either under compulsion or by persuasion, had been converted, however superficially, to Islam.

The importance of the Hadjj rose and fell in the history of Islam. This depended to a great extent on the internal political situation in the countries of the Islamic East and on the prevailing conditions of order and safety in the Holy Land. We shall not go into this matter further, as we now must deal with the modern history of the pilgrimage and the growing interest of it to the Dutch East Indies.

THE OLD TURKISH RÉGIME

Until the world war the Turkish Government ruled over the Hedjaz and most of the other Arabic lands. With a view to maintaining his dwindling position amongst the Western Great Powers, Sultan Abdul Hamid brilliantly exploited the current misconceptions regarding Islam in order to pursue a Pan-Islamic policy. (He tried, for instance, to strengthen the false notion that the Caliphate was identical with the Papal dignity.)

In those days the contact of our subjects with Mecca was often harmful, and thorough knowledge and a careful watch on what was going on there was necessary. The subsequent reign of the astute King Hussein bin Ali of the Hasjimitic dynasty called for similar vigilance in the centers of Islam, and even necessitated repeated strong action.

SINCE THE 1914-18 WAR

As a result of the activities of the great general and statesman Bin Sa'oud, the next period saw the rise of the second Wahhabi dynasty, which proved to be of the utmost importance to the history of Arabia. In 1925 Mecca and the rest of the Holy Land fell into his hands, and the Wahhabi régime has survived up to the present day. This régime has proved to be the most favourable to our prestige in the Dutch East Indies. We now have to deal with the Hadjj as a factor in those Islamic territories. There was little understanding of the importance of Mecca and the Hadjj for the Dutch East Indies amongst the colonial authorities until Dr. Snouck Hurgronje made his unequalled and extremely

fruitful journey to this "Holy Land," which he carried out brilliantly after having devoted all his expert knowledge to the most careful preparations for his venture.

I presume that, once having gone, he never expected to get into such close contact with the spiritual world of our Islamic subjects and to gather such complete information about it as actually proved to be the case. He has been a pioneer in many respects. He has paved the way to an understanding of Mecca for our observers of Islam in a scientific and practical sense, and he has shown that this is the initial step to a thorough understanding of the many religious and political problems of the Dutch East Indies. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje discovered the significance of the Dutch Djawa colony at Mecca (the word "Djawa" is used in a Hedjazi sense here and includes the whole archipelago of the Dutch East Indies. All Muslims from Java are called Djawi). He perceived that the difficulties in Atjeh could fully be understood and dealt with in this centre, he saw the quiet atmosphere which enabled people to look at the Islamic opposition to Western authority in a detached way, and appreciated the possibility of an open-minded exchange of views on the matter for both sides.

Such were the facts that made him write the last chapter of his book *Mecca* on the subject of the Djawa colony. In Mecca the foundations were laid for the authoritative part Dr. Snouck Hurgronje was to play in Dutch colonial policy later on. He also removed the many false notions which were current all over the Dutch East Indies with regard to Islam, the fatal influence of Mecca, and the dangerous presence of the Hadjis who had been there. Understanding and knowledge led to improved relations and eventually to mutual esteem and confidence; but the matter must always be watched. Accordingly, after the discovery of Mecca's importance to our colonies, it was recommended to have Dutch agents at Jeddah. These agents had to keep careful watch, and, apart from supplying information, they were also expected to take such action as was necessary to improve Dutch prestige in the centre of Islam.

So the Dutch representation at Jeddah was reorganized on those lines and was intensified later on under the personal supervision of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje. Mr. Ch. O. van der Plas, the Consul there at the time, improved things considerably when he succeeded in establishing a Vice-Consulate at Mecca. This was the first representation of its kind to be admitted there after the King of the Hedjaz had reluctantly granted his permission. A few figures, of which some are only an estimate, are given here to illustrate our share in the pilgrimage.

				<i>Number of Pilgrims from Overseas.</i>	<i>Number of Pilgrims from the Dutch East Indies.</i>
1921	...	...	...	—	—
1923	...	...	...	68,786	29,957
1924	...	...	...	—	36,488
1925-26	...	...	...	57,057	3,474
1926-27	...	...	...	123,052	52,410
1927-28	...	...	...	98,735	42,937
1928-29	...	...	...	86,016	31,360
1929-30	...	...	...	84,810	33,000
1930-31	...	...	...	—	16,917
1931-32	...	...	...	—	4,245
1933-34	...	...	...	22,717	2,854
1934-35	...	...	...	30,387	3,671
1935-36	...	...	...	33,730	4,012
1936-37	...	...	...	49,864	5,403

A study of this pilgrimage, according to the existing data, would reveal a very interesting piece of cultural history. We should see certain nations participating in ever-increasing numbers, only to vanish from the holy scene almost completely later on. They were replaced by other nations. There is an apparent wave-like increase and decrease in the number of participants. In the history of the [Muslim] Holy Land short periods of peace and order are followed by days of terrorism and despair. The historian of the Mecca pilgrimage would have to describe more suffering, disease, death, and injustice than peace, order, and blessing. He could also make an interesting contribution to

the science of contagious diseases which went all over the world and which often started their long journey at Mecca. He could add another chapter to the history of the problem of quarantine and show us the efforts to confine the contagious diseases which broke out during the pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The international service of control which was instituted to achieve this would appear—apart from being an attempt at self-preservation—to be used largely for the purpose of fostering political influence and power.

The participation in the pilgrimage of Dutch subjects has been irregular after the Turkish dynasty. During the period of Turkish rule, which came to an end in the world war and in the reign of the Hasjimitic House, the pilgrimage was not encouraged. Participation from Dutch territories was therefore out of proportion to the widely felt wish to go. During 1925-1926 the "pax-Wahhabica" made itself felt in the Hedjaz and a hitherto unknown public safety was established in Arabia. This necessitated rigorously Puritan measures in matters of religion, which, however, in no way proved a deterrent to the pilgrims to embark on the journey to Mecca.

Although during the season 1925-1926 the visitors consisted of only a small number of pioneers, the next year already saw part of the influx of those who had waited for years for the restoration of order and safety in the Holy Land. The subsequent years showed the largest participation from the Dutch East Indies that ever took place. During that period nearly fifty per cent of all overseas participants were Dutch subjects. The nickname sometimes given to Djawi pilgrims—*viz.*, "the rice of the Hedjaz"—began to ring true in a double sense. In fact, the Djawi pilgrim is the most profitable visitor of the Holy Land. Consequently he is the most welcome, and the success of the season largely depends upon him.

THE DJAWI PILGRIM

The Djawi is generous. Apart from some natives of

Sumatra, he is a bad financier, and he arrives with the intention to spend all his money in the Holy Land, and even more if need be. There is little poverty amongst our pilgrims, and professional beggars do not exist. They readily help one another and are given credit everywhere. The absence of the participation of paupers is partially due to the Pilgrims Act of 1922, which made it compulsory for our pilgrims to obtain a return ticket. The possession of a return ticket, however, does not guarantee that all our subjects will always be in a position to pay for their return voyage, because the ticket covering that part of the trip is negotiable; but the fact remains that the substantial amount in cash to cover the return fare must be available at the moment of embarkation. The price of the fare has fluctuated between 200 and 250 guilders in the last years. Furthermore, every Djawi knows that he has to pay the fixed amount for his stay in Mecca, including the cost of his transport as well as his board and lodging there. This is called the *wang djamoe*. Apart from that, he has to pay for the *Ziarah*—i. e., the visit to the tomb of Muhammad at Medina—and to cover his expenses during the period of his stay in the Holy Land. The latter also includes his offerings and his purchase of souvenirs. Thus the minimum total cost of the pilgrimage lies somewhere between 600 and 850 guilders. If during years of normal prosperity the number of pilgrims may be estimated at 40,000, it follows that it involves the withdrawal of a very considerable amount of capital from circulation in the home country. To this should be added the amount which is taken separately to have the Hadjj carried out by Arabs for those who died unexpectedly before having been able to comply with the duty of pilgrimage. Part of this money goes to the Dutch steamship lines, but it may seem doubtful whether any spiritual value to the Islamic community at home emanates from the rest of it. This point is often raised, and, as the answer is nearly always in the negative, we shall investigate it more closely. Let it be understood, however, that it should not be considered feasible for a non-Islamic person to give a positive

opinion. Value of a spiritual nature cannot be expressed in solid Dutch guilders. Moreover, a non-Muslim cannot possibly value the price that was paid to comply with a divine commandment, as he is unable to appreciate the weight of this issue. Our Government stands for freedom of religion and therefore denies itself the right to express an opinion on the value of the religious convictions of its subjects, so long as their creed is compatible with public authority and does not clash with other religious convictions.

There are several reasons why the pilgrimage, one of the five pillars of Islam, is in such high esteem with the Muslims of the Dutch East Indies.

The natives of the Dutch East Indies were converted in comparatively recent times. That conversion made them gradually give up their animistic outlook, but at the same time the new creed offered them a mystical and pantheistic Islam. This explains that the animistic ideas still remain strongly rooted in their souls and that the Hadjj rituals borrowed from pre-Islamic heathendom impress the Netherlands East Indies pilgrims most of all.

Our subjects live on the outskirts of Islamic territory. For this reason tales about a far-away land without vegetation or water, where the camel is the wonder of Allah's creation, impress them more than those who live in similar countries. Moreover, they are fully aware of their many shortcomings as regards the performance of their other religious duties. This makes them regard it as an urgent necessity to comply with the duty of pilgrimage to make up once and for all for their shortcomings.

Western authority is often held to be an oppression which hinders self-respect. Wherever that feeling prevails an urgent desire makes itself felt amongst the natives to get away for a while from the continuous interference of unbelievers and to experience the reality of the world-wide community of Allah's chosen people in the independent Holy Land of Islam.

For the Dutch East Indian subjects the Mecca pilgrimage is the best organized opportunity to go abroad. They

can get on anywhere with their own language, habits, and money. In case they feel uncomfortable at home for shame of having misbehaved, or else if they feel the lure of adventure, there is always Mecca.

The esteem which the Hadjj enjoys, especially amongst the lower classes, is another powerful incentive for many to go to the Holy Land. For the theologians and also for the students of theology Mecca represents the spot where they can obtain the highest sanction for their science.

WOMEN PARTICIPANTS

There is also a good reason why women and children participate in such large numbers. This is not so in other Islamic countries, with the exception, perhaps, of some African tribes. First of all, this large number of women, which is usually half the number of men, is due to the favourable position of women as such in the Dutch East Indies. In the old Islamic countries the women do not enjoy that important position in the family as well as in social life. In our colonies the women have already for years taken their share in matters of religion, such as meetings, associations, and religious education. In Sumatra, and especially in the Minangkabau district, the associations of women and the religious classes for girls even set the fashion in native social life. Although this is not such a prominent feature in Java, the influence of the women is increasing there also, and this influence is usually of a conservative religious nature.

Secondly, a widespread popular belief encourages participation of women—*viz.*, that it is considered a blessing to give birth to a child in the Holy Town or in the district of the Hadjj (Arafat and Mina). So where pregnancy would otherwise make women renounce the journey, it actually is an incentive to participate. Lastly, there is yet another, a non-Islamic, influence which has of late unconsciously tended to encourage the pilgrimage. This influence is the Dutch colonial Government. It is for excellent rea-

sons that King Bin Sa'oud and his Ministers are so favourably disposed to our administration.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT

Other Governments of Islamic countries try to frustrate the pilgrimage in order to prevent the continuous flow of money to the Hedjaz (Soviet Republic, Turkey) or for political or religious considerations (Iran, Iraq). Our Government, on the other hand, has always entirely carried through the principle of religious freedom, also as regards the Mecca pilgrimage. Difficulties which used to exist in the old days have been removed and have even been replaced by the conception that our Government should be responsible for the well-being of our pilgrims so long as they are still travelling under the Dutch flag and have not yet entered the Holy Land. In this connection I would refer to the Pilgrim Act of 1922 and to the Kamaran Treaty of 1926. The medical attendance which is offered mainly free of charge by the Consulate's doctor and his staff is even a feature of the Dutch Government's assistance within the boundaries of Bin Sa'oud's realm. The same tendency appears in the careful choice of the staff of our Consulate at Jeddah, which was promoted to the rank of a Legation a few years ago.

It may be asked whether this policy does not lose sight of the duty of strict neutrality on the part of the Government as regards the religion of a certain part of the population, and also whether a drain of money detrimental to the economic position of the native community is not being excessively encouraged. I think not. The proceedings as mentioned serve another purpose and also have a different result. The history of the pilgrimage of our subjects has taught us that it was highly necessary to protect these inexperienced travellers on the sea, in the foreign quarantine stations, and in the Holy Land. This was made necessary on grounds of prestige in the eyes of the world of Islam and also of an important and influential group of our subjects. It was also necessary to be honourably represented at the centre of Islam and to have the opportunity through our

own organization to keep in touch with events and also occasionally to use our influence. It is through this intervention on our part that the pilgrim traffic overseas (although the objections and dangers are admitted) is one of the best organized and most hygienic and serves as an example to other nations.

CARE FOR THE PILGRIMS

The medical attention on board ship, in Kamaran, and particularly that provided by our Legation at Jeddah and our Vice-Consulate at Mecca, reflects great credit on our colonial administration and is an excellent medium for maintaining the loyalty of a large number of Hadjis. Nevertheless, mortality figures are high, although as a result of official action they have been reduced from more than ten per cent to seven and six per cent. Criticism has been expressed in League of Nations circles. It is possible to explain the reason for our higher mortality figures as compared with those of other nationalities who make the pilgrimage to Mecca. In the first place, nearly all our pilgrims prefer to stay in the Holy City for the fasting period. This results in the Djawis making a pilgrimage over a longer period than the majority of other nationalities. Secondly, the percentage of women, children, and elderly persons is much higher in our case in comparison with others. Thirdly, the complete journey of our pilgrims is very much longer than the majority of others. And, finally, our control is rigid and we publish correct figures. I would like to close this short description of the Mecca pilgrimage with the conclusions I have reached after my experiences at Jeddah with our pilgrims.

On arrival in the harbour of Jeddah, the "Consul," as the Dutch representative there is still known to the pilgrims, comes aboard. There he sees an excited crowd of people full of happy anticipation staring at the strange, beautiful land and the white city far away in the desert. This is the land of the "neighbours of Allah," their Holy Land. The well-known figure of the Dutch Civil Servant seems out of

place here, as it was thought he had been left behind in the Dutch East Indies. The walk to the building on which the Dutch flag flies, where the passports are inspected and registered, is often disagreeable and disappointing. This is very apparent. But then, a few months later, the Hadjj has been completed, they are richer in experience, and have suffered many disappointments. In cases of illness assistance has been sought in the building flying the Dutch flag, and has been secured free of charge. In times of trouble, or if one became a victim of theft or extortion, help was given at the Vice-Consulate. At the different places on the pilgrimage it was necessary only to look for the large Dutch flag which indicated the tents of the Vice-Consul and the doctor, where assistance could be given to those who had lost their way or were in danger of death from thirst or hunger. The Dutch passport was a great protection, and on the return to Jeddah the Dutch Legation was stormed by the pilgrims, who knew that there advice and help could be obtained. The pilgrimage to Mecca offers no longer any trouble for our Government under the present arrangement with the King of Sa'oudijah, who is against Pan-Islamic and Communistic action, and who has openly expressed appreciation of our colonial Government. The pilgrimage would be of great propaganda value for our system of justice, order, public works, health services, and taxation if the average pilgrim were to see and realize and make comparisons, and also were it not that they were Muslims and we Christians.

Makassar, Celebes.

D. VAN DER MEULEN.

THE SOCIAL PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY IN THE QUR'AN

Our own idea of equality has been triunely developed: from actual Anglo-Saxon liberties, from Christian justice to all in the sight of God, and from the "self-evident truth" of the political theorist that all men are created equal. These threefold origins correspond to the freedom of primitive Arab manners (so amusingly illustrated in many a court scene of Arab literature), to Moslem equality before the Qur'anic God "seated upon his throne," and to the humanitarian enthusiasm of Muhammad in place of Rousseau. While these three have been interacting from the early days of Islam, the Prophet having been an Arab and the traditions concerning him having authority with the Qur'an, it is with the latter we are now concerned. If Moslem reformers of modern times have found the ideas of the French Revolution not incompatible with Islam, it is partly by reason of similar historical development, but not a little that the idea of equality is inherent in the Qur'an.

We should find little enough social theory in our own history of the seventh century and need not expect more from the Qur'an, nothing in fact of formulated theory, and not equality as we understand it in a modern democracy. But when the winds are blowing, as they do blow in our time, "a little spark becomes a great flame," and it is therefore important to the world-democracy which may yet emerge from the war, that equality should be proved native to Islam.

Muhammad signifies equality of status for all in his own disclaimer of any authority but "to warn." "Thou art a warner only. Thou hast no authority over them" (lxxxviii). By this mission he was in fact the leader and as such he

was succeeded by the Caliphs, but to himself and to those who believed, his authority was the moral authority of God. As other gods were not equal to God, other men were not equal to God's messenger in ability to receive special instruction: "Have they a ladder for hearing the angels?" (lii); "Woe unto those who charge imposture" (lxxvii *et al.*)

The Caliphs might continue the inequalities of political authority with reflected moral superiority, but moral authority and superiority were in the message and died among Moslems with the messenger. It is by no means certain that the Prophet would have approved many of his somewhat Hitlerian successors, as we may see from the "lesson" to one of his predecessors: Pharaoh says in the Qur'an: "I am your Lord supreme. So God visited on him the punishment of this life and the other" (lxxix). But the delegation of God's authority was in view both for angels: "Each one of us hath his appointed place and we arrange ourselves in order" and for prophets, superior to men. "Fear God and obey me" is the message of the prophets of Hud, of Saleh, of Lot, of Shoaib (xxvi). We are therefore dealing with the earthly rules of a theocracy, at least in Muhammad's lifetime, though afterwards only by usurpation. In him the Philosopher-King of ancient Greece was the Moralistic-Messenger of Islam whose mission was to order society under God by divine command. It is interesting to find that even the authoritarian prophet of the divine word or will inculcates humanitarian cooperation. The primal curse upon men is: "The one of you a foe against the other" (xxi:21). But we also read: "Man's lot is cast amid destruction, save those who believe and do the things which be right and enjoin steadfastness on each other" (ciii). Thus mutual encouragement is the "guidance" promised by God at the time of the primal curse, a liberal and indeed equalitarian sentiment for an authoritarian leader to propound. A moral equality in misery is also intimated: "To escape torment, truly this is the great felicity" (xxxvii: 81).

Naturally the prophetic authority was binding only upon

those who accepted it: "To you be your religion and to me be my religion" (cix:6). As there was inequality between the prophet of God and his hearers of the Ignorance, so there was inequality between those who accept the message and those who do not (lix *et al.*) In this, however, is implicit an equality of opportunity to choose. The persuasions of Heaven and Hell are added to the reasonable conviction that God prefers good to evil. Between good and evil there is no equality. The Qur'an quotes Psalm xxxvii, "My servants, the righteous, shall inherit the earth" (xxi: 105). Similarly of those who reject the message: "Oh, the misery that rests upon my servants" (xxxvi: 29) in not following "the Sent Ones." "Which of the parties is in the best plight?" (xix:74). Pharaoh, Ad, and Themoud committed excesses and multiplied wickedness (xlvi) in not accepting the prophets of monotheism. They, like the hosts of Iblis, "were in plain error" (xxvi) to equalize good and evil. Men are to be equally subject to the temptations of Iblis: "I will surely beguile them all except such as be Thy sincere servants" (xv: 39). They have been equally procreated in "moist germs of life" (lxxx: 18). After death they shall be judged "all together" (xxxvi:53); "List for the day when the crier shall cry from a place near to everyone alike" (1:40). The "Day of Severance" is the day of ultimate inequality between good and evil and so of the ultimate equality of justice. There is no more comparison between good and evil than between God and idol. But they are all equally at the mercy of a somewhat arbitrary God: "There is none safe from the chastisement of the Lord" (lxx). Morality also is often confused with acceptance of the Qur'an intended to embody it. The Qur'an is concerned to the point of monomania with acceptance of monotheism rather than with acceptance of morality, and at that with incidental details of morality rather than with its principles, but whatever the language, the idea of the Last Day is equity, the final balance of the unequal in morals: "Whosoever shall have wrought an atom's weight of evil shall behold it" (xcix). There is, then, an equal opportunity to

morality, as it was understood, between believer and unbeliever; and even within Islam: "Surely amid delights shall the righteous dwell and the impure in hell-fire" (lxxxii). Within a theocracy, righteousness is both civil right and duty. There is equal opportunity for men in the book of its revelation. The conception of a just God presupposes the equality of men before him, in Islam as in Christianity. The conception of a moral God creates a moral empire, of which all men are equal citizens, or may be.

In the Qur'an, morality is the only privilege. Wealth is no privilege: "How many generations have we brought to ruin who surpassed them in riches and splendor" (xix:75); "Whenever we willed to destroy a city, to its affluent ones did we address our bidding" (xvii:17). Mecca, "a city secure and at ease, to which supplies come in plenty from every side," "thankless for the boons of God" (xvi:113) was menaced accordingly, and its wealthy individuals also. Of these, Walid b. Mogheira had "vast riches." "Then looked he around him. Then frowned he and scowled. Then he turned his back and revelled with disdain." "He will surely be cast into Hell-fire" (lxxiv). And we all know what was to happen to Abu Lahab, Father of Flames: "My wealth hath not profited me. My power hath perished from me" (lxix:28).

It is clear that the Prophet had no love of the purse-proud, though their crime is more that they reject his message. So much for the privilege of wealth, denying equality. Nor is mere privilege of birth to deny it, for the Koreish, invited to "worship the Lord of this house" (cvi), were menaced for declining, in spite of their great family. There is no privilege of power in the Qur'an, for Hud asks the Adites: "When you put forth your power, do you put it forth in harshness?" (xxvi:130) and their power comes to naught. There is no privilege of monk, priest, or public servant, save of the Prophet. There is in fact no privilege in Islam, except, as we have seen, for the righteous. On the contrary, there is universal education in this very Qur'an which denies privilege, in equality in fact, and universal

education in the righteousness of Islam, which is the only Moslem privilege.

In the Qur'an, by divine "guidance," indeed, as is often overlooked, in the very words of Allah, an equality of legal rights and duties, and of moral privileges and obligations is everywhere a "self-evident truth" of all the details of the law. In our own Greek way of abstract thinking, we should say that human justice and morality proceed from man's conception of God, but that would have been meaningless in seventh century Arabia. "Equality" in the Qur'an is not abstract or ideal, but actual and practical, a natural outcome of the common Arab condition of minimum subsistence, and of Moslem self-abnegation before one God. He does indeed create and judge all alike in the legal equality of justice and the social equality of righteousness, but it is shown rather in the occasional provisions of the Sharia than in generalization. Since maldistributed wealth had as yet no great vested interests and since militarism had not yet led to feudal power, they were not yet legislated against for the early Moslems. These may not have been as the early Christians, "having all things in common," or as Aristotle's community of free citizens ruling the state, but they were a community of God's servants obeying His messenger.

The Sharia provides equity for the equal. Personal occasions arise to prove the rule, in exception of the dead level of obedience to the Qur'an: "He knoweth that there will be some among you sick, while others travel through the earth in quest of the bounties of God and others do battle in His cause" (lxxiii). But the level was the ground level of the early Christians: "Happy now the believers who humble themselves in their prayers" (xxiii). Equality in the service of God, of a moral and just God, comes in time to be an equality in service of His morality and justice among men.

There is a confession of humanitarian social obligation of man to man, of "fraternité," in confession of the Qur'an with all its provisions (local and anachronistic though these may seem to some) for the orphan, the heir, the poor, the wayfarer, the captive, the woman, the slave; Islam is in

fact a religious fraternity. The obligation of the Qur'an is not that of the Gospels, even if these were regarded as mere books of their time and place. There is no formulation of the Golden Rule, as later in the Traditions of Islam. But "If ye make reprisals, make them to the same extent that ye were injured, but if ye can endure patiently, best it will be for the patiently enduring" (xvi: 197). Such passages as this and "Take not your oaths with mutual fraud"; "Shall we feed him whom God can feed if he will?" (xxxvi:47); "Truly many associates do one another wrong" (xxxviii: 23); "Mankind is full of mutual jealousy" (lx:47) suggest that Arabia was indeed a hell of "wrangling" and that the brotherhood of Islam was to be its inter-tribal or non-tribal security. In a state of society so imperfect, counsels of perfection would have been lost. It is indeed said, indicative of perfection: "The infidels lend one another mutual help. Unless ye do the same, there will be discord in the land and great confusion" (viii:74). Islam then might have been called, "The Society of Mutual Help." The faithful were exhorted to "enjoin steadfastness upon each other" (ciii) and to "enjoin compassion upon each other" (cxc), a co-operative society, if ever there was one. Thus for all the theoretical dependence of Moslems upon the initiative of God, predestined service to God is in worldly practice a free-will service to fellow men, fellow servants at any rate. Nevertheless, "will it ye shall not, unless God willeth it" (lxxxix: 28).

True equality lies in liberty of thought and speech, in self-respect and mutual consideration. In these, Moslems of our day, as doubtless of Muhammad's, abound, just as our own Calvinists notably abound. Moslems and Calvinists both believe in predestination. They are none the less individual and free and fraternal and equalitarian. Especially the free Arab, like murder, "will out," even in the Qur'an. "Whoso then will, let him take the path of return to his Lord" (lxxviii and to the same effect in iii: 19 and many other passages): "When thou art set at liberty, then prosecute thy toil and seek thy Lord with fervour" (xciv:7).

"Every soul shall know what it has produced" (lxxxix: 14). "For its own work lieth every soul in pledge" (lxxiv: 41). As it was "a degrading affliction" (xliv:29) to serve Pharaoh, so we read, "Act not at the bidding of those who commit excess, who act disorderly upon the earth, *and reform it not*" (xxvi:150). And Adam himself had his chance of free will: "Let not Iblis drive you out of the garden and ye become wretched" (xx:115). Though "God is the sole sustainer" (li), the Arab remains an individualist, respecting the individuality of others, the more that God made them as they are. The Moslem exists through the truth of God as revealed in the Qur'an, but it is written: "Be not hasty in recital. Say rather, 'O my Lord, increase knowledge unto me'" (xx:113).

In view of the social and political effects of European religious reformation, itself due to individual study of the Bible, it seems pertinent to ask what individual study of its religious origins would do in the way of reform to Islam. It is for Moslems to make it, if it is to be of value to them, but if they can find, as we seem to have found, "liberty, equality and fraternity" native to Islam, they will be led, as Christians have been led, to the conception of social justice, that those who are equal before God (whatever his name and language) are equal to one another in "the pursuit of happiness" of our American Declaration of Independence. "As to him who giveth alms and yieldeth assent to the good, to him we will make easy the path to happiness." The pledge to Abraham reads in the Qur'an, "Nothing shall be reckoned to a man but that for which he hath made efforts. And that his efforts shall at last be seen in a true light" (liii: 40). Muhammad's effort is certainly to be reckoned with. And in its true light its value is to free man from idolatry, not to enslave him to this idol of the theologians, "Predestination."

Hitherto throughout history it has seemed that Moslem predestination, while thus assigning equal and cooperating parts to men in the tragedy of life, has not remedied it through their action. However, it is written in the Qur'an:

“From state to state ye shall be carried onward” (lxxxiv: 19). There was a day when “Mankind was all one people” (ii:209). Mankind in relation to one God, however provincially men may know Him, must be still one people, both within a community and between communities. “Verily we cause to live and we cause to die. To us shall all return” (1:42). This is not an equality in the sense of our revolutionary “Rights of Man,” but an equality in duties to God which alone can secure these rights. Even a Christian may quote the Qur’an to the purposes of God. We must return to universal equity to make just our lives, rational our thoughts, and peaceful our souls. The first step for Christian and Moslem alike is to apprehend our common equality under God “by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply to their want, that their abundance may be a supply to your want, that there may be an equality” (2 Cor. viii: 14). The idea of God is the saving sanity of “a mad world, my master.”

Stanford, Kentucky.

ROBERT S. DARBISHIRE.

FOURTEEN YEARS IN THE AZHAR

[We are indebted to the Egyptian Press Translation Service for the following interesting and somewhat biographical account of developments in the great Moslem University at Cairo. The weekly *Al-Ithmein Wad-Dunya* in introducing the author, Professor Muhammed Khalil Hasanein Bey, chief inspector of sciences and arts in the Azhar, stated that he is considered one of the patrons of education and instruction who have done service to their nation by their efforts in teaching and publishing. The most apparent thing in him is that he applies the rules of true education to himself, being frank, strict, and of sound opinion. When questioned on matters pertaining to his position in the old Islamic Institutes, he gave the following story:]

When I was a student I remember that I read in the newspapers of that time exciting news of a strike in the noble Azhar, so that the governors were compelled to overcome the risks which were attached to this state of affairs, by surrounding the Azhar and forbidding its students to carry on the strike.

I remember that that strike was started because it had found its way into the minds of the Azhar students that it was intended to introduce the science of geography into the Azhar. They considered this an innovation which should be stopped and they were angry because of what they believed, although I believe that the sciences to which the word "new" was applied in the Azhar, are old sciences. And I heard from the Grand Master, Sheikh Al-Maraghy, Sheikh of the Mosque of the Azhar, that the Imam Muhammad Abdu had edited a book (not yet printed), emphasising in it that these sciences were old and not new, and that their relation to Islam goes back to the beginning of its existence, when Arab scholars surpassed others in the different kinds of sciences.

These conditions went on in the Azhar till the year 1925, when the students rebelled again, but on that occasion their rebellion was to demand the introduction of the new sciences into the Azhar, and the teaching of them in a serious, useful way. It is most probable that the cause of this

rebellion was the desire of the students to make way for themselves to obtain employment, because they saw that since the Azhar had cut itself off from any association with these sciences, it was far removed from touching on the practical life, except within the narrow limits of the Azhar itself.

When the Azharites became more desirous of seeking reorganization, they besought the government to do something for their benefit in this respect, and thought was turned to the necessity of reorganizing the programs of instruction. This was in the time of Ziwar Pasha's cabinet, when Sidqy Pasha was Minister of the Interior, so he attended to the matter and formed a board of the Azharites and of men from the Ministry of Public Instruction. This board was to look into the question of reorganizing and amending the programs on such a basis as to guarantee to the Azharite the benefits of social culture along with his religious culture. So Sidqy Pasha was at that time given the title of "Minister of the Azhar."

The axis of this reformation was in the Azhar, and its uppermost pole was concentrated in the person of the late King Fuad I, (May God be pleased with him) in that he gave to the Azhar his tenderness and patronage, and was eager to see the first-fruits of its rise.

I was at that time controller of the office of new undertakings in the Ministry of Public Instruction, when the Egyptian University was started, so the great king commanded that I should be chosen to take up the post of Inspector of New Sciences in the Azhar.

How did you begin your work in that institution? When I was first appointed there was nobody with me who had received a modern education, to help me to perform this delicate, tiresome duty. So I remained alone, dealing with the points of reformation, endeavoring to make up for deficiencies, and exploring these ways which were not yet levelled. I spent the first two years in preparing all that was necessary such as teachers, instruments, and suitable places, as I had noticed that teaching in mosques, which prevailed at

that time in the Azhar, was not suitable to the methods of teaching these new sciences, especially chemistry and physics. I also thought it advisable at the time of appointing the necessary teachers for these sciences, not to touch the graduate of the higher training schools, (the effendis), especially from the primary sections; but I held competitive examinations, in which some scholars from the Azhar were candidates. Many of them passed the examination for teaching the two sciences of arithmetic and history in the primary sections; but for the secondary sections I selected teachers from graduates of the higher training schools, as they were able to carry on the teaching of these sciences, especially the two sciences of chemistry and physics, to adult students.

I did not hesitate to give attention to the sciences of drawing and penmanship in the Azhar, because I consider them as belonging to the fine arts; and fine arts educate the spirit, produce tact, polish the senses and make the feelings more delicate.

Likewise, I gave attention to physical sports, and introduced of them what gives the body strength and power; that is because real education depends on the education of the intellect, the body, and the spirit.

What have you experienced as a result of these endeavours? I do not conceal that I expected to be met with difficulties at the outset, and find contradictions and problems that would hinder the progress of reformation and impede its rise. But to my great astonishment I found an amazing rush of Azharites to these sciences, and competition led the students to give good attendance in them. I then feared that their attention to these new sciences might become stronger, and that they might not give attention to the sciences of the Azhar. This feeling prompted me, at examinations and during instruction, to point out to the students that the sciences of the Azhar were the basis of their instruction, and that the new sciences were considered complementary to their culture, and were not the basis.

It was natural that the attempt which we made would

bring about problems which would have to be treated. So in the year 1930 another board was formed to set down the rules of the Azhar, and to amend the programs of instruction in such a way that they would fall in line with the scientific changes and include all stages of instruction, such as primary, secondary, and higher.

The most obvious matter which was attended to at that time was that the higher education should be divided into three divisions, to make it possible to specialise. So colleges for Arabic language, and law, and the elements of religion, were formed, and so it became possible for the Azharite to specialise in teaching, or religious law, or preaching, or guiding, which are the doors at which the Azharite can knock in passing and in which he can find a place suitable to his science.

How did you introduce foreign languages into the Azhar? You know that the College of the Elements of Religion is the pillar of the Azhar and the axis of its culture and the source of its message. It is therefore the college from which we can send out missions to the various foreign countries to publish the message of religion, and because of this, foreign languages, western and eastern, were introduced into it.

The thing that causes admiration and respect is that these college graduate students speak Japanese, English, and French, and are, therefore, worthy to be sent out to Islamic countries, so that good understanding is created between the missionary's own country and the country to which he is sent. In the year 1936 it was found necessary to fulfil the desire to benefit by the learning of these languages, and it was therefore decided that the teaching of foreign languages in the College of the Elements of Religion should be made compulsory, and in the other two colleges it should be optional.

How did you come to know the late King Fuad? This was when I was first appointed Director of the special Waqf schools. In this position I spent two years, during which time I enjoyed the royal tenderness, and I was particular

in fulfilling His Majesty's desires as to discipline and scientific attainment. And when the results of the examinations for the general certificate were published, lo and behold, the first, third and seventh in the secondary certificate were from the Khedive Ismail School. When I was transferred from there to the Ministry of Public Instruction I was given the honor of meeting His Majesty, and he overwhelmed me with his tenderness and conferred upon me the first class rank of Bey, saying, "This is in recognition of your services in the special Waqf schools." His Majesty was in my opinion the Dean of the Azhar University, or the Sheikh of Islam, as he knew about every matter in the Azhar, small or great, and he spoke about these matters to any of the Azhar people he met. His Majesty used to enquire about this matter or that problem, and look into the points of reformation, and urge the necessity of rising with the message of religion. When the idea was formed of building a religious institution at Assiut, he said to me, "I think this institution should be built after the best style so that it may be one of the greatest schools of science." The welfare of the Azhar today depends on the patronage of H. M. King Faruq, (May God keep him), as he is the one who followed his great father, and has accomplished for the Azhar things that have made it walk in confident strides towards the highest goal.

The Azhar nowadays is in a state of change, and this state not infrequently shows signs of things that need treatment, and whenever these signs appear the matters are speedily dealt with. As for its condition, it leads men to tranquillity, as the scholars, at the head of whom is His Honour the Grand Master, Sheikh al-Maraghy, Sheikh of the Azhar, do all that leads men to tranquillity. And they do not neglect anything that helps to direct its sons in the true religious path, and His Honour was the greatest help to me in performing this tiresome duty.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia, and the Papal Mission of the XVII and XVIII Centuries. Two volumes, 1376 pages. Illustrated, with map and index in second volume. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1939. Forty-two shillings.

These two weighty volumes are a mine of information on the history of the Safavid dynasty in Persia. This will no doubt constitute their greatest interest to the general reader, but they also give a clear account from original documents of the work done by the Carmelite Mission in Iran. This Roman Catholic effort, which was sponsored by a succession of Popes, extended through nearly all of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries.

The author states of his work, "The primary purpose is by way of a memorial and testimony of admiration to those two hundred sons of Carmel and Saint Teresa, who gave up everything to serve their fellow-men in perils and privations." The author does not give his name and styles himself modestly "The Compiler," though laudatory letters from the head of the Carmelite order and Cardinals of the church refer to him as "The distinguished author." Certain it is from the text that he is an accomplished linguist and an orientalist of ability. We should salute him for accomplishing a wonderful task with very difficult material.

The basis of the book is the correspondence between members of the Mission in Iran and the East and the headquarters of their order and church dignitaries in Rome. Notable is the gathering together of some seventy-five letters from the Popes to Shahs of the Safavid dynasty and Nadir Shah, written over the period from 1570 to 1750. These are given in an appendix in the original Latin and most of them are translated in the text. There are also a number of letters from the Safavid monarchs to the Popes, in Persian. Since all of these letters have never before been gathered and published together, this alone is a notable contribution and an example of what a source book these volumes may be for historical data.

The author has spent a number of years in gathering his material, which was widely scattered in the files of the Carmelite order, the archives of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, and various departments of the Vatican library, an ancient manuscript history of the Carmelite order and other places. The plan of the work is to quote the original documents directly, in English translation, and to offer such comment as will make a fairly connected narrative.

The account begins with a documentary review of the contacts between Rome and the Safavid dynasty during the sixteenth century and the origin of this line of rulers. The real narrative is begun against this background with the arrival during the reign of Shah

Abbas the Great of the first Carmelite delegation. They were sent out from Rome by Pope Clement VIII in the year 1604 but did not arrive in Iran until 1607! They encountered many troubles and delays in Russia, the Pope died while they were en route and was succeeded by Paul V, who took up the interest of his predecessor in this mission and wrote letters to them and to Abbas I. of Persia.

Shortly before the arrival of the first Carmelite missionaries the Portuguese from Goa sent a mission of Augustine fathers to Isfahan. There was a good deal of rivalry between the representatives of these two orders, especially since they represented different political systems. Both deputations were frankly political as well as religious and the reader feels that there might have been more permanency to the spiritual side of their labors had there been less of the political. The Popes, in addition to the conversion of Moslems and possible reconciliation of the Armenian or other oriental churches to Rome, wished the Persian kings to wage war against the Turks and so cause a diversion in the East, which would ease the attacks on Christendom in the West.

Shah Abbas I. was extremely happy to have the Western powers and the Popes as allies against the Turks, but from the beginning of the Carmelite Mission he complained steadily that they had not kept their part of the agreement, while he had more than fulfilled his end of the contract as to war on the Turks.

The picture of Shah Abbas the Great which emerges from these pages is living and extremely interesting, all the more valuable because it appears incidentally in the naïve accounts of these missionaries written to their superiors in Italy. We get an idea of Shah Abbas, sometimes as volatile as vapor, and again as hard as a steel spring—an extraordinary character indeed, with strong lights and deep shadows. Now taking charge of Armenian rites when the cross was baptized and expressing his belief in Christ as "The Spirit of God," then again ruthlessly attacking Christians when his mood had changed.

One of the most interesting portions of the chronicle is the account of a meeting arranged by Shah Abbas between the Carmelite friars and the English resident accompanied by a Protestant clergyman, in the presence of many of his nobles. The Shah turned the argument on such fine points as whether three nails or four were driven in the hands and feet of Christ on the cross, and seemed greatly to enjoy the disputation—in which the friars admit in their report that they very badly worsted their Protestant opponents on every question which the Shah proposed.

The publication of these volumes opens a new window upon the history of the Safavid dynasty in Iran, all the more interesting because it comes first-hand through the eyes of western observers. It also gives for the first time a rather complete account of this great Roman Catholic effort in Missions to a Moslem country. There were great men among these workers. A number of them became bishops, three at least were subsequently made head of their order, one who was nephew of a pope gave up his title of Duke to join the order and go as a missionary to this difficult field.

The second volume contains biographical sketches of the members

of the Mission, an account of the work in various places in Iran and nearby lands where stations were established, as well as the lengthy correspondence between Popes and Shahs which has been mentioned. The volumes even contain miniatures, printed in color, of the chief Safavid rulers and Nadir Shah. The author has indeed attained his goal in producing a monumental work that will remain a true memorial to the members of this Roman Catholic Mission which labored through more than a century and a half in Iran—and in addition a great source book for the history of the Safavid dynasty and up through the reign of Nadir Shah, who has been termed "The Napoleon of Asia." The extended mission of this Catholic order in Iran has been little known to students of Missions in the Near East. All will unite to express a debt of gratitude for the present publication, which will remain a reference work of great value to the historian, as well as a fitting tribute to the devoted workers of the Carmelite Mission in this most arduous field.

Princeton, New Jersey.

J. CHRISTY WILSON.

The Waqfiyah of 'Ahmed Pāšā. By Muhammed Ahmed Simsar. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. pp. x+203, 2 illustrations, 1 map. \$3.

Ahmed Pasha, by birth Stephan, son of Herzog Cossovich, of Herzegovina, grew up as a page in the seraglio of Mehmed the Conqueror, received there the finest education that a youth could receive in the Ottoman Empire, married a daughter of Sultan Bayazid, and thereafter, under three sultans, held such important posts as the governorship of Anatolia, the command against Egypt and the supreme command of the navy. Five times he rose to the position of grand vizier. At the time of his death in 1517 he was a man of property, and like all wealthy Turks of his age he left a substantial part of his holdings to the public. The *waqf* of Ahmed Pasha, which is the substance of Dr. Simsar's monograph, consisted in the main of a mosque in the Rumelian village of Keshan, and a mosque and soup kitchen in the Anatolian village of Dil or Hersek. The Keshan mosque is still standing, but the Anatolian endowments are in ruins.

Dr. Simsar is to be congratulated on a thorough and scholarly piece of editing. The *waqfiyah* is reproduced in facsimile and interpaginated with a transliteration and translation, accompanied by notes. To the reviewer at least the method of transliteration seems cumbersome and unnecessarily precise, if not pedantic. Anyone competent to make use of the text and transliteration can surely dispense with these laborious orthographical antics. The text itself is of considerable interest not only to the student of Turkish but to historians and the casual reader. A number of the editor's observations are illuminating, but many more might be classed as supererogatory.

A few specific comments: (p. 10) the Karamanid Ibrahim's *waqfiyah* is available in facsimile in *Bulleten*, Vol. I, No. 1 (Ankara, 1937), pp. 56ff., the title as cited is incorrect, and the primary date is 835; (p. 28) there are *no* relative pronouns in Turkish; (p. 62) read *mesjid-i*, and alter the translation accordingly; (p. 162) read *evkaf*; (p. 164) 'Abd ul-Malik (not Mälük) would turn over in his grave to hear himself called an 'Abbäsü; (p. 170, footnote 2) repe-

tion of footnote 1 of p. 162; (p. 171, footnote 4) for "page 2, note 5" read "page 10, note 17; (p. 176) Stephan was not Ahmed Pasha when he was sent as a hostage to the court of the Conqueror; (p. 178) read Qāyitbāy and Cairo for Qāyitbāy and Cario; (p. 182) one paragraph is scarcely a discussion "at length"; (p. 193) not an index but a list. There are a number of peculiarities in the bibliography: JAOS from 1842 onward is a very inclusive reference; an article by Halil Edhem in TOEM is referred to simply as TOEM, vols. 28-29 (read nos. 28-29, vol. 5) without author or title; Lane-Poole is alphabetized under S for Stanley; read Ūz for Oz, etc.

But these are minor considerations. Dr. Simsar has added a valuable contribution to an important and neglected branch of Turkish historical material.

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Princeton, N. J.*

GEORGE C. MILES.

History of Iranian Art. By J. Christy Wilson. Translated into Persian (Tārikh-i Ṣanā'ī-i Irān) by 'Abdu'llāh Faryār, with a foreword by His Excellency 'Alī Asghar Ḥikmat, the Minister of Education. Published by the Iranian Ministry of Education and printed by the Brōkhīm Press, Teheran, 1938. 8vo., 240 pp., illustrations, map, index.

During the past ten years competent Iranian and foreign scholars have been commissioned by the Iranian Ministry of Education to make studies on various scientific and literary subjects, and their works have been published as textbooks and books of reference for the use of schools and colleges in Iran. Dr. Wilson's book, which was written at the request of the Ministry of Education, appears as a publication of this series. It attempts to present in a concise but comprehensive manner a history of Iranian art from the earliest days to the present time.

The author, after stating that one of the greatest contributions of Iran to the civilized world has been in the field of art, points out that the book was composed to acquaint the youth of Iran with the art of their country. The first chapter opens with a general definition of art, and proceeds with a discussion of the relationship of Iranian art to that of other nations. The second and third chapters deal with the prehistoric art, and the following eight chapters are devoted to the Achaemenian, Parthian, Sāsānian, and Islamic periods. In the twelfth chapter, which is the last, the author reviews the latest modern developments in Iran, and recommends that the Iranians, who are now initiating new methods in their crafts, preserve the old and desirable features of their art.

Considering the circumstances under which this study was made, it is expected that it should contain flattering remarks of a general nature, and that it should stress the importance of the rôle played by the Iranians in the field of art. In the reviewer's opinion, however, this has been carried a little too far. Dr. Wilson, either because of his own enthusiasm or because of his desire to please his Iranian readers, has overlooked certain established archaeological facts. Statements such as: the civilization of Iran is older than that of Mesopotamia, civilization spread first from Iran to the west,

and Iran is the oldest cradle of civilization (p. 4), are questionable. Dr. Leonard Woolley on page 20 (not p. 30) of his "Ur of the Chaldees," a source quoted by Dr. Wilson himself, compares the civilization of the Indus Valley with that of Ur and adds: "later research may well discover some site between those two extremes (i.e., the Indus and the Euphrates valleys) where the ancestors of our Sumerians developed the first real civilization of which we have knowledge." Such a site has not been discovered and no archaeological evidence has come to light to justify the conclusions reached by Dr. Wilson. Besides, it is generally believed that the western Asiatic civilization was based on and modelled after that of Mesopotamia which differs in many respects from that of Iran. Perhaps what Dr. Wilson or the translator of his book meant was the earliest *settlements* and not *civilization*.

To claim that Iranian art is an older art than that of Egypt and Babylon (p. 8) is quite misleading. The statement that metal was first discovered in Iran (p. 15) is equally misleading. Copper objects have been unearthed in Turkistan (Anau I, 4000-3000 B.C.) and in Syria (Tell Halaf, 5000-4000 B.C.).

Chapters devoted to the Achaemenian, Parthian, and Sāsānian art and the ensuing discussions of the art of the Islamic period are generally reliable. One point in this connection, however, should be made clear. The third figure in the Naqsh-i Rostam relief (p. 104 and the plate facing it), which Dr. Wilson has failed to identify, is Cyriades. He is shown standing beside the kneeling figure of the Roman Emperor Valerian, and is receiving the nomination from Shāpūr I.

A few inconsistencies are noticed in the arrangement of material. An unusual amount of space has been devoted to the discussion of such highly specialized and technical details as the classification of the strata at Susa, Persepolis, Tepe Hissar, and other Iranian sites, including minute descriptions of the finds at each site, which do not seem in keeping with a general survey of this sort. Besides, this information can hardly be of any particular interest to the average student. No uniformity has been observed in the handling of foreign names and the titles of foreign books. These are either supplied in parentheses in Latin characters in the text, or are thrown into the footnotes where they are sometimes printed in Latin and sometimes in Arabic characters. In one instance (p. 53) a footnote is completely missing. The task of the reader would have been easier if the plates had been numbered.

These shortcomings, however, do not impair the usefulness of the volume. By giving a concise and reliable historical background, and by including excellent illustrations the author has rendered a much-needed service to the study of Iranian art. The reproductions are well selected and help to clarify certain points which are discussed in the text. Dr. Wilson has taken great pains and has produced a scholarly piece of work.

Since the reviewer has not seen the original of Dr. Wilson's work in English, he cannot express an opinion on the accuracy of the translation. It would appear, however, that the translator has kept to a very literal interpretation. If he had rendered the author's

ideas somewhat more freely, his style would have been less dull for the average student. For the past ten years the trend in literary circles in Iran has been to write in a simple style and to avoid the use of Arabic and other foreign words whenever possible. No other office more than the Ministry of Education is responsible for this worthwhile movement. It is therefore surprising to find so many foreign words in a book which is published under their supervision. Here are a few examples of the most common type: *hajar* (stone) for *sang*, *hadjārī* (stonecutting) for *sangtarāshī* or *kālbakārī*, *nufragh* (bronze) for *chudan*, *taqrīz* (foreword or acknowledgment) for *sipāsguzārī*, *imāma* (turban) for *dastār*, *ṣayqalī shuda* (polished) for *zidūda*, *falāhat* (agriculture) for *barazgarī*, *hafr kardan* (to excavate) for *kāvīdan*, *falāt* (desert) for *dasht*, *lotus* for *nīlūfar*, *mīster* or *monsieur* for *āqā*, and *chivalry* for *dīlīrī*.

One can realize that it is not easy to translate a scientific work into a language in which most of the technical terms do not exist. The translator's effort, while commendable, is not very resourceful. In spite of these criticisms Mr. Faryār deserves credit for the successful handling of the work with which he was entrusted.

Philadelphia, Pa.

M. A. SIMSAR.

The Invocations of Sheikh 'Abdullah Ansari of Herat. A.D. 1005-1090.

Translated by Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh. London, John Murray, 1939. 2/6.

This little book, in the *Wisdom of the East* Series, includes a brief introduction on the Persian mystic Anṣārī, known chiefly for the *Book of Devotions* here translated and for his quatrains. He was accounted a leader among the Ṣūfīs, and used to lecture on the lives of the Saints to his disciples, and it was on the notes of these lectures that the great Persian poet Jāmī based his well-known biography of the mystics of Islam (*Nafahāt al-Uns*).

As the translator points out, few religions have been without mystics who, in a spirit of selfless devotion, have sought and found God, and of these he says: "They have spoken with no uncertain voice of the Truth that has been revealed to them." Such a one was Anṣārī, who followed the path of self-surrender, that he might become one of the pure in heart, to whom is granted the vision of God. Of the way to be trodden by the seeker after God he writes: "The heart enquired of the soul: 'What is the beginning of this business, what its end and what its fruit?' The soul answered: 'The beginning of it is the annihilation of self, its end faithfulness (which is the fulfilment of the law of love), and its fruit immortality (which is the life of the soul in God).'

In one of his quatrains Anṣārī wrote:

"Strive to be like the pupil of thine eye,

To see all else, but not thyself to see."

Anṣārī is aware that religion is not a matter of outward observance but of the inner devotion of the heart, and he writes of the outward Ka'ba, built "of clay and water," and of the inner temple, built in life and heart, which is sanctified by the glory of God Himself. In one of the prayers here translated Anṣārī prays for a heart free from self-centered desire, a mind free from self-delusion, and adds: "O Lord, give me eyes which see nothing but

Thy glory. Give me a mind that finds delight in Thy service. Give me a soul which has drunk deep of Thy wisdom."

Man cannot redeem himself, he teaches, but to the penitent who seeks forgiveness and cleansing, it will be granted, for the Grace of God is boundless and "resplendent as the Sun." Those who offer themselves to be the bondslaves of their Lord will find in His service perfect freedom, and being united with Him by love, will enter into the life which is life indeed, when they contemplate God in their hearts and He enters in and dwells with them. But the good life means not only fellowship with God, but also with men, for the law of life, to Anṣārī, requires first the right attitude to God, which teaches the right attitude to oneself, and then the right attitude to others, justice to all, service to one's elders, kindness to the young, generosity to the poor, good counsel to friends and forbearance towards enemies.

In this little book, as so often in the writings of the Muslim mystics, Christian students will find much that is in accordance with the teachings of the Gospel. We are grateful to Sir Jogendra Singh for giving us this translation of the prayers of a mystic, who himself had trodden the path of humility and self-surrender, and seeks to give to others what he feels that God, of His grace, had revealed to him.

London.

MARGARET SMITH.

Marriage in Early Islam. By Gertrude H. Stern. London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1939. pp. viii, 196. 10s.6d.

Since the studies of Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 1885) and Wellhausen (*Die Ehe bei den Arabern*, 1893) there has been little interest shown in the question of early Islamic matrimonial legislation, and this is a pity, because we have now much more source material, both in the way of Arabic texts from the early period, and of archaeological information, than was available to those great scholars, and the sociological studies of our generation have opened up new ways of approaching such material. In Miss Stern's study which is the major part of a Thesis presented at London University, and is published as Vol. XVIII of the J. G. Forlong Fund, we have assembled from the Corpus of Muslim *Hadīth* (Tradition) a great deal of material concerning marriage customs in Arabia at the inception of Islam, the marriages of the Prophet and his Companions, and related matters such as Guardianship, Betrothal, Dowry, Divorce, Adultery, Seclusion, Foster Relationship, etc. The discussion is based very largely on two complementary groups of material, that in the VIIIth volume of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa'd, and that in the VIth volume of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. It is true that these two volumes deal in the main with the women of early Islam, but any relevant conclusion on the questions which the subject raises must obviously be based on a collection of *all* the material evidence available in the complete Corpus of Muslim Tradition. Miss Stern at times uses illustrative material from other volumes of the *Musnad* and of Ibn Sa'd, and occasionally from other sources such as

Bukhārī and the *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, but there still remains the task of systematically combing the sources for all the relevant evidence.

The present volume, however, makes a beginning, and it is a distinct advantage to have this assembly of material, which makes very evident what an advance is now possible beyond the investigations of Robertson Smith and Wellhausen. Miss Stern's discussion, however, is marred by two defects: first, the inadequate philological treatment, and second, the uncritical judgment as to the value of Tradition. Her defence probably is that neither of these was her task, but both must be undertaken before we can make much progress. The technical terms with which this subject bristles all demand detailed philological investigation, both to determine their original significance and what modifications of meaning they have undergone in the Islamic system. Both Robertson Smith and Wellhausen made a beginning at this, but only a beginning, and it remains an important task to be undertaken. An even more important matter is Ḥadīth criticism. The authoress has been at great pains to examine the credit of the witnesses to each Tradition she uses, but her judgments on them are for the most part those of later Muslim orthodoxy, as expressed in such works as the *Mizān* of adh-Dhahabī (†748 A.H.) or, more frequently, the *Khulāṣa* of al-Khazrajī (923 A.H.), judgments which, while most interesting as an expression of orthodox opinion, are critically of little value now that we know something of the development of *isnād* criticism in Islam. Too often these judgments of orthodoxy as to the value to be set on a witness depend not on the accuracy or otherwise of his report, but on whether its content and form correspond with certain relatively late and artificial standards. When a complete collection of relevant material has been made it will be a pretty problem to work out criteria for assessing the value to be given to each element in this assemblage.

The authoress is most meticulous in putting in her diacritical marks in all Arabic words, which makes it the more curious that there are so many mistakes of this kind. *Qur'ān* is invariably *Qur'ān* (even in the Index) as though it had an 'ain for middle letter; *Tā'if* is usually wrongly transliterated (even in the Index), 'adhā is confused with 'ādha, etc, so that one sometimes wonders how sound her Arabic is. Otherwise the work is well printed and well arranged, and though the English idiom is often a little strange, the discussion is clear and reads easily.

Columbia University,
New York City.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

The March of the Barbarians. By Harold Lamb. New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1940. pp. viii, 389. \$3.75.

Geschichte Gāzān-Ḥān's aus dem Ta'rīḥ-i-mubārak-i-Gāzānī des Rašīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh b. 'Imād al-Daula Abūl-Ḥair, herausgegeben nach den Handschriften von Stambul, London, Paris und Wien, mit einer Einleitung, kritischem Apparat und Indices. Von Karl Jahn. London, Luzac & Co., 1940. pp. xliv, 12, 387. 30/-.

The history of the Mongols, particularly the story of the military campaigns of Jenghis Khān and his successors Mangū, Ḳaidū,

Kubilai and Hūlāgū, has had a peculiar fascination for our generation, and if it is true that the study of these campaigns has been a favorite pastime of German officers, and the pattern of Mongol campaigns imitated by German commanders in Poland and Northern France, it has also a melancholy significance for us. Only a few months ago a Canadian Air Force officer wrote a book, which we reviewed in this Journal (see *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, July, 1940), studying from the military point of view these Mongol campaigns in the East and the West, and his work was possible only because of the great deal of material that has been made available to Western readers in connection with this whole Mongol question.

Mr. Lamb's work is in a sense the culmination of his earlier studies. In 1927 he gave us a full-length biography of Jenghis Khān, who started the Mongol movement, and in 1928 a similar biography of Tamerlane, who about two hundred years later finally broke the power of the Golden Horde. His two volumes on the Crusades in 1930 and 1931 worked out the complicated situation in the Near East whereby the Crusaders and the Mongols were brought into contact; and even his lighter volumes on Omar Khayyām and Nūr Mahāl have their close connections with the history of the Mongols. In this more ambitious volume he sets out to tell the whole story of the rise of the Mongols on the fringe of the frozen steppe land, their organization as a fighting force under Jenghis Khān, their incredible campaigns as far as Russia in the West and to Southern China and Japan in the East, the setting up of the Mongol kingdoms, and their gradual decline as the original force spent itself. As a piece of fine writing it is perhaps not so good as his books on the Crusades, but he has succeeded, as few men could have done, in digesting the enormous mass of source material and setting forth the whole story clearly and succinctly within the compass of a single volume.

The student of Islam is mainly interested, of course, in the Mongol descent on the Caliphate at Baghdād, with such disastrous consequences, and the subsequent part played in Eastern history by those successors of Hūlāgū and their allied groups who accepted Islam and came to dominate the Muslim empire. Birkai, of the Jūchī branch of the family, had, indeed, earlier accepted Islam, but it was the conversion of Ghāzān, the fourth of the Il-Khāns, who built an Islamic state, that made the great change. Ghāzān Khān fought the Mameluks in Syria, it is true, but he was a man of peace rather than a man of war, was interested in book learning and science and in commercial development rather than in conquest, and as Rashīd ad-Dīn comments, he built up a civilization instead of acting like Hūlāgū and destroying one. Rashīd ad-Dīn lived at the Court of Ghāzān and wrote there his great historical compendium. The Persian text of that part of the History which deals with Ghāzān Khān himself has now been edited by Dr. Karl Jahn of Prague, in the latest volume of the Gibb Memorial Series (New Series No. XIV). The text is based on the MSS. of Stambul, London, Paris and Vienna, and the editing appears to have been well done. The editor has provided elaborate Persian indices, and what is of greater value, a twenty-eight page summary of the contents of the XXVIII chapters here issued, with

folio and even line reference, which make it a simple matter to find quickly what one wants. Rashīd ad-Dīn's style is somewhat diffuse, and he is fond of anecdotes and accounts of family connections, but his account of Ghāzān Khān and his Court, first in Khorāsān, and then in his new capital at Tabrīz, based as it is on personal knowledge and on information given, as he tells us, by the Khān himself, is perhaps the liveliest and most intimate section of the whole *Ta'rikh-i-Ghāzānī*.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten. Von Carl Brockelmann; mit 8 Karten. München und Berlin, Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1939. 8vo. xii, 495.

The compilation of Brockelmann's monumental *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, the supplemental volumes to which are just completed, necessarily involved detailed study of the political and social history of Islam, with whose history Arabic literature is so intimately connected. In this volume he gives us a statement of his impressions as to the sweep and significance of that history. It is necessarily a big book, for its range covers the time from pre-Islamic Arabia to the opening of the Palestine Conference in London in 1939, and the whole stretch of Islamic settlement from Morocco in the West to China in the East, and from the Mongols in the North to the Islamized tribes of Central Africa. It is also necessarily a summary, impressionistic account, for no single scholar could control all the sources in a score of different languages, nor would any one lifetime be sufficient to complete the investigations that would be involved in an attempt to write a basic history.

The relative proportions of the various sections seem to have been dictated by the desire to serve the needs of students. The life of Muḥammad and the period of the early Caliphate, for which there are a goodly number of studies to which the student can turn, are passed over very briefly. The period of the later Caliphate, which has been much less adequately studied, receives relatively more detailed treatment; and more than half the book is devoted to the Turkish Caliphate and the Islamic states in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. It is thus a little disappointing to find the Bibliography so poor, for on a great many points the student who is approaching this subject would appreciate an indication of sources to which he could turn for more information than it was possible to give in a necessarily brief summary.

In covering so large a subject it is no small feat to have produced a work which can be wholeheartedly recommended to students. The author has seen clearly the salient points in the long story of the spread and development of Islam, and has woven his account around these points in a way that lets the reader see a clear picture of each epoch of advance. In its historical sense, its mastery of the results of modern research, its justness of judgment and clarity of presentation, it is infinitely superior to any of the more recent attempts to write a "History of the Arabs." One could have wished for a more liberal supply of maps and plans, but the chronological table at the end is a very useful feature.

Doubtless specialists will complain that in their particular fields

of interest there are inadequacies, as the present reviewer thinks there are in the appreciation of the importance for Islam of the forces at work in Arabia in the pre-Islamic period, and in the understanding of the religious significance of Muḥammad. But this is inevitable. The writer of such a survey must appraise the situation in each case as it seems to him, conscious that it may not impress others in quite the same way. It is noteworthy in the present case that the author has always endeavored, and has very generally succeeded, in giving an impartial judgment on points where the opinions of scholars differ sharply. Also in the later sections, where it must have been very difficult to keep personal feelings from colouring the picture, he has given an admirably fair account of the events that led up to the present situation in the Islamic Near East.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

India Office Library. Specimens of Arabic and Persian Palaeography, selected and arranged by A. J. Arberry, Assistant Librarian. London, India Office, 1939. 8vo. pp. viii and 48 plates. Price 6/-.

One of the problems facing students of Arabic, Persian and Turkish is that they do not advance very far without finding themselves compelled to deal with material in handwriting in a script that is peculiarly difficult to decipher. For this reason the older Grammars used to include at the end some specimens of penmanship of both elegant and current hands, that the student might obtain some practice in this matter. There have also been selections of handwriting specimens specially prepared and lithographed for the use of students, perhaps the most famous among them being the *Ma'raḍ al-Khutūt* issued by the Jesuit Press at Beirut, which has gone through innumerable reprints. The specimens in the Jesuit book were in many cases written especially for that collection, but in this collection before us they are actual reproductions from MSS. in the India Office Library. The editor's annotations consist in noting the source of each specimen, classifying its hand, and giving a brief note where possible identifying the author or calligraphist. An attempt has been made to select specimens of the different kinds of hand the student is likely to meet—from Kūfic to Maghribī, pointed and unpointed—plates 1-24 and 48 being in Arabic and 25-47 in Persian. The reproductions are large and clear and form a useful addition to this class of student help.

ARTHUR JEFFERY.

Doctor in Arabia. By Paul W. Harrison. New York, The John Day Company, 1940. \$3.

This is a fascinating book—I almost called it a fascinating *picture* book—word pictures. Those who know Dr. Paul Harrison personally and as a speaker can be assured that "Doctor in Arabia" carries the real flavor of his vivid, whimsical, unique descriptions of scene, situation and people. One fairly swelters in the inferno of the Muscat climate and recoils from its rugged, forbidding, "iron" hinterland. When was there so arduous and dangerous an itinerating trip so vigorously and even hilariously pictured as the terrific all night donkey-back scramble over those impossible mountains to Tenoof! We

are engagingly introduced to powerful Sheikhs of the far-off desert and impoverished pearl divers of the coast. The fanatical patient, the tragic patient, the grateful patient, the scientifically interesting patient, the patient who spat all over the wall instead of on the floor, are led intimately before us by the hand of their friend, the doctor.

The book, with all its colorful close-ups, has a wide range. It is a veritable mine of information, interpretation and inspiration. A man with a strangulated hernia climaxes an agonized two-day donkey ride by crawling to the hospital, at night, on his hands and knees, bereft of every stitch of clothing, and there follows a non-technical discussion of hernias by a master surgeon, who is invited to demonstrate his methods in leading hospitals over here. A tour of a date-growing oasis leads to a striking discussion of the stark economics of such places. Crisp tales of adventure silhouette the stuff of which Baluchis and Arabs are made. El Mas, jailed for leading a well deserved mutiny on a pearl diving boat, leaps from his second story prison window—laden with shackles—into the sea, and is hauled up from the depths by his daringly synchronized diver friends, who go down for him with ropes in their teeth. Islam comes in for characteristically discriminating, sympathetic and candid comments at intervals along the way, as the human story brings up this or that, which is intelligible only in the light of that great social, political and religious system. There are particularly tender passages for the women of Arabia and Islam. One of the most interesting things in the book is Dr. Harrison's philosophy of adapting scientific medical care and hospitalization to the Arab's need and psychology, embodied in his new hospital.

Over and beyond all else we see the humble, one-by-one, promising beginnings of the Christian Church in Muscat,—Mobarrek, son of the stout-hearted El Mas above; Zahrah, who in America "would have been president of the federated women's clubs of half a dozen states," who came out of fiery ordeals; Noobie, an ex-slave, who goes "all out" to the poor and needy, and others.

There may be the undiscerning reader, who by reason of the sense of humor and the gallant élan of this book, might not fully grasp what it all signifies—those long, lonely grueling years, pitting "the Christian way of life against the worst types of human trouble and sin" and, latterly, the growing of the Christian way. But for most people it will *grip*.

New York City.

E. M. DODD.

North and East of Musa Dagh. By Evangeline Metheny. With an introduction by Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D. New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, 1940. pp. 224. \$2.00.

Seldom does one find the combination of artistic ability, accuracy, and sympathetic appreciation in a writer who portrays the lives of a foreign people. Miss Metheny, in these five fascinating tales of the peoples of northern Syria, shows that she possessed this trio of desirable qualities, and that she was eminently fitted for her task of depicting the lives of the races north and east of Musa Dagh. Miss Metheny knew these peoples as few occidentals have been able to know them. Having lived in the country since childhood, possessing

unusual linguistic ability, and having the capacity to enter unobtrusively into the homes of all classes and races of people, she gained a rare knowledge of those phases of life, behind the scenes, which are hidden from most westerners. From her remarkable fund of information, and out of her deep understanding of the people, she gave us these realistic stories. In them, she has succeeded in imparting the full flavor of the picturesque speech of her characters and has skilfully interpreted the oriental mind. Illustrations, by J. Renwick Metheny, add to the vividness of this interpretation of eastern life.

Miss Metheny states in her preface that she chose the title of her book from the desire to reach the large English-speaking public of *The Forty Days of Musa Dagh*, by Frans Werfel. She wished thus to bring her friends, in the region of Musa Dagh, to be widely known and appreciated. But one feels, on reading the book, that Miss Metheny deserves the attention of many readers, simply through the merits of her own literary work.

Previous to the publication of this volume, poems by Miss Metheny had been published both in England and in America. Shortly before this book was given to the public, Miss Metheny passed away while in the United States. One feels deep regret that the peoples of the Near East have lost such a friend and interpreter and that the readers of this volume cannot hope for anything further from the pen of this able and sympathetic writer.

Maryville, Tenn.

LOIS C. WILSON.

Croyances et Coutumes Persanes. By Henri Massé. Paris, Librairie Orientale et Américaine. Volumes I and II. pp. 519.

A most valuable study has been made by Dr. Massé of the ideas and customs of the Persians. It is a fount of information on the folklore of Iran, particularly taken in conjunction with the more recently published "Wild Rue," by Mrs. Donaldson, of Meshed.

In a systematic and orderly fashion Dr. Massé has gathered together both from secondary sources and from observations and conversations during his own trips in Iran, material dealing with superstitions and customs connected with birth, marriage and death. This is followed by his observations as to the periodic ceremonies extant in Iran as well as chapters dealing with superstitions concerning animals, vegetables, water, divinations, signs and omens, magical processes, popular medicine, supernatural beings, buildings and monuments, legends relative to aspects of nature, games, legends and colloquial poetry.

Any one of the chapter themes is quite sufficiently important to justify an entire volume. Therefore the reader is slightly disappointed at the sketchy nature of the treatment of certain interesting customs. The section on the derivation of town and city names seems to be particularly inadequate.

However, the reader will find a great store of valuable information in these two volumes, particularly in the light of the index and excellent bibliography.

New York City.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

Living Religions and a World Faith. By William E. Hocking. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940. pp. 291, including an index. \$2.50.

This book consists of four lectures. In the first, "Religion and Religions," Dr. Hocking defines religion as "a passion for righteousness, and for the spread of righteousness, conceived as a cosmic demand." *Righteousness*, as used here, means not compliance with a known law, but a search for a right way of living. *Passion* is "the inescapable urgency or seriousness which belongs to the central stake of human existence—whether one lives or misses living." Religion is universal, for there is a universal craving for a universal object. It is also particular, in that it communicates itself to specific human beings. One of the dilemmas of religion is "the inherent conflict between the freedom of universality and the limitation of the particular."

Dr. Hocking classifies living religions into two groups: those which are fundamentally particular and local (Hinduism, Confucianism, Shinto, Judaism), and those which claim to be universal (Buddhism, Christianity, Islam). But Buddhism, Christianity and Islam have fallen into particularities, such as absolute authorities and canons of scripture. The author also divides religions into the revealed (Judaism, Islam, Christianity), and the non-revealed, the religions of eastern Asia.

The second lecture deals with some characteristics of Oriental religions. In the East, a man can belong to two or more religions at a time. A Chinese can be a Confucianist and a Buddhist. "In Japan, Buddhism has supplemented Confucianism and Shinto."

The author comments on the "relative formlessness" of Oriental religions. "The temples and mosques have no roster of members (except in modern Japan), no parish boundaries, no fixed incomes." The Buddhist priest has no defined parish and no parish duties.

The Far Eastern religions are more reflective than those of the Near East. "The religions of China are at the same time philosophies." On the other hand, the scriptures of the Semitic religions resort to dogma and command rather than to argument.

Modernity in Asiatic culture is interpreted as including the acceptance of science and technology, the will to effect change by human efforts, and the enhanced importance of the nation.

In the third lecture, Dr. Hocking considers those ways towards a world faith "which imply a positive effort to establish a concrete religion for mankind." The way of radical displacement is based on a conviction of special revelation, a specific method of salvation, and the idea of the "only way" to God. Without these presuppositions, radical displacement, which is the original way of the modern mission, becomes discredited.*

The way of synthesis involves "incorporating with one's own religion certain elements of other religions." Synthesis is liberal, in the sense of "being unwilling to condemn as evil what is good in other faiths." Although this method has its dangers, a legitimate synthesis is marked by individuality, organic unity, and consistency.

* [But these very presuppositions, so cavalierly dismissed by Dr. Hocking and passed over by our reviewer, are the foundation of the whole missionary enterprise. Dr. Hocking's theological views in these lectures, as before in "Rethinking Missions," vitiate his conclusions.—S. M. Z.]

Dr. Hocking maintains that "no religion can become a religion for Asia which does not fuse the spiritual genius of Asia with that of Western Christianity," and foresees in the Orient "the rise of a Christianity far outpassing that which we of the West have conceived, simply because it can recover there so many lost fragments of what is its own." The author regards synthesis as an inadequate way.

The way of reconception involves understanding our own religion better. We must discover its essence. The search for essence is the natural process of religious growth. "In proportion as any religion grows in self-understanding through grasping its own essence, it grasps the essence of all religion, and gains in power to interpret its various forms." In the Far East, Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism are attempting to restate their own essences, and so to state them as to include what they regard as significant in the others. Reconception needs a new institution, "widely different from the usual type of Protestant mission."

The concluding lecture describes an emerging world faith—a belief in obligation or duty, in a source of things which is good, in some kind of permanence for what is real in selfhood, and in the human aspect of deity (incarnation). "This rudimentary faith confronts and is confronted by every actual living religion."

How does Christianity relate itself to these emerging elements? It lays upon us an obligation to be like the Father, who is a source of things which is good. It affirms a future life. "It demands that the will of God be incarnated in the deeds of men; it presents a supreme instance of such incarnation."

Christianity, in the author's view, is not yet ready to serve as a world religion. "We have not solved our own problems of the bearing of Christianity on any social institution, more particularly on war, property, the family. There are still values outside of Christianity, in other religions, which we think ought not to perish."

Dr. Hocking names some of the best values in non-Christian faiths. Islam has "a dignity, a sweep, a sense of the instant majesty of God. To the Moslem, God in His majesty is also a near and present God. Islam has an effective fraternity which crosses racial bounds with an ease which Christianity professes but Christians seldom attain." Hinduism and Buddhism are reflective and meditative, mystic and poetic. We are reminded of "the actually achieved serenity of spirit" in many an oriental saint. Confucianism is commended for its intense humanity and its inner gaiety.

The book maintains that the impulse which drives mankind towards unity is primarily religious, not cultural nor political. "The need for understanding among men and the need for identity of religion are not two needs but one." Furthermore, men need to know that life is not futile, but meaningful. Dr. Hocking's argument attains its climax in a statement of how Christianity enables a person to achieve a sense of dignity and power. Faith in the importance of the individual is based on "the omnipresent effect of an ancient personal achievement which through its silent pervasiveness has become all but anonymous. It was through the deeds of a carpenter of Nazareth that the overt formlessness of history seemed momentarily

pushed aside like a drab curtain, disclosing a context in which space, time, number became unimportant, and every living thing stood vested in potential worth. This momentary perception, unprovable but commanding, remains to offset the increasing lostness of the individual in our modern world, even when its source is forgotten. And as the voices of racial, national, organizational pride recede, the inescapable inheritance of these deeds will recur to conscious recognition. When '*In hoc signo*' ceases to be a battle cry, it will ascend as token of another conquest, the conquest of estrangement among the seekers of God."

This volume can be read with profit by Christian ministers and laymen in East and West, and by members of non-Christian faiths. The writer, who is Alford Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University, is well acquainted with living religions and with the mission fields of the world. He analyzes the strength and weakness of Christianity in its relation to Western civilization, and indicates the promise of this religion as a factor in enriching and unifying the faith of the East.

Dr. Hocking feels that every believer should find the essence of his own religion, and study and appreciate other faiths. His avowal of the need for a new or supplementary institution for the furtherance of reconception as a way to a world faith, is thought-provoking. "The mission is set for teaching; the required institution must be set for learning as well. The mission is set for the announcement of doctrine; this institution must be set as well for conversation and conference. The mission is set for activity; this institution must be set also for leisure, contemplation, study. The mission is set for address to its own region; this institution must be set for give and take with the thought and feeling of a nation and a world." This reviewer notes that a number of training schools, mission boards and stations, and individual workers have incorporated Dr. Hocking's principle of a "new institution," a "watch-tower of thought and understanding," into their studies, programs and lives.

Bristol, Conn.

FRANCIS T. COOKE.

Our Arabian Nights. By Ruth and Helen Hoffman. New York, Carrick & Evans, 1940. pp. 307. \$2.75.

Ruth and Helen Hoffman, attractive twins from Minnesota, are the authors of this sequel to their best seller, "We Married an Englishman." In this book the reader enjoys with them the amusing adventures of a year spent in Baghdad and a summer in the desert near Mosul as guests in the encampment of a gracious Bedouin sheikh who had been for seven years a student in Beirut. No claim to scholarship is made by the authors, who regard themselves as artists rather than as writers. Line drawings, clever and sometimes startling, add much to the charm of their book. But the sisters are artists also in the use of words in sharing to an unusual degree the sensations of their "helter-skelter impressions" of a "chunk of crowded living."

The book has many aspects. Much of the year in Baghdad was occupied with establishing a home for the English engineer, Helen's husband, and themselves, and in decorating their rented house on the Tigris in a way that made it unique among the homes of the dis-

tinguished Iraqi and European friends who enjoyed their hospitality. Animal lovers will delight in the account of the twenty-seven pets who complicated housekeeping but added zest to life in Baghdad. "If any animal or bird was brought to our house alive," they explain, "and accepted our hospitality, it became a life member of our family." Perhaps the favorite of the household, although not of the Hajji next door, was "Pig," the wild boar who looked as though he might be half ant-eater by mistake or a unicorn out of a fairy-tale, and who smiled at them in his funny pig way.

These gay young women could see the funny side of anything. They could even laugh over Arabic grammar studied from a book written by a "too brilliant—for us—American missionary." The grammar gave them nightmares, but it also inspired a parody on Alice in Wonderland. And it laid the foundation for their success as visitors in the Bedouin harem.

Keen observations of political life in Iraq, especially after the death of King Ghazi, will be of especial interest to many. German propaganda reached even the desert encampments. But the outstanding contribution of the book is probably the account of the summer spent in the desert as intimate friends and daily companions of the ladies of the sheikh's harem. Extreme heat, ever-present flies and complete lack of privacy over so long a period would have dulled the enthusiasm of less sporting visitors, but they enjoyed the experience thoroughly. They had been offered the hospitality of a castle by their prospective host, lest they suffer discomfort in the black goat-hair tents. "We don't want to be comfortable," was their reply, "We want to live like Bedouins."

Hartford, Conn.

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY.

The Glorious Kingdom of the Father Foretold. By Virgie V. Vail. New York, Bahá'í Publishing Company, 1940. pp. 262.

The author's thesis is that all the prophecies found in the Old and New Testaments regarding the glorious coming of the Divine King and the establishment of the Kingdom of God have been fulfilled by Bahá'u'lláh, the founder of Baháism. He says, "There are two advents foretold by the prophets—the first advent in humiliation, and the second when the expounder of God's word establishes His glorious kingdom on earth." Jesus came in humiliation, and the prophecies of the triumph of the kingdom (such as Ps. 72, Isa. 11 and Daniel 7: 14) were not fulfilled in him. But in this age Christ has come in power and glory, and the Kingdom of the Father has been established. Scores of Bible verses, and long passages from the writings of Bahá'u'lláh are quoted to prove this claim.

Bahá'u'lláh ("Glory of God") is the King of Glory whose coming is foretold in Psalm 24. It was of him that Isaiah spoke when he said that the "Glory of the Lord" would be revealed, and all flesh would see it together. In the Christian era there was the advent of the Son; in the present age we witness the advent of the Father, and this is therefore the highest and most perfect manifestation of God which is possible. "Now that the Heavenly Father has come, to establish His Kingdom on earth," writes the author, "we can repeat with Christ 'Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of

God.'” Bahá'u'lláh is the Comforter of whom Christ spoke in John 14, who will perfect Christ's work. Bahá'u'lláh is the Final Judge who “shall come in the glory of His Father, with His angels,” and this “is the Great Day of Judgment for the world-cycle in which we are living.” Bahá'u'lláh is the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and through Him will peace be established on earth. Anyone who refuses to believe on this Divine Manifestation is anti-Christ.

If historical facts are of no consequence, and anyone who has a suitable name can claim to be God incarnate, then Christians might take this book seriously and worship Bahá'u'lláh the Divine King. But Bahá'u'lláh, born in Persia more than a century ago, lived his life in Persia and Turkey and Syria, and died in 1892. The facts of his life have been recorded by impartial historians, and the results of his labors may be investigated by anyone who is interested. And the most effective reply to Virgie Vail's claim that Bahá'u'lláh is God the Father Incarnate is the history of the Bahai Movement. The reader is referred to the article in the October, 1940, issue of *THE MOSLEM WORLD*, entitled, “The Bahai Cause Today.”

W. M. M.

“Dawdson” *The Doctor, G. E. Dodson of Iran.* By a Friend of Iran. London, The Highway Press. pp. 73. 1/6.

To those of us who had the rare privilege of knowing Dr. Dodson personally this little volume is most welcome with its stories of the life of the great Church Missionary Society medical missionary of Iran. To those who never knew Dr. Dodson nor even have a first hand acquaintance with his adopted land, it will be even more of a treat.

The author has shown rare ability in both catching the local color of the land of the Medes and the Persians and at the same time refraining from making the naïvité of the desert doctor's patients appear in any sense to be caricatures. One puts down the book feeling the same sense of affection for these simple folk and the same desire to heal their bodies and their souls which characterised Dr. Dodson's life in Iran.

New York City.

HERRICK BLACK YOUNG.

The Message of Islam. (The Wisdom of The East Series). By A. Yusuf Ali. New York, E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1940. \$1.00.

In 1938 Mr. Ali published a sumptuous Koranic text and Commentary occupying 1,849 pages. The running commentary of that volume is here made accessible for the general reader. In free verse, the author aims at the praiseworthy objective of world sanity and unity. While claiming for itself neither thorough scholarship nor theological penetration, the booklet, taken for what it sets out to perform, must command the interest of all those who are observing the changing world of Islam.

*Princeton Theological Seminary,
Princeton, N. J.*

EDWARD J. JURJI.

CURRENT TOPICS

Three Kabuls

Ian Stephens, writing in *Great Britain and the East*, under the title of Fable and Reality, draws an interesting picture of Kabul, from which we select the following paragraphs:

The Kabul of fable does not exist. "Much romantic nonsense has been written about 20th century Afghanistan. This presumably is accounted for in part by its own tempestuous history. Further considerations are Britain's continuous struggles with the truculent tribesmen near its eastern border, and the difficulty which certain types of non-Muslim travelers experience in gaining entry. The world sometimes still hears its capital described as a forbidden city of mystery and sudden death, where political conspiracies are forever hatching in dark corners, and wild fanatics of alarming physique endanger the unwary. In fact Afghanistan is a progressive orderly State, and possibilities of adventure are a negligible element in the pleasure of a foreign visitor's transit of Kabul's older portion. Unescorted he may walk its narrow crowded ways in a security far greater than at times he could rightly have felt in many cities of the British Empire during the last decade. Motor traffic radiates from it regularly and in safety, by night as well as day, over Afghanistan's lengthy road-system; eastward to Torkham at the Khyber's mouth, northward to Mazhar-i-Sharif by the bold new fair-weather route through the Hindu Kush gorges, onward thence to Herat, from Herat to Kandahar, and from Kandahar back through Ghazni to Kabul again. This is more than can be said of transport on the short, elaborately guarded Indian highway through the Khyber, or indeed nowadays on the Grand Trunk Road between Nowshera and Peshawar."

Real Kabul, such as nature made it and man developed it, consists of two cities, the new and the old.

"Both have character, which is jointly heightened by the spur of contrast. The dominant impression of the new city is spaciousness and disciplined design. The streets are wide and straight. Orderly rows of poplars and mulberry trees and the Asiatic elm flank the sidewalks. In the residential quarter the houses are placed well back, behind lofty colour-washed walls. These are mainly occupied by Afghan officials and merchants and the small European community. Here stands the Royal Palace, a dignified but inextravagant structure, as is seemly in a country of modest revenues; also the Government's various administrative buildings, and most of the foreign Embassies and Legations. Beyond are the big new mosque, parade grounds, the airfield. Electricity reaches the city

on pylons. There is a considerable modern shopping centre, banking premises, a large Government-controlled hotel. The trim blue-uniformed police direct traffic with an alacrity wanting in some great Indian towns such as Calcutta. Generally, new Kabul's architecture has a distinctly Central European flavour.

"The charms of Kabul derive from more prosaic factors than a fabled danger, such as its superb geographical setting and climate. Few cities in the world possess a lovelier chief approach. This, nature-arranged, lies on the Eastern or Indian side. After a tedious descent from the sterile pebbly Lataband, a singularly dispiriting pass, the unfolding vision of a gracious green plain of great extent astonishes the eye. Shining watercourses dissect it, the vertical pale boles of many poplars emphasise its rich flatness, snow ridges remotely enclose it. The effect is somewhat like the Vale of Kashmir, as seen from the lower slopes of the Pir, Panjal. But whereas the Kashmir landscape often suffers from a puzzling over-prettiness, suggesting that it must all be illusion, this harder, less fantastically proportioned Afghan scene is convincingly real.

"Ahead, beneath a massive mountain wall topped with snow, lies Kabul, a jumble of distant roofs. Over 5,000 ft. above sea-level, it enjoys a practically European temperature-range, and in spring the visitor from India's sub-tropical plains, if a Westerner, is stirred by the nostalgic spectacle of leafless catkin-bearing twigs, of melting roadside snow patches, and little red tulips bedecking the grass. Men and animals grow notably well on this fertile upland. The poultry are much larger than India's, the pack-asses sturdier, the cattle and camels and sheep appropriately sleeker or shaggier; and misleading though fable may in some respects be, it is not wrong in ascribing to the wayside people exceptional grandeur of limb and feature.

"A lively snow-fed stream, the so-called Kabul River, cleaves the new city from the old. At its central curve a covered bridge spans it, through which burrows a thronged road bordered by the booths of small merchants. At the far end lies another world, traditional, Asiatic, yet essentially un-Indian. From this point radiate many long shadowy bazaars, roofed over in the manner of the *souks* of Damascus or Baghdad. Great Bactrian camels press through the crowd, men tottering beneath burdens, pack-asses with bulging loads, their attendants crying 'khabardar!' If jostled, the visitor is jostled without discourtesy, as in Piccadilly; each man is his neighbour's equal here, and amidst such congestion must take his chance of a buffet. Humanity of many kinds is seen: typical handsome Pathans such as are met near the Khyber; sophisticated Afghans in Western clothes and astrakhan cap; Mongoloid tribesmen from the Oxus region, wearing their overcoats uncouthly as capes, the empty sleeves pendent; sleek Persians; Turki merchants in long vertically striped robes; uniformed soldiery off duty, or perhaps a highshouldered overcoated officer in shining buttons and peaked cap; soft-bearded mentally-withdrawn Sikhs seated amidst bright bales of silk; blue-eyed, yellow-haired men from Afghan Nuristan, reputedly descendants from Alexander's armies."

A Highway to Mecca

The problem of transporting pilgrims from Jiddah to Mecca has now reached a solution. At first and for thirteen centuries, it was a camel journey. Then there was talk of a railroad, which was never built. We learn from the press that next year pilgrims will use a new desert automobile road. The Saudi Arabian Government has had this project under consideration for some time, and an agreement was recently reached with the Egyptian Government whereby Egypt would undertake most of the cost, the work being done by Egyptian contractors.

The initial work has already been undertaken, and the foundations of the first section of the road have been laid. It is anticipated that it will be possible to complete the highway in less than eight months, so that it will be ready for service before the time for the next pilgrimage. An extension of the road from Mecca to Ararat will probably be made after the 1941 pilgrimage.

New Light on Moghul Rule

The Moslem press is found in all lands, and it is a pleasure to quote from one of the less-known journals, *The Messenger*, of Sylhet, Assam:

"Many modern Indian historians will have to re-write their accounts of the reign of the short-lived sixteenth century monarch, Firuz Shah, as the result of the publication by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal of a transcription of a 350-year-old Persian manuscript.

"This manuscript, consisting of 241 folios, is known as *Tarikh-i-Shahi*, and was written by Ahmad Yalgar under patronage of Daud Shah of Bengal who ruled from A. C. 1572 to 1576. Two other copies of the manuscript, which are known as *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina*, exist in India, while the British Museum possesses 16 folios of the work.

"Dealing with the history of the Afghan ruling dynasty in India and also that of the three only Moghul rulers, the manuscript throws new light on the reign of Firuz Shah (1552). Moghul historians, on whose writings modern compilations are based, described the reign of the King as lasting three days; the manuscript, however, places his reign at two months. The Cambridge history of India has based a chapter relating to the reign of Firuz Shah on this work.

"According to Dr. Husain, who has edited the Persian manuscript for the Bibliotheca Indica of the Royal Asiatic Society, there are certain accounts of Afghan rulers in the manuscript which have until now remained obscure. The cause of Sher Shah's attack on Kalingar, for instance, is accurately described in the manuscript."

Ahmadism and Bahatism in the Same Boat

The editor of *The Light*, Lahore, in his zeal for Islam, kills two birds with one stone by showing the real relationship of the two heretical movements to orthodox Islam:

"What is Bahatism? It took its birth in the house of Islam. It

drew sustenance from certain prophecies in the sacred literature of Islam. Originally it paid allegiance to Islam, claiming to be no more than a movement within Islam. Gradually it developed, under later influences, separatist tendencies, till it openly came out to be a religion by itself, as distinct from Islam, as Islam from Christianity and Judaism. It still pays lip homage to all religions, including Islam. It reveres all prophets. But it declares Bahaism to be the latest dispensation. The world of to-day must turn for the solution of all her baffling problems to Bahaism, not to the Quran or the Bible or any other scripture.

“What is ‘Ahmadism’? The founder of the Ahmadiya Movement declared himself to be a humble servant of Islam and the Prophet. He wrote an encyclopaedic work to establish the superiority of the Quranic teachings over those of all other existing religions, schools of thought and creeds. He declared that the Quran was to be the guidance for the whole of humanity for all time to come. No one could add one tittle to that complete code of life. What he gave in his writings was but an exposition of the Quranic teachings—even as such just a wee drop out of that ocean of wisdom. He declared time and again that he regarded anyone who claimed prophethood to be outside the pale of Islam. In fact he sent God’s curses on such a claimant. His only mission was to revive faith in the teaching of the Book of Wisdom, the Holy Quran, and unravel its beauties in all their richness. This went on for some time, even after the passing away of the founder. His first successor kept the movement intact, devoted to the sole cause of the revival of Islam. Then comes the new tendency—the tendency towards separatism from Islam. The founder is declared to be a prophet, and those not accepting him as Kafirs, outside the pale of Islam. Men like Maulana Muhammad Ali and the late Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din scent the danger. They strike a note of warning; the warning goes unheeded. They part ways with those responsible for the innovation, devoting themselves ever since to the silent service of Islam, the original inspiration of the movement. The innovators proceed from innovation to innovation, drifting farther and farther away from Islam. They break off all relations with the general body of Islam. No inter-marriage, no common prayer with a Muslim, no funeral prayers over the dead body of a Muslim! There can be no such relations between believers and non-believers. And finally the tendency crystallizes into an open break with Islam. The Quran was good enough for the 7th century. But to-day humanity must turn to Ahmadism for the solution of her problems.

“Where lies the difference between the two—Bahaism and Ahmadism? Both abrogate the Quran as a solution of modern world-problems. Both claim to be the only redeemers of humanity at the present day.”

Medical Work at San‘a, Yemen

A most interesting article appeared in the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society’s quarterly paper (Jan., 1940) by Dr. Bernard C. Walker, on his experiences in the capital of Yemen. He is

engaged in pioneer medical work on invitation of the Yemen rulers, and is still grappling with the Arabic tongue, but he has apparently won the hearts of the people.

"The hospital is staffed by four doctors and an Arab who claims certain knowledge of medicine. The Italian is the surgeon; the Syrian, the army medical officer; Dr. Croskery the women's and children's specialist; while I attend to all the eyes and a few lepers, and have a ward for medical patients. The Arab does what he can with any left over. His ward was offered to Dr. Petrie before he left for home, but as the hospital did not rise to the occasion by supplying sheets and other very elementary requisites the ward remains in this man's hands. It is the most difficult thing on earth to find enough medicine for four out of every twenty patients! You could not believe it unless you saw it for yourself. Fortunately we have our own private dispensary well stocked with the essential medicines, good and sufficient instruments for all eye operations and for all midwifery and any other operation that may be handed on to us.

"The Moslems of Yemen are not fanatic. I have never yet heard a European called wicked names in the street or in private except by small children. It is very different from being shouted after in China by half the population and called foreign devil.

"The Arab, like all Moslems, likes to discuss religion. On these occasions I always question them about the Injil, the book of the prophet, the greatest excepting, they say, Muhammad himself. Outside our houses there is probably no copy to be found other than the few people have taken from us.

"The Arabic language is very fascinating. I gather that the Egyptian is far more difficult judging from my Thatcher's grammar. The Yemen colloquial disposes practically entirely of the dual and as far as greetings go no distinction is made between the sexes. This of course is not the classical method. It is very difficult with a set job to do, to settle down to really heavy study. Except during the present month of fasting (Ramadhan) I have only three lessons a week, but now as work is practically at a standstill I have engaged a second teacher for reading and handwriting. The people eat and do business during the night and sleep during the day as far as this is possible—that is, the sleeping. Eating in Ramadhan during the day is severely punished. There is one advantage in coming to Arabia with only the barest idea of the language, and that is that from the start one learns to speak a few words without knowing the grammar, and gradually one uses these words thinking only in Arabic and not having to put them through the English. Later it is interesting to come across these words in the study and find their real meaning, the spelling, and the roots. There are many words I use daily whose spelling is quite unknown to me. These words then mean something to me, whereas if I studied them only from a grammar they would be a row of letters to be learned and revised only to be forgotten and learned again.

"Each Sunday we gather for our service. Often I think of the good singing and the fellowship of a big church at home; the presence of the Master here is every bit as real. Our singing is

poor, and my sermons which I deliver every three weeks are poor, but the Bible portions are always good and the Holy Spirit is very real. We are called to be faithful and called to minister to the needs of the people of San'a.

"The air is good, our garden is good, the horses are good, and it is a very pleasant place for study and for a holiday if one is fortunate to be allowed inside the country. It is more than this that has brought me here, and if it were not for that I would be looking forward to a speedy return.

"During the past nine months I have had 200 in-patients. Of this number about 20 or 30 have been from the orphan school which is a very big institution judging by the number of boys there. They are nice boys and I enjoy having them, and I think they are almost all very sorry to have to leave. At different times I have also had some fifteen hostages—the Imam keeps peace by holding hostages from all the unruly tribes. These receive any punishment that the tribes deserve. Many of them are boys. From one district there are over 100 hostages and from others there are two, five, ten, or twenty. They are well treated during their stay in the jail until another from the tribe comes to take his place. They are always happy in jail with their fellow hostages!

"In these lines and between them I hope you will find meat for meditation. The work is not easy in a place like this, neither was the Master's easy, nor was it supported by all; from only one of the ten healed lepers did He receive thanks, and how can I expect more? In your prayers do not forget completely Yemen and the three of us living and working here for our Master Jesus Christ."

Agha Khan, the Man who is Worth his Weight in Gold

Last week there arrived in Egypt His Highness Agha Khan the leader of the sect of Ismailis and one of the most important leaders of India. There was reserved for him one complete wing of the Semiramis Hotel which cost him the sum of L.E. 40 per day. His Highness will spend about three weeks, dividing his time between Luxor and Cairo; then he will go on to India.

H. H. Agha Khan is counted to be one of the wealthiest men of the world and his wealth is estimated by the millions of pounds. His stables in England cost him each year about L.E. 50,000 and he has won more than once the Derby Grand Prize, but he lately transferred his horses and his stables to America after the value of the Grand Prizes had been reduced in England. The stables of His Highness have produced some world-famous horses, among them a horse which was sold for L.E. 20,000 after having won the Derby Grand Prize. Had it not been for the mediation of certain persons His Highness would not have been willing to accept this insignificant sum as the price of his great horse.

The followers of His Highness from among the sect of Ismailis are scattered in various parts of the world, most of them in the East, and their headquarters are in India. The traditions of the sect require that their leader the Agha Khan should be weighed each year and that his followers should present to him in gold a sum

equal to his weight. This is the only taxation levied against the members of the sect each year, and this amounts to tens of thousands of pounds.

His Highness is considered by the members of his sect as a quasi prophet and they reverence him and believe that happiness both in this life and the life to come depends upon a gesture of his hands. In this respect he enjoys a very great influence both religiously and politically. His voluntary gifts to the British Empire during the last war amounted to several hundred thousand pounds. Several years ago His Highness married a young French woman who quickly captivated London by her good looks and her pure Parisian appearance and thus the British people profited by this marriage.

Since His Highness holds this important religious position among his followers everything pertaining to him is held in special reverence among them, so that even the water in which he bathes is treasured in glass bottles and sold to members of the sect as a means of blessing. He carries the highest decorations of the British Empire and he is among those persons who are always invited to dinner by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

—*Egyptian Press Translation Service.*

Islam in Madagascar

The Geographical Journal (London, July 1940) publishes a most interesting article, finely illustrated, on the primitive tribes of Madagascar. The writer, Olive Murray Chapman, was apparently in close touch with the missionaries on her explorations. On the southeast coast she found herself among the Antaimoro, a people of Arab origin. According to local tradition the Arabs landed at Vohipeno and intermarried with the native women. She describes this tribe and gives a photographic reproduction from their Arabic sacred books:

"Their religion is a form of Muhammadanism, and they also practise astrology. The names of the Malagasy days of the week are Arabic in origin and are used all over Madagascar. This tribe have much of the Arab in their features, with a blending of negroid, more marked in some than others; and so proud are they of their clan that they insist on being carried home for burial however far the distance may be. They are enterprising traders, travelling all over the island, and consequently their corpses are sometimes carried for hundreds of miles back to their native village.

"The houses of the Antaimoro differ from those of the Tanala: they are made not from bamboo but from the travellers' tree, the wood from the trunks forming the sides of the hut and the palm-like leaves, when dried, thatching the roof. The plaited straw garments and little straw caps worn by many of the people are similar to those of the Tanala. Each village has granaries for rice, like those I saw in Tanala villages, raised high from the ground upon poles, on account of the rats. I found the people very friendly, and the women less shy than the Tanala. The wife of the descendant of the last king of the tribe, to whom I was introduced, is still spoken

of as the Queen. She was a very good-looking woman of almost pure Arab type.

"The ancient royal family were called Anakara and were famous for their learning. They were the first to reduce the Malagasy language of Malayo-Polynesian origin to writing. This they did in Arabic characters. Latin characters were not used until 1820, and at one time the Arabic form of writing called *Sora-be* 'large or important writing,' possibly meaning 'holy,' owing to its containing extracts from the Koran in special books) was used even outside the area of the Antaimoro, the Hova ruler employing men of this tribe as their letter writers, and making them responsible for fixing the calendar and keeping the times and dates. It is interesting to note that this system of writing is simplified from pure Arabic and is peculiar to this one tribe, no other people using the same script. A certain number of the Antaimoro continue to-day to write in this ancient script on local paper made from the bark of trees, as I saw for myself, a young man copying for me extracts from a *Sora-be* holy book belonging to his family. These books, of which only a few are in existence, are considered very precious and contain four different types of matter: quotations of a somewhat mixed nature from the Koran and Islamic teachers; sagas in prose recounting battles and noble deeds; a section on astrology and divination, which still remains the background of much of the Malagasy religion; and a section on wills and testaments."

Indian Troops at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking

It was a great pleasure and honour for the small but growing English Muslim Community at Woking and London to be able to welcome the Indian Muslim troops on Friday, the 10th May 1940, at the Shah Jehan Mosque, Woking, where they had repaired to say their *Salat-ul-Jum'a*.

The town of Woking has a twofold importance for Indian Muslim soldiers. Not only is there a Mosque there but also there lie buried some of their Muslim compatriots who fell during the last Great War. The Cemetery is situated at a short distance from the Shah Jehan Mosque. Accordingly our Indian Muslim soldiers broke their journey near the Cemetery to pay their tribute to the memory of their fallen compatriots. Without ostentation but with fervour and reverence everyone present raised his hands in offering his silent prayers for the comfort of the souls of the departed. Maulvi Abdul Majid, the Imam of the Mosque, who had gone to the Cemetery to receive the Indian Muslim troops, led the *Fatiha* recitation ceremony. After the *Fatiha* Prayer the soldiers laid on the graves the flowers they had brought with them from London.

Having paid their homage to their dead they proceeded to the Mosque where some of the local English Muslims greeted them. After the usual introductions the party sat down to lunch. Immediately afterwards the call to Friday Prayers was sounded and all the Muslim friends then assembled in the Mosque to perform their *Salat-ul-Jum'a*.

The Imam took for his sermon the opening four verses of the

Chapter "The Accessions" wherein is contained the definition of the word "believer" as understood by the Quran.

—*The Messenger*, (Shillong, Assam).

A Graduate of the "University of the Desert" Discusses Freedom and Democracy

The writer of this unusual interview, Habouba Haddad, was introduced to Sheikh Ajil-el-Yawir by one of the Iraqian officials at the Hotel St. George in Beirut. El-Yawir, she says, is chief of the Bedouin tribe of Shammar.

I began with questions about the attractive and wonderful desert, knowing that by the aid of Sheikh Ajil it had come into contact with modern instruments of civilization, such as the radio and electricity. I wondered whether it had not been better for the desert to keep aloof from civilization and retain its charming beauty. But I soon discovered that Sheikh Ajil wanted the desert to capture the products of modern culture rather than that these should overcome the distinctive characteristics of the Arab.

"Do you live in tents or in houses?" I asked. "Thanks to the mercy of God, we have both, and we live where we please; but the tribe has to follow the pastures for the sake of the cattle."

"Do you have schools?" "Yes, I founded migrating schools which I equipped with all the materials needed. This was with the help of a graduate of the American University of Beirut. The schools accompany the tribe wherever it goes. I found it better to have them connected with the government program. This was successful, and now our students go directly to the baccalaureate examination in Baghdad."

During the conversation we touched upon Arab hospitality. Sheikh Ajil commented that the Europeans also have this custom, and that the English spend much more in this way than the Arabs do; only with them it is confined to friends, while the Arabs practice it with every guest.

After hesitating a while the Sheikh said, "Do not you see, Madame, that humanity is going back to the point where it began? Is not civilization a wheel? Do they not say that the earth is round? If one starts at a certain place and goes forward, and always forward, he comes back to the place where he started. And so it is with civilization. Human beings began life in a savage state, and they went on bettering themselves until they got tired of luxuries. Now after long generations they are going back to war and fighting. Are they not becoming savage again? What is war? It is nothing but disaster and ruin. It means the destruction of the foundations of the lofty civilization which took long generations to build. In the desert we settle our problems by arbitration and mutual agreement. This does not mean that we are more civilized than Europe. On the contrary, it means that Europe is trying to go back on the circle to where it first began."

—*An-Nahar*, Beirut, March 7, 1940.

Missions in the Near East

In a careful review of the recent work by Archimandrite Antim Nica in the Rumanian language and noticed in the last number of our Quarterly, the Rev. C. T. Harley Walker makes the following observations which all missionaries may well ponder:

"Islam has prevailed against Christendom because Christians have been divided. The Crusades failed, not only because they met violence with violence instead of by missionary methods such as were exemplified by St. Francis of Assisi and Raymond Lull, but also because the Crusaders pillaged and oppressed Eastern Christians instead of securing the Holy Land against the infidels. Roman Catholics throughout have proselytized Eastern Christians and only incidentally have sought to convert Moslems. Protestants also have proselytized Eastern Christians in the past, but now are learning to co-operate with them.

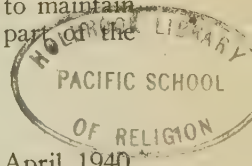
"Eastern Christians controverted Moslems in early days and effected some conversions. Later the Orthodox in Russia have devoted their efforts to the conversion of Moslems, Ilminski being a great missionary. But Moslem intolerance and fanaticism have greatly restricted the possibility of missionary enterprise.

"Now doors are open, which were previously closed. Western nationalism and modern progress are transforming the Near East. The Persians are reverting to pre-Islamic cultural traditions. Turkey is secularized. There are reform movements in Islam. Moslems are more open-minded. Missionary effort must be intensified. But it should be wisely conducted, so as to attract and not to irritate. Strife among Christians must cease. A case is quoted of a man who turned Moslem in disgust at the quarrels between Orthodox and Latins at the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Eastern Christians must make their full contribution to missionary effort. There are Moslems in South-Eastern Europe. Some of them may be descended from Bogomils. Conversion might well be attempted first in these regions. An encouraging precedent is provided by the Gägäuzi, a Turkish people settled among the Rumanians, which has long embraced Orthodoxy. There is some uncertainty with regard to their origin. They have an exemplary character and practice animal sacrifices (curbane), which go back to their Moslem past. Fr. Ciachir, a devoted priest in their community, translated the Bible into their language. Many of them must have come under Russian rule again with the annexation of Bessarabia. Judging from what Archimandrite Nica tells us about them, they are likely to maintain their faith in spite of attempts to subvert them on the part of the Russian godless."

Islam in Japan

When the Religious Bill, which went into effect in April 1940, in Japan, was being formulated, the Indians living there made every effort possible to have the Moslem religion included as one of the recognized religions of Japan.

It would seem that most of the people from India in Japan are of the merchant class and they and their families have settled in



and about the port city of Kobe. Though recognition was not given to their religion, by the government of Japan, the Indians resident in Kobe have built a beautiful Mohammedan Mosque there, where they worship.

The Literary Sources of Islamic Folk-lore

We would call attention to a remarkable paper in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* by W. F. Albright on "Islam and the Religions of the Ancient Orient." (J.A.O.S., Sept. 1940). The author disputes "the myth of the unchanging East" as having no support in the facts of history. "If," he writes "we take the past five thousand years, from the beginning of the Bronze Age and the stabilization of the art of writing to the present day, we can distinguish three radically different phases of civilized life in the Near East: the Ancient Orient, the Hellenistic-Roman Orient, and the Islamic Orient. We are now entering a fourth phase, whose precise nature we cannot safely predict. The affinity between the Ancient Orient and the Hellenistic world is, moreover, materially less than between the Hellenistic-Roman culture and the Islamic. As the late Carl Heinrich Becker stressed on many occasions, Islamic civilization is essentially an outgrowth of Hellenism, just as Islam itself is an offshoot of Judæo-Christian religion. Not to recognize this fact and its implications is to misinterpret the course of history and to misunderstand Near-Eastern life and thought."

What is more important, and often forgotten by those unacquainted with Islamic Tradition, the writer goes on to show the literary sources of Moslem superstition and folk-lore.

"A great deal of confusion has been introduced into our field by the naïve assumption of many modern scholars and students that folk beliefs and practices of the modern peasants and nomads of the Arab world go back to pre-Arab times, whether to recent or to remote ages, without essential modification. We have seen that this assumption is quite wrong in certain selected cases; we shall now see that it was *a priori* improbable and ought never to have been advanced even as a working hypothesis. Students of Douffé, Canaan and other authorities on magical beliefs and customs can hardly help but realize that popular astrology, popular magic, popular divination, etc., are almost throughout derived from literary sources. The astrology comes straight from the Arab systematists of the classical age, such as Abū Ma'shar in the ninth century. Even oneiromancy, or the prediction of the future from dreams, goes back through the latest and most popular authority, 'Abd al-Ghānī of Nāblus in Palestine (late seventeenth century) to Artemidorus. The frequency with which Canaan, for example, resorts to 'Abd al-Ghānī for an explanation of popular belief illustrates the derivation of the latter from learned tradition. It may confidently be said that the *form and content of Arabic amulets have changed but little for many centuries; the tradition regarding them is a learned and not a popular one, using 'popular' in the usual sense of 'folkloristic.'*

"As for the stories and songs which circulate among the people,

nearly all of the former are derived with comparatively slight modification from such repertoires as the Arabian Nights and the Sirat 'Antar, which took their form in the late Middle Ages."

A Catholic Call to Prayer for Arabia

Pierre Charles, S.J., in *The East and West Review* (London) writes on prayer for the Church universal and for every part of the world. He surveys Roman Catholic Missions and pleads for ecumenic intercession.

"If we want our prayers to teach us, to be a source of silent comfort, we must widen them so as to embrace the whole world. They should not be anonymous vague petitions for nameless heathen, for the crowd of the needy, for the general good. Our prayers, Christian ones, baptized ones, must lead by the hand the prayers of idolaters who are worth more than we and offer them to the God who is the Father of all men, to the Christ who had compassion on the multitude. . . .

"Our prayers are to embrace the whole world, not to glean anonymous souls, but to make all men who are seeking it, partakers of supernatural grace. The field is enormous; we must expand our zeal accordingly. It is amazing that Christians so often find prayer irksome. They seem to think of it as a monotonous round in a prison-yard, with very high walls and nothing to look out on. It all seems a matter of routine and a continual going round oneself in a circle. Prayer is not irksome; but it is a crushing and overwhelming load.

"I remember one of those burning hot evenings in the Red Sea. To the east is the bare coast of Arabia; after Bab-el-Mandeb comes Perim with its lighthouses, and hard by is the giant peninsula of Arabia. There is no complete census to give us the number of its inhabitants, but they are not less than six million, including the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; and all are Muslims. To give these people, who are our brothers, the Catholic religion we have five Capuchins who live at Aden and employ their time ministering to the eight hundred and seventy-two Catholics, European, African, Indian and Levantine who live there. Arabia is even an Apostolic Vicariate, for one of the Capuchins is a bishop. And yet there are simpletons who declare that the reason why the people of Arabia are not Christians is their incurable pride."

The Present Situation in Iran

In August, 1939, the Iranian Government announced its intention of immediately taking over all foreign educational institutions in order to "unify the educational system"; a concession was later made which allowed the mission schools to continue as usual through the school year which closed in June, 1940. In October, 1939 a commission was sent out by The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church to discuss with the Iranian Government the problems involved.

The negotiations with the government were concluded in August,

1940, so that with the autumn term of 1940 the Government of Iran is taking over all the institutions of higher educational work which have been operated under our Mission. An agreement has been signed whereby adequate compensation will be paid for all property taken over, payments to be made over a period of three years and in American currency. The schools were taken over by the government in accord with a stated policy to nationalize all education. The educational missionaries would naturally have preferred to continue their service along this line, but since it has been decreed otherwise, they are courageously searching out other types of work, believing that all things do work together for good to them who love the Lord. Among the considerations are the following:

1. A great spiritual legacy will remain as a result of the decades of Christian educational work in Iran. His Excellency, A. A. Hekmat, who laid the foundations of the modern school system in Iran, was himself a graduate of our mission college in Teheran. Many leaders in all walks of life have been educated under Christian influence. The Mission could not expect to carry on the educational work of the country indefinitely. The first modern schools in Iran were begun by the Christian Mission, and the result for which we had long hoped and prayed, namely, general education, has now come to pass.

2. Many missionaries who were engaged in educational work can now be released for purely evangelistic effort, for the training of full-time and lay Christian workers, and for definitely religious education and the upbuilding of the church in Iran; a number are being transferred to other missions; some have returned for work in this country.

3. The primary schools operated by the church will continue as Christian institutions, and in many ways education under a national church is preferable to that under a foreign mission. These church schools are in Teheran and Hamadan and may be started in other cities.

4. The Mission may now concentrate its efforts upon the building of the church, the direct presentation of Christ to individuals everywhere as they find opportunity.—*Foreign Affairs Bulletin*.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY SUE MOLLESON FOSTER

Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

THE MEDIAEVAL LATIN TRANSLATIONS OF ALFARABI'S WORKS.
D. Salmon. (In *The New Scholasticism*, Washington, D. C.
July, 1939. pp. 245-261).

Lists the published Latin translations, identifies an additional moral treatise and several fragments of a work on logic and shows that other works must have existed in Latin translation during the 13th century.

ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ALGIERS. Georges Marçais. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1940. pp. 514-518).

Describes the work of this institution entrusted with the French tradition of disinterested research and human understanding.

PRINTING AND TRANSLATIONS UNDER MUHAMMAD 'ALI OF EGYPT. The Foundation of Modern Arabic. J. Heyworth-Dunne. (In *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. June, 1940. pp. 325-349).

A careful, documented survey.

DAS PROÖMIUM DES MATNAWĪ-I MAULAWĪ. Hellmut Ritter. (In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig. Band 93, Heft 2/3. pp. 169-196).

Discussion of the mystical poems of Galāddīn Rūmī (1226-1294), who founded an order of dervishes.

II. ARABIA

THE BRAVE FUTURE OF ARABIA. Ladislav Farago. (In *Asia*, New York. September, 1940. pp. 466-469).

The spiritual leadership of Arabia may lead to the realization of a Pan-Arabia of more than a dozen Arabic-speaking lands.

PROVERBS AND LULLABIES FROM SOUTHERN ARABIA. Walter Cline. (In *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Chicago. July, 1940. pp. 291-301).

Presents ninety-five examples found in the Yemen, giving Arabic text and English translation.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

EVEN THE MUSLIMS DISAGREE. Humayun Kabir. (In *Asia*, New York. August, 1940. pp. 435-438).

Examines the fluctuating influence of the Muslim League, founded in 1906.

THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA. Mohammad Aziz Ahmad. (In *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta. March, 1940. pp. 48-57).

Study of the early Turkish empire of Delhi, 1206-1290.

HUMĀYŪN IN PERSIA, 1544 A.D. S. K. Banerji. (In *The Calcutta Review*, Calcutta. May, 1940. pp. 123-145).

Account of his exile, the effects of his stay upon Indian society and the spread of the Persian language.

ISLAM ET CHRISTIANISME. P. Carlo Gasbarri. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. Trimestre 2/3, 1940. pp. 98-116).

First part of a historical study of the development of Islam.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

LIGHT IN ISLAMIC MYSTICISM. I. Light and Illumination among the Early Sufis. Margaret Smith. (In *The Aryan Path*, Bombay. May, 1940. pp. 236-242; August, 1940. pp. 407-410).

To al-Ghazali, light represented true knowledge, perfect purity, splendor, beauty, love and goodness, and, ultimately, it meant the very essence of God Himself, the One Source of all light.

THE MECCA PILGRIMAGE. D. van der Meulen. (In *The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1940. pp. 588-597).

Describes its importance to the Netherlands East Indies, its history, the attitude of the Dutch government and the care for the pilgrims.

PEOPLE OF THE BOOK. Arthur Jeffery. (In *The Christian Review*, Philadelphia. July, 1940. pp. 207-214).

In the Near East Christians and Jews have claim to recognition among Muslims as people with a revealed Scripture.

LA PRÉDESTINATION DANS LA DOCTRINE DE L'ISLAM. R. Foca. (In *Le Bulletin des Missions*, Bruges. Trimestre, 1, 1940. pp. 1-19).

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

LE COMPLEXE DE SUPÉRIORITÉ. Arthur Pellegrin. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. Trimestre 2/3, 1940. pp. 91-97).

Contact with the West has tended to enlarge the intellectual horizon of Islam without diminishing its spiritual dignity.

IMPERIAL MUGHAL FARMANS IN GUJARAT. M. S. Commissariat. (In the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Bombay. July, 1940. pp. 1-56).

A detailed, critical survey of twenty-two "commands" of historical and political interest, accompanied by full-page photographic reproductions of the original documents and their translations.

UNE NOUVELLE ÉTAPE PALESTINIENNE. Paul Knab. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. Trimestre 2/3, 1940. pp. 129-143).

Discusses the agrarian situation.

THE PALESTINE LAND TRANSFERS REGULATIONS. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1940. pp. 191-200).

Gives past and present history of the problems raised between Arabs and Jews over land sales.

LA VIE AU MAROC. R. Genton. (In *Correspondance d'Orient*, Paris. Avril, 1940. pp. 197-202).

The war has vastly exhilarated the tempo of life and France is being well supported by her colony.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

AFGHANISTAN: THE PRESENT POSITION. Brig.-Gen. Sir Percy Sykes. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1940. pp. 141-171).

Gives the history of the country from 1873, when uprisings against the British were frequent, to the present, when relations are cordial and cooperative.

THE DEFENCE OF THE NEAR EAST. Albert Viton. (In *Asia*, New York. May, 1940. pp. 238-242).

Although the author believes Great Britain has exploited the Levant, Germany and Italy are considered even greater menaces.

FRANCE AND ISLAM. Charles-André Julien. (In *Foreign Affairs*, New York. July, 1940. pp. 680-699).

Finds the French colonies laying aside their differences and offering a solid front to the enemy.

IRAQ. E. Gascoigne Hogg, C.M.G. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal*, London. April, 1940. pp. 179-190).

Describes conditions from 1931 and adds a note on Iraq since the outbreak of the war, stressing its loyalty to Britain.

L'ISLAM ET L'AFRIQUE DU NORD. Magali Boisnard. (In *En Terre d'Islam*, Lyon. Trimestre 2/3, 1940. pp. 117-128).

Despite Russian, German and Italian subversive propaganda, the colonies still support France.

THE MOSLEMS AND THE WAR. Ikbal Ali Shah. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. May, 1940. pp. 591-594).

Islam would find cause for war in aggression, persecution and perfidy.

THE NEAR EAST DREADS ITALY. Albert Viton. (In *Asia*, New York. August, 1940. pp. 422-424).

Lays bare Italy's sinister plan to turn the Levant into a huge concentration camp to furnish slave labor for Italian colonists.

PALESTINE TO-DAY. Viscount Samuel. (In *The Contemporary Review*, London. May, 1940. pp. 532-535).

Hatred of the Nazis is causing Arabs and Jews to sink their differences and devote their energies to helping the British.

LA POLITIQUE ALLEMANDE EN PERSE. F. Taillar. (In *L'Asie Française*, Paris. Avril, 1940. pp. 81-87).

Surveys Germany's status in Persia from 1903 to date, when Pahlevi is trying sincerely to steer a strictly neutral course.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

DER ISLAM IM VORDRINGEN UND AUFSTIEG UND ISLAMISCHE REFORMBESTREBUNGEN. Prof. H. Lindemann. (In *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, Berlin. Heft 11/12, 1939. pp. 249-257).

Christian missions must make supreme efforts to counteract the appeal of Islam to primitive peoples.